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EDITORIAL

By Aurelija DAUKŠAITĖ-KOLPAKOVIENĖ, Ph.D.
Associate Editor-in-Chief

Dear *Sustainable Multilingualism* community,

Welcome to the twenty-second issue of the journal. As before, this time *Sustainable Multilingualism* offers studies on a wide range of languages, which very explicitly reflect the mission of the journal to promote and sustain multilingualism. A number of articles deal with the topics related to first, mother tongue, or heritage languages, which is the issue of utmost concern in the world where one or another language tends to dominate over smaller minority languages and where the preservation and sustainability of languages sometimes require not only top-down but bottom-up efforts as well, to ensure that younger generations maintain the unique heritage languages. In multilingual Europe, linguistic diversity is seen as an asset that has to be preserved. The European Commission proposes seeing language learning as a dynamic process in which “the acquisition of the mother tongue and its different registers and styles continues and is deeply interlinked with the learning of other languages, in different levels of proficiency, corresponding to every learner's circumstances, needs and interests” (2018, p. 1). Indeed, in the globalised world, in which migration for various reasons, transnational mobility and other socio-political processes are common, multilingualism has become a norm rather than an exception.

The studies from New Zealand, Croatia, Malaysia, India, and Latvia, presented in the current issue, reveal diverse issues people face in their attempts to preserve their languages, and studies from Canada, Turkey, and Lithuania focus on contemporary language learning and teaching as well as language translation issues.

The *Society. Identity. Language Preservation and Revival* section focuses on heritage languages. Mi Yung Park describes the experiences of bilingual Korean-American students studying Korean as their heritage language in a university in Hawai'i. This case study reveals the students' self-reported regression in the heritage language abilities and a switch to English at first, but later their voluntary effort to search for and use the opportunities to practice their heritage language helped to regain their skills, which in turn formed a strong sense of their ethnic identity involving two cultures and languages. Then, by focusing on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, Syed Harun Jamallullail and Shahrina Md Nordin delve into the topic of language vitality and survival (language sustainability). Group motivation to maintain a language is identified as a key to success. To continue the topic of heritage languages in this issue, Sneha Mishra and Md Mojibur Rahman discuss the ethnolinguistic vitality of Gulgulia. The study implies that the heritage language is nearly extinct, since the members of the community can hardly speak the language in its pure form, its main speakers are over sixty years old, and the younger generation is not motivated to learn the language.

The *Language Education in Multilingual and Multicultural Settings* section includes a study by Dace Markus, Tija Zīriņa and Kārlis Markus who research Latvian language skills of minority pre-school age children. They

highlight that regardless of the nationality, the Latvian language skills of the children who daily attended pre-school education groups with class activities carried out in Latvian meet the state language requirements for further education. As a result, these children do not experience linguistic difficulties at school level, as the language of instruction is Latvian. On the other hand, the situation is different with the children whose dominant language is Russian, since their Latvian skills are insufficient despite the attended pre-school education groups in Latvian. The next two articles in this section are related to Turkish as a first or heritage language. Nuray Caylak Toplu and Ismail Hakki Erten tackle the relationship between first (Turkish) and second (English) language reading motivation, reading habits and vocabulary size. The study demonstrates that the vocabulary size in the first language is the best predictor of the vocabulary size in the second language. In addition, the first language reading motivation and habits can predict second language motivation and habits. This means that the first language vocabulary size and reading habits have effect on the second language vocabulary size and reading habits. Selçuk Emre Ergüt and Bayram Baş analyse language anxiety among Turkish heritage language learners in Germany. Their study reveals the learners' low heritage language anxiety, but the anxiety levels are higher in-class than out-of-class. In addition, the authors focus on particular variables that are (not) related to heritage language anxiety and suggest how to decrease it. The section also includes a study by Laurine Dalle on an under-researched topic of dyslexia in bilingual Arabic-French children. Most of other researchers so far have focused on either bilingualism or dyslexia, not both, so this study is innovative, important, and complex at the same time. It can be seen as one of the first steps in helping to identify dyslexia in bilinguals.

The *Issues of Culture Specificity in Translation* section offers our readers two publications about translations of films and fiction. Jurgita Kerevičienė investigates how multilingual narratives in three Lithuanian films are rendered for deaf or hearing-impaired viewers, concluding that such translated and subtitled narratives only partially convey multilingualism. Consequently, the author suggests certain improvements. Aurelija Leonavičienė and Gintarė Inokaitytė compare the use of culture-specific items and their translation from Lithuanian into English and French in a novel by Ričardas Gavelis (1950–2002), a Lithuanian prose writer and playwright. The authors provide evidence that the English translation tends to use the strategy of foreignization, while the French translation prefers domestication. The section ends with a study by Giedrė Valūnaitė Oleškevičienė, Vitalija Karaciejūtė and Dalia Gulbinskienė exploring Lithuanian discourse markers and their relations in a multilingual corpus. They contrast examples in English and Lithuanian and provide guidelines on how to compare Lithuanian and English discourse-annotated texts.

I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to this issue: the authors who have chosen *Sustainable Multilingualism* for their research publications, reviewers who have spent their precious time on providing valuable constructive feedback and ideas for improvement of the manuscripts, editors, and others whose effort and energy have helped our mission to continue sustaining, supporting and promoting multilingualism.

Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė, Associate Editor-in-Chief

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REDAKTORIAUS ŽODIS

Autorė dr. Aurelija DAUKŠAITĖ-KOLPAKOVIENĖ,
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Brangi „Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ bendruomenė,

Džiugu Jums pristatyti dvidešimt antrąjį šio žurnalo numerį. Kaip ir anksčiau, šį kartą „Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ straipsniai aprėpia nemažai skirtingų kalbų ir tęsia žurnalo misiją plėtoti bei puoselėti daugiakalbystę. Dalis autorių nagrinėja temas, susijusias su pirmąją, gimtąja ar paveldėtąja kalbomis, kurios kelia didelį susirūpinimą ten, kur viena ar kita kalba linkusi dominuoti prieš mažumų kalbas ir kur siekis išsaugoti bei puoselėti kalbą reikalauja pastangų, ne tik nukreiptų „iš viršaus į apačią“, bet ir „iš apačios į viršų“, kad jaunosios kartos išlaikytų unikalias paveldo kalbas. Daugiakalbėje Europoje kalbų įvairovė vertinama kaip turtas, kurį reikia saugoti. Europos komisija siūlo kalbų mokymąsi laikyti dinamišku procesu, kuriame „gimtosios kalbos, įvairių jos registrų ir stilių mokymasis vyksta nuolat ir yra glaudžiai susijęs su kitų kalbų mokymusi įvairiais lygmenimis, atitinkančiais kiekvieno besimokančio asmens aplinkybes, poreikius ir interesus“ (2018, p. 1). Ir iš tiesų – globaliame pasaulyje, kuriame dėl skirtingų priežasčių vyksta žmonių migracija, tarptautinis mobilumas ir kiti susiję sociopolitiniai procesai, daugiakalbystė tapo norma, o ne išimtimi.

Šiame numeryje pristatomi tyrimai iš Naujosios Zelandijos, Kroatijos, Malaizijos, Indijos ir Latvijos atskleidžia įvairias problemas, su kuriomis susiduria žmonės, bandydami išsaugoti savo kalbas, o Kanados, Turkijos ir Lietuvos mokslininkai orientuojasi į šiuolaikinę kalbų mokymą(si) bei kalbines vertimo problemas.

Pirmasis skyrius pateikia tris publikacijas kalbų išsaugojimo tematika. Mi Yung Park straipsnyje analizuojama, kaip dvikalbiai korėjiečių ir amerikiečių studentai mokosi korėjiečių kaip paveldo kalbos Havajų universitete. Atvejo tyrimas parodo pačių studentų pastebėtą paveldo kalbos gebėjimų regresiją: iš pradžių pereita prie anglų kalbos, o vėliau savanoriškos jų pastangos ieškoti paveldo kalbos vartojimo galimybių padėjo atgauti įgūdžius – tai savo ruožtu suteikė stiprų etninės tapatybės, apimančios dvi kalbas ir kultūras, jausmą. Remdamiesi Etnolingvistinio gyvybingumo teorija, kitame straipsnyje Syed Harun Jamallullail ir Shahrina Md Nordin taip pat aptaria kalbos gyvybingumo, išgyvenamumo ir tvarumo temą. Kalbos vartotojų grupės motyvacija laikoma raktu į sėkmę norint išsaugoti kalbą. Tęsiant temą apie paveldo kalbas, Sneha Mishra ir Md Mojibur Rahman tyrinėja Gulgulijos etnolingvistinį gyvybingumą Indijoje. Autoriai teigia, kad paveldo kalba gali būti laikoma nykstančia, nes bendruomenės nariai jau vargiai geba kalbėti grynąja jos forma, pagrindiniai šios kalbos vartotojai yra šešiasdešimtmečiai ir vyresni asmenys, o jaunoji karta nėra pakankamai motyvuota mokytis.

Antrasis skyrius skirtas kalbų mokymui daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūrinėje aplinkoje. Dace Markus, Tija Žiriņa ir Kārlis Markus tiria mažumų ikimokyklinio amžiaus vaikų latvių kalbos įgūdžius. Vaikų, kasdien lankiusių ikimokyklinio ugdymo grupes, kurių užsiėmimai vyko latvių kalba, latvių kalbos įgūdžiai atitinka valstybės keliamus kalbos reikalavimus ir nepriklauso nuo tautybės. Taigi šie vaikai neturėtų patirti kalbinių sunkumų

vėliau mokydami mokykloje, nes mokymas vyksta latvių kalba. Tačiau visai kitaip yra kalbant apie vaikus su dominuojančia rusų kalba – jie neturi pakankamų latvių kalbos įgūdžių, nors ir lanko ikimokyklinių ugdymo grupes latvių kalba. Kitų dviejų šio skyriaus straipsnių autoriai aptaria turkų kaip pirmosios arba paveldėtosios kalbos tyrimus. Nuray Caylak Toplu ir Ismail Hakki Erten nagrinėja pirmosios (turkų) ir antrosios (anglų) kalbų ryšį trimis aspektais: motyvacija skaityti, skaitymo įpročiais ir žodyno dydžiu. Rezultatai rodo, kad pirmosios kalbos žodyno dydis padeda nuspėti esamą ar būsimą antrosios kalbos žodyno dydį. Taip pat skaitymo motyvacija ir įpročiai, susiję su pirmąją kalba, gali padėti numatyti, kokia motyvacija ir įpročiai skaityti bus antrąja kalba. Vadinasi, pirmosios kalbos žodyno dydis ir skaitymo įpročiai turi įtakos antrosios kalbos žodyno dydžiui ir skaitymo įpročiams. Selçuk Emre Ergüt ir Bayram Baş ištyrė kalbinio nerimo lygį tarp turkų kaip paveldėtosios kalbos mokinių Vokietijoje. Autoriai atskleidžia, kad besimokančiųjų kalbinio nerimo lygis yra gana žemas, bet skirtingas: klasėje jis aukštesnis negu už jos ribų. Be to, skiriama dėmesio tam tikriems kintamiesiems, kurie gali būti susiję su nerimu kalbėti paveldėtąja kalba, ir pateikiama siūlymų, kaip šį nerimą sumažinti. Laurine Dalle studija parengta gana mažai nagrinėta dvikalbių arabų ir prancūzų vaikų disleksijos tematika. Ankstesni tyrimai dažniausiai nagrinėjo arba dvikalbystę, arba disleksiją, bet ne abu aspektus vienu metu, todėl šis autorės tyrimas inovatyvus, vertingas ir tuo pat metu sudėtingas. Jis gali būti laikomas vienu primųjų žingsnių, padedančių nustatyti dvikalbių disleksiją.

Besidomintiesiems vertimo studijomis, trečiajame skyriuje pateikiame du straipsnius apie filmų ir grožinės literatūros vertimus. Jurgitos Kerevičienės straipsnyje aprašoma, kaip trys daugiakalbiai lietuvių režisierių filmai perteikia turinį kurtiesiems žiūrovams. Autorės atlikta analizė atskleidžia, kad daugiakalbis turinys išverčiamas ir subtitruojamas, bet tik iš dalies perteikia daugiakalbystę, todėl pateikiama siūlymų, kurie padėtų pagerinti daugiakalbio filmų turinio perteikimą kurtiesiems. Kitame straipsnyje vertimo tematika Aurelija Leonavičienė ir Gintarė Inokaitytė lygina kultūrinių realijų vartojimą ir vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas viename Ričardo Gavelio (1950–2002), lietuvių prozininko ir dramaturgo, romane. Šis tyrimas atskleidžia, kad skirtingų kalbų vertimams pasirenkamos priešingos strategijos: angliškam vertimui būdinga svetinimo strategija, o prancūziškam – savinimas. Paskutiniame skyriaus straipsnyje Giedrė Valūnaitė Oleškevičienė, Vitalija Karaciejūtė ir Dalia Gulbinskienė nagrinėja lietuvių kalbos diskurso žymeklius ir jų ryšius daugiakalbiame tekstyne. Autorės pateikia gaires norintiesiems palyginti diskurso ryšiais anotuotus lietuviškus ir angliškus tekstus bei pateikia pavyzdžių šiomis kalbomis.

Norėčiau padėkoti visiems, prisidėjusiems prie šio žurnalo numerio: autoriams, kurie pasirinko publikuoti savo straipsnius; recenzentams, kurie skyrė savo brangų laiką teikdami autoriams vertingą konstruktyvų grįžtamąjį ryšį ir siūlydami, kaip patobulinti pateiktus straipsnių rankraščius; redaktoriams ir kitiems, kurių pastangos ir energija padėjo siekti tikslo – toliau palaikyti, remti ir skleisti daugiakalbystę.

Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė, vyriausiosios redaktorės padėjėja

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**SOCIETY. IDENTITY.
LANGUAGE PRESERVATION
AND REVIVAL**

**VISUOMENĖ. IDENTITETAS.
KALBOS IŠSAUGOJIMAS IR
ATGIMIMAS**



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IDENTITY AND VOLUNTARY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE EFFORTS: A CASE OF BILINGUAL KOREAN-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN HAWAI'I

Summary. Reporting on the experiences of four bilingual Korean-American university students enrolled in Korean language classes in Hawai'i, this case study focuses on their identity development and voluntary efforts to achieve heritage language (HL) competence. According to the participants' narratives, they all experienced regression in their HL abilities and language shift from Korean to English after entering school. However, they began to regain HL skills as adolescents, which was possible due both to their voluntary engagement with HL literacy and speaking practices and to the abundance of opportunities to learn and speak the HL in the home and community. Transnational connections with their heritage nation, including Korean media and visits to Korea, were key in motivating and facilitating their voluntary HL learning. Their narratives further show that the HL played an important role in the participants' ability to construct a strong sense of ethnic identity, and that they tended to view themselves as part of two distinct cultures. They were connected to the norms and values of both the receiving country's culture and the culture of their heritage nation. As second-generation immigrant children, they learned to utilize their bilingual and bicultural knowledge to navigate between the two cultures in a flexible manner, to construct situated identities, and to avoid conflicts and achieve collective identity, solidarity, and group membership. The study's insights into the role of voluntary effort in HL learning and identity development have implications for HL education.

Keywords: heritage language learning; identity; Korean-American; Korean language; transnational connection; voluntary effort.

Introduction

According to the US Census Bureau (2018), nearly 67.3 million US residents were born overseas, and almost 21.9% of the population aged five and over speaks a language other than English at home. Heritage language (HL) maintenance is an important issue for immigrant families because language is linked to ethnic identity and family communication (Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2007). In immigrant families, the HL can be a powerful vehicle for preserving and transmitting cultural values and traditions. General definitions describe HL as any immigrant language spoken by immigrants and their children

(Montrul, 2020), and HL speakers as “children of first- and second-generation immigrants who have some contact with their heritage language despite using the dominant language in everyday lives” (Romanowski, 2021, p. 1215).

Given the unequal power relations between majority and minority languages and cultures, it is usually not easy for immigrant children to attain and/or maintain high levels of HL proficiency, especially literacy skills, or to develop positive bilingual and bicultural identities. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), particular identities tend to be “legitimized or devalued in the context of global and local political economies” (p. 13). Young immigrant children are “often subject to the language assimilation pressures in their immediate school environment and fail to recognize the potential payoffs of learning the HL in the long run” (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009, p. 92). They may distance themselves from their ethnic identity and HL and experience stagnation or even regression in their HL proficiency and use after starting school (Kang, 2010), although some later become interested in (re)connecting with their heritage and choose to study their HL at university (Lee & Kim, 2007).

In the case of Korean-American college-age HL learners, a number of studies have reported that their main reasons for taking Korean language classes in university are to get back to their roots and to develop their identity as Koreans (e.g., Jo, 2001; Kang & Kim, 2012; Kim, 2006; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2007; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Song, 2010). For example, Lee and Kim (2007) observed that heritage-related reasons played a more important role than school-related reasons in Korean-American university students’ desire to learn the HL; the students viewed the language as “the main connector to their roots and their family and an expressor of who they are as a cultural being” (p. 168).

Although identity issues have been examined in the field of Korean HL education, most research has focused on the correlation between the degree of ethnic belonging and HL proficiency, motivational orientations for studying the HL, and identity and HL practices (e.g., Choi, 2015; Jeon, 2010; Jo, 2001; Kang, 2004; Kang, 2013; Kang & Kim, 2012; Kim, 2006; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2007). Less attention has been paid to the identity development

of Korean-American youth who maintain and develop their HL in diasporic contexts. Because the multiethnic population is rapidly growing in the US, and the linguistic situation of bilingual students is more complex than that of monolingual English-speaking students (Brown, 2009; Kwon, 2017), it is crucial to better understand how minority bilingual youth develop their HL and identity. Reporting on the experiences of four bilingual Korean-American university students in Hawai'i, a relatively underresearched population and region, this study focuses on their identity development and voluntary efforts to achieve HL competence. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. How has growing up with two languages and cultures influenced these four Korean-American university students' development of a sense of ethnic identity?
2. What voluntary factors have influenced the participants' HL maintenance, use, and development?

Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language

Ethnic identity, which can be defined as "an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group" (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 496), is affected by a variety of factors, such as language, behavior, tradition, values, and attitudes towards the ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). A number of studies on HL maintenance among Korean-Americans have focused on the relationship between HL proficiency and ethnic identity (e.g., Cho, 2000; Choi, 2015; Kang & Kim, 2012; Lee, 2002). These studies have generally shown that HL proficiency and ethnic identity are strongly and positively correlated; the higher an HL speaker's Korean proficiency, the stronger their ethnic identity as Korean, and vice versa. In addition, Korean-Americans' HL competence has an impact on their social interactions and relationships with co-ethnic Korean speakers. For example, in Cho's (2000) study, those who had high Korean proficiency were well-connected to their co-ethnic community and had a greater understanding of Korean cultural values, whereas those with weaker Korean competence tended to avoid contact with

Koreans and participate less in Korean cultural activities.

Ethnic identity is a dynamic construct that can change over the course of one's life (Phinney et al., 2001; Tse, 1999, 2000). Analyzing the narratives of Asian-Americans in the US, Tse (1999) proposed that they tend to undergo four major stages of identity development, moving from assimilative to additive modes over time. In Stage 1, ethnic unawareness, ethnic minorities are not aware of their minority status due to limited contact with other ethnic groups. As they enter school and interact more with various ethnic groups, they transition into Stage 2, ethnic ambivalence/evasion, where they notice their minority status and develop ambivalent or negative attitudes towards their own ethnic group. They may reject being identified with their ethnic group and prefer to adopt the norms of the dominant group. Stage 3, ethnic emergence, begins in adolescence or early adulthood, when ethnic minorities realize that it is difficult for them to fully become part of the dominant group. Finally, in Stage 4, ethnic identity incorporation, they join the appropriate ethnic American group (e.g., Asian-Americans) and embrace their belonging in that ethnic group. While the model illustrates possible, general steps of ethnic identity development among children from dual cultural backgrounds, it is not intended to suggest that all ethnic minorities undergo all stages in a linear manner or reach the highest stage of identity development. Some may favor the dominant culture and may not identify with the minority ethnic group even as adults, whereas others may integrate both into their overall identity (Brown, 2009).

Ethnic identity can also change depending on social context (Phinney et al., 2001). The fluidity of HL speakers' ethnic identities is reflected in their language practices. Studies have shown, for example, that some Korean-American HL speakers use pronouns ("we" vs. "they" referring to Americans and Koreans) as well as code-mixing/switching between English and Korean to construct and exhibit their identities depending on the situation (e.g., Jeon, 2010; Jo, 2001; Kang, 2004; Kang, 2013).

Research has also examined factors influencing HL maintenance, use, and development. Immigrant parents' attitudes towards the HL have been found to have significant impacts on children's identity and HL learning. For example, studies have demonstrated that many Korean immigrant parents in

English-speaking countries consider bilingualism in English and Korean to be beneficial for family communication (Kwon, 2017; Park & Sarkar, 2007), cultural and ethnic identity formation (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), and job opportunities (Kwon, 2017). Most of these studies indicate that these parents invest in teaching their children the HL, which positively affects the children's HL development. Nevertheless, a high level of parental involvement does not always lead to HL fluency; children's interest in learning the HL is crucial. The children of immigrants may be compelled or choose to attend co-ethnic HL churches, community-based HL schools, and university classes, as well as to visit the motherland, activities that can help HL learners use and practice the HL and define their identities (e.g., Jo, 2001; Kwon, 2017). However, some of these children may regard the HL as unnecessary or irrelevant to their lives and resist speaking it and may view the HL as having little value or use in professional contexts (e.g., Palm et al., 2019; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

The Korean Community in Hawai'i

While Korean immigration to Hawai'i has a long and rich history, dating back to the first arrival of Korean plantation workers in 1903, the number of Korean immigrants to the US, including Hawai'i, has surged since the federal 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act. According to the US Census Bureau (2018), in 2018, 3.4% (47,394) of the 1.42 million people in Hawai'i identified themselves as Korean or Korean-American, making them the state's fourth-largest Asian ethnic group after Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese. Korean was the seventh most frequently used non-English language among non-English speakers in Hawai'i, where almost 26.6% of the population (age 5 and older) spoke a language other than English at home, in 2015–2019 (US Census Bureau, 2019). As of 2018, seven public schools and 11 community-based weekend schools provided Korean language instruction for children. The weekend schools are operated by some of the approximately 90 Korean Christian churches in Hawai'i, which have both religious and nonreligious functions for immigrants, acting as cultural brokers between them and the larger society (Kwon, 2003).

The Study

Participants

The participants of this study were four Korean-American HL learners (two female and two male) who had a relatively high level of HL ability and were enrolled in an advanced-level Korean language course at a university in Hawai'i. I refer to the participants as Sora, Semi, Jimin, and Taewoo (pseudonyms). I got to know them through their Korean language instructor. These four students were selected because they possessed diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and expressed an interest in participating in the study. Given their prior knowledge of the HL, all four participants had been placed directly into the advanced-level Korean class. They all described their motivation for enrolling in the course as further improving their Korean speaking and literacy skills.

The participants had grown up speaking Korean with their parents, who had immigrated to the US from Korea, and two of them (Semi and Taewoo) had also studied Korean at a community-based HL school for at least 10 years before entering university. The participants noted that they had to use Korean at home because their parents generally spoke little English at home and strongly emphasized the importance of their children maintaining their HL and developing an ethnic identity. For this reason, when the participants began elementary school, they all had to take English as a Second Language (ESL) courses for one to two years. Except for Sora's mother, who had immigrated to the US during her middle school years, the participants' parents had limited English proficiency.

To give some brief background information on each participant, Sora was born in Korea and immigrated to the US with her parents when she was one year old. While growing up in Hawai'i, Sora did not attend a community-based Korean HL school. Sora visited Korea two times during her kindergarten and elementary school years. Semi was born and raised in Hawai'i by her single mother, who had immigrated to the US in her 20s. Unlike Sora, Semi attended Korean HL school for 10 years. Moreover, she was an active member of her Korean Christian church where she regularly

participated in cultural activities and taught Korean to Korean-American children. Growing up, Semi visited Korea once every two years. Jimin was born in South Carolina and moved to Hawai'i when he was in the fourth grade. He was an active member of his Korean Christian church and worked as a Sunday school teacher. Jimin had visited Korea a couple of times as a child. Taewoo was born and raised in American Samoa and moved to Hawai'i to attend high school and university. His parents had immigrated to American Samoa in their 30s. Taewoo had attended a Korean HL school in American Samoa for more than 10 years and visited Korea several times as a child.

Data Collection and Analysis

The main data collection method used in this study was semistructured interviews, which were designed to elicit in-depth narratives regarding the participants' HL use and learning, as well as their identity construction. The interviews were conducted in English, as the participants felt more confident expressing their ideas and opinions in English. However, they were allowed to use both languages freely, and they occasionally switched to Korean. The interview questions covered the following topics: the participants' HL and English use; their perceptions of each language; their views on their identity, bilingualism, and HL development; their childhood experiences; their social networks and relationships with their co-ethnic community members; and the opportunities and challenges they had experienced surrounding HL maintenance and identity formation. Each interview lasted approximately one and a half hours and was audiorecorded and subsequently transcribed, at which time any exchanges in Korean were translated into English.

A case study approach was employed in this study to allow the researcher to understand how the participants' HL- and identity-related experiences were influenced by their backgrounds and larger sociopolitical contexts. As Duff (2008, 2014) stressed, case studies are effective tools for understanding individuals' language-learning processes, motivation, and identity. They provide a way to engage in an in-depth exploration of different individuals' experiences, insights, and developmental pathways within

a particular linguistic, social, or educational context (Duff, 2014).

I used an inductive thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to analyze the participants' interview data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), "[A] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (p. 82). The analysis involved several phases. First, I read the transcribed data several times, noting recurring patterns and ideas to guide the data analysis. Second, I created initial codes line-by-line by identifying specific data related to the research questions. I then collated the different codes that were related to each other in order to form larger categories. These categories were then grouped into themes that were reviewed as the analysis found interconnections between them and brought forward comparisons and contrasts across the four participants. The final themes examined in this study are: (1) heritage language acquisition and loss during childhood, (2) emerging identities and voluntary efforts to learn the HL, (3) motherland trips and ascribed identities, and (4) situated bicultural identities.

Findings

Heritage Language Acquisition and Loss During Childhood

Many studies have investigated Korean-American children's and adults' reasons for studying their HL, which are often related to identity and communication with family and community members (e.g., Cho, 2000; Kim, 2006; Kwon, 2017; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2007). Similarly, for the participants of the present study, the HL was associated with family and preservation of the cultural identities and values transmitted to them by their parents. For all the participants, Korean was the first language they acquired through speaking with their parents at home, and it had continued to be part of their daily life. All four participants mentioned that it was important to them to improve their HL proficiency because of their strong desire to communicate effectively and maintain close relationships with their parents,

extended family, and members of the Korean immigrant community.

When asked about their HL use at the time of the study, their responses indicated that they used only or mostly Korean with their parents. Jimin said he used "100% Korean at home both with my mom and dad because my parents can hardly speak English." According to Jimin, his parents had never had to learn English because they worked with Korean immigrants in Hawai'i. He added that his parents stressed the importance of him learning Korean to stay connected to his heritage culture and maintain a strong ethnic identity. Sora also said that she used mostly Korean with her parents, especially her father, who not only spoke little English but considered it important to speak Korean with his children to help them maintain their Korean identities, and who regularly reminded her to use Korean at home. However, she mixed Korean and English when she spoke with her mother, who also spoke fluent English.

Although the HL had always been an essential part of daily life for all participants, they had not found it easy to maintain their HL proficiency. After they started school, they experienced tremendous pressure to shift to English due to its status as the medium of instruction (Kang, 2010). Semi was placed in an ESL program for two years in elementary school. She quickly acquired English, but at the expense of her first language, as she described in the interview:

When I was little, [my mom] taught me a lot of Korean. My first language was Korean. So, all I knew was Korean. I didn't know English at all. I have videos of me singing the church songs in Korean. She also recorded me praying in Korean. But, in elementary [school], I had to go to ESL for two years. After ESL, I totally lost all my Korean.

Similarly, during the interview, Sora reported that she spoke only Korean at home in early childhood. However, she spent a lot of time with her aunts, who had grown up in Hawai'i as 1.5-generation Korean immigrants, because her parents worked long hours. Her aunts encouraged her to speak English at home because they wanted to prepare her for school. Sora gradually experienced reduced HL input and use, as shown in her remarks below:

Growing up with my aunts, they would all speak English to me. They said that when I was little, I only spoke Korean. So, they wanted to teach me English before I went to school. They started speaking English to me only. And then, when I went to school, I just kept speaking in English.

Jimin shared a similar experience, and also attributed the deterioration of his Korean language skills to his childhood education. He claimed that although he only spoke Korean as a young child, his ability to speak English quickly surpassed his ability to communicate in Korean once he entered elementary school. He added that he had stopped attending HL school at the same time because his parents thought that continuing to go to HL school while learning English would be too great a burden. According to Jimin, his parents saw the benefit of him learning the HL but were concerned that it would interfere with his English language acquisition.

Emerging Identities and Voluntary Efforts to Learn The HL

Despite the deterioration of their ability to communicate in Korean early in their childhood, these young Korean-Americans became interested in improving their HL during adolescence when they began to think about their ethnic identity (Tse, 1999). A sense of identity is a vital component of adolescent development, and it is especially significant for those who belong to ethnic minorities (Phinney, 1990). As the participants grew more mature, they started to incorporate their ethnicity into their sense of self and make voluntary efforts to develop their HL skills. Several factors contributed to this process, particularly exposure to Korean pop culture and interaction with Korean peers and community members.

For example, during Sora's elementary and middle school years, she was not particularly concerned about developing a sense of belonging to an ethnic community and did not feel a need to define her ethnic identity. When she started high school, however, she became more proactive in developing her ethnic identity. She began socializing with ethnic Korean peers, which provided opportunities to speak Korean beyond the home setting. She explained:

As I got older and after I entered high school, interestingly, I hung out with more Korean friends. I did not care which group I belonged to when I was little. But in high school I felt more comfortable with Koreans, and I found more similarities with Korean friends. You just feel more comfortable because you do not need to adjust too much. You have similar interests. Everything in life becomes more convenient.

When asked what interests she and her friends had in common, Sora described their shared passion for Korean popular culture, such as dramas, films, and music. Beginning in high school and continuing to the time of the interview, Sora had a strong desire to improve her Korean in order to communicate well with her Korean friends, including international students from Korea, and be fully accepted as a member of the ethnic peer group. She added that she wanted to be able to keep up with current issues in the Korean entertainment industry, as she and her Korean friends often exchanged their thoughts on Korean popular culture and participated in online forums on Korean media channels and celebrities, writing comments and asking questions in Korean. Sora also mentioned that she began learning to write in Korean when she started watching music programs (e.g., "Music Bank"). Listening to the newest Korean hit songs, she regularly engaged in literacy activities by writing down their lyrics and memorizing the meaning of unfamiliar words. In fact, she said, one of her main reasons for studying Korean in university was to be able to understand the lyrics of her favorite songs, as well as dramas, without using a dictionary or asking her parents.

Jimin also became interested in Korean popular culture during his high school years, when he became an enthusiastic consumer of Korean variety shows. Such shows are a major part of television entertainment in Korea, and are usually composed of various performances, skits, quizzes, and comedy acts, with popular celebrities and K-pop idols as guests. Jimin's comments below illustrate how watching Korean television shows positively affected his HL learning:

I read a lot because I watch Korean variety shows. I read a little faster because of that. It's like a variety show where people talk to each other. I have to read Korean while they do it because their conversations are subtitled on the TV screen. It helps me improve my Korean.

Because these variety shows are subtitled in Korean, watching them not only helped Jimin to connect to his heritage culture but also facilitated his Korean reading ability, as well as his listening skills.

In Taewoo's case, watching Korean variety shows inspired him to improve his speaking skills. The following quote illustrates how transnational media can motivate HL learning:

When my mom introduced me to "Infinite Challenge," I fell in love with Jae-suk Yoo because he is so funny. He was my role model for a while. He is such an eloquent speaker. He can say things at certain times even though it's all scripted. He can adlib and put in his own things. I really liked that. I wanted to learn Korean too to speak like him.

"Infinite Challenge" is a variety show and Jae-suk Yoo, a comedian, is its host. Seeing Yoo as a role model, Taewoo made efforts to further improve his Korean to become an "eloquent" Korean speaker like Yoo.

Semi's interview also suggested that the Korean media are a useful resource for developing HL skills and learning more about Korean customs and traditions. She explained that she regularly watched Korean television dramas precisely because doing so exposed her to both Korean language and Korean culture.

Consumption of Korean popular culture thus affected the participants' HL learning. Their appreciation of Korean music and television programs motivated them to improve their HL skills as it exposed them to both spoken and written Korean and required an advanced level of Korean language proficiency.

Motherland Trips and Ascribed Identities

Growing up, the participants visited their motherland, Korea, with their parents with varying frequency, from every two years to only a couple of times. The length of their stays also varied, from one month to one year.

During her interview, Sora reflected on her most recent trip to Korea, one year earlier. She said that she had a complicated relationship with her

country of birth, and that although she had visited Korea twice as a child, she did not remember much about those trips because she had been too young. As she grew older, despite her cultural knowledge and her proficiency in Korean, she felt disconnected from Korea and unwilling to go back. She had resisted returning for several years, although her parents and brother visited Korea every year. Sora explained that her unfamiliarity with her family in Korea had made her anxious: "I thought I would be uncomfortable. I don't know anybody in Korea. It's just family. But, I don't even know my own family either. So, if I go, it's like meeting new people. It would be very awkward."

After a gap of a decade, it had been a difficult decision to go back to Korea, but Sora had finally decided to do it, joining her family on their summer trip. She described the experience of meeting relatives, participating in cultural activities, making new friends, and learning about current social issues in Korea. According to Sora, one of the most enjoyable parts of the trip was staying in her grandmother's house and taking walks with her grandmother, who taught her a lot about her ancestors and family history. Below, Sora illustrates how her grandmother helped her discover her cultural roots:

There are so many *myoji* 'graves' spread randomly across the two hills behind my grandmother's house. [My grandmother] took me there and [explained], "This is a family grave yard, this is the grave yard of whoever and so on." That was my first time to hear [about them]. I saw my great grandmother's grave too and learned about her. It was an interesting experience.

During the interview, Sora added that she met many of her relatives on her father's side for the first time. One day, she attended a dinner gathering, which took up the whole restaurant because her paternal family had over 20 members. It was only at this gathering that Sora learned that she had such a large family in Korea. She got to know her family members fairly quickly by talking with them in Korean. Sora's high proficiency in Korean contributed to communicating with them, and her initial anxiety about not knowing her extended family members in Korea soon faded away.

While visiting Korea enabled Sora to get to know her family and

develop her understanding of her heritage, she experienced inner conflicts because her Korean identity was constantly challenged. Her experience echoes He's (2006) claim that HL speakers' "identities are dynamically and fluidly negotiated, validated, challenged, or changed as social interaction develops in real time" (p. 18). Sora felt she was regarded as "a family member from overseas," "a cousin from America," or "Korean-American" by her relatives and other Korean people she met during her trip. According to Sora, she was treated differently and often got teased by her relatives because of her pronunciation and bilingual language practices, such as mixing English words into Korean. In addition, some people tried to teach her about Korean traditions and customs that she had known all her life, which made Sora feel "awkward" and "frustrated." One aspect of Korean culture that Sora's relatives emphasized was related to Korean table manners:

When I'm eating they're like, "When you are eating, you have to sit straight and you have to wait before the older people eat first" and then "you can't hold the spoon and chopsticks." And "you shouldn't talk too much while eating." But I don't do that anyway but they keep telling you how to behave.

Sora felt that she was viewed as different by Koreans outside the family as well. When she went on an excursion to a shopping center with a Korean friend from Hawai'i, the Korean salespeople noticed that she was not from Korea, which led her to reflect on the identities others ascribed to her:

I went to Dongdaemun (a shopping center in Seoul). Korean men who were selling bags told me, "You are from America, right?" I asked, "How do you know?" They answered, "We can just tell." I said, "Oh, I see." So I figured they would know if you are not from here; they see you. I went with a really FOB older female Korean friend. They didn't say anything to her.

When asked how the salespersons noticed her background, she speculated that it might have been because of her ways of speaking and acting, along with her tanned skin. She said she might have "[spoken] Korean with an American accent" and used hesitation fillers such as "um, uh, and like" when speaking with them. Although interacting with the Korean sellers was not pleasant because she wanted to be viewed and accepted as Korean, it

motivated Sora to further develop her Korean. She explained her feelings thus:

It's better to know the language of the place you're going. It's more comfortable to use it. If I do go to Korea, using Korean will put me more into the environment—make me part of the group. If I'm there, I don't want to feel like a foreigner. I want to feel comfortable in that environment. It's very hard for me if people say, "You're different." If I can speak Korean perfectly, they won't care, they would think, "Oh, my mistake."

While Sora struggled to define her own identity and her relationship with the heritage nation, she had been defined by others. Koreans she met in Korea attached labels to her that differed from those she would choose for herself, which led to emotional distress. Having realized how her own identities were influenced by others, she came to view speaking perfect Korean as a way to be accepted as part of the Korean community, which led her to invest more time in HL learning, such as enrolling in a Korean course at university.

Taewoo also became motivated to improve his Korean when he visited Korea during his middle school years. He mentioned that, although he grew up speaking Korean at home with his parents, he had limited vocabulary, especially Sino-Korean words, which sometimes made it challenging for him to interact with native Koreans. During the interview, Taewoo related an incident that made him feel he really needed to improve his Korean. At his aunt's request, Taewoo had gone to buy watermelons at a supermarket, when he had the following exchange:

The salesperson asked me in Korean, *Subak baedal haejulkka?* 'Do you want me to deliver the watermelons to your place?' I didn't know what *baedal* 'deliver' meant in Korean at that time. So, I just said "no" because I didn't want them to know that I didn't understand Korean. I went up to the apartment with two big watermelons, sweating a lot. Everybody just stared at me. I really felt stupid. I really wanted to learn [Korean vocabulary] after that experience.

As an HL speaker, Taewoo felt embarrassed when he didn't understand what

the salesperson said. To maintain face, he did not ask for the meaning of the word he did not know, *baedal*. However, this led to the further embarrassment of having to struggle in public with the watermelons, an experience that made Taewoo realize the importance of a solid grasp of vocabulary to carry out successful communication. This experience motivated him to study Korean harder, particularly Sino-Korean vocabulary.

Situated Bicultural Identities

The analysis of the participants' narratives showed that they had developed bicultural identities, "composed of characteristics from both Korean and American cultures" (Lee, 2002, p. 117). The kind of personae and identities they created for themselves changed from moment to moment, as well as from context to context. Similar experiences showing the socially constructed and situated nature of identity have also been reported for other Korean HL speakers (e.g., Jeon, 2010; Jo, 2001; Kang, 2004; Kang, 2013). Based on the interview data, the participants seemed to use certain contextual signals, such as language, place, and the people around them, to construct certain identities. For example, Sora's way of talking, thinking, and acting shifted depending on whether she was situated in a Korean or American environment, as demonstrated by her comments below:

If I'm in a very Korean environment, such as Palama [a Korean supermarket in Hawai'i], I would be very Korean. The way I act would be Korean. But, if I was in a very American environment, such as one of my English classes, I'll be less Asian and more American.

Growing up in two cultures, Sora developed an awareness of the different norms, expectations, and ideologies that existed in each culture and consequently created a bicultural identity. In the following excerpt, she reflects on the differences in the level or display of intimacy in friendship regarded as appropriate in Korean and American communities:

I know how to act with Americans. To what extent they can joke, if they can swear at each other or not, if they can push

each other or not. Boundaries for friendships are different. In Korea, people are closer and can be aggressive with their friends. In America, I have a feeling that there is a little bit more distance put between individuals. It's like my bubble thing. If you go to Korea, friends are holding hands and walking around down the street, but here if you see that, people would go, "Oh, that's weird."

Sora displayed her understanding of the two distinct cultures by contrasting close friendships in the US with those in Korea and explaining the different norms of Korean and American peer groups. She reported that she consciously spoke and behaved differently in front of her Korean friends and her American friends. Her efforts to change her behavior in accordance with the given context imply that her identities are socially situated and typically adjusted to whichever culture is salient in the immediate context.

During the interview, Semi also discussed noticeable cultural differences between her as a Korean-American and native Koreans and how she adjusted her linguistic behaviors even with her peers to be "more respectful":

[Native Koreans] are very polite. They call everybody *enni* (older sister) and *oppa* (older brother). Even if they are one year older. Because I'm so used to American culture, I don't see someone one year older than me as an *enni*. I feel like we are more the same. Yeah, I say *enni* and *oppa* to the ones from Korea just to show respect. Because I think they would think that I'm bad if I don't say and don't show respect. I know their culture. Their culture is very respectful.

In addition, Semi preferred to speak in English or mix Korean and English with her Korean friends who grew up in Hawai'i; however, she tried to "be more Korean" when interacting with adult church members by speaking in Korean in order to be regarded as a legitimate member of the Korean immigrant church community:

I speak Korean at church because my whole church has a lot of older Korean female friends. They speak Korean to each other. I feel weird to speak English to them, so I have to speak Korean to them...It's helpful to speak with them. The more you speak or the more you surround yourself with the culture, the more you become in it.

Semi consciously chose between Korean and English when talking to other members of her ethnic group, especially first-generation older members. Semi did not feel “comfortable” using English with Koreans who grew up in Korea and spoke Korean. Elaborating on this remark, she explained that she chose to use Korean, which has a system of honorifics, to “be polite” and to accommodate others’ limited English skills. Semi’s use of her HL beyond the home environment enabled her to build and strengthen her relationships with her co-ethnic community members and affirm a shared culture and identity.

Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis of the participants’ narratives demonstrates that, growing up, the participants faced challenges in balancing the HL and English; they experienced regression in their communication abilities in the HL or even a language shift from Korean to English after they entered the English-dominant American educational system. Such “subtractive bilingualism” is common among immigrant children, who often acquire the dominant language at the expense of their first language (Fillmore, 1991; Kang, 2010). Some of the participants’ parents felt they had to choose which language to focus on, negotiating between American schooling and HL maintenance, especially because their children had to attend ESL classes. After learning English, the participants lived their lives in it. This is due to “[English’s] hegemony in American economic and cultural life, along with its high social status, mak[ing] it irresistible to younger generations” (Crawford, 2008, p. 24). However, the results of the present study show the possibility of reconnecting with the HL and regaining HL skills over time. The participants’ voluntary engagement with HL literacy and speaking practices, together with abundant opportunities to learn and speak HL in the home and community, made it possible for them to reach a high level of proficiency in the HL.

All of the participants described their interest in Korean popular culture as one of their main motivations for reconnecting with Korean and further developing their HL proficiency. Lee (2018) and Wang and Pyun (2020) similarly found that engaging with Korean popular culture was important to learners enrolled in Korean language classes at American

universities. This study's participants found transnational mass media to be a useful resource for HL maintenance and development, and a key element in their voluntary HL learning activities. However, the individual participants differed in terms of their preferred media genres and content. Sora enjoyed watching music programs to familiarize herself with the newest Korean songs, whereas Jimin and Taewoo watched Korean variety shows made up of comedy acts and musical performances, and Semi preferred TV dramas. In addition, their consumption of Korean popular culture affected individual participants' HL learning in different ways. Specifically, Sora began to regularly engage in literacy activities (e.g., writing down the lyrics of her favorite songs) when she began watching music programs, and Jimin reported improving his reading skills because conversations on the variety shows he watched were subtitled. Taewoo's favorite show led him to want to improve his speaking skills to emulate its host, while Semi particularly enjoyed watching television dramas because they helped her learn more about social customs and cultural values and to obtain up-to-date information about Korea, which she found useful when socializing with Korean-speaking people. In other words, the transnational mass media provided an immersion experience that allowed the participants additional opportunities to work on particular skills and knowledge areas that they found important and helped them develop meaningful ties to the parental home country and its culture (e.g., Kwon, 2017; Min, 2017).

It was also found that visits to Korea facilitated the participants' HL learning and identity construction. Although the frequency varied across participants, such visits helped them build and maintain a relationship with Korea. The participants' familiarity with the HL played a crucial role in networking and developing a fundamental sense of kinship with their extended families in their heritage nation (e.g., Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). Transnational visits to their parents' home countries enabled the participants to deeply engage with the HL and culture, as also seen in Lee et al.'s (2020) study of Korean-Americans' study abroad experiences in Korea. The participants in the present study were given opportunities to use their HL, communicate with extended family members, and build strong social and emotional ties with them during their stay (e.g., Kwon, 2017). Interacting

with people in Korean was sometimes challenging because of their limited HL proficiency, different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, or their ascribed identities as "Other." However, these challenges were not necessarily negative because they motivated them to further develop their HL to construct their identities as legitimate Koreans.

The HL played an important role in the participants' ability to build a strong sense of ethnic identity (e.g., Cho, 2000; Choi, 2015; Kang & Kim, 2012; Lee, 2002). Speaking and learning the Korean language enabled them to gain a better understanding of the heritage culture and its people, build social relationships with them, and participate in HL-speaking community activities (e.g., teaching Korean and serving as a Sunday school teacher at Korean churches). In addition, the bilingual youth tended to view themselves as part of two distinct cultures (Kang, 2013). They were connected to the norms and values of both the receiving country's culture and the culture of their heritage nation. As second-generation immigrant children, they learned to adapt their cultural orientation to socialize with different groups of people and integrate into the two cultural and linguistic environments. Utilizing bilingual and bicultural knowledge, they navigated between the two cultures in a flexible manner, constructing situated identities, as a way to avoid conflicts and achieve collective identity, solidarity, and group membership.

The findings offer implications for HL education. While these participants' experiences and strategies may not be generalizable to how others use, practice, and develop HLs, this case study sheds light on the importance of the agentive roles of immigrant children and their voluntary efforts to learn the HL. In particular, it showed how transnational connections with their heritage nation can motivate and facilitate immigrant children's HL maintenance and development. In addition, the findings showed that HL maintenance is not static but fluid and dynamic and that an individual's patterns of language use can change over time. As children, the participants experienced tension between maintaining their HL and the pressure to quickly shift to the dominant language as a means to obtain academic, social, and eventual financial success. The far-reaching expectations of English-only instruction led to language shift and loss. However, these participants

counteracted the hegemonic power of English by consuming Korean popular culture, building, and strengthening co-ethnic social ties, and actively using and regaining their HL. They took a proactive stance as young adolescents and adults to embrace both languages and cultures and integrate them into their sense of identity. These findings suggest the importance of raising awareness of the power inequalities between English and other languages, as well as of the social, functional, and psychological significance of HLs and the benefits of bilingualism. Critical awareness and understanding of the significant impacts of linguistic and cultural hegemony on people's lives can help immigrant families and minority language speakers make informed decisions regarding HL education.

The findings suggest future research directions. While the findings reported in this study contribute to the existing body of research on HL learners' HL development and identity, the experiences reported here may not be representative of HL learners' lives in general. All four participants grew up in a linguistically and culturally diverse place, Hawai'i, with relatively easy access to Korean communities and peer social networks. Future research could extend the line of qualitative research taken here by examining the views and experiences of diverse HL learners in different contexts since language choices made in the immigrant family and by HL learners are closely connected to the ideologies of the surrounding communities and society. Furthermore, given the agentive roles of immigrant children, more research is needed on different strategies that elementary and secondary school students use to practice and enhance their HL, their beliefs about and attitudes towards the HL and multilingualism, and the ways they position themselves. It would also be valuable to investigate the views of other involved parties, including immigrant parents and HL and mainstream schoolteachers. A better understanding of HL maintenance and transmission efforts in diverse diasporic environments would contribute to promoting greater bilingual and multilingual development within these communities.

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**TAPATYBĖ IR SAVANORIŠKOS KALBOS PALAIKYMŲ
PASTANGOS: DVIKALBIŲ KORĖJIEČIŲ IR AMERIKIEČIŲ
UNIVERSITETO STUDENTŲ ATVEJIS HAVAJUOSE**

Santrauka. Šiame atvejo tyrime aprašoma keturių dvikalbių korėjiečių kilmės amerikiečių universiteto studentų, lankančių korėjiečių kalbos kursus Havajuose, patirtis. Daugiausia dėmesio skiriama jų tapatumo raidai ir savanoriškoms pastangoms siekti paveldėtos kalbos (PK) kompetencijos. Remiantis dalyvių pasakojimais, visi jie, pradėję lankyti mokyklą, patyrė PK gebėjimų regresą ir kalbos vartojimo pokytį, t. y., vis dažniau kalbėjo ne korėjiečių, o anglų kalba. Tačiau paauglystėje korėjiečių kalbos kompetencija sustiprėjo dėl savanoriško įsitraukimo į PK raštingumo ir kalbėjimo praktiką bei dėl pagausėjusių galimybių mokytis ir kalbėti PK namuose ir bendruomenėje. Tarpvalstybiniai ryšiai su savo tautos paveldu, įskaitant korėjiečių žiniasklaidą ir vizitus į Korėją, buvo labai svarbūs motyvuojant ir palengvinant savanorišką PK mokymąsi. Tyrimo dalyvių pasakojimai taip pat rodo, kad PK vaidino svarbų vaidmenį kuriant stiprų etninio tapatumo jausmą ir kad jie buvo linkę laikyti save dviejų skirtingų kultūrų dalimi – buvo susiję tiek su priimančiosios šalies kultūros, tiek su savo paveldėtos tautos kultūros normomis ir vertybėmis. Kaip antrosios kartos imigrantų vaikai, jie išmoko panaudoti savo dvikalbystės ir dvikultūriškumo žinias, kad lanksčiai laviruotų tarp dviejų kultūrų, susikurtų situacinę tapatybę, išvengtų konfliktų ir pasiektų kolektyvinę tapatybę, solidarumą bei narystę grupėje. Tyrime pateiktos išvagos apie savanoriškų pastangų vaidmenį mokantis paveldėtos kalbos ir plėtojant tapatybę yra reikšmingos paveldo kalbos ugdymui.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: paveldėtos kalbos mokymasis; tapatumas; korėjiečių kilmės amerikietis; korėjiečių kalba; tarptautinis ryšys; savanoriškos pastangos.

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ETHNOLINGUISTICS VITALITY THEORY: THE LAST STANCE FOR A LANGUAGE SURVIVAL

Summary. The survival of a language represents a part of the cultural identity of a group; therefore, groups often try to protect their identity from extinction. Hence, this prompts an understanding of how an ethnic group tries to protect their language in an inter/intra-ethnic setting concerning the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory which considers two main aspects to be important, namely the 'Sustainability' (Su) of the language and the 'Strength' (S) that must be met for a language to survive. The author shows that both aspects are vital to ensure that a language survives or faces extinction. The clashes of 'Conflict amelioration/exacerbation' and 'Manufactured Identity' lead to certain groups condoning violence to dominate the other and the other group to avoid language death. The study discusses Ethnolinguistics and the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory and its issues, language death in its two forms such as Linguicide and Glottophagy, and the processes that can ensure language survival, such as Reclamation, Revitalization, and Reinvigoration, providing concrete examples from various parts of the world to illustrate the discussed processes. Research concludes by stating that various inter/intra-ethnic conflicts are inevitable and may lead to the presence or the death of the language, but group's motivation to preserve its language and identity can lead to language maintenance and survival.

Keywords: conflict; violence; discrimination; linguistics; death; ethnocentrism.

Introduction

Have you ever wondered about the possibility to communicate without using language? The answer is impossible (Lunenburg, 2010). This is because language is the sole method for the communication process, be it verbal or non-verbal. Although there is no denying that language helps to connect groups to create understanding, it can also be used to destroy relationships as well. This is condoned by the misuse of language through spreading the message of power whereby abuse is often propagated (Bolinger, 2014). As a result, language loses its neutral stance and can be used either as a blessing or as a curse (Bolinger, 2014; Žižek, 2016).

History shows that language is often used as a method of repression. Faltis (1993) explained that certain language policies were created to deny groups from achieving certain goals that might threaten the status quo. This was obvious during the regime of Fascist Spain whereby the Catalan language was banned. Piulats (2007) explained that the ban on the Catalan language was introduced to ensure that Catalans do not demand independence. Hence, this led to conflicts between the Catalans and the Spaniards. Kraus (2015) described that the conflict between the Catalans and Spaniards was due to language(s) being intermingled with cultural factors. Thus, this might be the reason why Spanish had been introduced as the sole official language in Fascist Spain. The Fascist government took another step further by banning the usage of Catalan in schools, media and public life (Anderson, 2020).

Aside from that, language is used to unite groups. Beer and Jacob (1985) deliberated that language helps to unite people from different groups. However, there are both positive and negative implications for this role of language. From the former perspective, language unites people from different backgrounds by having a common language to communicate. Nye (1987) stated that a common language unites groups that consist of different ethnicities. This is observed in Indonesia, whereby the country has more than 100 languages. Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) was then chosen by Sukarno¹ and Suharto² to unite the Indonesians by implementing a sense of unity between different ethnic groups in the country (Paaw, 2019).

Although language was viewed positively to unite groups, it too has its limitations. Sotirović (2018) stated that language tends to coerce unity. This was the case in the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ), especially among the Slovenes, Croats, Muslims³, Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians as well as other ethnic groups⁴. Marshall Josip Broz Tito implemented Serbo-Croatian as the official state language, with the co-official languages Slovene in the Socialist Republic (SR) of Slovenia, and Macedonian in SR Macedonia to unite the Yugoslavians. Although Slovene and Macedonian were considered co-official as stated in the constitution, the reality does not coincide with

¹ Soekarno is the first president of Indonesia.

² Suharto is the second and the longest serving president of Indonesia.

³ Muslims represent Bosniaks, Gorani, Torbeš and Pomak.

⁴ This refers to the ethnic minorities such as Jews, Italians, Romani people, etc.

the constitution.

Gabrič (2020) mentioned that despite both Slovene and Macedonian being recognised as co-official in SR Slovenia and SR Macedonia, both Slovenes and Macedonians were prohibited from speaking their languages in the army (Gabrič, 2020). This is ironic as both languages were granted similar rights on paper, but they were banned from speaking. The ban on speaking both Macedonian and Slovene was to ensure the concept of 'Brotherhood and Unity' was practised. Allowing different ethnic groups to speak their language may surge a sense of nationalism which would highlight the differences such as cultural (Ognjenovic & Jozelic, 2021) and ideological (Bowman, 2021).

The infamous nature of language may lead to conflicts. Tension arises when one language is forced onto another. Hence, groups may retaliate back. This became obvious in Estonia whereby the Estonian government banned the teaching of the Russian language in schools (Rausing (2004; Library of Congress, 2016) to unify the Estonian community. This policy angered the Russians as they felt discriminated against (Hughes, 2005; Koort, 2014) as certain rights such as voting for the Riigikogu⁵ were blocked (Puddington, Piano, Eiss, & Roylance, 2007). However, the Estonian government is attempting to bridge the gap between the Estonians and Russians through various efforts such as officials learning the Russian language (Scrutton & Mardiste, 2017) and improving the Russians' grasp of the Estonian language via military conscription (Scrutton & Mardiste, 2017).

One of the main premises on how language becomes a threat is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is defined as a sentiment in which a group believes that it is superior to another due to certain elements such as language, behaviour, identity as well as religion (McCormack & Ortiz, 2017). Perry, Priest, Paradies, Barlow and Sibley (2017) described that ethnocentrism has led to various conflicts when the 'in-groupers' discriminate against the 'out-groupers'. Languages create tension as those who speak differently are often discriminated against by imposing various measures, such as limited voting rights (Puddington, Piano, Eiss, & Roylance, 2007) and denial of services (Bourhis, 2019). This shows that ethnocentrism weaponizes language.

⁵ Riigikogu is the national parliament.

Therefore, this prompts the study to understand the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory which specifies that a language struggles to ensure its survival when threatened. To ensure that their language survives, groups may take certain actions by discriminating against those that speak their language differently (Grondelaers, Speelman, Lybaert, & Van Gent, 2020) and these processed may cause various tensions.

The Irony of Language? Destroying Instead of Fixing Bridges

Language is also known for its dangerous nature since many takes advantage to pursue certain goals, i.e., promoting ethnocentrism and ethnic hatred (Bolinger, 2014). This becomes evident in North Macedonia (Koneska, 2016) whereby the Macedonians often use the pejorative 'Shqiptar'⁶ against the Albanians (Poshka, 2018). As Poshka (2018) stated, the constitution of North Macedonia allows free speech (Уставот на Република Македонија, 2022), but this is often manipulated to spread hatred. Besides, this occurred in Moldova as well (David, 2018) where the Moldovan-Romanian dictionary was established to distance itself from Romania (Mocanu, 2020). This is considered ironic as both Romanian and Moldovan⁷ are considered the same language by certain political leaders whereas others view both as related but different (Dogaru, 2004; PCGN, 2005). Hence, many Moldovan linguists rubbish the claim of a different identity between Moldovan and Romanian due to political inference on the language (Grejdeanu, 2014).

Aside from that, there are certain instances whereby groups manipulate language to pursue their nationalistic goals such as the establishment of different identities (Mocanu, 2020). Although most disagreements can be resolved via dialogues, poor management or failure often leads to violence (Žižek, 2016). Therefore, language is often used to spark ethnocentrism in an intercultural setting (Liu, 2018). Thus, this should be thoroughly examined to observe how language manipulation leads to resentment.

⁶ In Albanian, 'Shqiptar' carries the meaning Albanian, but it is considered offensive especially among Albanians in the South Slavic community.

⁷ Although both Romanian and Moldovan are viewed similarly, Romanian is written in a Latin script whereas Moldovan is written in a Cyrillic script. However, more Moldovans use the Latin script rather than the Cyrillic script.

Ethnicity vs. Language: Which Impacts What?

Ethnolinguistics. There are various arguments among researchers on 'what' influences 'what' (Onuch & Hale, 2018; Sebastian, & Ryan, 2018). Some state that ethnicity plays a greater role in causing language change. However, the score is settled as both impact one another and both are related to one another (Saint-Jacques, 1979; Jovanović, Vladisavljević, Branković, & Žeželj, 2017). Ethnolinguistics or cultural linguistics describes how an ethnic identity influences language and the usage of language in a social setting (Ferraro, 2006). This further explains when different ethnic groups use language as a tool of perception. Hiene (1997) added on how different cultures and ethnicities impact language usage.

Once an ethnic group forms a language based on the group's differences due to cultural (Ognjenovic & Jozelic, 2021) and ideological (Bowman, 2021) factors, it begins to change the perception of speakers who speak differently, leading to ethnocentrism. McCormack and Ortiz (2017) assert that ethnocentrism started when one group felt superior compared to others, especially in terms of language (Neuliep & Speten-Hansen, 2013), behaviour (Han & Guo, 2018), customs (West & Evans, 2021) and religion (Nameni, 2020). Thus, Kon (1989) described that ethnocentrism is defined as an ethnic group's beliefs that they are better than those who they used to associate with. Since language plays a significant role in spreading propaganda, it explains how ethnicity influences languages.

There are instances where ethnocentrism plays a huge role in languages. Bonfiglio (2010) stated that prejudices are expressible due to conceptualisation of the language. This is because language acts as the method to promote ethnocentrism whereby the identification of ethnic groups is impossible without motives that are linked to ethnicity such as cultural features (Bowman, 2021; Bonfiglio, 2017). As a result, language becomes the main source of all ethnocentric linguistic studies (Bonfiglio, 2010). Terms such as "our native language" lead to the concept of those speaking a different language (or the similar language in a different lexical, suffixes, accent etc.) becoming a threat to the present status quo of the society (Bonfiglio, 2010).

Klein & Tokdemir (2019) add that an attack against an ethnic group

does not only consist of a physical attack but also the use of an image through words, expressions, and sentences used within the linguistic expressions (Klein and Tokdemir, 2019). Regardless of most non-verbal and para-verbal messages being excluded from being classified as ethnocentric, there are exceptions as well. There are certain issues when certain non-verbal behaviours such as certain gestures may be considered offensive to an ethnic group. Examples are some gestures used in Poland⁸ (Ogiermann, 2012) as well as certain accents spoken in the Dutch language that were declared as offensive towards another group⁹ (Grondelaers, Speelman, Lybaert, & Van Gent, 2020). Therefore, ethnolinguistics paves a way for certain ethnic groups to spread the concept of 'us against them' (Schweigkofler, 2000).

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) defines the language vitality as a collective entity to preserve its existence through time (Ehala, 2015). This means that the theory states how a language attempts to avoid being dominated by other languages. Thus, when languages clash, groups try to ensure that their language survives instead of being subjugated by another language due to various factors, such as cultural practices, social cohesion and its kinship to collective identity (Ehala, 2015) in various settings, e.g., institutional ones (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011).

The EVT is an incorporation of the social identity theory based on Giles and Johnson (1987)'s theory of Ethnolinguistic Identity and Ethnolinguistics. Ehala (2015) then enhanced the Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory by adding language vitality as he points out that there are two main elements to ensure a language survival. These elements are: 1. Strength; 2. Sustainability.

According to Dubinsky (2019), there are two main conflicts in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory: Conflict Amelioration and Manufactured Identity. Although both may share similar concerns, they differ based on the geographical and historical context (Dubinsky, 2019). Ehala (2015) considers that the key components needed are 'sustainability' and 'strength' of the group to continue its existence throughout time. Ehala (2015) alluded that

⁸ One of the examples is directly pointing at a person's forehead (Evason, 2017).

⁹ This is referred to the Dutch language spoken in an American or English accent (Nejjari, Gerritsen, Van der Haagen, Korzillius, 2012).

Group Sustainability (Su) is defined as group's attempts to preserve its language¹⁰ whereas Group Strength (S) refers to the current population of speakers of the language¹¹. These two elements are vital to ensure that a language does not face extinction. Ehala (2015) maintains that if either one of the criteria is neglected, it is guaranteed that the language will face extinction. Hence, this represents the 'Sustainability' criterion of EVT which is considered vital.

Ehala (2015) indicated that the other element is crucial to ensure a language survival. Therefore, the first criterion, Strength (Su) being established based on the incorporation of the Social Identity Theory and ethnolinguistics which explains that groups express their kinship to their respective group. Hence, group members that align themselves close to their group may lead to favouritism whereby out-groupers will be discriminated against (Turner and Oakes, 1986). Therefore, the current population of the group members is a key point to ensure the survival of the language (Ehala, 2015).

The Last Stand. Since the first key element of the EVT as was previously deliberated as the Group Strength (S), the second key factor of EVT is the Group Sustainability (Su) which emphasises the groups' motivation to protect their language. Thus, language survival depends on the speakers' attempt to preserve the language. If the group fails to protect itself, it will automatically face extinction.

Language death *nee* Language shift is defined as the state of language when it has lost its final native speaker or the loss of both L1 and L2 speakers. If a language is spoken only by an elderly generation, but not regularly, it is on the verge of being extinct and such language status is then considered 'moribund'. A 'Moribund' language is defined as a technically dead language. This is because the language will not be passed on to the next generation

¹⁰ This elaborates on how groups feel about their status in the current situation, either they are 'threatened' or not. Hence, if groups feel threatened, they will fight back against any attempts from others to dominate them. If they do not feel threatened, groups will then allow other groups to influence/dominate them (Ehala, 2015).

¹¹ This represents the current population of the speakers of a language. If a group has a small population, it then has a weak 'strength' whereas if there is a huge group population, the 'strength' is considered strong (Ehala, 2015; Dubinsky, 2019).

(Crystal, 2000). Hendriks (2003) alluded that language death is a slow process as language is then reduced from a common language into a liturgical language. With the lack of exposure to the next generation, children will grow up without any fluency in the language, marking the language death (Crystal, 2000). Language death is seen occurring in two main ways, which are: 1. Linguicide; 2. Glottophagy.

Linguicide. Linguicide is defined as the death of a language due to certain causes such as political, natural, or geographical (Zuckermann, 2012). It is often associated with language discrimination whereby a speaker of a language is discriminated against in terms of wealth, education, and social status (Zuckermann, 2012). Consequently, the speaker refuses to speak their native language (Bosch & Sebastián-Gallés, 2001) due to certain features such as a distinct accent, vocabulary, modality, and syntax (Minga, 2017).

Wierzbicka (2013) indicated that one of the main contributors to linguicism is the use of a dominant language (Pool, 1991). An official or dominant language causes problems for both parties as the speakers of another language are discriminated against and monolinguals remain monolinguals (Zuckermann, 2012). As part of linguistic imperialism, most states often implement the language of the past colonizers as the official language. Wierzbicka (2013) notes that the use of the language of the previous colonizer(s) usually benefits the elites and hinders the masses. This leads the younger generation to adopt the dominant language.

Aside from linguistic discrimination, the death of a language occurs due to various issues such as language genocide, and physical or biological language death, unlike linguicism which is linked to language discrimination that leads to language extinction. Linguicide means language death due to certain factors that are often natural and political, usually by force. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1996) point out that linguicide is often employed to legitimise a group's inequality based on language; whereas Zwisler (2021) ascertains that certain policies implemented by governments and globalization speed up language death, i.e., policies imposed by governments in the political and education spectrum may cause an indigenous language to be extinct. Since these rights are violated, problems occur to the younger generations who are

prohibited to practice their language. Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar (2010) state that the usage of a dominant language in schools, businesses and regions catalyzes language death.

Glottophagy. Glottophagy is defined as the absorption of a minor language by another dominating language. Although Glottophagy and Linguicide may share common grounds, they differ in terms of death. Linguicide happens due to language policies or natural disasters whereas Glottophagy occurs when a language adopts too many loan words or grammar structures from another language and this influx of foreign loan words leads to its death (Calvet, 2006). Since languages are often assimilated between the minority group and the dominant group, the minority group tends to accept the influences brought by the dominant group. Baaij (2012) state that multilingualism is viewed as one of the main solutions towards glottophism as condoned by the English language, but the results differ (Chiti-Batelli, 2003). Chiti-Batelli (2003) argues that multilingualism is viewed as impractical as it leads to the decisive victory of the English language in a social setting. This is due to the dominance of English accelerating the death of other languages. Dalby (2003) asserts that the use of excessive loan words from a dominant language heavily impacts the linguistic diversity of a country, posing a threat to a language's future.

According to the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, the second key factor is Strength. This is because of the group's motivation to ensure its survival, as discussed by Fishman (2001). If this requirement is not met, the language will then face death. Consequently, both elements are vital to create the base for the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Ehala, 2015).

The Last Stance: Between Death and Revitalization. The survival of a language highly depends on intergroup relations. If the group members believe that inequality exists in the intergroup setting, it prompts the group to protect their language. However, if the speakers have low vitality perception, they will perceive the intergroup relations as stable and legitimate. Thus, social mobility will then happen as the group will accommodate the language of the other, leading to the language shift.

As previously mentioned, there are certain issues in which a language


fails to protect itself leading to language death. Despite many claims that the death of a language does not correspond to the death of identity, language is one of the important factors in developing identity (Tabouret-Keller, 2017). If a language faces death, a part of its identity is considered dead. However, if these factors are present, the language will certainly survive, with efforts and motivation from the speakers.

Language Revitalization. Language revitalization is the opposite process whereby a language (either vibrant, endangered, or moribund) gains more speakers which reverses the extinction process. Certain languages may face threats due to the dominance of another language or discriminatory language policies. Thus, language revitalization implies the opposite result (Pine & Turin, 2017). By implementing various language revitalization measures, a language could reverse the language shift. Fishman (2001) provided a language revitalization model that undergoes eight stages, whereby the early stages focus solely on the motivation of the group to revive the language. Although the eight-stage model could probably revive most languages, Tsunoda (2006) disputes that the language revitalization model highly depends on the vitality of the language. Therefore, languages that are moribund or extinct will not be revived.

Zuckermann (2020) describes three types of language revitalization, namely reclamation, revitalization and reinvigoration, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Types of language revitalization (Zuckermann, 2020)

Types of language revitalization	Reclamation	Revitalization	Reinvigoration
			
Numbers of native speakers	No native speakers at that moment of revival	Severely endangered. A small number of speakers	Endangered. A huge number of speakers
Example of Language	Hebrew, Manx	Romani language, Pannonian Rusyn	Belarussian, Welsh, Basque

According to Zuckermann (2020), reclamation, revitalization, and reinvigoration share similar goals, which are to revive a language. However, the main difference between these three is the number of speakers at the moment.

Reclamation

Reclamation is a process in which a group attempts to revive a dead language with no speakers (at that moment). One of the most successful languages that went through this process was Hebrew. Hebrew faced a lot of difficulties before achieving success. This was due to Hebrew being considered a pidgin language spoken by the Jewish diaspora (Bensadoun, 2015) and a liturgical language. This sees Eliezer Ben-Yehuda attempting to reclaim the language by embarking on the Ben-Yehuda dictionary. Despite his efforts, many Jews including Theodor Herzl were against using Hebrew as a spoken language as they did not prefer a religious language to be used to converse taboo topics (Singer, 2020). However, this did not stop Ben Yehuda from pursuing his goals and books, magazines and periodicals in Hebrew were developed (Bridger, Wolk & Eban, 1976). Despite limited success in the early stages, they made a remarkable impact whereby hundreds of fluent Hebrew speakers were produced, vocabularies were established, the Yiddish influence was diminished, and the number of the second-generation Hebrew speakers grew tremendously (Lepschy, 2016).

In spite of the arguments between Hebrew teachers on the 'proper' Hebrew language, an official standardisation was formed loosely from the Sephardic accent instead of the Ashkenazi accent. This happened because they considered the Sephardic accent to be the most 'authentic' compared to the others (Halperin, 2022). Hebrew was then adopted by Palestinian Jews during the Mandate period as it was given similar status to Arabic and English. Due to the huge number of Hebrew speakers, it was moved on to the expansion process instead of the revival process (Saulson, 2011). After 1948, the number of Israelis that spoke Hebrew was 80.9% whereas 14.2% of Palestinian-born Jews were either bilinguals or multilingual (Helman, 2014). Since there was an influx of Jews from Europe, North Africa, and other parts of the world to Israel,

the ulpan (Intensive Hebrew-language schools) was established to teach the immigrants Hebrew.

As the number of Hebrew speakers increased due to the ulpan, military conscriptions helped to speed up the process. This was because many learned Hebrew during the military conscriptions as they were required to learn Hebrew. Hebrew was then taught in Arabic schools (Helman, 2014) aiming to achieve that an Arab would be both proficient in Arabic and Hebrew (Amara & Mar'I, 2006). Hence, the Hebrew language has revived and is thriving as there are currently 5 million L1 users in the world and approximately 3.3 million L2 users in Israel (Ethnologue, 2022).

Revitalization

Unlike reclamation which is the process to revive a language that has no speakers at the moment, revitalization occurs in a severely moribund language (severely or endangered). Before the European contact, there were approximately 1500 Karuk speakers in California (Nelson, 2021). However, the declining number of the Karuk language instigated Dr William Bright and Susan Gehr to work on a Karuk language dictionary. This dictionary was aimed to preserve the language (Fox, 2006). Thus, songs, conversations, and poetry of the fluent Karuk speakers were recorded to capture the significance of the language. This was the beginning of the preservation of the Karuk language.

In the 1980s, The Humboldt State University started the American Indian Bilingual Teacher Credential Program whereby teachers that were proficient in both Karuk and English were brought to teach the American Indian children Karuk (Bennett, 1987). The students were given the option to either develop their English language or their native language to preserve their culture. Thus, children could become either bilingual or multilingual. This allowed them to have an American identity without losing their Karuk identity (Bennett, 1987). In the 90s, the Karuk Language Restoration Committee attempted to revive the Karuk language. Thus, a 5-year minimum plan was designed to ensure that the Karuk language does not go extinct. The committee discovered that the decline of the Karuk language was due to a low number of speakers, lack of motivation among youngsters considering the language to be

impractical, and a lack of literacy among tribal members.

Consequently, the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival started the master-apprentice program to revitalize the Karuk language (Walters, 2011). Students were then paired with a native Karuk speaker and Karuk was spoken throughout the intensive course that lasted for 3 years. In 2011, 20 groups completed the entire program (Walters, 2011).

Reinvigoration

Unlike reclamation or revitalization, reinvigoration is defined as a measure to protect a language where a huge number of speakers are present, but the usage of the language is restricted. One of the prominent cases is the Belarussian language. The Belarussian language is an East Slavic language that is native to Belarus. Currently, it shares the same status as the co-official language with Russian (BBC, 2014).

The Belarussian language was redeveloped from the spoken vernacular Ruthenian language. It was highly influenced by both Russians and Poles in the 19th century. Since the Polish influence was strong on the Belarussian language, the Belarussian language was demoted to a folklore language, especially when Russian and Polish strived in Belarussian towns. Despite the negative connotation of Belarussian as a 'rural' language, the Belarussian identity managed to establish itself. This was due to some Belarussian claims that they were different compared to Russian and Polish. In the 1920s, the Belarussian language was given a similar status to other languages (Ėstraïkh, 1999) whereas it was mistreated in West Belarus due to the political oppression during the Polish rule. Although Belarussian was given a similar status during Soviet rule, it was then purged from the political, academic and social spectrum of Belarus. This was due to the fear of potential nationalist movements that occurred in the 1930s (Marples & Laputska, 2020).

Despite the crackdown during the 1930s, the Belarussian language was encouraged during the World War II. The Belarussian language adapted the Latin script which was borrowed from the Sorbian script and incorporated both Polish and Czech scripts. However, Belarussian was demoted after the World War as Russian started to be taught in schools which led to

the decline of Belarussian speakers throughout the years. After gaining its independence from the Soviet Union, there were attempts to make the Belarussian language the sole official language whereas Russian was the inter-ethnic language (Bekus, 2013). However, many disagreed as they felt being discriminated against and, consequently, the use of the Belarussian language declined and the Russian language dominance increased (Данейко, 2016). Therefore, Belarussian and Russian were given a similar status in Belarus (BBC, 2014).

Things became worse under Lukashenka's regime as Belarussian minorities were discriminated against for speaking Belarussian (House, 2008). Belarussian speakers were often harassed by academicians, authorities and cultural groups (US Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2017). However, although Belarussian speakers were often treated unfairly, there were various attempts to preserve the Belarussian language. As a consequence, various public services and advertisements use Belarussian and younger generation started developing Belarussian communication skills (Данейко, 2016). Lukashenka's change of stance helped to reinvigorate the Belarussian language as he claimed that the Belarussian language is a national heritage which should be protected (Lowery, 2017). Thus, the reinvigoration of the Belarussian language took place.

Conflicts in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. Since Ehala (2015) paved the way for the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, Dubinsky (2019) disputes that there are various conflicts that often arise with Ethnolinguistic Vitality. These conflicts usually lead to either language endangerment or/and political violence. Henceforth, the conflicts of Ethnolinguistic Vitality highly correlate with Allport's Scale proposed by Allport, Clark and Pettigrew (1954).

Conflict Amelioration / Exacerbation. Conflict Amelioration / Exacerbation is easily defined as the conflict between groups when they are placed together in a certain region. Thus, groups often feel threatened when they face another (Parens, 1994) that try to promote their own language (Abu-Laban, 2002). As a result, many engage in conflicts that may lead to violence to ensure that their language is protected (Joyce, Vincze & Marton, 2016).

Due to the difference in language which comes from another language family, mutual understanding becomes difficult, especially in the early stages (Albert, Gabrielsen & Landis, 2012). As conflicts progress over time, many groups feel upset when mutual agreement and understanding become unattainable. Therefore, imposing another language towards a group may cause difficulties for both groups and this tends to cause violent reactions, especially from the minority group (Danesh, 2008).

Manufactured Identity. Unlike conflict amelioration/exacerbation, Manufactured identity is a conflict that arises when people from a similar ethnic group are divided by a different belief, history or geopolitical setting (Dubinsky, 2019). Consequently, a new identity is created, and it becomes a marker for the ethnolinguistic group (Moran, 2013).

Although these markers may not be prominent amongst outsiders, they are obvious amongst the related ethnic groups. Therefore, their identity becomes a mark to differentiate themselves, as for this case, their language. Groups may implement various approaches to ensure that the difference is obvious, especially among the out-groupers. Thus, certain policies such as language purism are implemented to differentiate themselves from others (Jernudd & Shapiro, 2011). Irvine, Roberts and Bradbury-Jones (2008) state that once a marker is developed, this divides the community either as a member of the group or an outsider; hence, causing language to be an agent of spreading ethnocentrism.

Language Purism. Language Purism is defined as a method to remove any previous influences of loan words, slang or even accent which was once embedded in the language (Thomas, 1991). This sees various past influences removed and words that were deemed 'original' being used again in daily speeches. With all the past influences removed and the 'authentic' words being brought back, the language is then considered 'pure'. Once a language is considered 'pure', it becomes the group's marker to differentiate itself from others. This method then officially differentiates one group from another (Li & Li, 2007) and is used to distinguish themselves and to create a new identity in the group.

Manufactured identity often employs the language ban. However, it heavily depends on the approach, intensity or goals to purify a language. The approaches employed are often reformist purism and patriotic purism (Dubinsky, 2019). Another goal would be to establish defensive purism either by Evolutionary purism or Revolutionary purism. Reformist purism is defined as a purism whereby past influences are removed. Therefore, it is condoned to set a new identity for the group by removing every foreign influence. Patriotic purism is defined as the elimination of foreign elements in the language. This resembles defensive purism, which often correlates with protecting their language from possible external threats. Evolutionary purism is noticeable during the early stages of the written language. Although radical changes may not be observable, changes are obvious over time. On the other hand, revolutionary purism is defined as an abrupt change of language. Although it may be subtle, its goal is similar to evolutionary purism. However, revolutionary purism takes a radical stance whereas evolutionary purism is a slow process.

As Manufactured Identity usually manifests language purism (Dubinsky, 2019), there are incidents whereby languages from different language families condone the same. Despite most of the language purism being aimed to create new identities, there are also instances whereby language purism acts as a political tool to unify groups *nee* Reformist purism.

Language Ban. A language ban is defined as the usage of language that is prohibited (Spolsky, 2004). Since purifying language takes a lot of effort and/or time, authorities may forbid the use of a certain language to speed up the process. This is because it is easier to be conducted instead of getting language regulators to cleanse the language. Romaine (2007) pointed out that this is a harsher method for a group to establish its dominance. Once this method is practiced, another language (either previously a majority language, or a minority language) occurs on the brink of extinction (Bianco, Hornberger & McKay, 2010). However, such a situation may cause conflicts as certain groups may rebel.

Although language bans are currently introduced by groups in conflict amelioration/exacerbation (Dubinsky, 2019), they are also condoned by

language groups coming from different language families (Laitin, 2000). At times, certain groups implement both language purism and language ban altogether (Sijs, 2004). This is prevalent in multi-ethnic states which often have a significant number of minorities by which language bans are often introduced by political entities to promote their political goals (Kamusella, 2008) that increase their dominance in the status quo.

The Aftermath. As previously mentioned, language is used to oppress and repress people which causes subjugation towards others. According to May (2018), who states that if a speaker of a language is threatened, it automatically qualifies that the language is also threatened. Despite various methods such as political, economic, and human rights repression that may be applied, language oppression is then confirmed such as the ban of the Slavic languages in Greece (Kitzinger, 1996; Kiouzepe, Kavallari, Staurou & Vamvakidou, 2019).

When the rights of a group to speak in their preferred language are obstructed, it causes the minority group to be overpowered by the other (Côté, 2017). Consequently, groups are oppressed, and inequalities becomes prevalent. Negri (1999) notes that a group becomes threatened with any language policies that hinder their language rights and this may lead to violent responses by the oppressed group. This may also lead to various animosities. For instance, peaceful protests (Gomashie, 2019) up to genocides (Lang, 2020). A group may feel provoked if they believe that their identity is intentionally or unintentionally threatened. Hence, groups will protect their language, regardless of whether the action is morally right or wrong (Gomashie, 2019; Lang, 2020).

Even though these actions may start with something simple, such as a peaceful protest, they may escalate into wars (Stanton, 1999) if their concerns were ignored by the authorities. However, if the authority manages to address their concerns, treaties or agreements are/may be signed whereby their rights are recognized by the state (Negri, 1999). However, if they are still neglected, these groups may take another step further by committing various atrocities to express their concern (Semelin, 2007). Thus, the repressed group may commit crimes to challenge the dominant group. If the oppressed group

manages to establish their dominance, it can dominate the other party. Although these actions are often condemned, they are often overlooked by the dominating group who believe that their actions are justified (Levene, 2002).

If the situation persists, the language will face extinction. Despite efforts in preserving the language and heritage, not everything can be settled peacefully. Thus, groups with poor military strength and power will be defeated. Once they are defeated, the victorious group will implement their policies onto the losing group (Ager, 2001). Although certain agreements can be made to prevent future complications between the majority group and the minority group, the winning party will often coerce the losing party to accept their demands.

One of the demands would be permission to use the language within a specific region. Although this may seem like a fair trade, it has negative consequences in the future (Muñiz-Argüelles, 1989). As the dominant language becomes more prevalent in the region, the losing language will slowly face death as the 2nd generation speakers and the upcoming generations tend to favour the mainstream language (Tran, 2010). Once the predominant language is chosen as their preferred language, the practice of the native language will deteriorate and be unaccustomed by the younger generation. Hence, the language will face death (Crystal, 2000) due to a lack of interest among the younger generation. Thus, language preservation plays an important role in combatting language death.

Conclusion

In conclusion, ethnolinguistics plays an important role in determining the survival of a language. The vitality of a language depends heavily on two aspects: the sustainability of the language and the strength of the group. If either of the aspects is not met, the language will eventually face death. Therefore, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory relates to both language death and revitalization. Hence, the motivation of the group plays a vital role in ensuring that a language can survive throughout time.

Although maintaining a language highly depends on group's motivation

to ensure its survival, conflicts between groups are bound to happen, either in an inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic setting. The survival of a language will cause friction between groups which may lead to various conflicts, discrimination as well as language death. Although most of these conflicts happen in an inter-ethnic setting, there are instances whereby conflicts can escalate even worse in an intra-ethnic setting.

Thus, future researchers can identify the factors – either socio-political or historical that can influence one's desire to preserve their language. This is because other factors may cause certain groups to take certain violent and hostile measures to ensure the survival of their language. Thus, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory suggests that the interest of a group is important to ensure the survival of a language that is linked to their ethnicity and identity.

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**GYVYBINGUMO TEORIJA:
PASKUTINĖ KALBOS IŠLIKIMO POZICIJA**

Santrauka. Kalbos išlikimas yra grupės kultūrinio identiteto dalis, todėl grupės dažnai stengiasi apsaugoti savo identitetą nuo išnykimo. Taigi tai skatina suprasti, kaip etninė grupė bando apsaugoti savo kalbą tarptautinėje aplinkoje ir etninės grupės viduje remdamasi etnolingvistinio gyvybingumo teorija, pagal kurią svarbūs du pagrindiniai aspektai: kalbos tvarumas (Su) ir stiprumas (S); ir jie turi būti pasiekti, kad kalba išliktų. Autorius parodo, jog abu šie aspektai yra labai svarbūs kalbai išlikti arba išnykti. Dėl „Konflikto švelninimo / aštravimo“ ir „Sukurtos tapatybės“ susidūrimų vienos grupės pateisina smurtą siekdamas dominuoti, o kitos grupės – išvengti kalbos mirties. Straipsnyje aptariama etnolingvistika ir etnolingvistinio gyvybingumo teorija bei jos problemos, kalbos mirtis dviem formomis, pavyzdžiui, lingvicidas ir glotofagija, ir procesai, galintys užtikrinti kalbos išlikimą, pavyzdžiui, melioracija, revitalizacija ir atgaivinimas, taip pat pateikiama konkrečių pavyzdžių iš įvairių pasaulio dalių, iliustruojančių aptartus procesus. Tyrimo pabaigoje teigiama, kad įvairūs tarptautiniai ir (arba) vidiniai konfliktai yra neišvengiami ir gali lemti kalbos gyvavimą arba mirtį, tačiau grupės motyvacija išsaugoti savo kalbą ir tapatybę gali lemti kalbos išlaikymą ir išlikimą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: konfliktas; smurtas; diskriminacija; lingvistika; mirtis; etnocentrizmas.

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THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF GULGULIA

Summary. Language death is a phenomenon with symptoms related to demeaning vocabulary count and depletion of domains of language use along with the simplicity of linguistic structures. It commences by exhibiting traits of a declining number of fluent speakers, dwindling attitude of the speakers with regard to their heritage language, language shift, lack of inter-generational language transfer accompanied by a feeling that heritage language is inferior to outside languages, and Gulgulia exhibits every trait of such a dying language. It has become a waning language that is very close to its permanent extinction. The present study elucidates the ethnolinguistic vitality of Gulgulia tested through chosen sociolinguistic parameters which were found suitable to Gulgulia's scenario. It also explores the linguistic situation of the Gulgulian community in Dhanbad, the community members' language use in their homes and in their miscellaneous interethnic interactions and examines what relation prevails between the community's language preference and their vitality. It was found that speaker variables, such as age, gender, and language competence governed the speaker's attitude toward the heritage language. The location of the speech community is also a regulating factor in determining the inclination for preservation or attrition of the native language. The analysis of the speech behavior in the Gulgulian community confirms the loss of major genres such as the art of narration. Out of all the genres of language use, only two are surviving, which is alarming.

Keywords: ethnolinguistic vitality; heritage language; intergenerational language transmission; language endangerment.

Introduction

Krauss (1992) and Crystal (2000) believed that in the 21st century, nearly 50 to 90 percent of the currently spoken languages would become extinct. Several such cases exist, where language documentation is the last hope in preventing languages from completely disappearing, as revitalization through other efforts seems impossible.

Gulgulia, a dying variety of Indo-Aryan language family spoken in the eastern part of India, is deficient in exhaustive language documentation

and sociolinguistic exploration. The present study aims to determine the vitality of this nomadic language which is very close to its permanent extinction.

Ehala (2015) describes ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as 'a group's ability to maintain and protect its existence in time as a collective entity with a distinctive identity and language' (p. 1). Ehala (2015) further asserts that groups having low vitality are likely to diminish as they assimilate with stronger groups and lose their distinctive identity while groups having better vitality tend to survive.

The current study offers insights into EV among the Gulgulian community residing in Dhanbad from a qualitative perspective. The Gulgulians are a nomadic community chiefly distributed in the Indian states of Jharkhand, Bihar and Bengal often found on the outskirts of villages, near railway stations or forests. The study explores the EV of the Gulgulia language and focuses to determine the attitude of the group members in their interethnic communication pattern to either sustain or diminish from being a distinct linguistic group.

About the Gulgulian Community

Nomads are people who wander from place to place for their sustenance. In India, about five hundred nomadic groups have been identified, which represents about eighty million people or nearly 7 percent of the nation's more than a billion population (Misra & Malhotra, 1982). The nomadic community in India has been classified into three distinct groups: pastoralists, hunter-gatherers, and peripatetic or non-food-producing groups. Among these, the most abandoned and segregated social group in India is the peripatetic nomads (Berland & Rao, 2004). Among the several tribes or communities that fall under the category of peripatetic nomads, the Nats are a nomadic group found primarily traveling in the Northern and eastern parts of India. The Nat community is believed to be of 'Dom' origin which is an ethnic group originating in India. The word 'nata' originates from the Sanskrit language which means a dance, and entertainment and jugglery are the traditional professions of the Nats. This Nat community has fourteen sub-groups with Gulgulia being one of them (Singh, 2008).

Gulgulia is a nomadic community predominantly found in the eastern zone of India with around 132,000 population (peoplegroups.org). Several newspaper articles and reports depict the socio-cultural position of this nomadic community. However, sparse information is available about the language used by this community. The available reports casually mention Hindi or Bhojpuri as the language of this community. Nevertheless, language documentation tasks carried out on the language of this community highlight several linguistic features distinct from, those of the dominant languages amidst whom this language community is surviving. The community has also retained vocabulary which is unique to their traditional lifestyle such as:

Equipment: (/horpa:/ 'tool for digging mud')
Household items: (/sira:m/ 'head rests made of mud for sleeping')
Zoology: (/pinni/ 'ants', /ti:til/ 'butterfly')

The term 'Gulgulia' (language) is preferable as this is what the majority of community members call their heritage language, or their mother tongue. It would be irrelevant to give any new name to this heritage language that the speakers themselves do not identify with.

The Gulgulians are a nomadic group with no fixed settlement and who also get married outside their community. They have inherited linguistic elements and features of other local and dominant languages based on the contiguity of their temporary dwellings and co-habitation which depicts a situation of severe code-mixing.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Framework

Giles et al. (1977) define EV as the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group that makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations' (p. 308). Nyota (2015, p. 3) states that since its inception, the ethnolinguistic vitality framework has been employed in sociolinguistic research. The framework utilizes socio-structural aspects to determine a language's maintenance and shift.

EV corresponds to two kinds of vitality: Objective Vitality (OV) and Subjective Vitality (SV). OV highlights a linguistic community's robustness and is established via three types of variables that are a demographic factor, a status factor, and an institutional support factor. The demographic factors include the absolute number of speakers in a group, their geographical distribution, the proportion of the group size as compared to several out-groups, and the "historical ties to the territory that they populate" (Ehala, 2015, p. 1). These variables have a role to play in a language's survival. Giles et al. (1977, p. 313) state, "Minority group speakers who are concentrated in the same geographical area may stand a better chance of surviving as a dynamic linguistic community by virtue of the fact that they are in frequent verbal interaction and can maintain feelings of solidarity."

The status factors constitute those variables that influence a language's prestige such as social, economic, and socio-historical variables and the language status of that linguistic group. Giles et al. (1977) emphasize that whenever the group exhibits higher social status, it indicates its greater vitality.

There are two components to the institutional support factor: a formal support factor and an informal support factor (Esteban-Guitart et al. 2015). Formal support factors indicate the representation of the language in formal institutions and platforms, such as educational institutions, government institutions, business and media. The informal support factors imply the extent to which a group organizes itself as a pressure group to its language in various social institutions as in education, administration, and culture.

Giles et al. (1977) assert that whenever an ethnolinguistic group exhibits conducive demographic aspects, higher prestige, and increased institutional support, it is more likely that its members would conduct themselves as collective idiosyncratic entities in intergroup circumstances. However, utilizing only the OV factors in EV interpretation received much criticism and has endured alterations since. Suggestions were made to incorporate subjective perceptions of the group members too, in the EV interpretation. This led to the introduction of a subjective vitality questionnaire (Bourhis et al., 1981) that contains items to measure the group members' perceptions of OV. According to Kraemer et al. (1994), the use of subjective perceptions has been particularly effective in the matters of interethnic

relationships such as in determining issues related to status, prestige, and attitude of group members.

There is no previous work on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Gulgulia. Therefore, after identifying the appropriate factors to suit the Gulgulia case, the following factors were compiled to be examined:

- 1) The number of speakers
- 2) Speech community
- 3) Intergenerational language transmission
- 4) Domains of language use
- 5) Linguistic competence
- 6) Bilingualism/ Multilingualism
- 7) Language attitudes
- 8) Identity functions
- 9) Literacy

The sociolinguistic framework applied in the context of Gulgulia is a combination of factors from previous ethnolinguistic approaches (Ferguson, 1966; Haugen, 1972; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Haarmann, 1986; Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2018, Zuipers-Zandberg & Kircher, 2020).

Methodology

The present study involved first-hand data collection from six distinct settlements of the Gulgolian community from varied parts of the Dhanbad district. These six settlements were specifically chosen as they were situated amidst busy localities and were well-surrounded by the presence of other regional languages prevalent in the neighboring vicinity. Data collection from settlements surviving amidst other languages rendered a propitious environment to identify the dwellers' attitude towards their heritage language. For the purpose of the study, thirty respondents were interviewed. These participants were selected through the snowball sampling method. Eleven respondents were from three connected families residing in a compact labyrinth in the same vicinity while the rest were their acquaintances belonging to the other five sample settlements. There were fifteen males and fifteen females as respondents. The thirty respondents belonged to the age group 12–75 years. The age range was chosen to mark the crucial phases of life such as

school entry, marriage, other life experiences, etc. Data was also retrieved from individuals (belonging to the Gulgulia community) who started working in government organizations and currently live in company townships and colonies.

The data has been collected by the linguistic fieldwork methodology (Abbi, 2001) comprising mainly of observation method and interview method. The researchers periodically visited the Gulgulia settlements to interview the participants of the study and simultaneously observe their day-to-day activities and make note of their inter-ethnic linguistic behavior. The entire process of data collection, transcription, and analysis extended for about thirteen months since the inception of the study in October 2020.

As the language of data collection, Hindi was employed because there were only respondents above sixty years of age who were fairly proficient in the Gulgulia language and, for the purpose of this paper, the researcher was attempting to study EV and language attitudes cross-generationally. As the interviewers were also not proficient in the Gulgulia language, therefore, a common medium was chosen. In order to prevent any interference by the language of data collection, proficient respondents were asked to respond to certain questions in Hindi (or any preferred language) and Gulgulia. Occasionally, the elicitation through this mode was problematic because respondents sometimes felt hesitant about their competence or misinterpreted the activity. Data collection was challenging on several occasions. Although the respondents were contacted and approached through NGOs and established contacts, the speakers seemed guarded and hesitant in responding to interviews and unwilling to allow the interviews to be recorded.

Moreover, data related to attitude was also procured from the participants. They were displayed items and asked to identify or describe the objects in their language of preference such as either in Hindi or Gulgulia. The language in which these respondents either identified or described these objects indicate their inclination towards that language. The questionnaire to elicit attitude and language identity was conducted orally mainly because Gulgulia exists only in oral form and most respondents (except school going children) were illiterate.

Following Schreiber & Sitaridou (2018) collecting responses orally

enabled the interviewers to maintain better track of respondents' reactions and non-verbal cues while responding during their participation. As Mishra (2022) advises, the participants were asked to identify or describe the objects in a relaxed setting to ensure reliable data. As the respondents spoke, their statements were audio-recorded after seeking permission from them. Later, the question-and-answer pairs were transcribed. The data collected was analyzed qualitatively. Data related to the language competence of the community members was collected from self-reports of speakers and no form of language testing was employed on them.

The study applies the EV factors to the sociolinguistic situation of Gulgulia in the Dhanbad region and explores the following research questions.

- 1) What is the linguistic situation of the Gulgulian community in Dhanbad?
- 2) Which language do the Gulgulian community members use in their homes and in their miscellaneous interethnic interactions?
- 3) What relation prevails between the community's language preference and their vitality?

Findings

The Linguistic Situation of the Gulgulian Community

In Dhanbad, as reported by the participants, all group members are multilingual and usually proficient in four languages: Hindi, Bengali, Khortha, and Gulgulia. Since Hindi is the official language of the region, it is crucial for the Gulgulia members to be orally proficient in Hindi. Moreover, Dhanbad shares its geographical border with the neighboring state of West Bengal. Due to this, there is much influence of Bengali culture and language on Dhanbad. There are several inhabitants of Dhanbad who may not be proficient in Hindi as they utilize Bengali in their day-to-day conversations. Therefore, Gulgulians too, learn and employ Bengali in their conversation as and when required.

The participants state that usually, they initiate their conversation in Hindi with an outsider, even if that person may not know Hindi. After that, following the opening lines in Hindi, if they realize that the receiver is not well-

versed in Hindi as they may be a native Bengali or Bhojpuri speaker, they switch their codes to Bengali or Bhojpuri to sustain the conversation with them.

The participants further add that the Gulgulians restrict the use of their mother tongue only among their community members. Although, Gulgulia is mostly employed in their home domain, yet the participants highlight that in several Gulgulian families, the mother tongue is only practiced among the senior members of the family, while they speak in Hindi during conversations with their children.

Demography

A language with a more significant number of speakers has a greater chance of withstanding dominance from other languages. Similarly, with fewer speakers, chances of assimilating with dominating languages grow.

The Gulgulia-speaking community in the Dhanbad region comprises nearly six thousand speakers, as recorded by the community Panchayat head. However, due to the diasporic nature of the community, stating an exact figure of Gulgulia speakers is challenging. Yet, the population figure for the Gulgulia language highlights that with proper motivation and efforts its speakers can well prevent the erosion of their heritage language.

Group Identity

Gulgulia spoken in the Dhanbad region exhibits a virtual and willing assimilation with the dominant languages due to fragile group boundaries, highlighted, for example, by dynamic marriage patterns and migration for earning a livelihood. Marriage and co-habiting with people outside their community concluded in interaction with outside community people and inheriting their languages. However, community members find pride in claiming themselves as Gulgulia speakers, even when only a few speak it and none speak it in its pure form. For example, one participant was reported as saying 'hama:r b'ha:sa: gulgulia ꞑ' (Gulgulia is our Mother tongue). This suggests that Gulgulians have an appreciation for cultural identity but the connection between the heritage language and what the informants presume as 'identity' is inconsistent.

The community members value their heritage language privately, within the community, but prefer bilingualism or multilingualism. As the native language cannot garner their livelihood, these people find bilingualism cognitively and socially empowering. For example, one participant highlighted: 'gulgulia hama:r pehṭa:n ṭṭṭ. hama gulgulia ḍa:ṭi ṭṭṭ Lekin hinḍi a:r bangla ḍa:nal ḍṣaruri ṭṭṭ. hinḍi se hi hama:ra peṭ palṭa: hai.'

(Gulgulia is our identity. We are the Gulgulia people. But knowing Hindi and Bengali is essential. We earn our livelihood through Hindi.). Speaking in dominant languages is prestigious in front of outsiders for the Gulgulians.

Potential for Contact and Migration

The approachable location of Gulgulia speaking community in the Dhanbad district facilitates contact-induced changes. The Gulgulian community settles in close proximity to other speech communities — the Gulgulians do not have a permanent settlement. They often settle down in large open grounds outside towns and colonies. They generally wander inside these neighboring places with the intention to earn some livelihood and for marketing purposes. As a result, they come in contact with outsiders and gradually adopt their linguistic behavior. The inter-marriages among members and people from outside the community resulted in a mixed variety of languages in which one can readily find features of three distinct languages.

Outward migration is a threatening factor in the traditional ways of life and for language preservation. In recent times, community heads, as reported by the interviewees, have started banishing members if they take up jobs different from what they have been traditionally practicing. Members are supposed to practice only their traditional occupations such as animal shows, Bahurupiya 'enacting characters,' etc. Despite people not emigrating in search of better job opportunities, migration has been on the rise with inter-community marriages and due to an increase in urbanization. The community members' living conditions are improving with government efforts and social work in the form of medical aid and education.

Multilingual Language Practices

Gulgulian community members are generally bilingual or multilingual in their language behaviour as all thirty participants in the age group of 12 to 75 exhibited instances of mixing Gulgulia along with other regional languages and vice-versa. However, the degree of mixing codes varied depending on age and gender. More specifically, participants above the age of 60 despite having a working knowledge of Hindi, preferred interacting in Gulgulia among the community speakers. The researchers, therefore, conclude that for members above the age of 60 Gulgulia is spoken as L1. Yet, it was observed that these senior members employed content words from Hindi out of habit.

Similarly, younger respondents in the age group of 12 to 40, mixed Gulgulia words in their Hindi sentences. For such a younger generation, Hindi is predominantly their L1 and Gulgulia is L2. As few members in this age bracket are attending schools too, they speak a few words of English as well.

Respondents who were above 40 years were mostly multilingual as other than Gulgulia and Hindi, Bengali, and Bhojpuri were uniformly seen as part of their verbal repertoire.

Apart from language competency being influenced by age, it correlated with the variable of gender as well. During interviews, it was observed that in comparison to male respondents, their female counterparts were more proficient in responding in Gulgulia. These women participants highlighted that since they are mostly homemakers, they spend more time with the elder members in the house. Moreover, women do not get extensive opportunities to interact with speakers belonging to other linguistic groups. Since women get to use Gulgulia more, they are more proficient in it. The respondents themselves agreed upon the difference in the level of competency between genders in terms of code-switching, language competence and language use as men mostly go out for earning livelihood while women stay at home.

Intergenerational Language Transmission

In the Gulgulian community, intergenerational language transmission was disrupted chiefly due to low prestige of the heritage language in society and

negative attitude of the community members. For example, one participant aged 50 said the following when asked about his opinion on heritage language learning for the younger generation:

hama:r ʃʰaɖva: dʒiɽna: gulgulia dʒa:nal ʃʰ, ũh ka:fi ʃʰ. a:r si:kʰal
ka: karal ʃʰ
(As much Gulgulia our boys know, that is sufficient. What will they do by learning it further?)

The community, which was nomadic traditionally, has now started settling in one place for a very long time. This has led to the loss of their traditional ways of living unique to the community. Rapid acquisition of Hindi (or other dominating languages of the region) mainstream also led to the disruption in intergenerational language transmission. When the older generation found that conversing in the dominant languages was economically more suited, they gradually started conversing more in non-heritage languages to make their children more proficient and acceptable in the society.

It was also noticed that families where members (particularly women) belonging to a different ethnicity joined the Gulgolian community after getting married to a Gulgolian partner had much weaker intergenerational language transmission as compared to families with both Gulgolian partners. This mainly happened because a parent from a different speech community passes their respective language to their children instead of Gulgulia. This loss of intergenerational language transmission has led to varying acquisition patterns and degrees of multilingualism caused by social aspects like economic prosperity and loose marriage patterns.

Contexts of Language Use and the State of Literacy

Gulgulia as a mother tongue is surviving in a diglossic environment with Hindi (or other dominating languages) elucidating a raptured linguistic identity. Gulgulia represents the home and family language whereas Hindi (or other languages) exists as the respondent's national or regional identity and regulates their economic prosperity. The community members are fully aware of this diglossic situation of their heritage language.

Gulgulia exists only in oral form and that is also not in its pure form. The language suffers from a low prestige even among the community members and is not promoted through the media either. In the intra-community set-up, the situation where community members use Gulgulia is limited. At times members make use of this language as slang, and this practice is widely prevalent among the oldest members of the community. The number of registers where the heritage language is used is also very sparse. Even such speakers who were found to be more fluent than the rest were unable to tell an anecdote or a story in Gulgulia as a mother tongue. In all the narrations, the dominant languages like Hindi, Bengali and Bhojpuri would become the main language whereas the application of Gulgulia would be restricted to just words or phrases. The speakers were incapable of adhering to the heritage language beyond the phrasal level. The rest of the speakers preferred using other dominant languages of the region in most of their conversations. During the process of data collection, it was noticed that members of the grandparental generation used Hindi or Bengali to communicate with the younger members of the community.

The Gulgulians predominantly make use of Hindi with people outside their own community. Although Hindi is the lingua franca of Dhanbad, yet members can speak a few other regional languages and the younger generation can speak some English too, which they learnt in schools or through the media. It was found that some members were employed in governmental organizations too and learnt other languages in their work place. However, these members have been excluded from the community. Marriages with outsiders have also contributed to such a language pool.

As far as literacy is concerned, despite rigorous efforts to provide formal education to the Gulgulians, only seven children from the entire population attend school for formal education. The rest of the members of this community are completely uneducated. These seven members are still in class three as they do not attend their classes regularly. This scenario highlights that the community is yet to embrace the benefits of formal education and its members are still living in primitive ways in several contexts.

Attitude of the Group Members

Gulgulia is always prevalent among some other languages, such as Hindi, Bengali, or Bhojpuri in the verbal repertoire of the community members and mostly elucidates a raptured identity as noted in participants' responses. The negative attitude to Gulgulia is primarily because Gulgulia lacks prestige socially and does not provide any economic benefits being mostly limited to home domains. Moreover, based on participants' responses and observations made, it was found that Gulgulia frequently includes linguistic input from dominant languages of the region. As the language faces such strong influence from other languages, it becomes challenging to identify the extent of the influence of other languages and specify which elements are mixed. Other than the above-stated reasons, factors such as level of language competence, age, gender and the location of the speech community also influenced the community members' language attitude.

Language competence was a significant factor in determining the attitudes of the respondents. As highlighted by the interviewees, when the speakers had better competence, they were more enthusiastic in speaking in their heritage language. On the contrary, if speakers lacked competence, they further detached from the heritage language application.

Other than language competence, the study highlighted that the community members from the younger generation had a more positive attitude compared to the members of the older generation. It was found that the respondents of the older generation found it unnecessary to converse in their heritage language as it did not provide them any monetary benefit. Contrary to the attitude prevalent among the older generation, younger members of the community were more enthusiastic about the preservation of their heritage language. Some members, particularly the school-going group, also favored the orthography of the heritage language. The enthusiasm and attitude of the younger generation can be exemplified by the following statements:

- 1) Ham gulgulia me likhenge, haan jeh badhija: rahega.
saf me aisa: ho sakta: hai kya!
(*We could write in Gulgulia, yes, that would be nice. But is this really possible!*)

2) Ham apne naniha:l mē gulgulia mē khaṭ likhēge
(hahaha) maḍa: a:jega:
(*We will write letters in Gulgulia to our maternal grandparents
(laughs). It will be fun.*)

The older and the middle-aged groups were unaware of the value of language orthography and so were confused about this point. The older the respondents, the lesser they favored the idea to preserve Gulgulia. This was mainly because with the extensive use of the heritage language, societal acceptance and economic success gets hampered. Yet, the older generation has never denied Gulgulia being their heritage language, which could be understood as a factor that represents an individual's identity. Consequently, the speakers who had better Gulgulia competence were more confident about their identity and a sense of belonging to the community.

Other than age being a determinant, the gender of the participants also governed their attitude towards their heritage language. It was found that the female respondents in the community established a more positive attitude towards their heritage language than the men. Men were not inclined towards their heritage language because they were the breadwinners of the family and had to deal with the issue of integration and livelihood.

The location of the speech community also influenced the speakers' attitude towards their heritage language. The more remote the community is, greater is the affection for the heritage language among the speakers. Contrary to this, when the community is easily accessible, speakers concentrate more on acceptance within the larger group. In Gulgulia's case at Dhanbad, all the six settlements are closely situated near towns or cities. Therefore, the influence of dominant languages from these neighboring towns and cities is distinctly visible in the group members' linguistic practices and thereby their attitude towards their heritage language is also turning into a more negative one.

Conclusion

As discussed above, it was found that EV in Gulgulia is chiefly influenced by the variables related to the speaker's age, gender, and level of language competence. Since participants do not associate progress and financial

prosperity with their heritage language, they see their heritage language as significantly lower in value than the popular and dominant language Hindi. However, such a mindset varies depending on the participants' age and gender. For example, the older participants favor the proficiency of Hindi while the younger generation, despite being not proficient in Gulgulia, tends to identify with it. It is observed that due to the economic prosperity attached to Hindi, the group projects a high degree of integrative attitude towards dominant languages in hopes of becoming socially valued.

Moreover, when speaker-oriented factors in Gulgulia's case interact with extralinguistic factors, they contribute in shaping Gulgulia's EV. The sociolinguistic aspects, such as intergenerational language transmission, bilingualism/ multilingualism, language competence, and domains of language use, are highly essential for determining language vitality and are not just anecdotic and are operating in Gulgulia's case. The pattern of language use also shows significant changes related to accessibility or remoteness of the speech community, migration away from the community, and preservation of the traditional way of living through vocabulary, songs, the art of storytelling, and etc.

The Predicament

Gulgulia posits a complicated situation as it is nearing its extinction because even the best speakers of the community cannot speak their heritage language in its pure form. They tend to switch codes as they speak other languages. Due to this, it becomes difficult to trace the antecedent of the contemporary Gulgulia. Moreover, the mixed parentage of Gulgulia members resulted in a mixed variety of the language with inputs from Hindi, Bengali, Khortha, Bhojpuri as observed in their repertoire.

Therefore, one can rightly claim, based on the above discussion, that Gulgulia is a moribund language. The speakers have lost several genres of their heritage language, with hardly one or two genres, such as slang and songs, surviving the challenges of contact-induced changes. The most fluent speakers of the community are above sixty years of age, but as the influence of dominant languages permeates the conversational patterns of the older generation, one

can say that the heritage language is breathing its last. Moreover, education, culture at work place along with interaction with outsiders have a straight adverse influence on the language attrition. Despite the gloomy linguistic scenario, the community members, particularly the younger generation, is in favor of learning their heritage language, but in reality, there hardly seems to be any motivation on their part to learn and use their native language. The oldest community speakers enjoy the highest fluency among all members. However, the number of members of the oldest age group is the lowest, which means a difficult situation that heritage language may be lost in their absence.

The speakers' attitude towards a language plays a paramount role in its existence and revitalization. With regard to Gulgulia, the discussion above clearly established how the heritage language is gradually nearing its death. It is a hard fact, but the only times when the researchers witnessed efforts for 'revival' were during field visits to this community where speakers were asked to converse in their native language among one another and with the interviewers for the purpose of data collection. However, this interest cannot stay for too long, after this documentation process is over. Once the language ceases to pass inter-generationally and stops being used in the home domain, one cannot prevent the heritage language, a symbol of the community's identity, from an impending threat of extinction.

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GULGULIJOS ETNOLINGVISTINIS GYVYBINGUMAS

Santrauka. Kalbos mirtis – tai reiškiny, kurio simptomai susiję su mažėjančiu žodyno terminų skaičiumi ir kalbos vartojimo sričių išsekimu bei su vis paprastėjančiomis kalbos struktūromis. Ji prasideda, kai pasireiškia šie požymiai: mažėja laisvai kalbančiųjų ta kalba skaičius, menkėja kalbėtojų požiūris į savo paveldėtą kalbą, kalba keičiasi, nesirūpinama perduoti ją iš kartos į kartą, lydi jausmas, kad paveldėta kalba yra prastesnė už kitas kalbas. Gulgulija turi visus tokios mirstančios kalbos bruožus ir yra labai arti visiško išnykimo. Šiame tyrime aiškinamas etnolingvistinis Gulgulijos kalbos gyvybingumas, patikrintas remiantis pasirinktais sociolingvistiniais parametrais, kurie buvo pasirinkti kaip tinkami scenarijui. Taip pat nagrinėjame Dhanbado Gulgulia bendruomenės kalbinę situaciją, bendruomenės narių kalbos vartojimą namuose ir įvairiose tarptautinėse bendravimo situacijose, tiriame, koks ryšys vyrauja tarp bendruomenės kalbos preferencijų ir jos gyvybingumo. Nustatyta, kad kalbėtojo požiūrį į paveldėtą kalbą lemia tokie kintamieji, kaip amžius, lytis ir kalbos mokėjimas. Kalbančiųjų bendruomenės vieta taip pat yra svarbus reguliuojantis veiksnys, lemiantis polinkį į gimtosios kalbos išsaugojimą ar jos nykimą. Gulgulijos bendruomenės kalbinės elgsenos analizė patvirtina pagrindinių žanrų, tokių kaip pasakojimo menas, nykimą. Iš visų kalbos vartosenos žanrų išliko tik du ir tai kelia nerimą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: etnolingvistinis gyvybingumas; paveldo kalba; kalbos perdavimas iš kartos į kartą; grėsmė kalbai.

**LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN
MULTILINGUAL AND
MULTICULTURAL SETTINGS**

**KALBŲ MOKYMAS
DAUGIAKALBĖJE IR
DAUGIAKULTŪRĖJE APLINKOJE**



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LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN LATVIAN PRE-SCHOOL: LATVIAN LANGUAGE SKILLS OF MINORITY CHILDREN

Summary. Latvian is the only official language in Latvia and one of the symbols of an independent state. The article provides a brief insight into the history of its reinforcement, which has not been easy. Education is one of the areas in which it is very important to develop multilingualism, while not forgetting to strengthen state language skills and their application. As the education system continues to reveal shortcomings in the process of Latvian language acquisition, Cabinet Regulations adopted in 2018 "Regulations Regarding the State Guidelines for Pre-school Education and the Model Pre-school Education Programmes" update the need for a successful transition from pre-school education to primary education at school, from pre-school education to bilingual primary school education or education carried out in Latvian. In minority families with a dominant Russian language, children acquire Russian well before pre-school age, and it is time to start learning the state language at pre-school age if this has not already been done. Taking these requirements into account, the article analyses the Latvian language skills of children of pre-school age, using 375 child speech recordings made by researchers in 2019 and 2020 in three regions – Kurzeme (Western Latvia), Latgale (Eastern Latvia), and Riga (capital). The materials are divided into three groups in each of the territories: recordings of Latvian children, recordings of minority children in groups with the Latvian language on a daily basis, and recordings of minority children in groups with the Russian language on a daily basis. The main problem is that regardless of the region, the Latvian language skills of minority children who attend pre-school education groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis are still insufficient and do not comply with the requirements set in Cabinet Regulation No. 716 of 2018 that the children should be prepared to start school with the Latvian as the learning language or bilingually. This suggests that the legislative provisions are not fully implemented and improvements are necessary for the Latvian language training system for minority children.

Keywords: Latvian language policy; minority children; language acquisition; pre-school age.

Introduction

A Brief Historical Introduction

The first books in Latvian were published in the 16th century, and the fact that Latvians could study at university seemed an unimaginable fantasy. Still, in

the first half of the 19th century, there was a period of German oppression, and the Latvian language had no rights. However, in the second half of the 19th century, Neo-Latvians contributed immensely to developing the Latvian language and culture. It was Tartu University (*Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat* (also *Imperatorskij Derptschij Universitet*) where Latvians obtained higher education and cultivated their language, and it was the only place where the Latvian language had been taught as a university subject since 1803. German took a high position as a competing language in Latvia from the 17th until the 19th century. As political power changed, so did the educational policy. The main threat was different – at the end of the 19th century, it was the policy of Russification. In 1887, the usage of Latvian became illegal and was replaced by Russian.

It is certain that the foundation of the State of Latvia in 1918 ensured the national stronghold of the Latvian language. In 1932 regulations on the State Language (*Noteikumi par valsts valodu, 18.02.1932*) were adopted. They stipulated that Latvian was the official state language in the Republic of Latvia, and as such, it was obligatory in state and municipal institutions and companies; also in the contacts with citizens and legal entities, in the army and the navy. The first article in the Law of the State Language adopted in 1935 recognizes Latvian as the state language, but the second article stipulated that the usage of the state language is obligatory in the army, navy, all state and municipal institutions, also in private establishments of a legal character (*Likums par valsts valodu, 1935*).

The Latvian linguist Aina Blinkena emphasized that until 1940 when the Soviet occupation ceased the law and Latvian lost its status as the official state language, the State of Latvia had supported the curation and research on the Latvian language. Teachers of and researchers on Latvian were educated, the Depository of the Latvian Language worked, many norms of the literary language were introduced, and many of such norms are in effect even nowadays. Such a foundation did not allow to Russify Latvian during the fifty years of occupation (Blinkena, 2017, p. 58).

In 1940, when the inhabitants of Latvia began to be assimilated into the Russian USSR, Latvian lost its status as an official language. As a result of deportations and colonization, the number of Latvians in Latvia decreased from

76% to 52% from 1935 until 1989. In all official areas, Russian was introduced. At the same time, the Latvian language and culture during the fifty years of occupation were the main values that supported the survival of the nation (Oficiālās statistikas portāls, 01.11.2021). **Consequent constitutional protection of Latvian was absent in education and other fields.**

The year 1988 was very important for establishing Latvian as the official language. Druviete writes: "The historical decision on October 6, 1988 «On the Status of the Latvian Language» (adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR before the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia) was the onset of the process changing the hierarchy of languages and eliminating Russification" (Druviete, 2018, p. 48). Companies started to organize Latvian language courses. The status of the State language was being strengthened step by step thus leading us closer to the idea of an independent state. In 1989, "The Law On Languages of the Latvian SSR" (Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas 1989. gada 5. maija Valodu likums 1989) was passed. It contained the phrase – "in the Latvian SSR, Russian is the second most widely used language after Latvian" (Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas 1989. gada 5. maija Valodu likums 1989, 20). Measures were thus taken to intensify teaching the Latvian language and reorganize record keeping and documentation.

The restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia in 1991 and the granting to Latvian the status of the official language are interrelated. In 1992, "The Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Languages of the Latvian SSR" excluded a sentence pertaining to the special rights of Russian (Par grozījumiem un papildinājumiem Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas Valodu likumā 10.04.1992.). There were Russian campaigns in the press regarding the seeming discrimination of the Russian speaking population and inhabitants were misinformed.

However, the Latvian State Language Centre, the State Language Inspectorate, the State Language Attestation Commission were founded; sociolinguistic studies on language skills and speakers' attitudes to the official language began; Latvian terminology grew richer. All these factors contributed to giving up the so-called minority complex in the Latvian society that would otherwise have to adjust to using the Russian language, but the influence of

competing elements remained. In 2004, the Latvian language became one of the official languages in the European Union but nowadays the biggest competing languages in Latvia are Russian and English. For that reason, **we should ensure both** the development of the state language and its rights to function at all levels, also in education.

Latvian Language in Education

It is possible to speak about the acquisition of Latvian as a native language or LAT1 in education since the end of the 17th century when the first Latvian ABC book was published (Anspoka, 2019). Latvian was taught at schools to different nationalities already in the 1920s, but the purposeful formation of the basic guidelines for Latvian as a second language or LAT2 began at the beginning of the 1990s (Laizāne, 2019). In the 1960s, another variety of acquisition was established in the Latvian linguodidactics, namely, Latvian as a foreign language or LATS.

In order to consolidate the role and significance of the official language in its place in the language acquisition process, in recent years Latvia has adopted several new legal acts on the regulation of language use in pre-school and school, namely Cabinet Regulation No. 716 of November 21, 2018 "Regulations Regarding the State Guidelines for Pre-school Education and the Model Pre-school Education Programmes" (effective from September 1, 2019). In accordance with Cabinet Regulation No. 716 of November 21, 2018, from September 1, 2019 each child must be prepared to start learning in the 1st grade in Latvian or bilingually (50% in Latvian, 50% in Russian), in addition to learning another foreign language, while the amendments to the General Education Law as of May 14, 2020 stipulate that local governments are obliged to ensure the opportunity to complete the pre-school education programme in the state language at all pre-school education institutions subordinate thereto (Grozījumi Vispārējās izglītības likumā 14.05.2020). Following the required successful transition from pre-school to teaching in Latvian or bilingually in these documents, the study did not analyze the acquisition of the language of children of different ages (Asher, & Garcia, 1969; Munoz, 2014) but only the Latvian proficiency of children of pre-school age.

The aim of the article is to study the implementation course of language policy requirements in pre-school specified in legislative acts and to provide recommendations for solving problems.

The following **tasks** were performed to achieve the aim:

- To carry out recordings and analyze the results of a picture-based language proficiency test in Latvian which has been developed in the 8th project of the “Latvian Language” National research programme.
- To study and evaluate the Latvian language skills of children in pre-school educational institutions in Kurzeme (2019 and 2020), Riga (2019 and 2020), and Latgale (2020) in accordance with the developed methodology, performing and analyzing 25 speech recordings of Latvian children per year in each of the territories, 25 speech recordings of minority children in groups with Latvian on a daily basis and 25 speech recordings of minority children in groups with Russian on a daily basis. In Riga and Kurzeme, 150 recordings in 2019 were analyzed and in Kurzeme, Latgale, and Riga 225 recordings in 2020 were evaluated. The total number of entries – is 375.
- To compare the requirements specified in the legislation with the actual Latvian language skills in pre-school and inform the Ministry of Education and Science about the results.

Methodology

The recordings were made by researchers prepared in the framework of state research programme “Letonika – Fostering a Latvian and European Society” project “Use and Development of Contemporary Latvian” (N^o VPP-LETONIKA-2022/1-0001). Conversations with each child did not exceed 20 minutes (see also Béréšová, 2019). The Latvian language skills of children were assessed in points, determining the level: 0 points (insufficient level) - does not show or shows very minimal (<5%) knowledge and skills; 1 point (low level) – shows minimal (<25%) knowledge and application skills; 2 points (intermediate level – shows the average (>50%) knowledge and skills of use; 3 points (high level – shows good (>75%) knowledge and skills of use). Each of

the evaluation sections consisted of a set of indicators expressed in points. The analysis was based on Tomme-Jukēvica's (2018) development recommendations:

1. **dialogue speech** – understands instructions, answers questions, forms questions, starts a conversation, uses speech etiquette;
2. **fluency of speech** – speaks fluently, paraphrases, logically connects speech, pauses;
3. **pronunciation** – pronounces sounds accurately, uses emphasis correctly;
4. **vocabulary** – relevant to the topic, diverse, unnecessary to use another language;
5. **grammar** – uses correct grammatical forms, uses various sentence structures;
6. **literacy** – knows letters, reads syllables, words, and sentences.

The evaluation indicators used in this study are consistent with international practices in the assessment of language acquisition and they include “learning the sounds and sound patterns of the language (phonological development), learning the vocabulary of the language (lexical development), learning the structure of the language (grammatical, or morphosyntactic, development), and learning how to use language to communicate (pragmatic and sociolinguistic development)” (Hoff, 2005, p. 32).

Speech recordings of pre-school children were made in May and June 2019, as well as in June 2020, to check whether these children can start learning bilingually or in Latvian in the 1st grade of primary education in the autumn. The recordings were made in three regions – Kurzeme (Western Latvia), Latgale (Eastern Latvia), and Riga (capital), but the researchers have been processing the work in the other two ethnic regions of Latvia (Vidzeme and Zemgale) and will continue to analyze the future progress of the Latvian language learning. They will provide recommendations to policy makers, to authors of teaching aids and academic staff of prospective teacher training programs to help minority children to acquire at least two languages for successful studies at school.

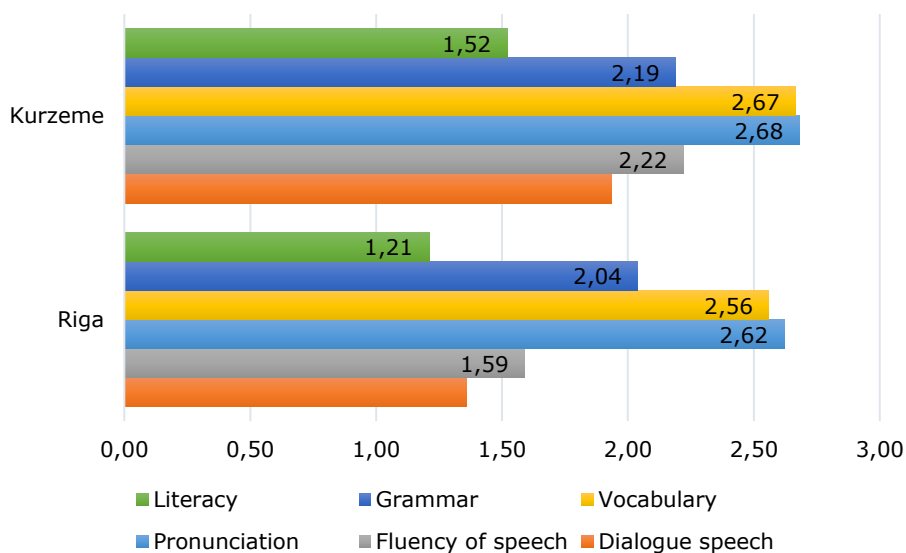
Results

Results in Riga and Kurzeme in 2019

It is not surprising that the best results in the Latvian language test are for children for whom it is their mother tongue (see Figure 1). In the study, their Latvian language skills are rated between medium and high and they are appropriate for learning at school. The features of the dialect were recognised in 3 children in Kurzeme, who used the wide vowel e [æ] in place of the normative narrow e, in the words sit – sēdēt [sæ:dæ:t], eat – ēst [æ:st]. There is an important finding that children's speech recordings also show another convincing trend – the Latvian language skills of minority children attending Latvian language groups are significantly better for all indicators (Figure 2) than the Latvian skills of minority children attending groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis (Figure 3).

Figure 1

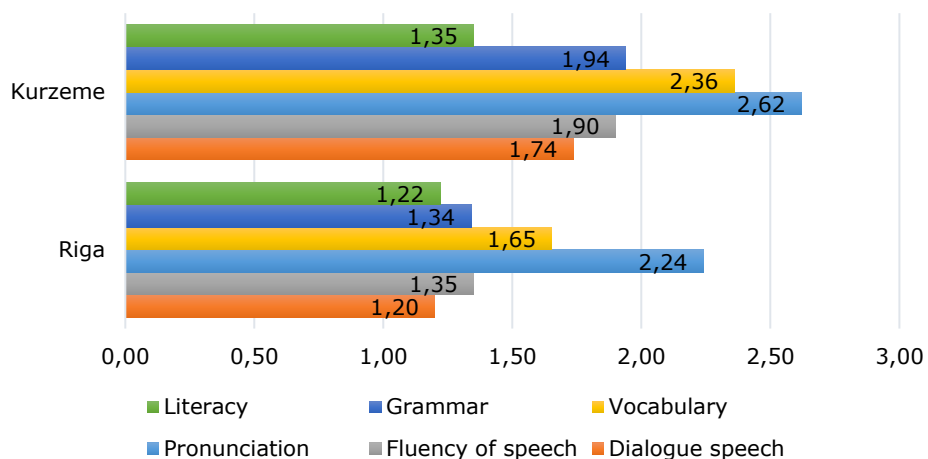
Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results for children with Latvian as their mother tongue in 2019



Note. The score from 0–3.

Figure 2

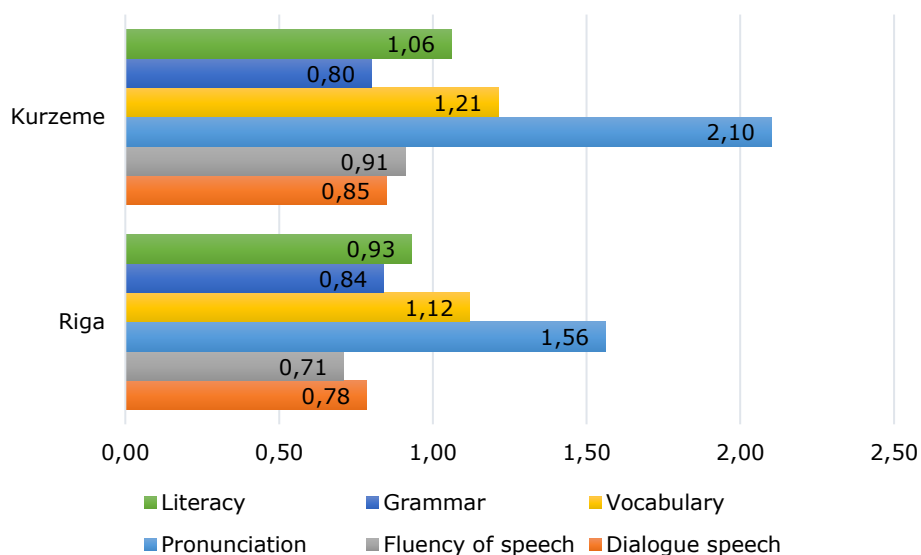
Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results of minority children in Latvian language groups in 2019



Note. The score from 0–3.

Figure 3

Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results of minority children in Russian language groups in 2019



Note. The score from 0–3.

The same tendency can be observed in the recordings made in Riga – the Latvian language skills of minority children attending the Latvian language groups are better (Figure 2) than the Latvian language skills of minority children attending groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis (Figure 3). In both Kurzeme and Riga recordings made in 2019, Latvian language proficiency in groups of minority children with a dominant Russian language is mostly insufficient or low; only pronunciation proficiency reaches the assessment between low and medium level (Figure 3). In general, in 2019, the average indicators of children's Latvian language skills in both Kurzeme and Riga showed common language acquisition trends.

Results in Riga, Kurzeme and Latgale in 2020

The best average achievements of pre-school children in 2020 were in pronunciation (score 2.08–2.74). Even those children for whom Latvian is not their mother tongue showed one of the best performances in direct pronunciation. This is contrary to the observations of adult speech, because when learning a second language, differences in pronunciation are usually long-lasting due to the habits of the mother tongue (including dialect). During the research, we observed that minority children had almost no difficulty in imitating the pronunciation of the Latvian language, even if they did not understand the meaning of words.

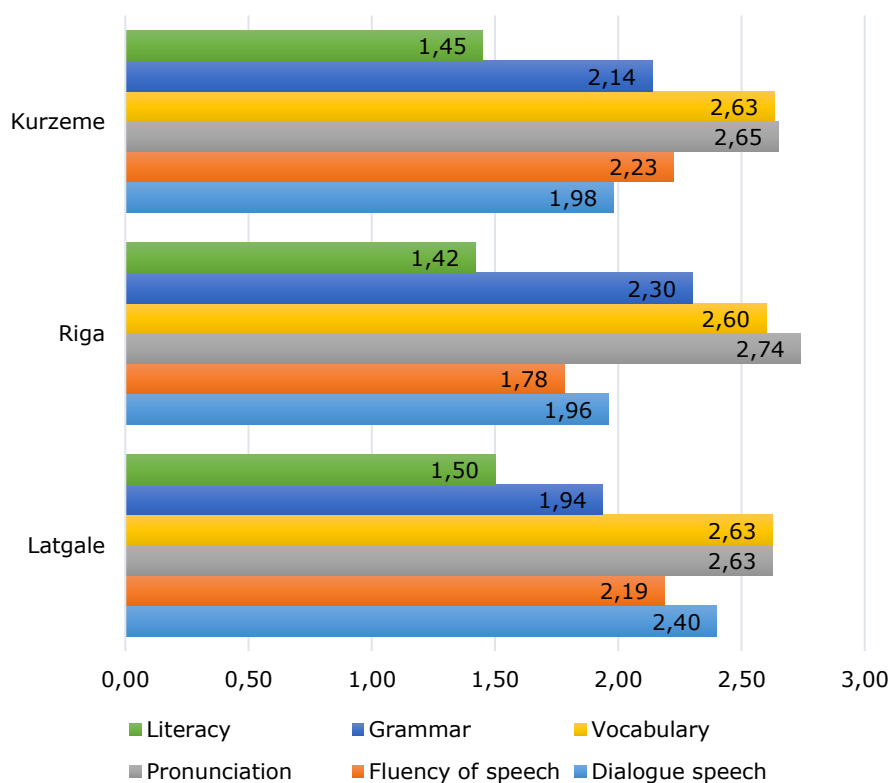
Vocabulary acquisition was the next highest result, but this assessment score already significantly differed depending on the pre-school group the child was attending. For children in Latvian language groups, the Latvian vocabulary was significantly richer (score 1.88–2.63), while for the minority children who attended groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis the Latvian vocabulary was very poor (score 0.87–1.28) and only covered a few of the most commonly used words in everyday life; more often they were nouns usually in the nominative (see also Gentner, 1982; Caselli, Bates, Casadio et al., 1995; Rūķe-Draviņa, 2017 [1977], Markus, 2018).

Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers came into force in 2019; it means that in 2020, when we made the last entries, the new requirements for the provision of bilingual education and communication in minority pre-school

groups and in the first grades of schools had been in force for a year. However, during the study in Kurzeme and Riga in 2020 we concluded that not all minority children had sufficiently learnt Latvian, therefore some minority children, who had attended groups with a dominant Russian language, were advised to continue their education for another year; they were going to start school later. The results of the Latvian language analysis obtained in 2020 generally confirmed the previous trend - the Latvian language skills of minority children who do not attend groups with Latvian language on a daily basis, are much worse (see Figure 6) compared to the Latvian language skills of other children (see Figures 4, 5).

Figure 4

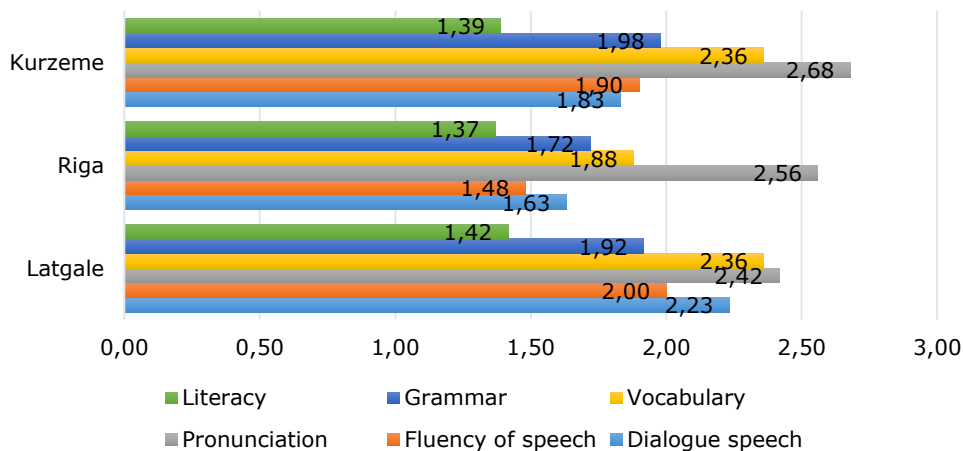
Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results for children with Latvian as their mother tongue in 2020



Note. The score from 0–3.

Figure 5

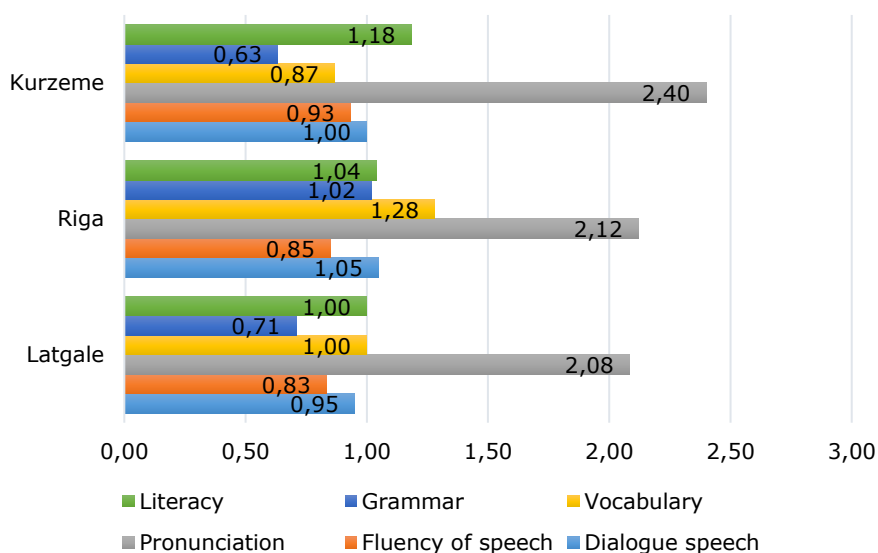
Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results of minority children in Latvian language groups in 2020



Note. The score from 0–3.

Figure 6

Comparison of average Latvian language proficiency results of minority children in Russian language groups in 2020



Note. The score from 0–3.

After the reduction of the first pandemic prohibitions in June 2020, children's speech recordings and their analyses were also continued in Latgale, where there is a stronger use of sub-dialects. However, in the tests of Latgale children, only 3 girls could speak the Latgalian sub-dialects of the High Latvian dialect. Two of them did not pronounce the consonants *ķ* and *ģ* softly enough – [kj] and [gj]. In general, their dialect differed from the literary language.

Also in Latgale, differences in Latvian language acquisition can be observed depending on whether minority children attend a pre-school education group with the Latvian language, or with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis (see Figures 5 and 6). Even if the average pronunciation results are the best, in groups with the Latvian language on a daily basis (score 2.42–2.63) and in groups with Russian on a daily basis, they are lower in Latgale as a whole (score 2.08).

The results of the Latvian language analysis obtained in 2020 still show the previous trend – the Latvian language skills of minority children who did not attend groups with the Latvian language on a daily basis fared much worse (see Figure 6) compared to the Latvian language skills of other children (see Figures 4 and 5). A similar fact, also found in 2020, that the children of national minorities who visited groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis tried to switch to Russian shows that in general the practice of using the Latvian language in their daily lives is insufficient, as noted by the authors of the previous research (Markus, 2018; Stangaine, 2016; Tomme-Jukēvica, 2018).

Legislative Theory vs. Practice in 2019–2020

Part III, Article 9 to Annex 2, entitled “Model Minority Pre-school Education Programme” to the already mentioned Cabinet Regulation No. 716 of November 21, 2018, states:

During the entire stage of pre-school education the acquisition of the Latvian language shall be promoted in an integrated study process through a bilingual approach which is implemented in cooperation among teachers, specialists, and other employees of an educational institution according to

the development of a child, and the Latvian language shall also be used in daily communication. The Latvian language shall be the main means of communication in the play session for children from the age of five years, except for purposefully organised activities for the acquisition of a minority language and ethnic culture. (Cabinet of Ministers Regulation of 2018 No. 716, Annex 2, III, 9).

In reality, minority children who attend Russian-language groups in pre-school education on a daily basis have incomplete knowledge of Latvian vocabulary and grammar, and tend not to use it or make mistakes, which prevents children from speaking fluently, engaging in dialogue and thus demonstrating Latvian language skills. Regular switching of codes from the mother tongue to Latvian for minority children who attend groups with Russian on a daily basis creates difficulties in engaging in dialogue expressing needs. It is well known that language acquisition is stimulated by internal and external factors (Chondrogianni & Marinis, 2011; French, G., 2013; Pearson, Fernandez, Lewedeg & Oller, 1997; Vermeer, 2001; Whitehead, 2009), but practical language application also facilitates language acquisition and improves communicative competence (Dukes & Smith, 2007; Garrett – Rucks & Osborn, 2016; Hymes, 1971; Johnson, 2003; Tomasello, 2000, 2003). During the research, in conversations with the parents of these children, we ascertained that the communication in families takes place in Russian, and in these groups of minority children in pre-school education institutions, the Russian language dominates both in communication with children and their parents. The linguistic environment of these children does not promote the learning of the Latvian language. Both the understanding of the Latvian language and the ability to speak are insufficient, therefore children do not fully answer questions about what they have seen and heard, do not ask for information, do not express their needs, do not engage in conversation on everyday topics, and those related to the learning process, cannot read short words commonly used in everyday situations and in the learning process. As a result, some families admitted that their children would have to repeat a year, while others promised to fund a private teacher to help them in their 1st grade studies.

Aware of the need for minority children to know the state language in Latvia, the research team presented the first results to the Ministry of

Education and Science of Latvia and will continue this research to help children to acquire language. Still the tasks of the Latvian language as a second language specified in the legislation are not performed with the required proficiency in the groups of minority children with the Russian language on a daily basis. A new study in Latvia that tests the Latvian language acquisition of minority pre-school children using an image-based test provides convincing indicators of the quality of Latvian language acquisition. The research team will also study the preparedness of pre-school teachers to work in minority children groups not only in the Russian language but also in Latvian.

Axelsson (2011) has described Sweden's considerable experience in dealing with a seemingly reversal situation, where very little had been done in the mother tongue of immigrant children in educational process in pre-school and the children's parents were dissatisfied. It was concluded that during the one-year research, the children's mother tongue was used or there was a conversation about it in only thirteen cases. As a result, although children under the age of five acquired a Swedish language proficiency and demonstrated a good ability to read and write in Swedish, they were unable to achieve a similar proficiency in their mother tongue (Akselone, 2011, p. 126). Complex work was done to improve language learning, for example, the bilingual competence of teachers was investigated, groups were set up of teachers with children's mother tongue for meals and outdoor activities, multilingual pre-school institutions bought children's books in different languages, and audio recordings of stories were carried out for children to listen independently (Akselone, 2011, p. 130).

From the Swedish experience, we can learn a complex approach to improve language learning, although in Latvian kindergartens the experience has been relatively different so far. Children of minority parents living and working in Latvia mostly attended minority children's groups with a dominant Russian language daily. Those children had already become proficient in Russian well by the age of 5 or 6, while children of immigrants, and refugees who were learning Russian were rare in our institutions. Since the beginning of Russia's warfare in Ukraine in 2022, more and more Ukrainian refugees have chosen Latvia as their home, and their children will attend Latvian pre-school institutions. This situation imposes new duties and responsibilities for

researchers, educators, and education policy makers, considering that most Ukrainian refugees are not native Russian speakers.

Conclusions

1. Latvian as the only state language is a major symbol of the state along with the national anthem, flag, and coat of arms. The independence of the state and the status of Latvian as the only state language are closely interacting; however, the interaction does not guarantee a complete protection and usage of the state language in all its functions including education. Education is a special sociolinguistic field where processes of languages interacting with each other and multilingualism take place on a regular basis.

2. The analysis of language recordings shows that regardless of the nationality the Latvian language skills of those children who attended pre-school education groups with class activities conducted in Latvian on a daily basis are good and meet the standards set by the Cabinet of Ministers Regulation in order to successfully continue studies in the 1st grade.

3. The Latvian language skills of minority children who attend pre-school education groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis are still insufficient and do not comply with the requirements set in Cabinet Regulation No. 716 of 2018 that the children should be prepared to start school with Latvian as the learning language or bilingually. This conclusion does not depend on the region in which the children live. These children are Russian monolinguals and this does not facilitate their communication outside the family and community.

4. Pre-school minority children who attend groups with a dominant Russian language on a daily basis have limited vocabulary, underdeveloped dialogue, impaired speech, which is intensified by very minimal grammar knowledge, and also the children's literacy does not meet national requirements.

5. The results of the research clearly show that pre-school age minority children are able to imitate another language well because in all the studied regions the Latvian language pronunciation indicators are the best

for the minority children. Insufficient knowledge of the Latvian language, in general, can be explained by the insufficient use of Latvian in everyday life.

6. In order for minority children of pre-school age to successfully learn Latvian in accordance with the legislation, it is not enough to have only a few Latvian language lessons a week, but it is necessary to create a real bilingual language usage environment that may include communication, games, visual aids, etc. in daily pre-school education groups.

7. The results and recommendations have been presented to the specialists responsible for pre-school education in the Ministry of Education and Science.

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**KALBOS POLITIKOS ĪGYVENDINIMAS LATVIŲ IKIMOKYKLINIO
UGDYMO ĪSTAIGOJE: TAUTINIŲ MAŽUMŲ VAIKŲ LATVIŲ
KALBOS ĪGŪDŽIAI**

Santrauka. Latvių kalba – vienintelė valstybinė kalba Latvijoje ir vienas iš nepriklausomos valstybės simbolių. Straipsnyje trumpai apžvelgiama nelengva latvių kalbos įsitvirtinimo istorija. Švietimas – viena sričių, kurioje labai svarbų plėtoti daugiakalbystę, nepamirštant stiprinti valstybinės kalbos įgūdžių ir jų taikymo. Švietimo sistemoje ir toliau išryškėja latvių kalbos įsisavinimo trūkumų, tad 2018 m. priimtuose Ministrų kabineto nuostatuose „Nuostatai dėl valstybinių ikimokyklinio ugdymo gairių ir pavyzdinių ikimokyklinio ugdymo programų“ aktualizuojamas poreikis sėkmingai pereiti nuo ikimokyklinio ugdymo prie pradinio ugdymo mokykloje, nuo ikimokyklinio ugdymo prie dvikalbio pradinio ugdymo arba ugdymo latvių kalba. Mažumų šeimose, kuriose vyrauja rusų kalba, vaikai rusų kalbą išmoksta gerokai anksčiau nei sulaukia ikimokyklinio amžiaus, todėl turi pradėti mokytis valstybinės kalbos dar priešmokykliniame amžiuje, jei to nebuvo padaryta. Atsižvelgiant į šiuos reikalavimus, straipsnyje analizuojami ikimokyklinio amžiaus vaikų latvių kalbos įgūdžiai, remiantis 375 vaikų kalbos įrašais, kuriuos tyrėjai padarė 2019 m. ir 2020 m. atlikę tyrimus trijuose regionuose – Kuržemėje (Vakarų Latvija), Latgaloje (Rytų Latvija) ir Rygoje (sostinė). Kiekvienoje teritorijoje surinkta medžiaga suskirstyta į tris grupes: latvių vaikų įrašai, tautinių mažumų vaikų įrašai grupėse, kurios vartoja latvių kalbą kasdien, ir tautinių mažumų vaikų įrašai grupėse, kurios vartoja rusų kalbą kasdien. Pagrindinė problema yra ta, kad, nepriklausomai nuo regiono, tautinių mažumų vaikų, kasdien lankančių ikimokyklinio ugdymo grupes su vyraujančia rusų kalba, latvių kalbos įgūdžiai vis dar yra per menki ir neatitinka 2018 m. Vyriausybės nutarimu Nr. 716 nustatytų reikalavimų, apibrėžiančių, kad vaikai turi būti pasirengę mokymuisi mokykloje, kurioje mokymas vyksta latvių kalba arba dviem kalbomis (latvių ir rusų). Tai rodo, kad teisės aktų nuostatos nėra tinkamai įgyvendinamos ir būtina tobulinti tautinių mažumų vaikų latvių kalbos mokymo sistemą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kalbos politika; tautinių mažumų vaikai; kalbos mokymasis; ikimokyklinis amžius.

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A STUDY INTO THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE READING MOTIVATION, READING HABITS AND VOCABULARY SIZE

Summary. The present study aimed to investigate the cross-linguistic effect of L1 vocabulary, reading motivation and habits on L2 vocabulary, reading motivation and habits. In this respect, proposing a model, the study aims to contribute to foreign language education and research. The data was collected through vocabulary size tests, reading motivational scales, and reading habits questionnaires from 490 participants from four different state universities. The proposed model was analyzed with the PLS-SEM technique as the complex theoretical model suggested. The results revealed that L1 vocabulary size and reading efficacy were the two predictors of L2 vocabulary size; however, L1 vocabulary size was the best predictor. Whereas L1 reading habits explained L1 vocabulary size, L2 reading habits did not predict L2 vocabulary size. Although participants' most highly endorsed reading motivational dispositions in L1 and L2 differed, only intrinsic reading motivation explained reading habits in L1 and L2. Moreover, L1 reading motivation and habits statistically significantly predicted L2 reading motivation and habits. In this respect, the study suggests that L1 vocabulary size and reading habits are essential in developing L2 vocabulary size and reading habits.

Keywords: L1 vocabulary; L2 vocabulary; L1 reading motivation; L2 reading motivation; L1 reading habits; L2 reading habits.

Introduction

Vocabulary, as an essential component of language skills, has gained a prominent position as an indicator of L2 proficiency (Laufer, Elder, Hill, & Congdon, 2004; Laufer & Nation, 1995; Nation & Waring, 1997) and language learning motivation (Oh, 2016; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Raoofi, Tan, & Chan, 2012). In achieving a certain level of L2 vocabulary, reading serves as a rich source of vocabulary in context (Paribakht & Wesche, 1997; Teng, 2016). Reading exposes learners to “multiple aspects of vocabulary knowledge” (Webb, 2005, p.50). Good reading habits are required to benefit from reading. In this sense, motivation can be a successful agent in developing good reading

habits (Guthrie, Wigfield, & VonSecker, 2000; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997). L2 reading motivation was found to be partially influenced by related L1 schemata (Cummins, 1976; Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, & Humbach, 2009b). Although there are exceptional cases, research indicates that a motivated reader in L1 is likelier to be a motivated reader in L2 (Day & Bamford, 1998; Kamhi-Stein, 2003; Kim, 2011; Yamashita, 2004, 2007). Besides, L2 vocabulary knowledge seems to be affected by L1 vocabulary skills (Sparks, Humbach, & Javorsky, 2008; Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, & Humbach, 2009a). L1 language skills and attitudes can explain several points in the L2 learning process (Day & Bamford, 1998).

Considering this, the current study attempted to explain the interrelationships between vocabulary size, reading motivation and habits in L1 and L2 through a structural model. This study aims to make a unique contribution to the field by handling the adult learners' L2 vocabulary size from a cross-linguistic perspective that involves the effect of L1 vocabulary size and L1 and L2 reading behaviour along with reading motivation. Furthermore, the study also seeks to contribute to the literature on the Turkish vocabulary knowledge of native speakers of Turkish.

Literature Review

L2 vocabulary development is naturally different from L1 vocabulary development, as are the factors affecting vocabulary growth in L1 and L2. Numerous factors affect vocabulary learning; sometimes these involve completely unknown factors and processes (Schmitt, 1995). Therefore, it may not be possible to develop a meaningful theoretical model to explain vocabulary acquisition "until neurologists are finally able to physically trace words in the brain" (Schmitt, 2000, p. 117). Considering this, the subsequent sections will handle the factors included in the focus of this study.

Relationship between L1 and L2 Vocabulary Knowledge

Besides linguistic factors, extralinguistic factors also play a significant role in lexical activities (Zareva, 2007). Although there is no evidence yet on the issue

of whether the well-established connections between the words in the L1 lexicon can play a significant role in L2 mental lexicon development, this mature ability to build strong lexical connections and other extralinguistic factors, such as working memory, is not only crucial for language abilities but also for other complex cognitive activities (Turgeon & Macoir, 2008), and cognitive control can expand our understanding on the processes of L1 and L2 lexica.

Although "there is seldom a one-to-one relationship between L1 and L2 words and the process of learning an L1 and an L2", the L1 still stands as an essential factor in learning L2 vocabulary, and its impact "is almost impossible to escape when dealing with almost any aspect of L2 vocabulary" (Schmitt & McCarthy, 1997, pp. 2-3). Depending on the similarities between the L1 and L2, the L1 plays varying roles in the difficulty of learning a new lexicon besides a new alphabet, new sounds, new syntactic notions, phrasal verbs, and case endings (Schmitt & McCarthy, 1997).

However, even if there is a considerable distance between the L1 and L2, other non-linguistic skills support the L2 vocabulary learning process (Sparks et al., 2009a). Several studies on language learning aptitude have revealed that L1 skills are excellent predictors of L2 skills. In this respect, Sparks et al. (2006) demonstrated that L1 literacy skills, L1 vocabulary, and cognitive ability in the early school years explain 73% of the variance in L2 aptitude in upper grades. Likewise, a study conducted with 178 fourth-grade learners by Raudszus et al. (2018) revealed similar results. Raudszus et al. suggest that "L1 vocabulary might be an indicator of general language aptitude and a language-rich environment" and a "well-developed L1 vocabulary might also help to scaffold L2 acquisition" (p. 420).

Overall, apart from the studies on bilingualism or multilingualism, which mainly focus on young participants, the literature is short on research into the relationship between L1 and L2 vocabulary size. Therefore, more evidence that will shed light on this matter is needed.

Relationship between Reading and Vocabulary

Much research has examined the reciprocal relationship between reading and

vocabulary (Grabe, 2009; Nation, 2001; Pfost et al., 2013; Pigada & Schmitt, 2006; Ponniah, 2011; Qian, 2002; Verhoeven & Perfetti, 2011; Yamashita, 2004). The existing research suggests that all of these components can be satisfied through reading by considering the aspects of knowing a word, e.g. spelling, word family relations, collocations, meaning associations, and register constraints. Several encounters in different contexts are needed to learn about the necessary aspects of knowledge linked to a particular word. In this daunting and incremental process, reading plays a significant role as a supporting path to vocabulary learning (Grabe, 2009). As one develops his/her vocabulary by reading, rich vocabulary knowledge helps readers read more complex texts effectively (Ibrahim et al., 2016) and feel more motivated to read. Reading introduces a wide range of words to readers and provides opportunities for them to deepen their knowledge of already known words by introducing rich contexts where the different aspects of the words can show their presence. However, the strength of this relationship can be changed whether the reader reads a text below his/her level or whether he/she pays attention to unknown words or unknown aspects of known words. Reading is an indispensable way of widening and deepening vocabulary knowledge.

Studies have shown that learners do not receive sufficient exposure to vocabulary in instructional contexts alone; therefore, efforts to improve their language skills beyond the classroom are necessary, as only in a very intensive L2 program (2 or more hours per week) may learners be able to reach a vocabulary level of 2000-4000 words per year (Grabe, 2009). As such, reading becomes the most easily accessible and practical way of exposure to the needed words and a rich input source for L2 learners in the EFL context (Mori, 2002). Research indicates that provided it takes place over some time, reading extensively increases learners' vocabulary size and deepens their vocabulary knowledge to a great extent (Day & Bamford, 1998; Day & Bamford, 2002; Grabe & Stoller, 2002; Nation, 2001; Nation, 2015; Qian, 2002).

Reading Motivation in L1 and L2

The research on L1 and L2 reading motivation has revealed specific patterns.

For example, L1 reading motivation is likely to be driven by intrinsic reading motivation (Schutte & Malouff, 2007; Yildiz et al., 2013), whereas L2 reading motivation is dominated by instrumental reading motivation (Erten et al., 2010; Olmez, 2015; Ozonder, 2015) which reflects the objectives of reading in different languages. It is natural for L2 learners to read for instrumental reasons in L2, as they may consider L2 reading as a source of L2 context. On the other hand, they may prefer enjoying self-fulfilment in L1 reading in which they have almost complete command of the language.

At first, it seems reasonable to propose that if an individual is a good and motivated reader in L1, it is likely that he/she would be a dedicated reader in L2, as well. However, this case only depicts part of the L1 and L2 reading because the context in which the reading is learned, experienced and practised in L1 versus L2 can be completely different in many cases. Similarly, motivation, self-efficacy, and involvement underlying L1 and L2 reading also differ to a great extent (Grabe & Stoller, 2002).

Despite the limited research on the transferability of affective aspects of L1 reading, the previous studies indicate that L2 reading motivation can be initiated and fostered through L1 reading motivation. However, language proficiency and other factors influencing reading motivation in L1 and L2 are necessary.

Reading Habits in L1 and L2

Overall, the studies devoted to exploring reading motivation have one core objective: to find ways to stimulate positive and constant reading behaviours, or in other words, to instil good reading habits. Habit has been defined as a default pattern of behaviour nurtured by repetition (Iftanti, 2015); habits are performed constantly and regularly. In this respect, good reading habits denote a large amount of regular reading practice; this contributes significantly to L2 readers' language development and vocabulary.

Certain factors have been cited as affecting the development of reading habits, including gender (Scales & Rhee, 2001), peer and school context (Tse & Xiao, 2014), decoding abilities (Abou-Elsaad, Ali & Abd El-Hamid, 2015), classroom practices (Guthrie, Wigfield, & Vonsecker, 2000), access to print

materials (McQuillan & Au, 2001) and L1 reading behaviour (Sparks et al., 2012). In this respect, in Sparks et al.'s (2012) study, L1 reading amount was the significant predictor of L2 proficiency and several L2 skills. Similarly, Artieda (2017) and Uslu (2020) found that strong L1 reading habits significantly contribute to learners' L2 achievement. Regular reading motivation and strong reading habits in L1 can significantly affect L2 reading habits and motivation (Iftanti,2015).

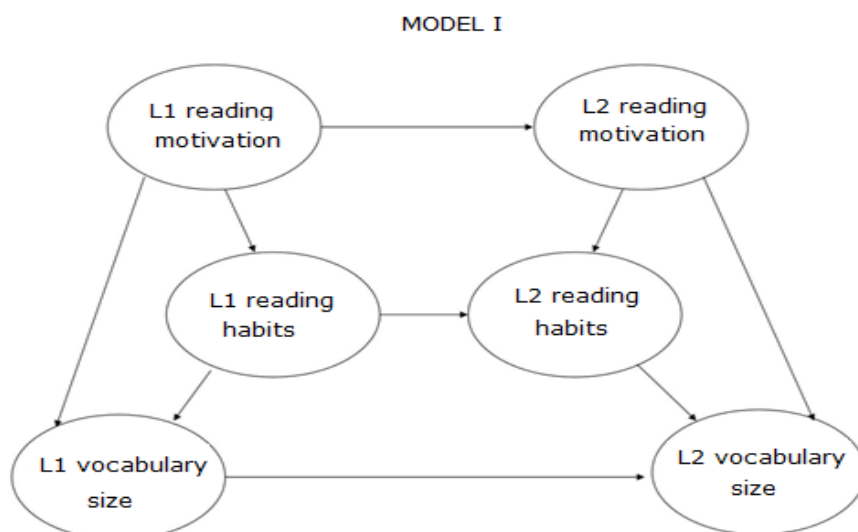
Aim of the Study

This study aimed to investigate the Turkish (L1) and English (L2) vocabulary levels, reading motivation and habits of Turkish EFL learners majoring in English at different state universities. Moreover, it attempted to determine the interrelationships between L1 and L2 vocabulary, L1 and L2 reading habits, and L1 and L2 reading motivation.

In light of previous studies, the current study proposes two models.

Figure 1

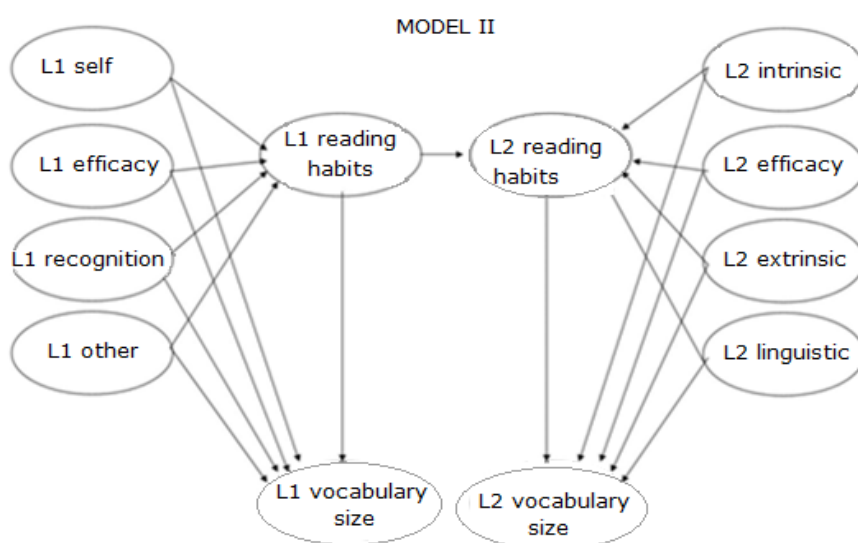
Conceptual framework: Model I



In order to explore which motivational constructs play the more significant part in the process, a second model, illustrated in Figure 2, was framed. In the second model, each of the four constructs forming L2 reading motivation has been hypothesized to directly affect L2 reading habits and L2 vocabulary knowledge.

Figure 2

Conceptual framework: Model II



Through a structural equation modelling analysis technique, the study aimed to explain the following research questions and hypotheses on which the models were based:

1. Is the first model – which describes the interplay between L1 and L2 vocabulary size, L1 and L2 reading motivation, and L1 and L2 reading habits – consistent with the observed relationships?
2. Is the second model – which describes the interplay between subconstructs of L1 and L2 reading motivation, L1 and L2 reading habits, and L1 and L2 vocabulary size – consistent with the observed relationships among these variables?

Methodology

Setting and Participants

The study was conducted in the English Language Teaching Department and English Language and Literature Department at four state universities. A convenience sampling strategy was used to select the participants. A total of 490 undergraduate students (98 prep class students, 94 first-year students, 156 sophomores, 109 juniors and 33 seniors) participated in the study voluntarily. The mean age was 20.

Data Collection

The data were collected during class time, and no time constraint was imposed for completing the task. The tests were conducted following a specified sequence, as displayed in Table 1:

Table 1

Concepts and Instruments Used in the Study

	<i>Concept</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>N of items</i>
1	L2 vocabulary	The Vocabulary Levels Test: Version 2 (Schmitt et al., 2001)	120 questions
2	L1 vocabulary	The Turkish Vocabulary Levels Test (Erten, 2009)	180 questions
3	L2 reading motivation	The Foreign Language Reading Attitudes and Motivation Scale (Erten et al., 2010)	31 items
4	L1 reading motivation	The Adult Motivation for Reading Scale: Turkish Version (Yildiz et al., 2013)	19 items
5	L2 reading habits	Questionnaire	Four items
6	L1 reading habits	Questionnaire	Four items

Instruments

The Vocabulary Levels Test: Version 2. The vocabulary size of the students was measured through The Vocabulary Levels Test: Version 2 (Schmitt et al., 2001). This test was one of the latest versions of a standardized receptive vocabulary size test. The Cronbach's alpha values for each band were above .922 (Schmitt et al., 2001). This study targeted four bands: 2000, 3000, 5000 and 10000 levels.

Turkish Vocabulary Levels Test. In order to assess the students' L1 vocabulary, the Turkish Vocabulary Levels Test for receptive vocabulary, developed by Erten (2009), was used in this study. The test format was based on Nation's (1999, 2001) vocabulary size test model. Different word frequency bands were used to test vocabulary sizes up to around 16000 words. The Cronbach's Alpha values for each band were above .90, indicating a high level of internal consistency.

The Foreign Language Reading Attitudes and Motivation Scale. In order to measure the participants' L2 reading motivation, the Turkish version of *The Foreign Language Reading Attitudes and Motivation Scale* (FLRAMS) (Erten, Topkaya & Karakas, 2010) was utilized. As for internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha-coefficient of each subscale indicated a high level of reliability ranging from .73 to .94.

The Adult Motivation for Reading Scale. To assess the participants' L1 reading motivation, "The Adult Motivation for Reading Scale" (Schutte & Malouff, 2007) was used in the study. This scale was adapted for Turkish (Yildiz et al., 2013). The Cronbach's alpha value for the total scale was .86.

L2 reading Habits Questionnaire. In order to determine the students' L2 reading habits, a three-item questionnaire was prepared based on a list of items from questionnaires used in the literature (Hedgecock & Atkinson, 1993; Iftanti, 2012; Ro & Chen, 2014)

L1 Reading Habits Questionnaire. A questionnaire was prepared to determine the students' L1 reading habits based on a list of items from questionnaires used in the literature. Drawing from these studies (Clark & Foster, 2005; Kus & Turkyilmaz, 2010; Scales & Rhee, 2001; Datta & McDonald-Ross, 2002), the questions regarding reading habits were pooled,

and then three questions were selected for the questionnaire survey.

Data Analysis

The SPSS version 21 and SmartPLS version 3.2.7 were utilized to analyze the data. Analysis of the model proposed in the study required a structural equation modelling technique. Between two techniques, with the consideration of the properties of the data set and epistemic view of data to theory, a component-based technique, Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modelling (PLS-SEM), was adopted in preference to the "factor-based covariance fitting approach" Covariance-Based Structural Equation Modelling (CB-SEM) (Chin, 1998, p. 295). Because the research goal of the study was to explore a theory rather than to confirm an existing one through using a complex model of several variables with many indicators, PLS-SEM is an appropriate fit for the current study.

The two primary reasons for employing the PLS-SEM technique relate to the model of the study in the sense that it consists of several components. There are complex relationships among these factors, as well as properties of the data set, which includes varying data types (from binary to scalar) along with two single items (the total achievement scores of vocabulary tests) (Chin, 1998; Hair et al., 2014; Hair, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2011). This technique is best suited for "large complex models with latent variables" and "extensions of existing theories" (Avkiran, 2018, p. 6), as is the case with the current study.

Findings

Data Screening

Before conducting the analyses, the assumptions for SEM analysis were checked. The data sets with missing values or incomplete parts were discarded. Then the data were screened for univariate and multivariate outliers and multicollinearity and tested for violations of normality and linearity.

Evaluation of Model I

Measurement (outer) model. The L1 and L2 reading motivation scales were treated as second-order constructs and were measured through reflective-reflective approach. Because the constructs are measured by the subcomponents (e.g. L1 reading efficacy, L2 reading efficacy) of the constructs, they were not expected to exhibit high inter-correlations. In reflective measurement models, the direction of the causal action is from latent variables to indicators (Hair et al., 2014).

Table 2

Measurement (Outer) Model Results: Model I

Variables	Loadings	Cronbach's alpha	Composite reliability	AVE
L1 READING MOTIVATION		.883	.837	573
<i>L1 reading for self</i>	.934	.857	.902	571
"Without reading, my life would not be the same."	.726			
"My friends sometimes are surprised at how much I read."	.764			
"My friends and I like to exchange books or articles we particularly enjoy."	.588			
"It is very important to me to spend time reading."	.876			
"In comparison to other activities, reading is important to me."	.863			
"I set a good model for others through reading."	.677			
"Reading helps make my life meaningful."	.756			
<i>L1 reading efficacy</i>	.818	.681	.841	639
"I like hard, challenging books or articles."	.751			
"I am confident I can understand difficult books or articles."	.816			
"I am a good reader."	.828			
<i>L1 reading for recognition</i>	.529	.763	.864	679
"It is important to me to get compliments for the knowledge I gather from reading."	.875			
"I like others to question me on what I read so that I can show my knowledge."	.793			

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Variables	Loadings	Cronbach's alpha	Composite reliability	AVE
"It is important to me to have others remark on how much I read."	.801			
<i>L1 reading to do well in other realms</i>	.686	.687	.810	516
"If I am going to need information from material I read, I finish the reading well in advance of when I must know the material."	.694			
"Work performance or university grades are an indicator of the effectiveness of my reading."	.715			
"I do all the expected reading for work or university courses."	.765			
"I read to improve my work or university performance."	.698			
<i>L2 READING MOTIVATION</i>		.914	.818	532
<i>L2 intrinsic value of reading</i>	.861	.921	.924	513
"Reading in a foreign language is enjoyable."	.727			
"I like reading in a foreign language."	.816			
"Reading in a foreign language is boring.*"	.472			
"I feel peaceful while reading in a foreign language."	.789			
"I have a great desire to read in a foreign language."	.822			
"I never read in a foreign language unless I have to *"	.478			
"The more I read in a foreign language, the more I want to read."	.797			
"I love reading in a foreign language."	.802			
"Reading in a foreign language makes me happy."	.862			
"I read in a foreign language even if I do not have to."	.700			
"I spend the time to read in a foreign language."	.725			
"I do not read in a foreign language even if I have time.*"	.423			
<i>L2 reading efficacy</i>	.662	.873	.906	615
"I comprehend the texts in a foreign language at first reading."	.755			
"I can comprehend most of what I read in a foreign language."	.770			
"I can read in a foreign language fluently."	.777			
"My reading skill in a foreign language is at an advanced level."	.783			
"I have no problems with comprehending a foreign	.780			

Variables	Loadings	Cronbach's alpha	Composite reliability	AVE
language text."				
"I am successful at reading in a foreign language"	.840			
<i>L2 extrinsic utility value of reading</i>	.693	.762	.843	519
"Reading in a foreign language provides us with a better education."	.644			
"Reading in a foreign language helps us to become better individuals."	.753			
"Reading in a foreign language helps to prepare a better future for ourselves."	.792			
"Reading in a foreign language helps to find a better job."	.690			
"Reading in a foreign language is beneficial for self-development."	.716			
<i>L2 foreign language linguistic utility value of reading</i>	.683	.736	.845	578
"Reading in a foreign language contributes to the development of grammar in a foreign language."	.754			
"Reading in a foreign language contributes to the development of writing skill in a foreign language."	.816			
"Reading in a foreign language is an essential instrument to enlarge our vocabulary."	.793			
"Reading in a foreign language helps fluency in speech in a foreign language."	.670			
L2 VOCABULARY		.945	Single Item	
L1 VOCABULARY		.931	Single Item	
L1 READING HABITS			.819	610
"How often do you read in Turkish?"	.878			
"How many hours do you read a week?"	.869			
"When was the last time you read a book, a newspaper, a magazine etc. in Turkish?"	.551			
L2 READING HABITS			.780	554
"How often do you read in English?"	.855			
"How many hours do you read a week?"	.834			
"When was the last time you read a book, a newspaper, a magazine etc. in English?"	.487			

A STUDY INTO THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE READING
MOTIVATION, READING HABITS AND VOCABULARY SIZE

As it is displayed in Table 2, all Cronbah’s alpha values exceeded the threshold value .6. *Composite reliability*, which assesses internal consistency, should range from .60 to .95 (Nunally & Bernstein, 1994). Table 2 indicates that all the values fell within the higher end of this range, indicating high levels of internal consistency (Wong, 2016).

To address *indicator reliability*, all of the constructs were measured as reflective; and factor loadings below .4, as well as those that had factor loadings between .4 and .7, but that affected average variance extracted (AVE) and the composite reliability of the latent variables negatively, were discarded from the analysis.

Table 3

AVE Values and the Fornell-Larcker Test of Discriminant Validity for Model I

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1	L2 hab	.745													
2	L2 voc	.129	SI												
3	L1 effic	.279	.059	.799											
4	L1 hab	.345	.035	.463	.781										
5	L1 voc	.077	.475	.269	.244	SI									
6	L1 rec	.103	-.019	.324	.146	.060	.824								
7	L1 mot	.311	.007	-	.544	.230	-	.756							
8	L1 oth	.265	-.068	.430	.319	.013	.306	-	.719						
9	L1 self	.277	.018	.702	.565	.255	.348	-	.502	.756					
10	L2 int	.468	.122	.278	.145	.037	.148	.366	.357	.321	.716				
11	L2 mot	.489	.147	.289	.185	.070	.216	.389	.365	.332	-	.729			
12	L2 effic	.357	.269	.256	.162	.105	.089	.209	.166	.153	.512	-	.784		
13	L2 ling	.222	.003	.109	.076	-.023	.126	.209	.231	.182	.411	-	.247	.760	
14	L2 ext	.249	.024	.114	.103	.070	.237	.267	.284	.225	.456	-	.163	.494	.721

To establish *convergent validity*, which determines the positive correlation between a measure and the sub-measures of the same construct (Hair et al., 2014), the outer loadings of the indicators and the average variance extracted (AVE) were examined (See Table 3); the results showed that extending within

the suggested range all the outer loadings and exceeding .5 AVE values, convergent validity was ensured (Garson, 2016; Hair et al., 2014; Hegner-Kakar et al., 2018).

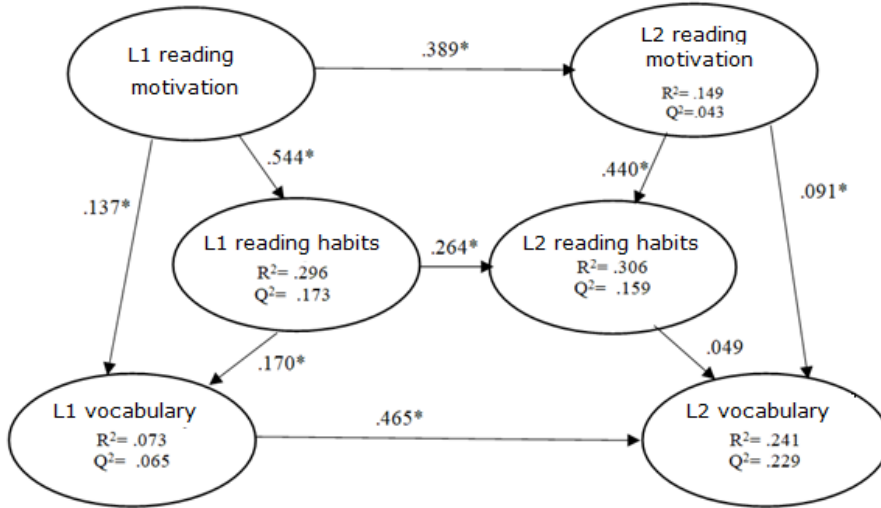
In order to secure *discriminant validity*, the Fornell-Larcker criterion was employed. This is measured by examining the square root of the AVE values and the correlations of the other variables in the model (Fornell & Larcker, 1981); in this regard "the AVE should exceed the squared correlation with any other construct" (Hair et al., 2014, p. 105), as was determined in the present study (See Table 3).

Structural (inner) model. After establishing the criteria for the measurement model, a structural model was tested. Initially, collinearity assessment was performed, and as all of the VIF values were below .5, as displayed in Table 4, no implication of collinearity between predictor variables was determined (Hair et al., 2017; Wong, 2016).

Considering that path coefficients ranged from -1 to +1 in this case as shown in Table 4, and that values closer to +1 or -1 indicate a strong relationship, whereas values closer to 0 indicate a weak relationship, all of the paths were found to significantly conform to the hypotheses except the hypothesized path relationship between L2 reading habits → L2 vocabulary knowledge ($\beta = .049$ $p < .05$). This demonstrates that L1 reading habits do not predict L2 vocabulary knowledge. On the other hand, L1 vocabulary was found to have the strongest effect on L2 vocabulary ($\beta = .465$ $p < .05$), and L2 reading motivation also significantly but weakly affected L2 vocabulary ($\beta = .091$ $p < .05$). However, L1 reading habits ($\beta = .170$ $p < .05$) were found to have a statistically significant moderate effect on L1 vocabulary with L1 reading motivation ($\beta = .137$ $p < .05$). With respect to the other path relationships, L1 reading motivation had a moderately strong effect on L1 reading habits ($\beta = .544$ $p < .05$), which represented the strongest relationship among all hypothesized path relationships. Moreover, L2 reading motivation was also moderately affected by L1 reading motivation ($\beta = .389$ $p < .05$). Lastly, in terms of L2 reading habits, L2 reading motivation ($\beta = .440$ $p < .05$) was found to have a stronger effect than L1 reading habits ($\beta = .264$ $p < .05$).

Figure 3

Structural (Inner) model results for Model I



Constituting the essential part of the structural model evaluation, the coefficient of determination refers to the assessment of R2 values. These have a cut-off value of 0.75 for a substantial coefficient of determination, 0.50 for moderate and 0.25 for weak (Hair et al., 2011). The R2 values, which are displayed in Figure 3, indicate that L1 reading habits received the highest value (.306), which is quite close to the moderate range (J. F. Hair et al., 2014) and suggests that L2 reading motivation, together with L1 reading habits, can explain 30% of the variance of L2 reading habits. Similarly, nearly 30% of *L1 reading habits* explained only one exogenous construct of L1 reading motivation ($R^2=.296$). Regarding *L2 vocabulary size*, a total of 24% variance was explained by L2 reading motivation and L1 vocabulary size. However, *L1 vocabulary size* ($\beta = .465$ $p<.05$, $f^2=.283$) was far stronger than L2 reading motivation ($\beta = .091$ $p<.05$, $f^2=.008$), as hypothesized.

Overall, however, L1 reading motivation and L1 reading habits explained the very weak variance of *L1 vocabulary* ($R^2=.073$). Lastly, about 14% of L2 reading motivation was explained by L1 reading motivation ($R^2=.149$, $\beta = .000$ $p<.05$).

Effect sizes were handled within the hypothesis evaluation in

the subsequent section, and for *predictive accuracy*, Stone-Geissers' Q^2 was employed. A Q^2 above 0 is suggested, and it is clear from Figure 3 that predictive accuracy was ascertained and the model demonstrated good predictive relevance (Chin, 1998; Hair et al., 2014).

Research Question 1: Is the first model - which describes the interplay between L1 and L2 vocabulary size, L1 and L2 reading motivation, and L1 and L2 reading habits - consistent with the observed relationships?

As Table 4 indicates, aside from one path that describes the relationship between L2 reading motivation and L2 vocabulary knowledge, the relationship was found to be significant.

Table 4

Structural Model Results for Model I

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Effect</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>VIF</i>	f^2
H ₁	L1 mot → L2 mot.	.389	7.703	Accepted	1.000	.270
H ₂	L2 mot → L2 voc.	.091	2.131	Accepted	1.316	.008
H ₃	L1 mot → L1 hab.	.544	17.103	Accepted	1.000	.421
H ₄	L1 hab → L2 hab.	.264	6.872	Accepted	1.035	.097
H ₅	L2 hab → L2 voc.	.049	.995	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.317	.002
H ₆	L2 mot → L2 hab.	.440	11.444	Accepted	1.035	.270
H ₇	L1 mot → L1 voc.	.137	2.603	Accepted	1.421	.022
H ₈	L1 hab → L1 voc.	.170	3.279	Accepted	1.421	.014
H ₉	L1 voc → L2 voc.	.465	13.539	Accepted	1.007	.283

In order to test the hypotheses, the significance and the effect of the independent variables on R^2 and Q^2 values, f^2 values were calculated. The evaluation of f^2 values was based on Cohen's (Cohen, 1992) criteria: .02 small, .15 medium and .35 large effect. Only one hypothesis was not supported: L2 reading habits has a statistically significant effect on L2 vocabulary. L1 reading motivation had a statistically significant positive moderate effect on L2 reading motivation ($\beta = .389$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .289$) which supported accepting H₁. H₃ was also accepted, considering that L1 reading motion had a statistically significant positive large effect on L1 reading habits ($\beta = .544$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .421$). Similarly, L2 reading motivation had a statistically

significant and positive effect on L2 reading habits ($\beta = .440$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .270$) with a medium effect size, which supported acceptance of H₆. L1 vocabulary had a statistically significant and positive effect on L2 vocabulary with a medium effect size ($\beta = .465$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .283$), which supported accepting H₉.

Table 5 displays the direct, indirect and total effects; as shown, L2 reading motivation had only one predictor variable and was directly and strongly predicted by L1 reading motivation ($\beta = .389$ $p < .05$).

Table 5

Direct, Indirect and Total Effects for the Model I

<i>Predicted variable</i>	<i>Predictor variable</i>	<i>Direct effect</i>	<i>Indirect effect</i>	<i>Total effect</i>
L2 Reading mot.	L1 mot.	.389*		.389*
	L2 mot.	.091*	.022	.112*
L2 Vocabulary	L2 habits	.049		.049
	L1 vocab.	.465*		.465*
	L1 habits		.092*	.092*
	L2 mot.	.440*		.440*
L2 reading habits	L1 habits	.264*		.264*
	L1 mot.		.315*	.315*
L2 reading habits	L1 mot.	.544*		.544*
L1 Vocabulary	L1 habits	.170*		.170*
	L1 mot.	.137*	.092*	.230*

Among the predictors of L2 vocabulary, despite the low β value, L2 reading motivation had a statistically significant and direct effect on L2 vocabulary ($\beta = .091$, $p < .05$). However, as L2 reading habits did not mediate the relationship between L2 reading motivation and L2 vocabulary ($\beta = .049$ $p > .05$), the indirect effect of L2 reading motivation on L2 vocabulary was insignificant. On the other hand, L1 vocabulary had a direct and strong effect on L2 vocabulary ($\beta = .465$, $p < .05$). Finally, the indirect and small effect of L1

reading habits via L1 vocabulary on L2 vocabulary was statistically significant ($\beta = .092$ $p < .05$).

With regard to L2 reading habits, L2 reading motivation ($\beta = .440$ $p < .05$) had a large direct effect, and L1 reading habits had a medium direct effect ($\beta = .264$ $p < .05$); and finally, L1 reading motivation influenced L2 reading habits indirectly but nearly to a large extent ($\beta = .315$ $p < .05$).

As for L1 reading habits, unlike L2 reading motivation's influence on L2 reading habits, L1 reading motivation exhibited quite a strong effect ($\beta = .544$, $p < .05$).

Furthermore, L1 vocabulary was predicted directly by L1 reading habits ($\beta = .170$ $p < .05$), and L1 reading motivation also indirectly influenced L1 vocabulary, but with lower predictive relevance ($\beta = .092$, $p < .05$).

Evaluation of Model II

Measurement (Outer) Model. The analysis of measurement model II followed the same steps that were described in detail for the first model.

All Cronbah's alpha values exceeded the threshold value .6. With respect to *Composite reliability*, all the values fell within the higher end of this range, indicating high levels of internal consistency (Wong, 2016).

For *indicator reliability*, a total of 2 items from the L1 reading motivation construct, five items from the L2 reading motivation construct, and 1 item from L1 and L2 reading habits measures were excluded from the analysis (Hair et al., 2014).

Table 6

Measurement (Outer) Model Results for Model II

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Loadings</i>	<i>Cronbach's alpha</i>	<i>Composite reliability</i>	<i>AVE</i>
L1 READING MOTIVATION		.883		
<i>L1 reading for self</i>		.857	.901	.570
"Without reading, my life would not be the same."	.741			
"My friends sometimes are surprised at how much I read."	.780			
"My friends and I like to exchange books or articles we particularly enjoy."	.596			
"It is very important to me to spend time reading."	.880			
"In comparison to other activities, reading is important to me."	.867			

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<i>Variables</i>	<i>Loadings</i>	<i>Cronbach's alpha</i>	<i>Composite reliability</i>	<i>AVE</i>
"I set a good model for others through reading."	.644			
"Reading helps make my life meaningful."	.735			
<i>L1 reading efficacy</i>		.681	.839	.636
"I like hard, challenging books or articles."	.716			
"I am confident I can understand difficult books or articles."	.823			
"I am a good reader."	.847			
<i>L1 reading for recognition</i>		.763		
"It is important to me to get compliments for the knowledge I gather from reading."	.927			
"I like others to question me on what I read so that I can show my knowledge."	.768			
"It is important to me to have others remark on how much I read."	.747			
<i>L1 reading to do well in other realms</i>		.687	.810	.516
"If I am going to need information from material I read, I finish the reading well in advance of when I must know the material."	.678			
"Work performance or university grades are an indicator of the effectiveness of my reading."	.719			
"I do all the expected reading for work or university courses."	.782			
"I read to improve my work or university performance."	.691			
L2 READING MOTIVATION		.914		
<i>L2 intrinsic value of reading</i>		.921	.925	.540
"Reading in a foreign language is enjoyable."	.722			
"I like reading in a foreign language."	.817			
"Reading in a foreign language is boring.*"	.424			
"I feel peaceful while reading in a foreign language."	.783			
"I have a great desire to read in a foreign language."	.830			
"I never read in a foreign language unless I have to *"	.443			
"The more I read in a foreign language, the more I want to read."	.793			
"I love reading in a foreign language."	.803			
"Reading in a foreign language makes me happy."	.861			
"I read in a foreign language even if I do not have to."	.711			
"I spend the time to read in a foreign language."	.751			
<i>L2 reading efficacy</i>		.873	.906	.615

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Loadings</i>	<i>Cronbach's alpha</i>	<i>Composite reliability</i>	<i>AVE</i>
"I comprehend the texts in a foreign language at first reading."	.746			
"I can comprehend most of what I read in a foreign language."	.764			
"I can read in a foreign language fluently."	.782			
"My reading skill in a foreign language is at an advanced level."	.801			
"I have no problems with comprehending a foreign language text."	.779			
"I am successful at reading in a foreign language"	.833			
<i>L2 extrinsic utility value of reading</i>		.762	.842	.519
"Reading in a foreign language provides us with a better education."	.613			
"Reading in a foreign language helps us to become better individuals."	.785			
"Reading in a foreign language helps to prepare a better future for ourselves."	.778			
"Reading in a foreign language helps to find a better job."	.664			
"Reading in a foreign language is beneficial for self-development."	.745			
<i>L2 foreign language linguistic utility value</i>		.736	.843	.573
"Reading in a foreign language contributes to the development of grammar in a foreign language."	.788			
"Reading in a foreign language contributes to the development of writing skill in a foreign language."	.807			
"Reading in a foreign language is an essential instrument to enlarge our vocabulary."	.747			
"Reading in a foreign language helps fluency in speech in a foreign language."	.681			
L2 VOCABULARY	Single Item	.945		
L1 VOCABULARY	Single Item	.931		
L1 READING HABITS			.823	.614
"How often do you read in Turkish?"	.870			
"How many hours do you read a week?"	.860			
"When was the last time you read a book, a newspaper, a magazine etc. in Turkish?"	.586			
L2 READING HABITS			.781	.554
"How often do you read in English?"	.847			
"How many hours do you read a week?"	.827			
"When was the last time you read a book, a newspaper, a magazine etc. in English?"	.510			

Regarding *convergent validity*, as all the outer loadings exceeded .5 AVE

values, convergent validity was ensured (Garson, 2016; Hair et al., 2014; Hegner-Kakar et al., 2018).

In order to secure *discriminant validity*, “the AVE should exceed the squared correlation with any other construct” (Hair et al., 2014, p. 105). This criterion was secured in the present study (See Table 6).

Structural (Inner) Model. After establishing the criteria for the measurement model and the reliability and validity issues, the structural model was tested. Initially, *collinearity assessment* was determined by ensuring VIF values below .5. Table 52 illustrates that all VIF values were below this level in this study (Hair et al., 2017).

Table 7

AVE Values and the Fornell-Larcker Test of Discriminant Validity for Model II

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 L2 hab	.744											
2 L2 voc	.124	.51										
3 L1 effi	.280	.063	.797									
4 L1 hab	.338	.027	.465	.784								
5 L1 voc	.072	.475	.273	.237	.51							
6 L1 rec	.111	-.015	.324	.154	.063	.818						
7 L1 oth	.270	-.067	.427	.324	.015	.300	.719					
8 L1 self	.278	.023	.710	.569	.261	.340	.488	.755				
9 L2 int.	.490	.124	.288	.154	.047	.164	.356	.330	.735			
10 L2 eff	.356	.273	.259	.158	.108	.095	.165	.154	.511	0,785		
11 L2 lin	.231	-.002	.114	.082	-.025	.126	.232	.182	.423	.248	.757	
12 L2 ext	.252	.028	.115	.098	.073	.240	.283	.222	.472	.156	.479	.720

Note:

1-AVE values cannot be calculated for single-item constructs; therefore, the related cells are blank. Discriminant validity between second-order constructs and the sub-constructs of the second-order constructs was not analyzed (Hair et al., 2017).

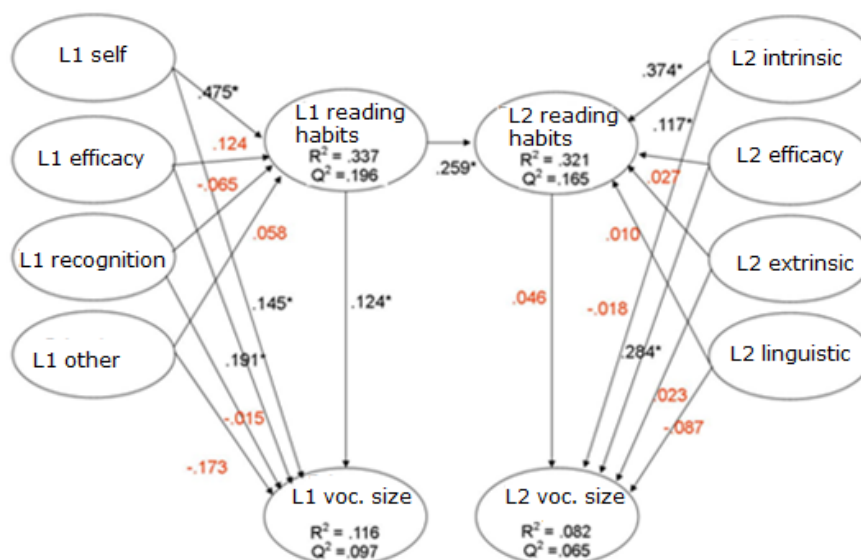
2- The values in bold are the square roots of the AVE values

The *path coefficients* displayed in Table 7 demonstrate that several paths were insignificant. The insignificant paths indicate that the L2 extrinsic utility value of reading ($\beta = .027$ $p > .05$) and L2 linguistic utility ($\beta = .010$ $p > .05$) did not predict L2 reading habits. On the other hand, L2 intrinsic reading motivation ($\beta = .374$ $p < .05$) was found to be the best predictor of L2 reading habits when compared to L2 reading efficacy ($\beta = .117$ $p < .05$) and L1 reading habits ($\beta = .259$ $p < .05$). In considering the predictors of L2 vocabulary knowledge,

L2 reading efficacy was a unique predictor ($\beta = .284$ $p < .05$), and the other paths were all insignificant. Similarly, L1 reading habits were predicted only by L1 reading for self ($\beta = .475$ $p < .05$).

Figure 4

Structural (Inner) model results for Model II



Concerning the R^2 values displayed in Figure 4, L1 reading habits received the highest R^2 value (.337), which can be interpreted within the range between weak to moderate (Hair et al., 2014). This 33% variance was explained only by one variable: L1 reading for self ($\beta = .475$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .152$). The R^2 value (.321) of L2 reading habits was closer to that of L1, and 32% variance was explained by L2 intrinsic reading motivation ($\beta = .374$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .115$) with the highest variance, followed by L1 reading habits ($\beta = .259$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .095$) and L2 reading efficacy respectively ($\beta = .117$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .015$). Reading efficacy variables with the highest values predicted vocabulary size in both languages and L2 reading efficacy ($\beta = .284$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .062$) explained the total of .08% variance in L2 vocabulary knowledge. As for L1 vocabulary knowledge, the highest portion of the 11% variance was explained by L1 reading efficacy ($\beta = .191$ $p < .05$, $f^2 = .020$), followed by L1 reading for self ($\beta = .145$ $p < .05$,

$f^2=.009$) and L1 reading habits ($\beta = .124$ $p<.05$, $f^2=.012$) respectively.

Effect sizes were explained regarding each of the hypotheses in the subsequent section. For *predictive accuracy*, Stone-Geissers' Q² was employed, and the values, which should be above 0, ascertained predictive accuracy; therefore, the model demonstrated good predictive relevance (Chin, 1998; Hair et al., 2014).

Research Question 2. Is the second model – which describes the interplay between sub-constructs of L1 and L2 reading motivation, L1 and L2 reading habits, and L1 and L2 vocabulary size- consistent with the observed relationships among these variables?

As Table 8 reveals, half of the eighteen paths were found to be insignificant. In order to test the hypotheses, the significance and effect of the independent variables on the R² and Q² values and the f^2 values were calculated. The evaluation of f^2 values was based on Cohen's (1992) criteria: .02 small, .15 medium and .35 large effect. All effect sizes fall within the range of small effect size values. Because there were many variables in the analysis, the effect sizes decreased in the second analysis.

Table 8

Structural Model Results for Model II

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Effect</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>VIF</i>	f^2
H ₁₅	L1 self → L1 voc	.145	2.209	Accepted	2.575	.009
H ₁₆	L1 effic → L1 voc	.191	3.142	Accepted	2.098	.020
H ₁₇	L1 rec → L1 voc	-.015	.319	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.181	.000
H ₁₈	L1 other → L1 voc	-.173	3.292	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.371	.025
H ₁₉	L1 hab → L1 voc	.124	2.373	Accepted	1.508	.012
H ₂₀	L1 self → L1 hab	.475	8.338	Accepted	2.234	.152
H ₂₁	L1 effic → L1 hab	.124	1.956	<i>Not Supported</i>	2.075	.011
H ₂₂	L1 recog → L1 hab	-.065	1.700	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.181	.005
H ₂₃	L1 other → L1 hab	.058	1.409	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.371	.004
H ₂₄	L1 hab → L2 hab	.259	6.787	Accepted	1.035	.095
H ₂₅	L2 intrin → L2 hab	.374	7.377	Accepted	1.784	.115
H ₂₆	L2 eff → L2 hab	.117	2.320	Accepted	1.394	.015
H ₂₇	L2 extrin → L2 hab	.027	.564	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.496	.001
H ₂₈	L2 ling → L2 hab	.010	.209	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.399	.000
H ₂₉	L2 intr → L2 voc	-.018	.288	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.986	.000
H ₃₀	L2 effic → L2 voc	.284	5.820	Accepted	1.410	.062

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Effect</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>VIF</i>	f^2
H ₃₁	L2 extrin → L2 voc	.023	.405	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.496	.000
H ₃₂	L2 ling → L2 voc	-.087	1.630	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.399	.006
H ₃₃	L2 hab → L2 voc	.046	.821	<i>Not Supported</i>	1.345	.002

Discussion and Conclusion

The main findings of the study are as follows:

- a- The results showed that L1 vocabulary size was the best predictor of L2 vocabulary size.
- b- L1 reading habits explained L1 vocabulary size, however, L2 reading habits did not explain L2 vocabulary size.
- c- Intrinsic reading motivation explained reading habits in L1 and L2.
- d- L1 reading motivation significantly predicted L2 reading motivation.
- e- L1 reading habits significantly predicted L2 reading habits.

a- The results showed that L1 vocabulary size was the best predictor of L2 vocabulary size:

Concerning the role of expanded L1 vocabulary in L2 vocabulary development, the current study revealed a strong relationship between L1 and L2 vocabulary size. Moreover, L1 vocabulary size was found to be the best predictor of L2 vocabulary size among the variables of L2 reading motivation and L2 reading habits. In this sense, L1 vocabulary size as an indicator of decoding skills, working memory capacity, and syntactic integration (Kahn-Horwitz et al., 2006); Franceschini et al., 2003) can be a good predictor of vocabulary size in L2 and general language learning aptitude. Poor L1 vocabulary, which could result from limited reading and poor decoding skills, is considered one of the indicators of risk for L2 learning (Kahn-Horwitz et al., 2006). In this respect, Sparks and Ganschow (Sparks & Ganschow, 1991; Sparks, 1995; Sparks & Ganschow, 1993) found in several studies that "weak L2 learners appeared to have particular difficulties in specific aspects of their L1" (Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, & Humbach, 2009b, p. 205).

Similarly, several studies by Sparks and his colleagues (Sparks et al., 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Sparks et al., 2006; Sparks & Ganschow, 1991; Sparks,

Patton, Ganschow, & Humbach, 2012) concluded that learners' "L1 skills serve as the foundation for their L2 learning aptitude and achievement" and "L1 and L2 learning depend on basic language learning components that are common to both languages," (Sparks, 2012, p. 5). In this respect, the current study suggests that the role of L1 vocabulary size deserves more attention concerning L2 vocabulary development. Naturally, several other factors affect vocabulary learning but resting on the evidence from cross-linguistic studies suggesting that similar language learning mechanisms are responsible for L1 and L2 learning (Cummins, 1979; Kahn-Horwitz et al., 2006; Sparks et al., 2009b), the results of the current study emphasize that L1 vocabulary size should be considered among these factors.

Moreover, the significant relationship between L1 and L2 vocabulary in this study indicates that the development of the L2 mental lexicon may be affected by the maturity of the L1 mental lexicon. In other words, the ability to perform complex cognitive activities in L1 affects the performance of the L2 lexicon. This ability to build strong lexical and conceptual connections in L1, which is partially represented in vocabulary size, can be the agent that plays a significant role in L2 mental lexicon development (Turgeon & Macoir, 2008). Although much remains to be understood about what underlying factors affect the relationship between L1 and L2 vocabulary size, based on the evidence from the studies on the bilingual mental lexicon, language aptitude and cross-linguistic effect of L1 on L2, which suggest that similar language learning mechanisms are responsible for L1 and L2 learning (Cummins, 1979; Kahn-Horwitz et al., 2006; Sparks et al., 2009b), it is safe to infer that L2 vocabulary development needs to be considered with L1 vocabulary development.

b- L1 reading habits explained L1 vocabulary size, however, L2 reading habits did not explain L2 vocabulary size:

The relationship between habits and vocabulary size in L2 differs from that in L1, as the results revealed that L2 reading habits were not a significant predictor of L2 vocabulary size. However, the study did not focus on the reading habits of the participants in detail, such as how they manage texts and unknown vocabulary or the type and level of the texts they encountered. This insignificant relationship between L2 reading and L2 vocabulary size could be

the result of the fact that the contributions of reading to vocabulary size may not be the ones that can be represented through a receptive vocabulary size test (Grabe & Stoller, 2002). As suggested in the literature, reading plays a significant role in strengthening the already-known aspects of vocabulary and developing the depth of vocabulary, contributing to the word parts, underlying concepts, associations, grammatical functions, collocations and constraints on use. These aspects are not measured in receptive vocabulary size tests. Another reason for this could be the participants' being English majors who study certain subjects that cover particular vocabulary; therefore, those years contribute to the depth of vocabulary rather than breadth.

c- Intrinsic reading motivation explained reading habits in L1 and L2:

Another point emerging from the results is that, although the reading motivational dispositions were different in the two languages, the relationship between reading motivation and habits in L2 was similar to that of L1. Participants with higher reading efficacy and intrinsic motivation in L1 reported higher reading amount and frequency. Similarly, higher L2 intrinsic reading motivation and reading efficacy significantly explained the higher reading amount and frequency in L2, and reading efficacy and intrinsic reading motivation were two significant factors affecting the development of reading habits in L1 and L2. Although linguistic reading motivation was the dominant disposition in L2 reading, it did not affect reading habits. On the other hand, those with higher reading efficacy and intrinsic motivation towards L2 reading and who read more in L1 engaged in L2 reading more. Several other studies support this finding in that reading motivation significantly contributes to the reading amount, which promotes reading comprehension as a result of developing background knowledge, vocabulary knowledge and fluent use of cognitive skills (Guthrie et al., 2000; Guthrie et al., 1999; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997). In these studies, intrinsic motivation was found to significantly contribute to reading amount and frequency (De Naeghel et al., 2012; Guthrie et al., 1999; Stutz et al., 2017). In Stutz et al.'s study (2017), extrinsic reading motivation was negatively correlated with the reading amount and reading comprehension.

d- L1 reading motivation significantly predicted L2 reading motivation:

Interestingly, despite each language's distinctive reading motivational dispositions, L1 reading motivation significantly affects L2 reading motivation. However, as with the relationship between L1 and L2 reading habits, the relationship between L1 and L2 reading motivation has drawn little attention in the literature. The existing studies have revealed that, although reading motivation in L2 and L1 are affected by different factors, L1 reading attitudes and motivation significantly influence L2 reading motivation (Kim, 2011; Lee & Schallert, 2014; Yamashita, 2004, 2007). In this study, L1 reading motivation predicted L2 reading motivation in that the learners who were highly motivated to read in L1 tended to show high motivation to read in L2, as well. Although the most highly reported motivations were somewhat different in both languages, the results revealed that each sub-construct of the L1 reading motivation scale significantly correlated with the sub-constructs of the L2 reading motivation scale. Overall, the significant correlations between the sub-constructs of the same motivational construct suggest that reading motivation as a driving force may be considered the most advantageous route to achievement in the target language.

e- L1 reading habits significantly predicted L2 reading habits:

Regarding the effect of L1 reading habits, the current study contributes to the literature supporting the existing findings that learners with better reading habits in L1 are likely to develop better reading habits in L2 (Camiciottoli, 2001; Ro&Chen, 2014). The results also revealed that the amount and frequency of L1 reading predicted the amount and frequency of reading in L2. As such, L1 reading habits may be treated as a tool to develop good L2 reading habits and may present meaningful solutions to certain problematic L2 reading habits. In this respect, Camiciottoli (2001) found that even when L2 learners have a positive attitude towards L2 reading, if they do not have strong L1 reading habits, they also refrain from reading in L2. On the other hand, L1 readers with strong reading habits can avoid reading in L2 due to unpleasant L2 reading experiences, difficult or tedious texts or seeing no benefits in L2 reading. However, L1 and L2 reading habits may not be considered totally different and mutually exclusive. In this respect, aside from

making students aware of the benefits of reading in L2 and eliminating the adverse factors preventing learners from engaging in reading, the study proposes that ensuring strong L1 reading habits can significantly contribute to developing good L2 reading motivation and habits later on.

Conclusion

This cross-linguistic study investigated the interplay between L1 and L2 vocabulary size, reading motivation and habits. This investigation showed that L1 vocabulary size should be considered among the predictors of L2 vocabulary size. In this respect, the current study suggests that the role of L1 vocabulary size deserves more attention concerning L2 vocabulary studies. L1 vocabulary size, which reflects the ability to build strong lexical and conceptual connections in L1, can be the agent that plays a significant role in L2 mental lexicon development (Turgeon & Macoir, 2008).

Furthermore, both L1 reading motivation and L1 reading habits were found to be significant predictors of L2 reading motivation and L2 reading habits. The results suggest that as it is the case in language skills (Sparks et al., 2008, 2009; Sparks et al., 2006; Sparks & Ganschow, 1991; Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, & Humbach, 2012), L1 motivational dispositions and habits seem to serve an effective foundation for similar L2 processes.

Methodological implications. A few limitations regarding the study should be considered. One of these is the inclusion of several data collection instruments, which poses two disadvantages. First, it was not easy to maintain the motivation of the students to complete all the instruments, which took over an hour. However, the researcher expected to compensate for this by applying the measures in two or more sessions that were not separated from the retention risk.

The second limitation is the number and the profile of the students included in the study, which resulted from the difficulties in finding volunteers to participate in a study carried out over several sessions. A great many of the instruments were not returned or were left incomplete. A larger sample would allow researchers to categorize students into different vocabulary size groups. It would yield a clearer picture of the relationships between vocabulary size,

reading habits and motivation. Additionally, because the participants were from the same group of learners, the variance of the test scores and other instruments used in this study were found to be small, which caused some statistical disadvantages in the analyses, such as insignificant relationships or lower reliability values. In order to gain a greater understanding of the underlying reasons for the relationships presented in the proposed model, the results can be supported by qualitative data.

Since it presents unique advantages in proposing theories with complex models, the current study provides awareness of the methodological choice of PLS-SEM in ELT research. Moreover, previous studies on the relationship between reading and vocabulary made use of non-standard materials and tests. The employment of standard vocabulary size tests, along with motivational scales, allows the current study and future studies to compare the results and reach a general conclusion for specific issues. As for the questionnaires, which were chosen as the best option for collecting a wide array of data from a large sample, the results suggest that when investigating reading habits, more detailed and multiple data collection tools should be employed to obtain a more detailed picture of the behaviour, which is not usually possible in large scale studies with multiple data collection tools.

Another crucial methodological implication of the study was the reliability analyses of the L1 Vocabulary Levels Test; these indicated that the first three parts of the test obtained the highest scores and nearly reached the maximum scores; therefore, the variance was found to be relatively small. This result suggests that the first three parts should be employed cautiously with adult Turkish native speakers. The other parts of the test, which measured the 10.000 plus vocabulary size, appeared more appropriate for measuring adult Turkish native speakers' vocabulary size. Likewise, considering the L2 vocabulary levels test, the first two parts appeared to be impaired by a small variance because many participants reached the maximum score, narrowing the variance and posing difficulties in some aspects of the analysis. In this respect, the inclusion of each part of the test in future studies should be determined in consideration of the level of the participants in order to avoid narrow variance and participant fatigue.

Theoretical Implications. There are several factors that affect L2

vocabulary size. However, the current study proposes a new factor: L1 vocabulary size as a significant predictor of L2 vocabulary size, based on the fact that L1 vocabulary development can play an important role in developing L2 vocabulary. In this sense, L1 skills are considered among the factors that affect individual differences in L2 because L1 skills were found to be closely related to L2 aptitude (Sparks et al., 2009a). From the very early years of education, L1 literacy skills hold critical importance for L2 learning. It is highly possible that L1 vocabulary size, like the cross-linguistic transfer of other L1 skills, affects the development of L2 vocabulary. This effect may result from phonological-orthographic ability, other cognitive skills, or working memory capacity (Durgunoglu, Navy, & Hancin-Bhatt, 1993; Meschyan & Hernandez, 2002).

Another theoretical implication of the current study is that L2 reading motivation and habits cannot be considered separately from L1 reading, naturally, due to the contexts in which the languages are used and the users' aims, aside from their reading experiences in both languages, the reasons for reading motivation in L1 and L2 differ. Most L2 readers tend to read for instrumental reasons, whereas they read for intrinsic reasons in their L1. Despite this divergence, the results indicate that L2 reading motivation is influenced by L1 reading motivation, and L1 reading motivation appears to find a more comfortable and advantageous place for itself. With this in mind, because readers already enjoy reading as a self-development activity in L1 and satisfy it through L1, it is suggested that L2 reading may be used for a good purpose, particularly for an intrinsically motivated reader: not only to learn another language but also for pleasure.

Pedagogical Implications. In the early stages of L2 learning, as L1 has "stronger word-to-concept connections" (Kroll & Hermans, 2011, p. 17), L1 mediates the relationship between L2 vocabulary and concepts. To access the meaning of L2 words, less-proficient learners rely on L1 equivalents of the relevant L2 words. However, as they become more proficient, namely, when the links between L2 words and concepts become stronger, learners can access concepts directly when dealing with L2 words without applying their L1 equivalents. Nonetheless, even during direct conceptual processing, L1 is active. Research on lexical processing suggests that no matter what language

is used during reading, writing, listening or speaking, both languages are activated considering their phonological, conceptual, and orthographical similarities (Kroll & Hermans, 2011).

Although less-proficient L2 users experience more L1 influence at the lexical level, more proficient L2 users likewise cannot detach themselves from L1 lexical sources and skills because lexical processing occurs in the same areas in the brain in both languages (Franceschini et al., 2003). As the foundation of these areas has been laid in L1, and the advantage of having conceptual richness in L1 (which can provide more comprehensive mediation between L2 words and concepts) has already been established through/in L1, developing lexical skills requires a well-developed L1 vocabulary. In this respect, L2 language teachers' working in cooperation with L1 language teachers to encourage L1 vocabulary development can promote learners' L2 vocabulary development.

Considering reading motivation, it appears to share a common domain, and a highly motivated L1 reader is likely to be motivated to read in L2, as well. There can be exceptional cases when other factors affecting L2 reading motivation are considered. However, promoting L1 reading motivation should be considered in developing L2 reading motivation. In this sense, although any motivation can trigger action, intrinsic reading motivation is recognized as the most influential disposition, as its effect lasts longer and has stronger links to action. Although instrumental motivation was the most highly reported disposition, it had no effect on promoting reading habits or vocabulary; intrinsic reading motivation, which is essentially associated with L1 reading motivation, is indispensable in fostering L2 reading motivation. As such, intrinsic reading motivation, as the most influential factor among the other motivational dispositions, should be encouraged in L2 reading. If readers enjoy reading as a personal interest and an instrumental activity, they may engage in reading more effectively and for more extended periods. In previous studies, intrinsic reading motivation exhibited a stable influence on the reading amount, whereas other motivational dispositions were found to be ineffective or to have unstable outcomes (De Naeghel et al., 2012; Guthrie et al., 1999; Schiefele et al., 2016). In this sense, studies have shown that extrinsic reading motivation was negatively linked to reading comprehension (Stutz, Schaffner et al., 2017)

and was negatively linked to the reading amount and literacy (Becker, McElvany & Kortenbruck, 2010).

Intrinsic reading motivation can be promoted directly or indirectly by encouraging L1 intrinsic reading. Because learners face less difficulty dealing with complex texts and unknown vocabulary in their L1, they develop more robust reading efficacy. Therefore, it would be beneficial to trigger L2 intrinsic reading motivation by developing intrinsic reading motivation in L1. When teachers themselves believe in the importance of reading extensively and for intrinsic reasons and acknowledge the value of reading as a self-rewarding activity and a rich way of learning and developing oneself both in L1 and L2, it will be easier to make students develop similar attitudes and motivation towards reading.

The study revealed that the amount and frequency of L1 reading predicted the amount of reading in L2, a circumstance supported by the relevant literature (Camiciottoli, 2001; Ro & Chen, 2014a). In this respect, aside from making students aware of the benefits of reading in L2, ensuring a high level of L1 intrinsic reading motivation and positive reading habits can significantly contribute to developing good L2 reading habits. In this sense, it will be difficult for learners who have yet to develop strong reading habits in L1 to develop good reading habits in L2. When this occurs, such learners may complete academic reading tasks as long as they are compulsory; however, reading will only yield its potential outcome if it occurs regularly and at an adequate level. Stronger motivation is needed to maintain the process and to provide deeper and longer reading engagement.

Suggestions for Further Research

As the participants' being English majors who study specific subjects that cover particular vocabulary does not reflect the general L2 learners population, the model should be tested with the participants from diverse groups of learners. A larger sample from a diverse group of learners would allow researchers to categorize students into different vocabulary size groups. It would more likely yield a clearer picture of the relationships between vocabulary size, reading habits and motivation.

The reading habits and motivation of the students in the current study were assessed through standardized tests and a limited number of questions. Open-ended questions or interviews would help researchers to get a better understanding of the relationships between these constructs. Moreover, a few predictors of L2 vocabulary were addressed in the current study. Including other variables as predictors of L2 vocabulary size would allow researchers to see a more comprehensive picture of the case, which is appropriate for PLS-SEM analyses. In order to obtain higher R² values, other variables that could influence L2 vocabulary should be included in the model. Furthermore, doing so would bring about a more detailed assessment and identification of the roles of reading habits and L1 vocabulary in developing L2 vocabulary. Moreover, as the current study tested a new model, the model should be proven with different samples in different contexts.

Considering the significant relationship between L1 and L2 vocabulary, which was found in this study, another important factor in the development of the L2 mental lexicon seems to be the mature L1 mental lexicon, which indicates the ability of the brain to perform complex cognitive activities. This ability to build strong lexical and conceptual connections in L1, which is partially represented in vocabulary size, can be the agent that plays a significant role in L2 mental lexicon development (Turgeon & Macoir, 2008). In this respect, further studies can significantly contribute to understanding its role in L2 mental lexical development.

Most of the studies about reading motivation were conducted with young learners and most focused on L1 reading motivation. In this sense, more research is needed to understand the effect of the dimensions of L2 reading motivation on reading habits and vocabulary development of adult learners.

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**PIRMOSIOS IR ANTROSIOS KALBOS SKAITYMO
MOTYVACIJOS, SKAITYMO ĮPROČIŲ IR ŽODYNO APIMTIES
SĄVEIKOS TYRIMAS**

Santrauka. Šiuo tyrimu siekta ištirti pirmosios kalbos (L1) žodyno, skaitymo motyvacijos ir skaitymo įpročių tarpusavio poveikį antrosios kalbos (L2) žodynui, skaitymo motyvacijai ir įpročiams. Tyrime sukurtu modeliu siekiama prisidėti prie užsienio kalbų mokymo ir mokslinių tyrimų. Tyrimo duomenys buvo surinkti naudojant žodyno dydžio nustatymo testus, skaitymo motyvacijos skales ir skaitymo įpročių klausimynus, apklausus 490 dalyvių iš keturių skirtingų valstybinių universitetų. Pasiūlytas modelis analizuotas PLS-SEM metodu kaip siūlomas kompleksinis teorinis modelis. Rezultatai atskleidė, kad L1 žodyno dydis ir skaitymo veiksmingumas buvo du L2 žodyno dydžio prediktoriai; tačiau L1 žodyno dydis buvo geresnis prediktorius. L1 žodyno dydį paaiškino L1 skaitymo įpročiai, o L2 žodyno dydžio L2 skaitymo įpročiai neprognozavo. Nors dalyvių labiausiai patvirtintos skaitymo motyvacijos nuostatos L1 ir L2 skyrėsi, tik vidinė skaitymo motyvacija paaiškino L1 ir L2 skaitymo įpročius. Be to, L1 skaitymo motyvacija ir įpročiai statistiškai reikšmingai prognozavo L2 skaitymo motyvaciją ir įpročius. Atsižvelgiant į tai, tyrimas rodo, kad L1 žodyno dydis ir skaitymo įpročiai yra labai svarbūs ugdant L2 žodyno dydį ir skaitymo įpročius.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: L1 žodynas; L2 žodynas; L1 skaitymo motyvacija; L2 skaitymo motyvacija; L1 skaitymo įpročiai; L2 skaitymo įpročiai; L2 skaitymo įpročiai.

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EXPLORING LANGUAGE ANXIETY AMONG TURKISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN GERMANY

Summary. Heritage language speakers may feel anxiety about using their heritage language in different settings due to monolingual ideologies, family attitudes, language proficiency, and many other factors. However, the experience of those enrolling in heritage language classes has yet to be known in detail. This study examined heritage language anxiety (HLA) toward speaking skills among Turkish heritage language learners (HLLs). A descriptive design was used to seek the HLA level and its relations with various variables such as the home language, communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, age, gender, grade level, birthplaces of children and parents, age of acquisition (AoA), book-reading and movie-watching languages. Three hundred and three school-age bilingual Turkish children in Germany participated in the study. The results demonstrated that the HLA level of the target group was low. In addition, in-class HLA was significantly higher than out-of-class. Moreover, HLA levels significantly differed in terms of the father's birthplace, the communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, and the movie-watching language. Despite evident differences regarding the book-reading language and birthplace of the mother, these were not statistically significant. Also, no relationship was observed between HLA and some variables: Age, grade level, and AoA. This initial study attempted to comprehend the complex patterns behind the language anxiety concept in the context of Turkish immigrants in Germany and heritage language education (HLE). In conclusion, interaction via heritage language (HL) and access to HLE may contribute to reducing HLA. However, paradoxically, while HLE may alleviate general HLA, it may cause more in-class anxiety due to sociocultural and pedagogical factors.

Keywords: bilingualism; heritage language anxiety; Turkish as a heritage language; heritage language education; Turkish immigrants in Germany.

Introduction

Language anxiety, examined primarily in the field of second and foreign language (FL) teaching, is defined as “the apprehension experienced when a situation requires the use of a second language with which the individual is not fully proficient” (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 5). It can be called communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, which is more than test anxiety (Horwitz, 2010). This complex affective trait can be impinged

by personality, age, academic achievement, expectations, and perceptions of self-worth or proficiency (Dewaele, 2002; Onwuegbuzie et al., 1999). In the language education context, students tend to react nervously while speaking, writing, reading, and listening (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). Speaking skills, particularly, have been intensely under debate since Horwitz et al. (1986) developed the foreign language classroom anxiety scale (FLCAS). These skills lead to the most acute anxiety for FL learners, whether performed at the desk or in front of the class (Cheng et al., 1999; Horwitz et al., 1986; Young, 1990).

In recent literature, another kind of anxiety toward using an HL has been studied in the context of Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and Turkish heritage speakers, and it is called HLA (Jee, 2016, 2020; Prada et al., 2020; Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018; Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014). HLA is an undesirable affective state experienced by heritage language speakers (HLS), who are bilingual individuals having some proficiency in both the majority language (ML) and HL spoken in the home (Valdés, 2001; Sevinç, 2020). HLSs' relationship with their HL is far more affective, and emotions play a critical role in their acquisition and maintenance (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Thereby, having a positive feeling toward HL is vital to be competent in it. While positive attitudes, interaction possibilities, and literacy activities can construct a strong proficiency in HL and belonging sense, HLSs face a risk of being insecure in HL and disclaiming its legacy because of several factors such as family members' approaches (Fishman, 2006; Te Huia, 2017). Grandparents, for instance, may play a critical role in identity construction and the affective development process of HLS (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015); however, they may increase HLA by behaving to the grandchild like they are insufficient in HL, which is problematic (Sevinç, 2020). In addition, inter-generational relations and particular linguistic identities of different HL generations should be considered (Hua & Wei, 2016). According to Sevinç and Dewaele (2018), third-generation immigrants experience high-level HLA just opposite to first or second-generation immigrants. Considering the choices and practices in the three different generations, the shift from L1 monolingualism to L1-dominant bilingualism and then L2-dominant bilingualism (Wei, 1994), the divergent experience of HLA among generations would be no longer astonishing.

As a result, whereas positive examples can contribute to the preservation of HL, some circumstances can hurt the emotional and linguistic development of children who speak HL and trigger HLA.

Furthermore, other factors such as sociocultural context, the host country's ideologies, attitudes, and education system can be related to the emotional well-being and HL maintenance of children with a minoritized language (Oriyama, 2011). In classroom settings, HLSs (immigrants or minoritized groups) are mostly deprived of using or learning their mother tongue for several reasons, which undermines sustainable multilingualism (Cummins, 2019). According to Gogolin et al. (2013), for example, 96% of classroom interactions were monolingual in German schools. These kinds of school systems repudiate HL and, thus, dismiss the child, which can devastate their well-being (Cummins, 2001). As a result, they have higher speaking and listening proficiency, conversely, low reading and writing proficiency in HL (Kagan & Dillon, 2008). In this manner, HLA is dissimilar from the assumption that speaking is the skill most worried about in the educational and skill-based context (Jee, 2016; Tallon, 2009; Xiao & Wong, 2014). According to the just cited studies, while HLSs have low-level anxiety in natural language skills (speaking and listening), they are inclined to feel anxious about reading and mainly writing. Although attending HL classes may increase HL proficiency in fundamental skills and decrease HLA (Aksu, 2021), just a small group of children has an opportunity to continue these lessons (Yıldız, 2020).

Context

Since the workforce agreement signed between Türkiye and Germany in 1961, the third and fourth generations have grown in Germany. According to predictions about school-age children, approximately 800.000 individuals of Turkish descent reside in this country (Yıldız, 2020). This group, which we can consider third and next-generation immigrants, mainly uses their HL (Turkish) only at home and with their immediate surroundings in their personal domain. On the other hand, they are exposed to ML in the educational, occupational, and public milieus. Also, this group has a multilingual home including both languages (Yıldız, 2012). These children differ from their monolingual peers in

terms of linguistic performance, and their dominant language starts to shift from their home language to the majority language after receiving formal education (Bayram et al., 2017). Although there are not enough empirical studies on the linguistic situation of this bilingual generation, a hybrid language with elements from both languages is used in their daily life, and the dominance of languages is changeable (Bican, 2017; Demirel, 2019).

In the scope of this study, we are interested in Turkish heritage language classes and Turkish students with a migration background in Germany. 89.000 children have been learning Turkish through Turkish Language and Culture (TLC) courses in Germany as an extracurricular activity (Yıldız et al., 2021). The course is taught by the teachers appointed by the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) to 29.096 students and the teachers appointed by local authorities to 59.904 students (Yıldız et al., 2021). The main goal of the course is to improve four basic language skills in Turkish (MoNE, 2018). Especially teaching reading and writing in HL is crucial for biliteracy and catching up with their monolingual peers (Bayram et al., 2017, 2018). Therefore, this educational environment supports the mother tongue acquisition process of children of Turkish descent (Karadağ & Baş, 2019).

Rationale and Research Questions

As cited in the previous sections, HLSs have been encountering internal and external pressures regarding their language choices. Considering the role of emotions in HL maintenance and the negative effects of HLA, we attempt to draw a general view of HLA among Turkish HLLs. Although many Turkish children reside and study in Germany, with monolingual school habitus, HLA has yet to be studied in the context of Turkish HLLs. Hence, this study initially aims to quantify the level of HLA in this particular group and evaluate it by considering their context.

At first glance, more studies are needed to investigate HLA that is experienced by HLSs (Tallon, 2011). Whereas the variables related to HLA are insufficiently known, this study explores possible-related variables to HLA, which can draw a roadmap for teachers, families, and researchers. For

instance, understanding the *home language* and *HLA* relationship can answer which family language policy can be followed at home to prevent HLA and to support children's affective state and HL development positively. Since several insights can be gained from these complex patterns behind HLA, this study intends to contribute to the literature in this respect.

Additionally, HLA is beyond in-class anxieties (Sevinç, 2020). Sociocultural variables occurring outside HL classroom are also crucial to better investigate the predicaments of HLSs associated with language anxiety (Xiao & Wong, 2014). Unlike previous studies, this study examines in-class and out-of-class HLA comparatively through the sub-dimensions of the data collection instrument. Thus, we discuss not only the educational aspect of HLA but also the socialization processes of HLLs (Chen et al., 2021), such as family and friend circles and exposure to the media. As a result, this study approaches HLA from a broader perspective and addresses the following questions:

1. What are the HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?
2. Is there a significant difference between in-class and out-of-class HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?
3. What background elements are related to the HLA levels of TLC course students in Germany?

Method

Participants

Since the study was conducted in collaboration with MoNE, we had to choose the states accepting MoNE as responsible for teaching Turkish in Germany. As shown in Table 1, the research sample was 303 bilingual Turkish students attending TLC courses offered in the MoNE's area of responsibility in Germany (Baden-Württemberg [BW], Bavaria [BY], Schleswig-Holstein [SH], Berlin [BE], Hamburg [HH], Lower Saxony [NI], and Bremen [HB]).

Table 1

Descriptive Information of Sample

Gender	Female						Male						
	N	165						138					
%	54.5						45.5						
Grade Level	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th	13 th	
	N	39	48	46	33	36	34	39	8	10	2	3	5
%	12.9	15.8	15.2	10.9	11.9	11.2	12.9	2.6	3.3	0.7	1.0	1.7	
AoA	Turkish	M			X̄			SD					
		1.65			1			1.936					
AoA	German	3.21			3			2.137					
		State	BW	BY	SH	BE	HH	NI	HB				
N	199		19	25	31	19	5	1					

We used simple random sampling in this research. All Turkish students participating in MoNE’s classes were provided with the data collection tool, and responses were obtained in an equal, unbiased, and independent manner (Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). The distribution of the numbers of attendance was fewer in some states and after ninth-grade students, because the course was not as prevalent as in some places and higher grades (Yıldız, 2020; Yıldız et al., 2021).

Independent Variables

We selected independent variables based on the previous studies. Accordingly, the HLA levels were analyzed in terms of *age*, *gender*, and *grade level*, which is seen as associated with HLA (Aksu, 2021); *AoA*, which is essential for language dominance and use of bilinguals; the *birthplaces of students and their parents*, which makes differences in HL proficiency (Collins & Toppelberg, 2021); the *home language*, and the *communicative language with Turkish friends*, which is crucial regarding heritage language acquisition and competence for students with immigrant backgrounds (Biedinger et al., 2015); the *self-perceived proficiency*, which has a link between language anxiety and

proficiency perception (Botes et al., 2020; Jee, 2020); the *book-reading and movie-watching language*, which may affect language proficiency and skills (Scheele et al., 2010).

Instruments

All data were obtained from a personal information form designed for this study, including questions about the demographic information and the "Heritage Language Speaking Anxiety Scale for Bilingual Turkish Students Living Abroad," which is a Likert-type scale with 22 items regarding both in-class and out-of-class HLA developed by Ergüt and Baş (2021). This Turkish-German bilingual instrument was developed by utilizing relevant studies and scales, such as Horwitz et al. (1986), to measure HLA levels of Turkish children in Germany towards speaking Turkish in both educational and social environments. Therefore, it employed items regarding oral communication and production in the classroom and out of the school, such as communication with relatives in Turkey and/or Germany via HL. According to Ergüt and Baş (2021), scores between 1.00 and 1.66 indicate that the level of HLA is low in speaking skills. In the same manner, scores between 1.67 and 2.33 indicate "moderate level," and scores between 2.34 and 3.00 indicate "high-level" HLA. For the present study, we computed Cronbach's alpha as .925, and the instrument explained 52.5% of the total variance.

Procedure

First, written ethical approval was received from the Ethical Committee of Yıldız Technical University for the scientific eligibility and suitability of the study. Following this, we had the written implementation permit from the MoNE Strategy Development Department and Berlin Educational Consultancy. After the electronic instruments were sent to the officials of MoNE in the attaché's offices in related states, they conveyed the link to the TLC teachers. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we had to collect data in early 2021 via Google Forms, a commonly used platform for surveys in academia. Following this, the link was shared with all students/families by the teachers. The scale was

filled based on voluntariness. Parents and teachers were advised that they could help children, especially primary school students, to fill out the survey.

Data Analysis

We analyzed data through the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) 26.0 software in the study. We used paired samples T-test to compare the students' in-class and out-of-class HLA; independent samples T-test for comparisons of birthplaces and HLA; One-Way ANOVA for comparisons of the home language, and communicative language with friends, self-perceived proficiency, book-reading, and movie-watching language; Pearson correlation to determine the relationship between age, AoA, grade level, and HLA.

Data met the normality assumption since the kurtosis and skewness values of the scale were in the range of +/-2 for all items and sub-dimensions (George & Mallery, 2020). In addition, no extreme values were detected, as all of the Z values were within the range of -3/+3 (Cokluk et al., 2021). Before the one-way ANOVA and independent samples T-test, we examined the equality of variances with Levene's Test. We considered the related lines in SPSS depending on whether the variances were equal for independent samples T-test. In the post-hoc analysis, the Games-Howell test was used if the variances were not equal. When variances were equal, we used Gabriel test if there were slight differences in the sample sizes and Hochberg's GT2 if there were large differences in the sample sizes (Field, 2018).

Findings

Findings about the First Research Question

Table 2 shows the mean score for the total scale and subscales. According to this, the total scale ($M=1.51$, $SD=.45$), in-class ($M=1.58$, $SD=.55$) and out-of-class ($M=1.42$, $SD=.51$), scores indicated low-level HLA. The "Out-Of-Class HLA" sub-dimension had the lowest mean.

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics*

The Scale and Sub-Dimensions	N	M	SD
Out-Of-Class HLA	303	1.42	.51
In-Class HLA	303	1.58	.55
Total Scale	303	1.51	.45

Findings about the Second Research Question

We conducted paired samples T-test to compare students' in-class and out-of-class HLA. This showed that, in-class HLA ($M=1.58$, $SD=.55$) was significantly higher than out-of-class HLA ($M=1.42$, $SD=.51$), $t(302)=-6.12$, $p<.00$.

Findings about the Third Research Question

The Relationship with Age, Grade Level, and Age of Acquisition.

Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to examine the relationship between students' HLA levels and age, grade level, and AoA of Turkish and German (Table 3). This showed no relationship between the determined variables and HLA.

Table 3*Pearson Correlation Results*

Group		Age	Grade Level	Acquisition Age of Turkish	Acquisition Age of German
HLA	r	-.045	-.036	.023	-.107
	p	.430	.530	.690	.063
	n	303	303	300	302

Comparison with Gender and Birthplaces. Descriptive statistics showed that almost all the students were born in Germany (Table 4). On the other hand, although most mothers and fathers were born in Turkey, a significant part of them were born in Germany. Furthermore, each arithmetic mean was within the "low-level" HLA limits.

Table 4

Independent Samples T-test Results

Variable	Group	N	M	SD	Levene's Test		t	df	p
					F	p			
Gender	Female	165	1.53	.45	.39	.53	.73	301	.46
	Male	138	1.49	.45					
Birthplaces of Students	Turkey	25	1.60	.48	.88	.34	.98	294	.32
	Germany	271	1.51	.45					
Birthplaces of Mothers	Turkey	186	1.48	.43	3.55	.06	-1.86	295	.06
	Germany	111	1.58	.49					
Birthplaces of Fathers	Turkey	184	1.45	.45	.01	.89	-2.93	298	.004
	Germany	116	1.61	.44					

According to analysis, no significant difference was observed in terms of gender ($t=.73, p>.05$) or birthplaces of the students ($t=.98, p>.05$). Although a visible difference in the level of HLA levels between students whose mothers were born in Turkey and Germany, it did not create a significant difference statistically ($t=-1.86, p>.05$). A significant difference was found between students whose fathers were born in Turkey and Germany in terms of HLA levels ($t=-2.93, p<.01$).

Comparison with the Home Language. As illustrated in Table 5, the majority of students resided in a Turkish-dominant home (210 participants). On the other hand, German-dominant and bilingual homes were fewer than this, with 55 and 37 participants, respectively.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics about the Home Language

Home Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	210	1.46	.42	2.71	.06
German (More)	55	1.75	.49		
Turkish and German (Equally)	37	1.46	.46		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 299)=9.80$, $MSE=.19$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.06$, demonstrated a significant difference between HLA and the home language. Post hoc comparisons using Hochberg's GT2 test displayed that the HLA levels of the students living in a German-speaking home ($M=1.76$, $SD=.49$) was significantly higher than those living in a Turkish-speaking home ($M=1.46$, $SD=.42$) and in a bilingual-speaking home ($M=1.46$, $SD=.46$) at $p<.01$ level. Therefore, students living in a German-speaking home had higher levels of HLA than students residing in Turkish- or bilingual-speaking homes.

Comparison with the Communicative Language with Friends.

Table 6 demonstrated that most students spoke in German with Turkish friends (171 participants), and they had the highest HLA means.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics about the Communicative Language with Friends

The Communicative Language with Friends	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	88	1.42	.46	.82	.43
German (More)	171	1.59	.45		
Turkish and German (Equally)	43	1.41	.38		

The one-way ANOVA, $F(2, 299)=5.35$, $MSE=.20$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.03$, showed a significant difference between HLA and the communicative language with friends. Post hoc comparisons using Gabriel test indicated that those communicating with their Turkish friends via German ($M=1.59$, $SD=.45$) had significantly higher HLA than those communicating via Turkish ($M=1.42$, $SD=.46$) and via both languages ($M=1.41$, $SD=.38$) at $p<.05$ level. As a result, students communicating via German more with their friends had higher HLA about speaking Turkish than students communicating bilingually or via Turkish.

Comparison with the Self-perceived Proficiency. While 111 students perceived themselves as proficient in both languages, 129 students felt more proficient in German, with the highest HLA mean (Table 7).

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics About Self-Perceived Proficiency

Self-perceived Proficiency	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	63	1.44	.48	1.19	.30
German (More)	129	1.63	.44		
Both Turkish and German	111	1.42	.41		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 300)=8.13$, $MSE=.19$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.05$, revealed a significant difference between HLA and self-perceived proficiency. Post hoc comparisons using the Gabriel test demonstrated that there was a significant difference between those perceiving themselves as proficient in German ($M=1.63$, $SD=.44$) and those perceiving themselves as proficient in both Turkish and German ($M=1.42$, $SD=.21$) at $p<.01$ level; and Turkish more ($M=1.44$, $SD=.48$) at $p<.05$ level. Thus, students who felt more proficient in German had more HLA than students who thought they were proficient in Turkish or both languages.

Comparison with the Movie-Watching Language. Table 8 indicated that the numbers of students who watch movies/series in German or Turkish were equal.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics about Movie-watching Language

The Movie-watching Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	123	1.50	.44	5.507	.005
German (More)	123	1.61	.48		
Turkish and German (Equally)	42	1.29	.35		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 285)=7.74$, $MSE=.20$, $p<.00$, $\eta^2=.05$, exhibited a significant difference between HLA and the movie-watching language. Post hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test showed that the HLA levels of those watching movies/series in both Turkish and German ($M=1.29$, $SD=.35$) were significantly lower than those watching in Turkish more ($M=1.50$,

$SD=.44$) and those watching in German more ($M=1.61$, $SD=.48$) at $p<.01$ level. Hence, students who watch series and movies equally in both Turkish and German had lower levels of HLA than those who watch mostly Turkish or German.

Comparison with Book-reading Language. German was the main language for reading books (Table 9). Also, students who read bilingually had the lowest mean, and only a few students read more Turkish books with the highest mean.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics about Book-reading Language

The Book-Reading Language	N	M	SD	Levene's Test	
				F	p
Turkish (More)	14	1.65	.63	2.93	.054
German (More)	236	1.53	.43		
Turkish-German (Separate or Dual)	50	1.40	.48		

The One-way ANOVA, $F(2, 285)=2.43$, $MSE=.20$, $p>.05$, $\eta^2=.01$, did not find a significant difference between HLA and the book-reading language. However, the mean scores of the students who read mostly bilingual books or separately in both languages ($M=1.40$, $SD=.48$) were visibly lower than those reading in Turkish more ($M=1.65$, $SD=.63$) and in German more ($M=1.53$, $SD=.43$).

Discussion

The results revealed that Turkish-German bilingual children in Germany enrolling in TLC lessons had low-level heritage language anxiety toward speaking skills. This finding was to align with HLA studies which include HLLs as participants (Jee, 2016, 2020; Prada et al., 2020; Tallon, 2009, 2011; Xiao & Wong, 2014). Most of these studies highlighted that HLSs have a certain level of proficiency in natural language skills (speaking and listening), and therefore, language anxiety levels of this group tend to be low, which is contradictory to FLA studies. Furthermore, Jee (2016) and Xiao and Wong

(2014) demonstrated that reading and writing cause the highest level of HLA. For these reasons, it was inferred that anxiety profiles of FL and HL learners diverged: HLLs, using their HL in their everyday life, interacting, and producing in this language via speaking skills, had low-level HLA toward these skills. Subsequently, this approved that teaching HL requires different strategies and approaches from teaching FL as their needs and experience are different from FL learners (Tallon, 2009). With regard to this result, we must add the social advantages of the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Firstly, Turkish-speaking people constitute Germany's most significant linguistic minority, and MoNE offers TLC courses in the most intense regions that Turkish people inhabit. Gollan et al. (2015) indicated that the survival of minority languages and the proficiency level of HLSs rely on the number of speakers, which presents more interaction possibilities with other HLSs. Moreover, Aksu (2020) showed that education is crucial to reducing HLA. If we profoundly think of these low-level HLA results by paying attention to the circle of Sevinç and Backus (2019), the HLE that might increase HLS' knowledge on their HL and their environment providing interaction opportunities of HL might have been a factor in this result.

It has been stated in previous studies that HLA is based on social factors, and these should be taken into consideration to be able to understand the HLA phenomena (Sevinç, 2020; Sevinç & Backus, 2019; Xiao & Wong, 2014). In this sense, comparing the two basic sub-dimensions of the scale, including in-class and out-of-class, we detected a significant difference in the anxiety levels of TLC course students. Accordingly, students' HLA levels in the classroom were higher than those out of the classroom. At first glance, this may be seen as a conflict with the assumption that out-of-class factors are more effective in the context of HLA (Sevinç, 2020). Still, we should restate that the levels of both subdimensions were low, and participants of this study were only HLLs, receiving Turkish courses regularly. As highlighted in various studies, HLE is crucial for bilingual immigrants to overcome linguistic and social problems such as belonging sense, creating identity, bilingual development, and so on (Baker, 2014; Cummins, 2001; Yıldız et al., 2021). In this respect, social advantages (e.g., the number of speakers) and the HLE might have been valuable for overcoming such issues for our study group. However, despite the low levels of the two subdimensions of anxiety, the significant difference

pointing to higher apprehension in-class situations should be reckoned in two ways. Firstly, even though TLC is a course designed for HL development, the home languages are mainly seen as an out-of-class subject, and there is a monolingual habitus in the German education system, which can be seen as a discrepancy with multilingualism goals (Gogolin et al., 2013). As they internalized the strict ML-only policies and practices in their educational life, students could feel uncomfortable as they were not used to speaking their heritage language in the classroom (Jordens, 2016). Secondly, Tallon (2011) explored that HLLs feel more in-class HLA in grammar-intensive semesters. Moreover, Prada et al. (2020) claimed that a sharp focus on meta-linguistic knowledge and rigid grammar might trigger HLA. Considering the participants enrolled in the classes of teachers coming from Turkey, this difference may have happened owing to the continuity of widespread grammar-oriented practices of Turkish teachers, albeit it is incompatible with the curriculum and textbooks (Arslan, 2017). If it is added the condition that grammatical mistakes in expressive skills are one of the linguistic difficulties of Turkish HLLs (Ince, 2011; Şengül & Yokuş, 2021), it may be deduced that grammar-led HLE may cause higher HLA. Therefore, considering the dynamic and hybrid linguistic repertoire and practices of Turkish children in Germany, HLE should create safe spaces embracing non-standardized varieties and should have plurilingual pedagogies instead of monolingual ones. Otherwise, it may paradoxically lead to more in-class HLA as a repercussion of the abovementioned reasons, although it may help alleviate general HLA.

It is known that the birthplace of the mother and/or father may be a significant predictor of HL proficiency (Collins & Toppelberg, 2021). If parents were born in homeland, their children did not feel HLA in Korean immigrants' example (Jee, 2020). In line with this, we concluded that students whose parents were born in Turkey had lower HLA than others born in Germany. As their arrival age to the host country was different, parents' language practices might have led to this difference. In addition, comparing HLA levels in terms of the home language variable, we found that students living in a Turkish-speaking or bilingual-speaking home were significantly less than those living in a German-speaking home. In this sense, the input received from the family at home is crucial for HL development and proficiency of bilinguals (Gagarina &

Klassert, 2018). Consequently, affordances at home and family language policy might have influenced reducing HLA.

Another potential group that immigrant students can communicate with HL is their friends with similar ethnic backgrounds. Speaking to such peers in HL impacts HL acquisition and exposure (Biedinger et al., 2015). In this context, the vast majority of students (56.6%) spoke with their immigrant friends in German, 29.1% in Turkish, and 14.2% in Turkish and German. Unlike the home language practices, students communicate much more in German with their other Turkish friends. One of the reasons for this might be that they usually meet Turkish friends in public and education areas. There are examples in Germany and other European countries, such as the punishment for speaking Turkish in public spaces and schools, even during recess (Agirdag, 2010; Topçu, 2020). Therefore, the interaction is usually established by the dominant language in German schools (Gogolin et al., 2013). The reason behind that negative attitude (Yağmur, 2006) may be the monolingual education paradigm and the inheritance of nation-building policy that continue to dominate Europe (Busch, 2011). Additionally, using mostly ML with immigrant peers can be seen as a threat to HL maintenance among the next generations. Consequently, ML is the common language of communication among immigrant peers, which seems to be a factor in increasing HLA.

According to the self-rated proficiency findings, students who consider themselves proficient in both languages or more proficient in Turkish had a much lower level of HLA than those who think they are more proficient in German. Concerning other studies, students perceiving themselves as proficient in an FL or HL are less anxious in that language (Botes et al., 2020; Jee, 2020). This study also showed that students feel low-level HLA when they perceive themselves as more proficient in the HL. In this scope, higher self-proficiency and lower language anxiety may call attention to multilingual proficiency in this context (Dewaele, 2007).

In this study, the results pertained to receptive skills exhibited that students who watch and/or read both Turkish and German equally showed less HLA than others who watch mostly in Turkish or German. For both variables having a hybrid linguistic input in both languages made a difference in reducing HLA compared to having more input in one language, regardless of heritage or

majority language. It is widely known that bilinguals can transfer many linguistic elements from one language to another, such as morphological awareness and metacognitive strategies (Cummins, 2017). The same as cross-linguistic transfer, the quantity, and quality of input and exposure to both languages are vital for bilingual development (Hoff, 2021). In this respect, too intensive input from HL is insufficient to develop, and the quality of input from both languages is needed for HL proficiency through cross-linguistic transfer (Scheele et al., 2010). Although we did not have enough evidence about whether these activities were interactive and quality, this result can be interpreted that balanced and rich input received from both languages through reading and listening may be a factor in decreasing HLA thanks to cross-linguistic transfer and bilingual development.

Conclusion and Implications

In conclusion, pedagogical approaches and implementations may contribute to HL students eliminating their concerns about their heritage language. Besides, the usage of, exposure to, and interaction with HL in many environments, such as home and friend circles, effectively decreases HLA. Considering these two vital factors, sustainable multilingualism without any kind of stigmatization or anxiety can be accomplished among immigrant groups when all educational partners, including family and community, put enough effort into this goal.

HL teaching should not be in the same way as FL teaching. Regarding language skills, HL teachers can prioritize the development of literacy within their limited time. In this process, students' diverse linguistic and cultural repertoire should be considered. Thus, these classes require more flexible and adaptive approaches to the circumstances. On the other hand, the main issue is beyond HLE. The school system in Germany should include and support marginalized languages in a way that makes students emotionally courageous when they speak their HL. In addition to HL classes, the awareness and development of both German and Turkish teachers regarding multilingual activities in the classroom should be developed to leverage the multilingual development of students. Training programs should try to eradicate stereotypes of both German and Turkish teachers, such as "one language-only

at a time.” Furthermore, families of emergent or existent bilingual children should be trained about the importance of the heritage language and the practices they can make at home. For instance, attitudes that make students feel incompetent in HL or prioritize only ML should be changed.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

This research only relied on students’ responses to a structured Likert scale about their feelings. Although the more feasible and appealing way to assess affective characteristics is self-reports in educational settings than observational methods (Anderson & Bourke, 2000), this research did not involve other data-gathering ways such as electrodermal activity and skin conductance level assessment, used in studies related to anxiety. In addition, in line with the research objectives, the sample required for the 95% confidence interval was calculated in Raosoft, and 386 participants were needed (Raosoft, 2021). However, the number of participants reached 303 due to the continuation of the Covid-19 pandemic, the restriction of travel opportunities, the exclusion of first-year students, and the transition to distance education in the research population. This study should be interpreted according to these limitations.

This research revealed some clues regarding the relationships of HLA with language proficiency and access to HLE. In the future, these relations can be studied by other researchers. For instance, broader comparisons can be made between HLSs not receiving HLE and HLLs. In addition, this study just focused on the speaking anxieties of Turkish HLLs in Germany. Anxieties of this group towards other basic language skills can be examined to fill the space in the literature. Furthermore, studies comparing HLA levels of Turkish or other HLSs in different countries by considering local and national dynamics can contribute to the field. Finally, although this study had to have a separative approach to languages because of its methodological tradition and existing literature, plurilingualism, translanguaging and cross-linguistic transfer should be researched in this context in future.

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**TURKŲ PAVELDĖTOSIOS KALBOS BESIMOKANČIŲJŲ
VOKIETIJOJE KALBINIO NERIMO TYRIMAS**

Santrauka. Turkijos paveldo kalbų vartotojai gali jausti nerimą dėl savo paveldėtos kalbos vartojimo įvairiose aplinkose, atsižvelgiant į vienakalbę ideologiją, šeimos požiūrį, kalbos mokėjimą ir daugelį kitų veiksnių. Tačiau dar nėra išsamiai ištirta, kokia yra asmenų, **besimokančių paveldėtosios kalbos pamokose**, patirtis. **Šiame tyrime nagrinėtas turkų paveldėtosios kalbos besimokančiųjų nerimas** dėl kalbėjimo įgūdžių (angl. *heritage language anxiety*, HLA). Taikant aprašomąjį dizainą, buvo ieškoma HLA lygio ir jo sąsajų su įvairiais kintamaisiais, tokiais kaip gimtoji kalba, bendravimo su draugais kalba, savęs suvokimas apie kalbos mokėjimą, amžius, lytis, klasės lygis, vaikų ir tėvų gimimo vieta, kalbos įsisavinimo amžius (AoA), knygų skaitymo ir filmų žiūrėjimo kalbos. Tyrime dalyvavo 303 mokyklinio amžiaus dvikalbiai turkų vaikai, gyvenantys Vokietijoje. Rezultatai parodė, kad tikslinės grupės HLA lygis buvo žemas. Be to, klasėje HLA buvo gerokai aukštesnis nei užklausinėje veikloje. Be to, HLA lygis reikšmingai skyrėsi pagal tėvo gimimo vietą, bendravimo su draugais kalbą, savęs įsivaizdavimą ir filmų žiūrėjimo kalbą. Nepaisant akivaizdžių skirtumų, susijusių su knygų skaitymo kalba ir motinos gimimo vieta, jie nebuvo statistiškai reikšmingi. Taip pat nebuvo pastebėta jokio ryšio tarp HLA ir kai kurių kintamųjų: amžiaus, klasės lygio ir AoA. Šiuo pirminiu tyrimu bandyta suvokti sudėtingus turkų imigrantų Vokietijoje kalbos nerimo sąvokos dėsningumus ir kalbos paveldo ugdymo (HLA) kontekste. Apibendrinant galima daryti išvadą, kad sąveika per paveldo kalbą (PK) ir HLE prieinamumas gali prisidėti prie HLA mažinimo.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: turkų kalba kaip paveldo kalba; paveldo kalbos ugdymas; paveldo kalbos ugdymas; turkų imigrantai Vokietijoje.

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DYSLEXIA IN ARABIC-FRENCH BILINGUAL CHILDREN: A MULTIPLE-CASE STUDY

Summary. Dyslexia and L2 appropriation have been extensively documented separately; however, few studies have brought them together. Our research sheds linguistic light on dyslexia in Arabic-speaking bilingual children. The aim is to study phonology, reading and spelling in dyslexic and non-dyslexic children learning French as a second language to better distinguish between what a reading disorder is and what typical appropriation is, with possible transient difficulties related to L2 development. The general hypothesis is that there are specific markers of dyslexia in Arabic-speaking children learning French as a second language. A multiple-case study was conducted. It consisted of four dyads of children aged 8-10 years: two bilingual dyslexic children, two bilingual non-dyslexic children, two monolingual dyslexic children and two monolingual non-dyslexic children. The bilingual children were Arabic speakers who had arrived in France at the age of six. In a diachronic and synchronic approach, spontaneous and experimental data were collected over a period of nine months. The experiment was based on the Phonoludos, Odedys 2, ELFE and ELDP2 tools. Parental questionnaires were also administered to parents. A synthesis of the most important results is presented. A phonological deficit is manifested in all dyslexic subjects by difficulties in speech perception/production, weaknesses in phonemic unit manipulation and decoding. In reading and spelling, atypical phonemic and phonetic errors are found in large numbers, whereas they are absent in non-dyslexics. This study is a first step in understanding how to identify dyslexia in bilingual children. It is now important to extend the study to a larger number of subjects, with a view to adapting tools that will facilitate the identification and assessment of children who speak several languages.

Keywords: acquisition of a L2; dyslexia; phonological skills; speech perception/production; reading and spelling.

Introduction

In France, from 10% to 15% of children have difficulties in learning to read, but not all have specific language disorders and/or learning difficulties (Habib, 2014). Learning to read at the beginning of schooling is essential, as it has a powerful impact on other short and long-term learning. Early treatment of language and learning disorders is a public health issue: the consequences of disorders on daily life, school learning and professional integration can be significant, but prevention and appropriate treatment make it possible to reduce them.

Dyslexia is a significant and long-lasting disorder in learning to read.

Ramus et al. (2021) point out that definitions vary and evolve according to international world classifications. Shaywitz et al. (2003, p. 27) state that dyslexia has a neurobiological origin and "is characterised by difficulties in accuracy and/or fluency in identifying written words, as well as weaknesses in spelling and decoding. These difficulties typically result from a phonological deficit which is often unexpected (...)". The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM 5) proposes three degrees of severity: dyslexia can be mild, moderate, or severe.

Dyslexia is a disorder that interferes significantly with academic achievement or activities of daily living requiring reading and spelling skills. This disorder cannot be cured and will exist for life - although it can be compensated. In France, about 4-5% of school-age children have dyslexia. Males are more affected, with a ratio of three/four boys and one girl (Habib, 2014). The diagnosis can be made at around the age of 7 or 8, after three years of learning to read. However, identification can be made at the end of first grade or the beginning of second grade.

Universals and Specificities in Dyslexia

A deficit in phonological skills is prevalent and central to dyslexia (see the review by Melby-Lervag et al., 2012; Everatt & Zibell, 2002). In dyslexic children speaking different L1s, phonological deficits are found (Ziegler & Goswami, 2005) and "make dyslexics have similar problems" regardless of language (Leonova et al., 2017, p. 7). For example, weaknesses in phonological skills, particularly phoneme identification and manipulation, rapid naming and phonological short-term memory have been found in dyslexic children in numerous studies of alphabetic and non-alphabetic, transparent and opaque languages (Abu Rabia et al., 2003; Goswami, 2002; Kim & Davis, 2004). There is some variability among other markers of dyslexia across languages.

Dyslexia Across Languages

Depending on the typological characteristics of languages, dyslexia impacts

differently on decoding, reading and spelling tasks (Van Orden & Kloos, 2005; Goswami & Ziegler, 2005; Goswami, 2007; see the review by Price, 2012). Orthographic transparency refers to the degree of correspondence between the orthography and phonology of a given language. A transparent language brings out difficulties in reading fluency and spelling. For example, Finnish or Italian are transparent languages in which dyslexic children can accurately decode words and non-words, but very slowly. Furthermore, an important marker of dyslexia in these languages is significant difficulties in spelling: according to Goswami (2007), it is more the spelling than the reading that is imprecise.

Dyslexic children learning to read in opaque languages have difficulty mastering grapheme-phoneme relationships, as they cannot rely on spelling to be more accurate in phonological tasks. The development and automation of decoding is difficult, and dyslexia manifests itself in imprecise reading and significant weaknesses in spelling.

Dyslexia in French

A dyslexic child often dislikes reading and may reject activities that involve the written word. Phonology, decoding and reading, reading comprehension and spelling production are strongly affected. Re-education has a beneficial effect on these tasks if it is regular and sustained (Leloup, 2017).

Phonology. Phonological deficits are manifested by difficulties in speech perception/production, identifiable in phonological discrimination tasks and repetition of pseudowords and non-words. The phonological skills of dyslexics are weak, particularly in phonemic segmentation and manipulation and phonological short-term memory. Difficulties in accuracy and speed of access to the lexicon are also found.

Decoding and reading. Most dyslexic children have severe difficulties with the process of decoding written words and establishing grapho-phonological correspondences (Goswami, 2002, 2007). The implementation and automation of decoding is difficult. According to Leloup (2017), the child may confuse

letters that look alike or phonetically similar graphemes, such as “s” and “ch”. Some letters or graphemes may be reversed: for example, “cir” may be read as “cri”. There are also omissions, additions, substitutions and assimilation of phonemes or syllables. Children have great difficulty in reading infrequent, irregular words and pseudowords. Word sequence analysis is difficult, which can lead to anticipation errors. There is also a lexicalisation effect of non-words: for example, “citrne” is lexicalised into /sitʁnɛ/. After some time, familiar and frequent words are better read: the child can identify written words by spelling recognition. However, the development of the orthographic lexicon is delayed, and it is often poor. According to Sprenger-Charolles & Casalis (2017), the phonological deficit may be manifested more by slow response than by accuracy: the child can therefore read accurately, but very slowly.

Understanding. Difficulties in decoding and reading impact on reading comprehension, requiring the development of mechanisms for accurate and rapid identification of written words. Furthermore, Sprenger-Charolles and Casalis (2017, p. 165) state that “dyslexics experience difficulties in reading comprehension beyond what can be explained by their word recognition difficulties¹”.

Spelling. Because of the opacity of phoneme-grapheme correspondences in French, written production is particularly affected and may reveal compensated dyslexia at a later stage. In dyslexic children, spelling is generally characterised by slowness and hesitation. Word forms are not respected, and segmentation errors are common: for example, the child may write “il sé lance” instead of “il s’élance”. He/she has no memory of the word form and has difficulty accessing representations of the word as a lexical unit. Phonetic errors in spelling production in dyslexic children are numerous and correspond to those found in younger children (matched in reading and spelling level). Morphological and lexical accuracy is impaired.

¹ « les dyslexiques rencontrent des difficultés de compréhension à l’écrit au-delà de ce qui peut être expliqué par leurs difficultés de reconnaissance de mots » (translation by the author)

Dyslexia and Bilingualism

It should be noted that we are studying dyslexia in a particular context of bilingualism: we are not talking here about simultaneous bilingualism (when the child is exposed to two languages from early childhood) or late bilingualism (learning a language after childhood), but about successive bilingualism, i.e., the appropriation of a language in childhood, after the basics of the L1 have been acquired. The subjects in our study arrived in France at the age of six and have been learning French as a second language for two years. According to Sanson (2010, p. 52), if there is dyslexia, the impairments are found in both languages: "if the delay (...) only concerns the language of the host country, we may ask ourselves the question of a less instrumental disorder, more related to difficulties linked to the migration situation."² Ideally, therefore, it should be possible to assess the child in L1 and L2.

Strengths and weaknesses in linguistic processing of phonology, orthography, syntax, and semantics are transferred between languages (Ganschow & Sparks, 2000, Genesee et al., 2011). Furthermore, there are markers of dyslexia common to all languages: phonological skills, rapid naming, phonological short-term memory should be impacted in both languages. Cognitively and in terms of reading, the profile of L2 dyslexic children resembles that of monolingual dyslexic children, although typological differences between the languages affect L2 development in speaking and writing. According to Genesee, Paradis and Crago (2011), second language and native language readers with reading difficulties show the same weaknesses. Finally, Mortimore et al. (2012, p. 6) point out that "learning a second language is a challenge for dyslexic students because it requires skills that are often compromised when one is dyslexic - the ability to segment, phonological awareness, and short- and long-term memory".

Difficulties That May Be Encountered by Learners of L2 French

L2 appropriation - in speed and accuracy - is related to a multitude of factors

² « si le retard (...) ne concerne que la langue du pays d'accueil, on pourra se poser la question d'un trouble moins instrumental, plus en lien avec des difficultés liées à la situation de migration. » (translation by the author)

such as age, age of onset of appropriation (AOA), typological distance between the two languages (Flege & Fletcher, 1992), linguistic ability, motivation, personality, context of appropriation. Estimating the duration of appropriation is difficult because there is considerable variability between individuals: “the number [of] slow variables being a priori greater than five, we are entering a theoretically infinite number of possibilities, reflecting the diversity of developmental dynamics from one child to another³” (Sauvage, 2015, p.180).

General Markers of Linguistic Development in L2 In Successive Bilingual Children

At the phonetic-phonological level, the age and level of development of the L1, and the typological distance between the phonetic-phonological systems of the two languages seem to be factors with a very strong influence on the speed of appropriation. A study by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1977) analysed the pronunciation of words in German by 47 English-speaking learners aged between 3 and 60 years. After one year, the young children had a more intelligible pronunciation than the adults, but after 18 months of exposure, none of the children pronounced in the same way as the native speakers. For a successive bilingual child, pronunciation appropriation takes more than two years, but functional pronunciation can be acquired in a few months. Another study by Gilhool et al. (2014) of children who have been learning English for one year shows that they pronounce 90% of consonant and vowel phonemes accurately, but that the appropriation of some fricatives takes longer.

The appropriation of morphosyntax takes several years. In French, the existence of the formal form of address, the gender marker, and the definite, indefinite, and contracted articles are all elements that do not exist in all languages and can take a long time to acquire, between three and five years.

Second language vocabulary acquisition takes the longest, and sometimes even after six years of schooling there is still a gap between the

³ « le nombre [des] variables lentes étant a priori supérieures à cinq, nous entrons dans un nombre de possibilités théoriquement infini, à l'image de la diversité des dynamiques du développement d'un enfant à l'autre » (translation by the author)

vocabulary of second language learners and monolinguals (Oller & Eilers, 2002).

Possible Difficulties in Phonology, Reading and Spelling

Children who have not learned to read in their home language must learn to read in a language they are in the process of learning. Transitional difficulties are frequently encountered, especially in relation to language differences. Discrimination of sounds not belonging to the mother tongue is difficult, and lack of knowledge of spelling, vocabulary, and syntax in the second language can slow down the development of reading comprehension.

Phonological awareness. In the mother tongue, learning to read and spell can only be successful after certain skills have been developed: it is therefore necessary to look at what happens when these skills have started to develop in the mother tongue, continue to build in the second language and others develop in the second language as well. If we refer to the emergence of phonological awareness - and more specifically phonemic awareness - in the mother tongue, we know that the bilingual child already has practical experience and an explicit awareness of sound in his or her mother tongue. However, phonemic awareness still needs to be developed and refined through various phonemic analysis tasks. But the allophone child will have to perfect this awareness in a second language "whose phonemes are different from those of language 1 in terms of their number, their sound characteristics and the relationships they maintain within the phonic system of the language."⁴ (Verdelhan-Bourgade, 1995, p. 38). Unlike a monolingual, the successive bilingual cannot "rely completely on his or her previous language experience to access phonic awareness in French"⁵ (Verdelhan-Bourgade, 1995, p. 39).

Phonological skills. Fewer studies have looked at the development of

⁴ « dont les phonèmes sont différents de ceux de la langue 1 par leur nombre, leurs caractéristiques sonores et les relations qu'ils entretiennent au sein du système phonique de la langue. » (translation by the author)

⁵ « s'appuyer complètement sur son expérience langagière antérieure pour accéder à la conscience phonique en français » (translation by the author)

phonological awareness in bilingual children than in monolingual children. Perregaux (1994, 1995) conducted a study with immigrant children from different countries. She shows that, despite their difficulties in understanding and producing lexical material in French, bilingual pre-readers in kindergarten perform as well as monolinguals on phonemic segmentation tasks, and better on those involving pseudowords. At the end of first grade, bilinguals and monolinguals had equivalent word reading levels. However, this study concerns very young children, therefore in an optimal period of appropriation.

Decoding and reading. According to Rafoni (2007, p. 15), it is preferable to limit phonological training to broad units, which are easier to manipulate, such as the syllable or the rhyme: "It is (...) the effort to conceptualise oral language that proves to be first and foremost the major problem in the teaching of writing. However, in the case of non-French-speaking pupils, the still undeveloped mastery of French increases the difficulties and forces the teacher to give up on linguistic manipulations that are too fine (phonemes, words) to refocus on macrosegmental units.⁶" Rafoni specifies that it is not useful to encourage allophone children with perceptual and pronunciation difficulties to identify and isolate phonemes by ear. He believes that non-French speaking newcomers cannot identify and discriminate phonemes without the visual mediation of letters. He believes that allophone children should be offered a grapheme approach, going from grapheme to phoneme, and not the other way around.

In a second language, children's vocabulary is still developing and cannot yet be used as a support. Thus, the identification of the written word from the phonological value of the first graphic segments, or anticipation, is difficult: "unlike native speakers, the activation of a 'lexical proximity zone' is lacking in pupils (...) who struggle to connect vocal primers and significant

⁶ « C'est (...) l'effort mené pour « conceptualiser la langue orale » qui se révèle être d'abord et avant tout le problème majeur en didactique de l'écrit. Or chez les élèves non francophones, la maîtrise encore inaboutie du français redouble les difficultés et contraint l'enseignant à renoncer aux manipulations linguistiques trop fines (phonèmes, mots) pour se recentrer sur les unités macrosegmentales. « (translation by the author)

units (or access to the mental lexicon)⁷” (Rafoni, 2007, p. 32).

Spelling. Non-exposure to written French, lack of vocabulary and orthographic, morphological and syntactic knowledge of the language can initially make it difficult and slow down the development of spelling recognition and spelling acquisition.

Possible Difficulties Related to The Differences Between Algerian Arabic and French

Phonetically, Algerian Arabic spoken by the subjects in our study and French are two very different languages in terms of both consonantal and vowel phonemes. The nasal vowel phonemes /ɔ̃/, /ã/, /ɛ̃/ and /œ̃/ of French are not relevant in the Algerian Arabic system; and the absence of the phonemes /y/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ø/, /ɑ/, /ə/ and /œ/ is also notable. In French, the functional distinction between short and long vowels in Arabic does not exist “except in prosody where the vowel is longer when accented, but this never changes the meaning of the word⁸” (Hasanat, 2007, p. 44). Furthermore, the French language allows three consonants to be grouped together in the same syllable, for example in “scrupule” or “script”. In Algerian Arabic, only two consonants can be grouped. These differences may have impact on the phonology of Arabic-speaking learners of French as a second language.

Research Questions

We have seen how dyslexia manifests in French, and we are also interested in the difficulties that Arabic-speaking learners of French as a L2 may encounter in phonology, reading and spelling.

The research questions are the following: (1) How can we differentiate

⁷ « à la différence des élèves natifs, l'activation d'une « zone de proximité lexicale » fait défaut aux élèves (...) qui peinent à connecter amorces vocales et unités significatives (ou accès au lexique mental) » (translation by the author)

⁸ « sauf en prosodie où la voyelle est plus longue quand elle est accentuée, mais cela ne change jamais le sens du mot » (translation by the author)

between transient difficulties, inherent to the appropriation of a second language, and long-lasting instrumental difficulties? (2) How do we know whether difficulties in phonology, reading and spelling in the second language are dyslexia or related to the appropriation of French as a second language?

The aim is to examine whether there are specific markers in the manifestations of dyslexia-dysorthography in L2 French in successive bilingual children.

Methods

To make a detailed and most complete observation of each child, we conducted a multiple case study consisting of eight children aged eight to ten years: two bilingual and two monolingual dyslexic children, two bilingual children and two monolingual children without disorders.

The subjects were enrolled in grade three except for one who was in grade five. The bilingual subjects were born in Algeria near to Constantine and speak a variant of Algerian Arabic. This is the language they mainly speak at home with their parents. They arrived in France between the ages of 5 years and 9 months and 6 years and 2 months.

All the participants selected had no psycho-emotional or psychiatric problems, no sensory deficits, no disabilities, or intellectual precocity. All dyslexic subjects had to be diagnosed (phonological dyslexia). However, the intensity of the disorder could not be controlled: some subjects had severe dyslexia, others moderate dyslexia. Associated disorders could not be ruled out: one of the subjects had also been diagnosed with dyscalculia.

The study was conducted diachronically and synchronously. Spontaneous speech data were collected over a period of nine months, every three months.

An experiment was developed based on the following tools: ELDP2 (Macchi et al., 2012), Odedys2 (Jacquier-Roux et al.), Phonoludos and ELFE. The test was administered in the study environment. Phonology, reading, and spelling production were studied.

Parental questionnaires were also offered at the beginning of the study to collect general data about the children's language development.

The data were transcribed and analysed using Phon (Rose et al. 2006), Praat (Boersma & Weenik, 1996) and Audacity (Mazzoni & Dannenberg, 2002)

Results

A synthesis of the most important results is presented here. The subjects are designed by Dys Bi for dyslexic bilinguals, and Dys Mo for dyslexic monolinguals, non-dys Bi for non-dyslexical bilinguals, and non-dys Mo for non-dyslexic monolinguals.

Perception, Speech Production and Phonological Skills

For perception, speech production and phonological manipulation, both spontaneous and experimental data were examined.

Table 1

Achievement scores, normal and fast speed scores and different and identical pseudoword discrimination scores (ELDP 2) (Dalle, 2020)

	Total success score / 72	Normal speed / 36 Increased speed / 36	Total differents / 36	Total similar / 36
Dys BI 1	29	15 – 14	10	19
Dys BI 2	44	25 – 19	14	30
Dys MO 1	40	22 – 18	11	29
Dys MO 2	61	32 – 29	31	30
Non-Dys BI 1	46	24 – 22	14	32
Non-dys BI 2	64	32 – 32	34	30
Non-dys MO 1	63	35 – 28	34	29
Non-dys MO 2	57	28 – 29	27	30

We found some heterogeneity in fine phonological discrimination in different pseudoword pairs in dyslexic subjects of the same age, but the scores were

from low to very low. Rapid speech speed had a negative impact on the discrimination performance of all three subjects. Global phonological discrimination weaknesses, including phonemic units with remote phonological information, were found in two subjects (dys BI 1 and dys MO 1). In a third subject (dys BI 2), the difficulties were more related to the discrimination of consonantal phonemic units with close phonological information (deaf/sound) and to the discrimination of structural units. The phonological deficit in these three subjects was highlighted, with performance being lower or significantly lower than that of non-dyslexic subjects of the same age, particularly at fast speed.

To examine production, the PPC (Percentage of Phonemes Correct, Shriberg et al., 1997; Shriberg & Kwiatkowski, 1982) was calculated for each subject in October/November and six months later in May/June.

Table 2

PPC in October/November 2020 and May/June 2020 (Dalle, 2020)

	PPC in October/November 2019	PPC in May/June 2020
Dys BI 1	98,179	98,244
Dys BI 2	98,248	98,121
Dys MO 1	98,842	98,574
Dys MO 2	99,458	99,918
Non-Dys BI 1	98,474	99,974
Non-dys BI 2	100	100
Non-dys MO 1	100	100
Non-dys MO 2	100	100

The difficulties were very similar between bilingual and monolingual dyslexic children, although some difficulties related to the typological distance between the languages were added in bilingual subjects. The vowel phonemes /y/, /ɔ̃ / /ã / /ɛ̃ / were the ones that posed the most difficulties for our bilingual subjects, although there was variability between subjects. But apart from that, many errors were common to those made by monolingual dyslexic children. Particularly in spontaneous speech, there were phonological substitution processes, omissions and additions which were not found in the productions of

non-dyslexic children. These were subtle features which were not spontaneously perceived in conversation with the child.

Table 3

Number and type of errors in the initial phoneme fusion task (Dalle, 2020)

	segmentation errors absence – syllabic or pseudo-syllabic segmentation – sub-syllabic segmentation	sequential errors	errors of addition, omission, substitution of phonological units	errors related to grapho- phonological awareness
Dys BI 1	4 – 9	4	4	
Dys BI 2	5 – 6 – 1	5	4	
Dys MO 1	9 – 3	9		
Dys MO 2	3 – 1	1		
Non-Dys BI 1	5 – 1	1	2	5
Non-dys BI 2	1 – 1			3
Non-dys MO 1				1
Non-dys MO 2	1 – 1			

Dyslexic children exhibited weaknesses in phonological skills. The greatest difficulties occurred in the task of merging initial phonemes. Errors were mainly in segmenting into larger phonological units (syllables).

In word and pseudoword repetition, only dyslexic subjects of the same age made sequential errors, inversions. For example, the subject would produce “bilbiothèque” for “bibliothèque”. Difficulties in the perception and production of phonemic units were found in all dyslexic subjects.

Reading

In letter reading, not all letters are read automatically in dyslexic children, whereas this is the case in non-dyslexic children.

In reading irregular words, regular words and pseudowords, the profiles of the subjects are heterogeneous, but in dyslexics there are

marked weaknesses in both decoding and spelling recognition.

In the two dyslexic bilinguals, errors were found to be related to the influence of the phonetic-phonological system of the L1 or to the phonetic-phonological distance between L1 and L2. These errors allowed us to highlight the influence of phonological representations on orthographic representations. For example, one of our subjects still had difficulty distinguishing between “on” and “an”, and when he read he would say “élon” for “élan”.

In reading text, dyslexic children read in a choppy way, with perceptible grapheme segmentation within words, which means that deciphering is not automatic, and that orthographic recognition of frequent words is deficient. These characteristics were not found in non-dyslexic subjects. In all reading tasks, dyslexic subjects produced a significant number of phonemic errors. The errors found in all dyslexic subjects and absent from the output of non-dyslexic subjects were omissions of graphemes and word substitutions. For example, the child said “habite” when it was written “vit”, or read “contagieux” when it was written “montagne”.

Spelling

The results of spelling tasks show that phonological weakness is identifiable in dyslexic subjects: phonetic and phonogrammatical errors are found in quantity in the productions of all dyslexic subjects, and are not common in non-dyslexic subjects, in whom the most frequent errors are morphogrammatical.

Table 4

Type of errors in spelling of irregular words, regular words and pseudowords (Dalle, 2020)

	Phonetic errors	Phonogrammatical errors	Morphogrammatical errors Lexical - grammatical	TOTAL
Dys BI 1	12	14		26
Dys BI 2	8	11		19
Dys MO 1	24	5	4	33
Dys MO 2	5	5	3 - 1	14

	Phonetic errors	Phonogrammatical errors	Morphogrammatical errors Lexical - grammatical	TOTAL
Non-Dys BI 1	4	3	2 – 3	12
Non-dys BI 2		3	1	4
Non-dys MO 1		5	1 – 1	7
Non-dys MO 2	1		1	2

A high number of phonetic errors in spelling seems to be an important marker of dyslexia-dysorthography in French in our bilingual and non-bilingual subjects. They were found in dyslexics in the production of regular words, irregular words, pseudowords and in the production of sentences. In the two bilingual dyslexic subjects, errors were found which may be related to an influence of the phonetic-phonological system of the L1 or to the typological distance between L1 and L2. The perception of these irrelevant phonemes in L1 was found to influence spelling.

Discussion

The results validate the hypothesis that there are specific markers in the manifestations of dyslexia in successive bilinguals, and that these markers provide evidence of atypical appropriation. The profiles of bilingual Arabic-speaking dyslexics who have been in France for two years and are enrolled in a mainstream classroom show many similarities to those of a monolingual dyslexic subject of the same age, with all these children showing weaknesses in perception and production, phonological discrimination, phonological skills and marked difficulties in reading and spelling. Bilingual dyslexics have no more difficulty in any of these tasks than the monolingual subject of the same age. Atypical errors probably related to perceptual difficulties (leading to erroneous phonological representations) or to difficulties in accessing phonological representations were found in speech production, reading and spelling. Phonemic/phonetic errors are very numerous in these subjects, which is not the case in non-dyslexic bilingual and non-bilingual subjects.

It should be noted that a phonological deficit and weaknesses in

phonological manipulation were also found in a bilingual child who is not dyslexic, but she has no weaknesses in reading (decoding, fluency) and spelling. It seems important to consider the totality of phonological, reading and spelling skills in order to identify a dyslexic child more reliably.

Although some difficulties related to the influence of the L1 or to the phonetic-phonological distance between the L1 and the L2 may be added, these are identifiable through a knowledge of the differences between the phonetic-phonological systems of the languages. For example, the nasal vowel phonemes of French are still the most difficult for children, both orally and in writing. Typical errors related to the influence of the phonetic-phonological system of the L1 or to the phonetic-phonological distance between the L1 and the L2 impact only a small part of the performance compared to the other errors, and they are found in variable quantities in bilingual subjects.

The slightly smaller lexicon in L2 in bilinguals has no impact on phonological unit manipulation and decoding in reading. Phonological skills and decoding can be assessed in the second language, even if the L2 is still appropriate. After two years of formal exposure to writing, decoding is effective in non-dyslexic bilingual children and in non-dyslexic monolingual children.

In conclusion, this research is only a first step, as this study should be extended to a larger number of subjects to gather more data. It would also be necessary to look at children who speak other languages to gain a better understanding of the manifestations of dyslexia in different languages. The aim is to adapt tools to help identify and assess these children, but it would also be necessary to develop tools that could be used in supporting these bilingual populations. We have seen that phonological skills can be assessed in L2 even if the latter is in the process of being appropriated, but that some errors are linked to the distance between the languages: thus, a possible way forward would be to adapt existing tests by removing the sources of potential difficulties linked to the differences between L1 and L2. These tests should then be recalibrated on a bilingual population. Finally, it would be possible to provide each professional working in contact with bi/plurilingual subjects with reference materials containing the main characteristics of the linguistic systems of the languages, and the main differences with French. Such documents already exist (see "langues et grammaires du monde": [Presentation | Langues et](#)

Grammaires du Monde dans l'Espace Francophone (cnrs.fr)) and could allow professionals to distinguish errors linked to the distances between languages.

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ARABŲ IR PRANCŪZŲ DVIKALBIŲ VAIKŲ DISLEKSIJA: DAUGELIO ATVEJŲ TYRIMAS

Santrauka. Disleksija ir L2 kalbos įsisavinimas buvo išsamiai dokumentuoti atskirai, tačiau tik keli tyrimai juos sujungė. Mūsų tyrimas lingvistiškai nušviečia arabiškai kalbančių dvikalbių vaikų disleksiją. Tikslas – ištirti disleksija sergančių ir nesergančių vaikų, besimokančių prancūzų kaip antrosios kalbos, fonologiją, skaitymą ir rašybą, kad būtų galima geriau atskirti, kas yra skaitymo sutrikimas, o kas – tipiškas įsisavinimas su galimais laikiniais sunkumais, susijusiais su L2 raida. Bendroji hipotezė yra ta, kad arabakalbiams vaikams, besimokantiems prancūzų kalbos kaip antrosios, būdingi specifiniai disleksijos požymiai. Buvo atliktas kelių atvejų tyrimas. Jį sudarė keturios 8–10 metų amžiaus vaikų diados: du dvikalbiai vaikai, turintys disleksiją, du dvikalbiai vaikai, neturintys disleksijos, du vienakalbiai vaikai, turintys disleksiją, ir du vienakalbiai vaikai, neturintys disleksijos. Dvikalbiai vaikai buvo arabakalbiai, atvykę į Prancūziją šešerių metų. Taikant diachroninį ir sinchroninį metodus, devynis mėnesius buvo renkami spontaniniai ir eksperimentiniai duomenys. Eksperimentas buvo grindžiamas *Fonoludos*, *Odedys 2*, ELFE ir ELDP2 priemonėmis. Tėvams taip pat buvo pateikti klausimynai. Straipsnyje apžvelgiama svarbiausių rezultatų sintezė. Fonologinis deficitas visiems disleksija sergantiems tiriamiesiems pasireiškia kalbos suvokimo ir (arba) produkavimo sunkumais, foneminių vienetų manipuliacijos ir dekodavimo trūkumais. Skaitymo ir rašybos srityje randama daug netipinių foneminių ir fonetinių klaidų, o nedisleksikai jų nedaro. Šis tyrimas yra pirmas žingsnis siekiant suprasti, kaip nustatyti dvikalbių vaikų disleksiją. Dabar svarbu išplėsti tyrimą: įtraukti didesnę tiriamųjų skaičių, pritaikyti priemones, kurios palengvintų keliomis kalbomis kalbančių vaikų atpažinimą ir vertinimą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: L2 kalbos įsisavinimas; disleksija; fonologiniai įgūdžiai; kalbos suvokimas / gamyba; skaitymas ir rašyba.

**ISSUES OF CULTURE
SPECIFICITY IN TRANSLATION**

**KULTŪRINIS SPECIFIŠKUMAS
VERTIMO PRAKTIKOJE**



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DAUGIAKALBIAI FILMAI: TURINIO PERTEIKIMAS LIETUVOS KURTIEMS ŽIŪROVAMS

Santrauka. Daugiakalbystės klausimas dažnai kyla audiovizualinio vertimo kontekste, kai diskutuojama apie daugiakalbių filmų dubliavimą, subtitravimą ar užklotinį vertimą. Minėtasis aspektas taip pat nepraranda reikšmės subtitruojant daugiakalbius filmus kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems. Pasitelkus šį vertimo būdą, audiovizualinio produkto turinys kurtiesiems perteikiamas taikant specialų audiovizualinio vertimo instrumentą – tikslinės auditorijos reikmes atitinkančius specialius redaguotus subtitrus (SKN). Šiuo atveju be perteikiamo dialogų teksto subtitruose turi būti įtraukta papildoma informacija, padedanti negirdintiesiems suprasti užkadrines neverbalines ir verbalines garsines užuominas, patį filmo turinį, kuriamą nuotaiką, veikėjų išgyvenamas emocijas ir į siužetą įterptų užsienio kalbų vaidmenis. Šio straipsnio tikslas – įvertinti daugiakalbystės strategijas Lietuvos kūrėjų filmų subtitruose, skirtuose kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiems žiūrovams. Tiriamosios medžiagos analizei buvo pasirinkti trys Lietuvos režisierių sukurti daugiakalbiai filmai: „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas), „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ (2011, rež. G. Žickytė) ir „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė). Teorinėje straipsnio dalyje pristatomos užsienio autorių (De Higes-Andino ir kt., 2013, 2014, Szarkowska & Żbikowska & Krejtzas, 2013, 2014) siūlomos daugiakalbių filmų pritaikymo strategijos, aptariamoms Lietuvos mokslininkų išvalgos bei nagrinėjami Lietuvos kūrėjų filmuose naudoti negirdintiems žiūrovams daugiakalbystę padedantys atskleisti praktiniai principai. Atliekant daugiakalbystės perteikimo tikslinei auditorijai analizę, buvo taikytas deskriptyvinis-analitinis metodas, o įvertinant kurčiųjų reikmes – kiekybinę gautų duomenų analizę. Tyrimas atskleidė, kad Lietuvos kūrėjų filmuose daugiakalbystės perteikimas kurčiųjų auditorijai yra kūrybiškumo reikalaujantis procesas. Įprasta tirtų daugiakalbių filmų praktika yra kitakalbį tekstą išversti ir jo lietuvišką turinį pateikti standartiniais subtitrais. Kalbant apie daugiakalbystės aspektų perteikimą kurtiesiems, pastebėta: nors įprasti standartiniai subtitrai daugiakalbio filmo turinį iš dalies ir atskleidžia, be papildomų subtitrų informacija apie pačią daugiakalbystę, jos ypatumus lieka neprieinama. Tam reikėtų parengti specialius redaguotus subtitrus – SKN (subtitrus kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems), tačiau Lietuvoje tai yra nedažna praktika.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: audiovizualinis vertimas; daugiakalbystė; subtitravimas; subtitravimas kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems (SKN).

Įvadas

Šiandienis pasaulis tampa vis atviresnis vykstantiems pokyčiams: tautų mobilumui, socialinių grupių identiteto pripažinimui, kūrybinių minčių drąšioms ir netikėtiems polėkiams, griežtai nevaržant laiko ir fizinio atstumo

spartesniam technologijų įsiliejimui į kasdienę veiklą ar bendravimo ir darbo aplinką. Menu, kaip tokio gyvenimo atspindžiu, taip pat diskutuojama šiomis temomis, keliama rūpimi socialiniai klausimai, perteikiamos kylančios problemos, atskleidžiami pokyčiai, augančios bendravimo ir bendradarbiavimo tendencijos. Vis plačiau diskutuojant apie audiovizualinio meno ir sukurtų produktų prieinamumo kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems teises ir galimybes, šiame kontekste didelę svarbą įgauna į minėtų klausimų sprendimą orientuotas audiovizualinio (toliau AV) vertimo būdas – subtitravimas kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems (SKN). Vertėjai, vadovaudamiesi audiovizualinių kūrinių perteikimo šiai fizinių galimybių tikslinei grupei siūlomomis gairėmis, nustatytomis metodikomis bei taisyklėmis, gana sėkmingai pritaiko filmus ir spektaklius. Pastaruoju metu AV produktuose dėl įvairių priežasčių ryškėja globalizacijos atspindžiai, tai yra, į siužetus vis dažniau įtraukiami veikėjai, bendraujantys keliomis užsienio kalbomis. Tokį daugiakalbį AV turinį nesudėtinga perteikti įprastai auditorijai, tačiau atskleisti šį aspektą negirdintiems žiūrovams tampa dideliu iššūkiu, iš vertėjo reikalaujančiu kūrybiškų sprendimų.

Šio straipsnio tikslas – įvertinti tokios daugiakalbystės perteikimo ribotų klausos galimybių žmonėms strategijas Lietuvos kūrėjų filmuose. Teorinėje dalyje trumpai pristatomas subtitravimas kaip vienas iš pagrindinių audiovizualinio vertimo būdų, leidžiančių AV turinį padaryti suprantamą tikslinei grupei. Vėliau pateikiama daugiakalbio filmo samprata, skiriamieji bruožai, apžvelgiamos AV kūriniuose pasitelktų užsienio kalbų atliekamos funkcijos ir jų realizavimas subtitrais. Toliau glaustai pristatomos Lietuvos ir užsienio mokslininkų įžvalgos, aptariančios daugiakalbystės AV produktuose pritaikomumo strategijas. Praktinėje dalyje, pasitelkus deskriptyvinį-analitinį tyrimo metodą, nagrinėjamos daugiakalbių filmų pritaikymo kurčiųjų auditorijai strategijos bei teiktini tokio AV teksto vertimo variantai. Be to, įvertinus Lietuvos kurčiųjų reikmes ir jų siūlomas taikytinas strategijas, atskleidžiančias daugiakalbystę, apžvelgiami anketavimo metu surinkti duomenys. Pačiam tyrimui buvo parinkti šiuolaikinių Lietuvos filmų režisierių darbai: „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. Kristijonas Vildžiūnas), „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ (2011, rež. Giedrė Žickytė) ir „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. Eglė Vertelytė).

Daugiakalbystės aspektus AV kūrinuose tyrė nemažai užsienio mokslininkų, kaip antai, daugiakalbystės ir daugiakalbio teksto sampratą moksliniuose straipsniuose plačiai pristatė D. Delabastitas & R. Grutmanas (2005), Ch. Wahlis (2005), daugiakalbystės apraiškas, iškilusias problemas bei taikomus sprendimus, pasitelkus įvairius AV vertimo būdus, nagrinėjo M. Baldo (2009), L. Bleichenbacheris (2008), A. Egoyanas ir I. Balfouras (2004), G. D. De Bonis (2015), J. D. Díaz Cintas (2011, 2021), C. Heissas (2004), E. Sanz Ortega (2011) ir kt. Lietuvos audiovizualinio vertimo srities mokslininkai irgi nemažai dėmesio skiria šioms AV kūrinuose pastebimoms daugiakalbystės tendencijoms ir AV vertime taikomiems metodams (Alosevičienė (2020); D. Satkauskaitė & A. Kuzmickienė (2016), (2020) ir kt.). Vis dėlto, nagrinėjama tema išlieka aktuali, kadangi nėra atlikta pakankamai mokslinių tyrimų, susijusių su daugiakalbystės atskleidimo aspektais verčiant filmus ir spektaklius kurtiesiems bei nerigirdintiesiems. Apie daugiakalbystės perteikimo būdus subtitrais, skirtais tikslinės grupės žiūrovams, diskutavo tik keletas mokslininkų – A. Szarkowska & J. Żbikowska & I. Krejtzas (2013, 2014) ir J. Kerevičienė & M. Urbonienė (2017). Tad šiame straipsnyje ne tik aptariami AV vertimo būdai, leidžiantys daugiakalbystės aspektus atskleisti tikslinei auditorijai, bet taip pat apžvelgiami Lietuvos kūrėjų filmuose pastebėti šių aspektų perteikimo variantai.

Subtitravimas kaip filmų prieinamumo žmonėms su klausos negalia priemonė

Subtitravimas, kaip vienas iš pagrindinių audiovizualinio vertimo būdų, gali būti siejamas su AV kūrinių pritaikomumu tikslinei auditorijai verčiant iš originalo kalbos į vertimo kalbą arba iš tos pačios kalbos sakytinės formos į rašytinę (Kerevičienė & Astrauskienė, 2020, p. 150). Audiovizualinio vertimo objektu tampa AV kūrinys, kaip sudėtingas daugiasluoksnis semiotinis tekstas, sudarytas, anot P. Zabalbeascoas (2008, p. 24), iš lygiaverčių bei vienodai svarbių verbalinių, neverbalinių, garso ir vaizdo elementų kombinacijų, kuriose šie komponentai suvokiami kaip iš esmės vienas kitą papildantys ir todėl neatskiriami, siekiant atskleisti komunikacijos situaciją.

Todėl AV vertime svarbu išlaikyti sinchroniją tarp teksto, garso ir vaizdo; tai yra, turi būti sukurtas aiškus prasminis ryšys tarp žodinių ir nežodinių AV kūrinio dalių, atskleidžiančių perteikiamas mintis, pasakojamą turinį (Kerevičienė & Astrauskienė, 2021, p. 150). Tokia sinchronija AV kūrinuose yra svarbi visiems žiūrovams, taip pat ir tiems, kurie negali išgirsti ar išvysti tam tikrų AV kūrinio elementų.

AV vertime subtitravimo būdu sakytinė originalo kalba pateikiama rašytine verstine kalba ekrano apačioje ir apima pasirodančius diskurso elementus (laiškus, įvairius užrašus, piešinius ant sienų, dedikacijas, plakatus ir kt.), taip pat visą informaciją, esančią garso takelyje (dainas) (plg. Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 8). Kadangi negirdintieji suvokia verbalinius ir neverbalinius *vaizdo* komponentus, modifikuotas subtitravimo būdas gali padėti AV turinį padaryti prieinamą tikslinei auditorijai. Siekiant to, kurtiems ir neprigirdintiems žiūrovams yra kuriami specialūs redaguoti subtitrai (SKN). Savo forma jie panašūs į standartinius subtitrus, nes filmo dialogų rašytinis tekstas pateikimas ekrano apačioje, taikomas toks pats teksto dydis, šriftas, spalva bei vienos ir (ar) dviejų eilučių subtitrų formatas. Vertimo procese šie subtitrai gali būti kuriami arba ta pačia kalba, kuria girdimas originalus tekstas (*intralingvistiniai subtitrai*), arba iš užsienio (originalo) kalbos versto teksto varianto (*interlingvistiniai subtitrai*). Vis dėlto, nuo standartinių subtitrų SKN skiriasi tam tikrais specifiniais pridėtiniais komponentais. Visų pirma, be tekstinių subtitrų tam tikrose ekrano vietose pridedami papildomi subtitrai, apibūdinantys ir atskleidžiantys garsinę situacijos ar siužeto informaciją: epizodo muzikinį foną, jo kuriamą nuotaiką, aplinkos garsus, kalbėjimo būdą, veiksmų sukeltą triukšmą ir pan. Vadinas, SKN gali būti apibūdinami kaip kompleksinis AV vertimo būdas, apimantis ne tik tekstinius subtitrus, bet kartu ir sukurtus papildomus subtitrus kaip tam tikras garsinės informacijos nuorodas, AV turinio atžvilgiu tikslinei auditorijai padedančias aiškiai ir išsamiai atskleisti AV kūrinį. Kita vertus, SKN atveju gali skirtis tekstinių subtitrų struktūra. Pagal užsienio vertėjų siūlomas rekomendacijas čia taikomos įvairios metodikos, susijusios su kalbančių veikėjų identifikavimu, kalbėjimo būdo perteikimu, ypač tais atvejais, kai nėra aiškiai matomas kalbantis personažas ir vizualiai sudėtinga suprasti kalba reiškiamas jo emocijas ir kalbėjimo manierą. Dėl įtrauktų papildomų nuorodų dažnai

padidėja tekstinio subtitro apimtis, todėl SKN atvejais gali būti formuojamos trys eilutės, padidintas tekstinių ženklų (simbolių) skaičius. Tad subtitrai kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems formos, teksto apimties, eilučių skaičiaus aspektais, pozicijomis ekrane gali skirtis nuo įprastų subtitrų¹. Vis dėlto, pastebėta, kad be minėtų komponentų į filmą dar įtrauktas ir daugiakalbystės aspektas iš AV vertėjo ir subtitruotojo pareikalauja papildomų žinių, įgūdžių bei kūrybinių sprendimų kompleksinį AV turinį perteikti tikslinei auditorijai.

Daugiakalbystės atspindžiai subtitruose

Daugiakalbystė plačiaja prasme suprantama kaip kalbinis reiškiny, kai tam tikromis situacijomis ar kontekstais paraleliai bendraujama keliomis kalbomis ar kalbų atmainomis. Jai įvardyti kartais pasitelkiami ir sinoniminiai terminai: daugiakalbiškumas, multilingvizmas, poliglotizmas ir kt. AV kontekste skiriamuoju daugiakalbio filmo bruožu taip pat pabrėžiama kelių kalbų derinio komunikacija, vykstanti visuomenės ir individo plotmėje (Wei, 2013, p. 26) arba dialogo ir naratyvo lygiu (Dwyeris, 2005, p. 296). Toks daugiakalbis bendravimas gali būti tiek intrakalbis, tiek ir interkalbis darinys, kai vartojamos tos pačios kalbos dialektai, sociolektai, užsienio kalbų akcentai, senosios, dirbtinės kalbos, gestų kalba ir pan. (Alosevičienė, 2020, p. 149). Pagal tematiką, Ch. Wahlis (2005) pastebėjimu, daugiakalbystės reiškiniai, atliekantys stilistinę, estetinę, politinę ar pasakojamąją (diegetinę) funkcijas, dažniausiai įtraukiami į filmus, atskleidžiančius imigrantų, giminytės ar vedybų su kitų kraštų partneriais situacijas arba nagrinėjančius egzistencinius, globalizacijos klausimus, įtaigiai perpasakojančius istorinius įvykius ir pan. Kaip rašoma UNESCO Statistikos instituto informaciniame pranešime (2012, p. 12), šiuolaikiniai režisieriai „vis dažniau į filmų kuriamus siužetus įtraukia kultūriniais pokyčiais pasižymintį šiuolaikinį kontekstą, pasakojantį apie valstybines sienas kertančius pabėgėlius, nagrinėjančių žmonių vartotojiškumo ir kultūros klausimus“. Vis dėlto, skiriamuoju bet kurios tematikos ar žanro daugiakalbio filmo bruožu išlieka nuoseklus dviejų ar daugiau kalbų vartojimas bei jų vaidmuo filmo pasakojime. Be to, kaip

¹ Plačiau apie SKN sampartą, skiriamuosius bruožus bei kūrimo principus žr. J. Kerevičienė & L. Niedzviegienė, 2022).

teigia J. Díaz Cintas (2011, p. 220), daugiakalbiuose filmuose ypač atkreiptinas dėmesys į vartojamų kalbų kiekybinį ir kokybinį aspektus; tai yra, kiek skirtingų kalbų ir koku dažnumu jos skamba filmo dialoguose bei kokią funkciją atlieka AV kūrinyje. Nors skirtingose filmų tematikose kalbų skaičius gali varijuoti, svarbu, kad jos būtų vartojamos nuosekliai (nefragmentiškai) ir padėtų auditorijai pajusti daugiakalbių situacijų tikroviškumą.

Audiovizualinio vertimo kontekste vertėjai neturėtų nukrypti nuo filme plėtojamų tematikų, todėl svarbu pasitelkti tinkamus vertimo būdus ir taip atskleisti į siužetą įtrauktų kalbų vaidmenį. Subtitruojant daugiakalbius filmus, galimi du variantai: arba sukurti į tikslinę kalbą išverstų dialogų vienakalbius subtitrus, neišskiriant daugiakalbystės aspektų; arba, pasitelkus kūrybinius metodus, parengti daugiakalbius subtitrus su įtrauktų užsienio kalbų dialogais. Sprendimą dažnai lemia filme parinktų kalbų atliekamos funkcijos, jų kompleksiskumas, sąsajos su perteikiamu siužetu ir pati tikslinė auditorija bei jos gebėjimas suprasti daugiakalbius dialogus. Pasirinkus pirmąjį – vienakalbių subtitrų – variantą, daugiakalbis turinys subtitruose nenukenčia, nes, J. Diaz Cintas (2021, p. 82) pastebėjimu, kartu su subtitrais paliktas originalios kalbos ar kalbų garsinis takelis suteikia auditorijai galimybę atpažinti garsinius sakomų daugiakalbių dialogų variantus. Tokiais atvejais, matydami subtitruose užrašytą išverstą dialogo tekstą ir girdėdami skirtingų kalbų kombinacijas, žiūrovai puikiai identifikuoja daugiakalbystės reiškinį ir suvokia kalbomis perteikiamą turinį. Pasitaiko situacijų, kai ir patys filmų kūrėjai, įvertinę tikslinės auditorijos potencialius kalbinius gebėjimus bei pabrėždami į filmą įtrauktų kalbų reikšmingumą, specialiai kuria subtitrus su išverstais užsienio kalbų dialogų fragmentais. Kitas daugiakalbių filmų subtitravimo variantas – kai kuriami daugiakalbiai subtitrai iš vertėjų ir subtitruotojų reikalauja nemažai išmonės ir novatoriškų sprendimų. I. De Higes-Andino ir kt. (2013, p. 139; 2014) pastebi, kad dažniausiai tokiu atveju taikomos grafinės daugiakalbių subtitrų kūrimo strategijos, tokios kaip *iš užsienio kalbų versto subtitruoto teksto žymėjimas kursyvu; spalvinis atskirų kalbų dialogo žymėjimas; intralingvistiniai subtitrai* – sakomos kalbos transkribuotas variantas; *neversto kalbos teksto perteikimas subtitrais su skliausteliuose įterpta kalbos identifikavimo nuoroda*. Tačiau nė viena iš

paminėtų strategijų nėra universali, visos turi savų privalumų bei trūkumų; pavyzdžiui, subtitruose kursyvu žymėti dialogai gali būti painiojami su užkadrinės (angl. *off screen*) garsinės informacijos žymėjimu arba sudėtinga parinkti tinkamą būdą, kai subtitre reikia išskirti to paties veikėjo vienu metu skirtingomis kalbomis sakomą tekstą ir pan. Todėl vertėjui ir subtitruotojui svarbu įvertinti į filmą įtrauktą daugiakalbystės aspektų vertę, paskirtį bei tikslinės auditorijos gebėjimus tai suvokti.

Pasitaiko atveju, kai vertėjai subtitruose išverčia tik pagrindinės kalbos dialogus, o kitomis kalbomis sakomas tekstas lieka neišverstas ir nesubtitruotas. J. Diaz Cintas (2021, p. 84) pastebėjimu, daugiakalbystės perteikimo atžvilgiu tokia praktika nebūtų nuostolinga, nes, kaip minėta, subtitravimas yra AV vertimo būdas, kai kūrinio prasmė generuojama pasitelkiant visas filmo semiotines sistemas, ne vien tik verbalinės informacijos vertimą. Tuomet visiškai pasikliaujama auditorijos kalbinėmis žiniomis ir gebėjimu suprasti siužeto turinį iš kitų filmo naratyvą kuriančių priemonių, kaip antai, kameros pozicijos, mizanscenų, geografinės lokacijos, gestų bei veido išraiškos, neverbalinių ženklų, paskojimo logikos ir pan. Pavyzdžiui filme *Laisvas pasaulis* (rež. K. Loachas, 2007) be anglų kalbos bendraujama dar penkiomis kalbomis ir paties filmo kūrėjo sumanymu daugiakalbiai dialogai nebuvo nei verčiami, nei subtitruojami. Turinio suvokimas buvo paliktas žiūrovų interpretacijai bei gebėjimui patiems „išsiversti“, kas sakoma, pasitelkus ne vien kalbinę informaciją. Tokį daugiakalbio AV teksto vertimą lėmė filmo kūrėjų siekis atskleisti realiomis situacijomis imigrantams išskylančias tikroviškas komunikacijos problemas (Diaz Cintas, 2021, p. 83). Vis dėlto, mokslininkų pastebėjimu, ši kitomis kalbomis sakomų dialogų nevertimo strategija turinio supratimo prasme yra efektyvi tik tais atvejais, kai žiūrovams yra iškalbūs kiti semiotiniai komponentai: gerai girdima garsinė informacija, aiškus kontekstas, ryškūs vaizdiniai elementai ir pan. Tuomet, kaip rodo atlikti recepcijos tyrimai, didžiajai žiūrovų daliai nekyla sunkumų suprasti neverstą daugiakalbį turinį (plačiau Krämeris & Duran Eppler, 2018).

Tačiau reiktų pabrėžti, kad minėtosios subtitravimo strategijos yra tinkamos girdinčiai ir matančiai auditorijai. Kadangi daugiakalbystės elementai ir jų funkcijų perteikimas AV kūrinuose turėtų būti prieinami

visiems žiūrovams, užsienio mokslininkai ir praktikai, įvertinę įvairių tikslinių grupių auditorijos fizines galimybes, siūlo taikyti kitokias daugiakalbių filmų turinio perteikimo strategijas. Šiame straipsnyje toliau apžvelgiami daugiakalbių filmų pritaikymo kurtiesiems žiūrovams aspektai bei daugiakalbio siužeto perteikimo strategijos, efektyviai naudojamos užsienio subtitravimo praktikoje.

Daugiakalbystės perteikimo kurtiesiems gairės

C. O'Sullivan (2011) pastebėjimu, filmų kūrėjai savo tikslinę auditoriją sukurtai AV medžiagai įprastai laiko vietinės šalies ar kultūros žiūrovus, be papildomų pastangų gebančius suprasti perteikiamą AV turinį. Pavyzdžiui, jei filmas kuriamas Holivude, jis pirmiausia skirtas girdinčiųjų angliškai kalbančių amerikiečių auditorijai. Vėliau, planuojant filmą platinti kitose šalyse, turinys peržiūrimas, pritaikomi ir tikslingai išverčiami filmo dialogai, kad kūrinys tapačiai būtų perteiktas kitai, vadinamajai, antrinei auditorijai. Dar kartą turinio perteikimo aspektai peržiūrimi, kai filmą ketinama skirti kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiems. Tad, galima teigti, kad vyksta to paties filmo adaptavimas jau trečiai auditorijai (Szarkowska ir kt., 2014, p. 276). Daugiakalbystės atveju, filmų kūrėjai irgi dažniausiai turi omenyje tik pirminę auditoriją ir svarsto, kuriuos užsienio kalbos intarpus išversti, kurių prasmę perteikti vaizdo ar garso elementais, o ką palikti kaip originalios kalbos faktą. Tai įvertinus, filmo kūrimo procese parengiami vadinamieji išankstiniai subtitrai (angl. *pre-subtitles*) su dialogų fragmentais, išverstais iš užsienio kalbų. Tokie filmai su išankstiniais subtitrais, anot C. O'Sullivan (2011), įprastai net neturi „originalios“ nesubtitruotos versijos (p. 81). Tolesniais etapais, kai filmą ketinama platinti kitose šalyse, atliekamas vėlesnis subtitravimas (angl. *post-subtitling*); tai yra, filmų dialogai išverčiami ir tikslinės šalies auditorijai parengiami verstos kalbos tekstiniai subtitrai (Szarkowska ir kt. 2014, p. 276). Kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiems žiūrovams retais atvejais filmų kūrėjai dar kartą specialiai pritaiko subtitrus. Paprastai, AV medžiaga paliekama su vėliau parengtais (angl. *post-subtitles*) interlingvistiniais subtitrais, skirtais girdintiems žiūrovams. Užsienio mokslininkai vis dėlto rekomenduoja atkreipti dėmesį, kad tokie standartiniai

interlingvistiniai subtitrai ne visada tinkami klausos sutrikimų turintiems žiūrovams ir gali tapti kliūtimi suvokti AV turinio reikšmes, perteikiamas į filmą įtrauktomis užsienio kalbomis. A. Szarkowska su bendraautorėmis (2013, p. 276–277) kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems rekomenduoja taikyti specialias daugiakalbystės įtraukimo į subtitrus strategijas:

- *Originalios kalbos varianto perteikimo strategija* (angl. *Vehicular matching*). Anot mokslininkų, taikant šią daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategiją, subtitruose nurodomas tik girdimos užsienio kalbos transkribuotas variantas, pvz., „Bonjour“, „Schön“.
- *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda strategija* (angl. *Translation together with explicit attribution*). Taikant šią strategiją, užsienio kalba girdimas tekstas yra išverčiamas ir skliausteliuose pateikiama tos užsienio kalbos nuoroda, kaip antai, „(PRANCŪZIŠKAI) Laba diena“, „(VOKIŠKAI) Gražu“.
- *Vertimo kartu su spalvų žymėjimu strategija* (angl. *Translation and colour-coding*). Ši strategija siejama su spalviniu užsienio kalbų žymėjimu; tai yra, girdima užsienio kalba išverčiama subtitruose, užrašoma tos kalbos nuoroda ir verstinis tekstas pažymimas kokia nors spalva. Filme išlaikomas nuoseklus šia kalba užrašyto teksto spalvinis žymėjimas; pavyzdžiui, jei prancūzų kalbos tekstui priskiriama raudona spalva, subtitruose visi iš šios kalbos išversti dialogai bus pažymėti raudonai, pvz., „Laba diena“. Arba, jei vokiečių kalbai bus paskirta mėlyna spalva, tai iš vokiečių kalbos išverstas tekstas bus žymimas mėlynai.
- *Kalbų nurodymo strategija* (angl. *Explicit attribution*). Pagal šią strategiją subtitruose tik nurodoma užsienio kalba, kuria yra bendraujama, bet pats tekstas neverčiamas. Pavyzdžiui: (PRANCŪZIŠKAI), (VOKIŠKAI).
- *Kalbų vienodinimo strategija* (angl. *Linguistic homogenization*). Šiuo atveju nei originalios kalbos varianto, nei nuorodos, kad veikėjas (-ai) kalba užsienio kalba, filme nebelieka. Užrašomas tik vertimo variantas, kaip antai, „Laba diena“, „Gražu“.

Mokslininkų pastebėjimu, vertėjai turėtų atsižvelgti, kuriai žiūrovų grupei skiriami užsienio kalbų intarpai ir kokia galima tų kalbų funkcija konkrečiame AV turinyje. Tik tada, kūrybiškai taikant pristatytas strategijas ar jų kombinacijas, pavyktų perteikti daugiakalbystės aspektus ir tikslinei auditorijai.

Siekiant įvertinti, kaip daugiakalbystė perteikiama klausos sutrikimų turintiems Lietuvos žmonėms, atliktame tyrime pagrindinis dėmesys kreipiamas į šiuolaikinių Lietuvos kūrėjų filmuose pasitelktas daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategijas, o gautos išvalgos bei tyrimo rezultatai išsamiau pristatyti empirinėje straipsnio dalyje.

Subtitravimas kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems (SKN)

Lietuvoje – specialus daugiakalbystės perteikimo būdas

Kaip minėta, šiuolaikiniuose AV produktuose pastebima tendencija vis dažniau įtraukti daugiakalbius interpus ir taip atskleisti iškilusias globalines aktualijas, paryškinti skirtingoms kultūroms atstovaujančių žmonių susikalbėjimo / nesusikalbėjimo aspektus, pagyvinti siužetą ir pan. Užsienio mokslininkai pataria neignoruoti daugiakalbystės aspektų pritaikant filmus ir spektaklius kurtiesiems žiūrovams, o apžvelgtos specialaus kūrybiško subtitravimo strategijos, skirtos perteikti daugiakalbystę tikslinei auditorijai, drąsiai taikomos užsienio AV vertimo praktikoje. AV produktų prieinamumu minėtiems žiūrovams imta domėtis ir Lietuvoje. Nuo 2017 m. Lietuvos filmų kūrėjai nedrąsiai pradėjo rengti subtitrus kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems, o pirmieji tokie SKN bandymai atskleidė besiformuojančias daugiakalbystės tendencijas lietuviškuose AV produktuose.

Šiam tyrimui pasirinkti trys Lietuvos kūrėjų filmai, kuriuose pagrindinis dėmesys buvo kreipiamas į daugiakalbystės perteikimo principus, taikomus Lietuvos kurčiųjų auditorijai. Be to, siekdama įvertinti pasitelktų daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategijų tikslingumą, pagal 2021–2022 m. vykdomą LMT mokslinį projektą „KlaRega“ („Kultūrinė įtrauktis: audiovizualinių produktų pritaikomumo klausos ir regos neįgaliesiems tyrimas“) šio straipsnio autorė tyrė Lietuvos kurčių žiūrovų poreikius,

atskleidžiančius filmuose pasitelktų daugiakalbystės perteikimo priemonių tikslingumą, bei nagrinėjo kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems skirtų lietuviškų filmų subtitrų variantuose taikytų strategijų efektyvumą.

Daugiakalbystės perteikimo variantiškumas Lietuvos kurtiesiems žiūrovams

Daugiakalbystės aspektų perteikimo kurtiems žiūrovams analizei, kaip minėta, pasirinkti du ilgo metro lietuviški vaidybiniai filmai – „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. Eglė Vertelytė), „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. Kristijonas Vildžiūnas) – ir vienas dokumentinis lietuviškas filmas „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ (2011, rež. Giedrė Žickytė). Tokį sprendimą lėmė kelios priežastys. Pirma, tai yra šiuolaikinių Lietuvos menininkų, susipažinusių su pasaulyje plačiai taikomais AV vertimo būdais, kūrinių variantai, tikslingai pritaikyti kurtiems žiūrovams². Antra, istoriniam turiniui iliustruoti pasitelktos kelios užsienio kalbos pagal kokybinius ir kiekybinius vartojimo aspektus leidžia šiuos kūrinius priskirti daugiakalbių filmų kategorijai.

Visuose analizuotose filmuose perteikti Lietuvos žmonių išgyventi istoriniai laikotarpiai išsiskiria savo specifiškumu. Filmas „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ pasakoja tikrais faktais paremtą dramatišką tėvo ir dukters istoriją Šaltojo karo laikotarpiu 1961 metais. Veiksmas vyksta į dvi geografines ir politines dalis padalytame Berlyne, kai tuoj po Antrojo pasaulinio karo į JAV emigravusi duktė šiame Vokietijos mieste bando susitikti su tėvu, atvykusiu iš Tarybų Lietuvos. Filme atskleidžiama dramatiška Rytų ir Vakarų pasaulio opozicija, sukuriama tikroviškas istorinių aplinkybių kontekstas. Ir šiai politinei bei istorinei situacijai perteikti filme be lietuvių kalbos pasitelktos kelios tame kontekste dominavusios užsienio kalbos: rusų ir vokiečių. Panašiai yra filme „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“, kuriame vaizduojama maždaug 1985 m., prieš Sąjūdį, Lietuvoje vykusį drąsų muzikinę revoliuciją su Kauno jaunųjų architektų roko grupe „Antis“, juokais susikūrusia per naujametinį karnavalą. Be muzikinių intarpų iš Roko maršų, „Anties“ ir kitų

² Filmų „Stebuklas“ ir „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ su specialiais subtitrais variantų peržiūra galima „Kino fondo“ platformoje. Šioje internetinėje svetainėje minėti filmai priskirti kurtiems žiūrovams pritaikytų filmų kategorijai.

muzikinių grupių koncertų fragmentų, filme panaudoti unikalūs istoriniai kadrai iš asmeninių archyvų, filmuotos kronikos. Be to, įtraukiami liudininkų iš Lietuvos regionų įvairiomis tarmėmis sakomi komentarai. Šiame filme *savo ir svetimo* priešpriešai atskleisti pasitelktos tarmės ir rusų kalba. 2017 m. sukurta lietuviška tragikomedija „Stebuklas“ taip pat atskleidžia ką tik Nepriklausomybę paskelbusios, bet ekonominį nepriteklių išgyvenančios besikuriančios Lietuvos kaimo kontekstą. Šiame filme vaizduojamos Biednių kaimo kolektyvinio ūkio vadovės gyvenimo peripetijos, kurias sudrumsčia iš Amerikos atvykęs ir tėvų palikimo beieškantis pseudoverslininkas Bernardas. Filmo siužetui pagyvinti pasitelkiami dialogai, nuspalvinti ryškiu amerikietišku akcentu, o darbiniams santykiams su Sovietų Sąjungos įmonėmis atskleisti – rusų kalba, įtraukti anglų bei lenkų kalbomis sakomi dialogų fragmentai.

Taigi visuose trijuose filmuose skamba ne tik lietuvių kalba, nemažai dialogų perteikiama arba kitomis kalbomis, arba ryškiomis tarmių ar dialektų variacijomis. Tokie kalbiniai elementai yra reikšmingi filmo turiniui suvokti ir, ignoruojant daugiakalbystės aspektus, žiūrovai prarastų galimybę visapusiškai suprasti AV kūrinį.

Kaip minėta teorinėje dalyje, kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems kuriami specialūs subtitrai, skirti ne tik atskleisti verbalinę ir neverbalinę garsinę informaciją, bet ir pridėti daugiakalbystės nuorodas. A. Szarkowska su bendraautorėmis (2013, p. 276–277) pagal įtrauktą užsienio kalbų vaidmenį bei jų svarbą filmo turiniui atskleisti skatina pasitelkti įvairias strategijas, kurios sėkmingai taikomos subtitruojant daugiakalbius filmus kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiems lenkų žiūrovams. Mokslininkų siūloma *Originalios kalbos varianto perteikimo strategija*, kai transkribuojamas užsienio kalbos dialogo fragmentas, žodžių junginys ar pavieniai žodžiai, nebuvo pastebėta analizuotų filmų subtitruose. Galima daryti prielaidą, kad Lietuvos subtitrų kūrėjai nebuvo įsitikinę, ar tikslinės auditorijos žiūrovai turės pakankamai kalbinės kompetencijos, kad perskaitytų rusiškai ar vokiškai parašytą tekstą ir jį suprastų.

Vis dėlto, *Kalbų nuorodų strategija*, kai tik nurodoma užsienio kalba, nepateikiant lietuviško vertimo, buvo pastebėta filmuose „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ (1 pav.) ir „Stebukle“ (2 pav., 3 pav.).

1 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“

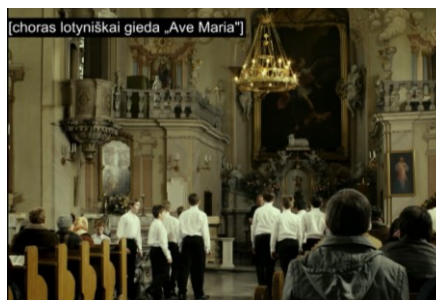
(2011, rež. G. Žickytė)



2 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“

(2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Kalbos nuoroda be vertimo*

3 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Kalbos nuoroda be vertimo*

Kaip matyti iš pateiktų fragmentų, filme „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ rusiškas tekstas nėra išverstas, subtitrai nesukurti net pirminei auditorijai, todėl galima daryti prielaidą, kad subtitruotojas, neturėdamas išankstinių subtitrų ir (ar) abejojantis dėl vertimui turimų pakankamų rusų kalbos žinių, įtraukė tik užsienio kalbos identifikavimo nuorodą. Ta pati *Kalbų nuorodų strategija* pastebėta ir „Stebukle“. Tik čia minėtoji strategija buvo susijusi su foninės muzikinės informacijos apie kitomis kalbomis skambančius muzikinius kūrinius nurodymu (2 pav., 3 pav.). Šiuo ir panašiais atvejais tokia

daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija yra šviečiamojo ar informacinio pobūdžio, nes muzikinio kūrinio žodžiai ne visada svarbūs filmo turiniui, o bendras supratimas apie šio kūrinio atlikimo aplinkybes, kuriamą nuotaiką gali būti reikšmingas. Apskritai, kalbant apie dainas, kurioms filme priskiriamas muzikinio fono vaidmuo, pastebėta, kad minėtoji strategija, perteikianti apibendrinamąją deskriptyvinę informaciją, yra dažna lietuviškuose SKN.

Tyrimo rezultatai leido atkreipti dėmesį į tai, kad analizuotuose filmuose nebuvo taikyta *Kalbų žymėjimo skirtingomis spalvomis* strategija. Kaip pastebi lenkų mokslininkės (Szarkowska ir kt., 2013, 2014), spalvų įtraukimas į subtitrus dažnai taikomas tada, kai įvairiomis užsienio kalbomis sakomi dialogai yra dažni ir laiko atžvilgiu greitai besikeičiantys. Tuomet vietoj kalbos identifikavimo nuorodos kiekviename subtitre patogesnė yra spalvų žymėjimo strategija. Tyrimui atrinktuose filmuose spalvomis buvo pasirinkta identifikuoti veikėjus, o ne įtrauktas kalbas ar tarmes.

Dažniausiai taikyta daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija filmuose „Stebuklas“ ir „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ buvo *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda* (4 pav., 5 pav.).

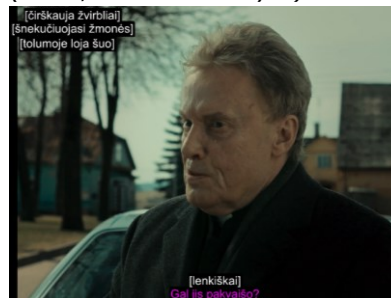
4 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



5 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda*

Iš pateiktų pavyzdžių matyti, kad viršutinėje subtitro eilutėje įprastos baltos spalvos tekstu pažymimos užsienio kalbos nuorodos, o žemesnėje to paties subtitro eilutėje pateikiamas į lietuvių kalbą išverstas tekstas. Spalvomis čia

skiriamas identifikuotų veikėjų tekstas. Panašiai ši strategija taikoma atskleidžiant dialekto variantus (6 pav.) ar perteikiant muzikinio kūrinio tekstą (7 pav.).

6 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



7 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda*

Subtitruotojas galimai siekė žiūrovui ne tik perteikti informaciją apie įtrauktas kalbas ar kalbos variantus, bet ir išversti tai, kas ir kaip sakoma (6 pav.), apie ką dainuojama (7 pav.). Akivaizdu, kad pasitelkus tokią strategiją kurtiesiems ir neprigirdintiesiems suteikiama galimybė suprasti užsienio kalba sakomą ar dainuojamą tekstą, suvokti veikėjų kalbinį identitetą ar įsigilinti į perteikiamą filmo situaciją. Kita vertus, informuotas apie tai, kad tekstas yra sakomas kita kalba, kurčiasis psichologiškai jaučiasi lygiavertis girdinčiajam, nes iš įtrauktų nuorodų pats gali suprasti sakomo ar dainuojamo teksto įvairovę daugiakalbiškumo atžvilgiu.

Filme „Kai apkabinsiu tave“, kaip ir daugumoje Lietuvoje rodomų filmų, daugiakalbystės aspektams taikoma šiuo požiūriu neinformatyvi strategija – *Kalbų vienodinimas*; tai yra, kai subtitruose užrašomas iš užsienio kalbos išverstas tekstas be jokių papildomų kalbos nuorodų (8 pav., 9 pav., 10 pav.).

8 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas)



9 paveikslas

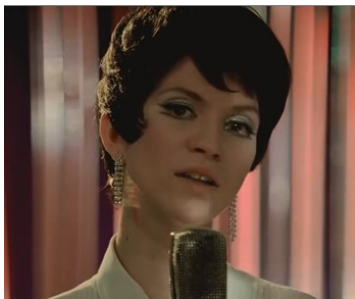
Fragmentas iš filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Kalbų vienodinimas*

10 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Kalbų vienodinimas*

Tokia strategija, kaip minėta, yra paranki girdintiems žiūrovams, kurie pagal garsinę kalbos formą gali atpažinti užsienio kalbą, o subtitruose išverstas tekstas leidžia suprasti perteikiamą mintį. Kiek kitaip tą gali suvokti klausos negalią turinti auditorija, nes be garsinės formos neįmanoma susieti, kad apskritai bendraujama užsienio kalbomis. Klausos sutrikimų turintiems žiūrovams toks daugiakalbiškumo variantas apskritai nesuteikia galimybės pažinti filme perteikiamos kultūrinės įvairovės, įsijausti į filmo kontekstą. Taigi iš tikslinės auditorijos tartum atimama galimybė „girdėti daugiakalbį filmą“. Tad ankščiau pateiktų fragmentų subtitruose galima perskaityti tik išverstą tekstą nenutuokiant, jog filme buvo kalbama vokiškai (8 pav.) ar rusiškai (9 pav.),

dainuojama angliškai (10 pav.). Tokie standartiniai subtitrai nėra patogūs kurtiems žiūrovams. Vis dėlto, Lietuvoje vadovaujantis iškreipta sovietų valdžios režimo suformuota socialine nuomone, kad kurtiesiems nėra aktualu AV kūriniai, tokie subtitrai vis dar laikomi standartu visiems žiūrovams, ignoruojant galimą fizinę auditorijos specifiškumą. Šio straipsnio autorė siūlytų, pasitelkus užsienio mokslininkų įžvalgas bei taikomą praktiką, redaguoti tokius subtitrus (11 pav., 12 pav.) ir taip pagelbėti kurtiesiems suprasti garsinę informaciją: ne tik dialogų tekstą, bet ir filmo daugiakalbiškumą. Būtent tokie subtitrai kaip specifinės nuorodos padėtų perteikti kultūrinį, ideologinį ar istorinį daugiakalbio filmo turinį.

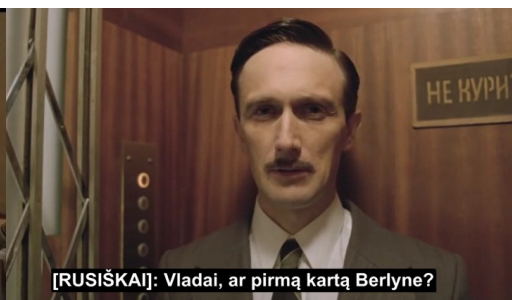
11 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas)



12 paveikslas

Fragmentas iš filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas)



Pastaba: Daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija – *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda*

Apžvelgus minėtuose lietuviškų filmų subtitruose taikytas daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategijas, galima teigti, kad Lietuvos subtitrų kūrėjai dažniausiai linkę naudoti *Vertimo kalbos su originalios kalbos nuoroda* ir *Kalbų suvienodinimo* strategijas, o pastaroji, atitikdama standartinių subtitrų formatą, kurtiesiems žiūrovams nesuteikia išsamesnių nuorodų apie filmo daugiakalbiškumą. Taip pat pastebėta, kad taikoma ir *Kalbos nuorodos be vertimo* strategija, kuri ypač dažna įterpiant identifikavimo ir deskriptyvinę informaciją apie kitomis kalbomis atliekamas dainas ar muzikinius kūrinius bei apibūdinant kuriamą siužeto nuotaiką.

Lietuvos kurčiųjų žiūrovų požiūris į daugiakalbiškumo perteikimo strategijas filmuose

Išanalizavus lietuviškuose filmuose, skirtuose kurčiųjų auditorijai, pastebėtas daugiakalbių elementų perteikimo strategijas, prasminga įvertinti tiek pačios tikslinės auditorijos daugiakalbystės aspektų suvokimą, tiek strategijų, atitinkančių jų poreikius, parinkimo prioritetus. 2021–2022 m. vykdyto LMT mokslinio projekto „KlaRega“ metu buvo atlikta apžvalginė apklausa – išsami „Google“ internetinė anketa – apie Lietuvos kurčiųjų ir neprigirdinčiųjų poreikius bei turimą patirtį, susijusią su AV produkcijos prieinamumu. Anketą sudarė 55 klausimai tam tikromis teminėmis grupėmis, skirtomis įvertinti atskirus tikslinės auditorijos interesų ir poreikių aspektus. Anketoje teirautasi apie respondentų amžių, lytį, gyvenamąją vietą, išsilavinimą bei negalios lygį. Įtraukti klausimai taip pat buvo skirti įvertinti Lietuvos kurčiųjų ir neprigirdinčiųjų pomėgius bei įpročius, susijusius su teatrų lankymu, filmų ir spektaklių žiūrėjimu. Anketoje buvo paliktos ir atviros pozicijos respondentams nevaržomai pasidalyti savo įžvalgomis, pasiūlymais, kritinėmis pastabomis bei vertinimais apie matytus AV produktus ir galimas jų modifikacijas, pagerinančias tikslinės grupės žiūrovams prieinamumą prie AV turinio. Be to, vienoje anketos dalyje buvo pateikti trumpi (iki 1 min. trukmės) AV produktų fragmentai (pavyzdžiai), pritaikyti pagal tikslinėms auditorijoms rekomenduojamą metodiką. Kadangi anketos buvo prieinamos internetu, jų nuorodomis pasidalyta su Lietuvos kurčiųjų draugija ir Lietuvos kurčiųjų reabilitacijos centrais. Dėl pandeminės situacijos ir nepakankamo technologinio išprusimo į anketavimo procesą kurtieji įsitraukė vangokai, tačiau aktyviai dalyvavę 58 respondentai iš įvairių Lietuvos regionų pasidalijo vertingomis įžvalgomis ir rekomendacijomis³.

Anketavimo rezultatai atskleidė, kad Lietuvos kurtieji ir neprigirdintieji mėgsta žiūrėti filmus, lankytis teatruose. Kalbėdami apie AV kūrinius, jie pripažino, kad dažniausiai tenka žiūrėti filmus su standartiniais subtitrais per Lietuvos televizijos kanalus arba prenumeruoti iš Lietuvos ir užsienio kino platformų. Kadangi šios tikslinės grupės žiūrovams ne svetimos internetinės

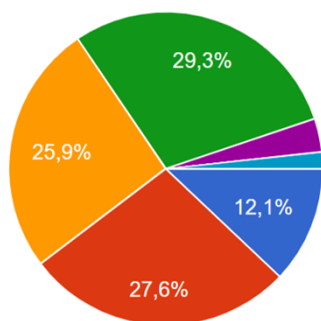
³ Plačiau apie patį tyrimą ir gautus rezultatus žr. Kerevičienė & Niedzviegienė, 2022.

svetainės ir užsienietišku filmų prenumeratos, didelė apklaustųjų dalis (daugiau nei 60 proc.) žino, kad AV medžiaga gali būti parengta su specialiais redaguotais subtitrais – SKN. Todėl, kaip parodė anketavimo rezultatai, Lietuvos kurtieji yra linkę ieškoti taip subtitruotų filmų ir stengiasi pažiūrėti bent kartą per savaitę. Jų teigimu, tokie filmai dažniausiai būna su anglų kalbos subtitrais, todėl panašios praktikos tikisi ir iš Lietuvos filmų kūrėjų ar subtitrų rengėjų.

Diskusijoje apie daugiakalbystės aspektus anketavimo rezultatai atskleidė šiuos Lietuvos kurčiųjų siūlomus daugiakalbystės perteikimo filmuose būdus:

13 paveikslas

Lietuvos kurčiųjų siūlomi daugiakalbystės perteikimo variantai



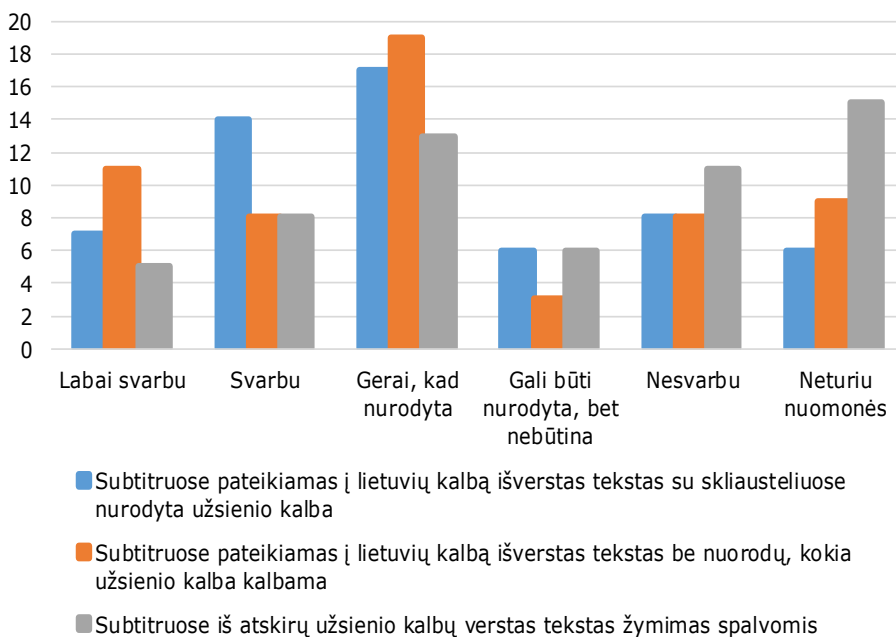
- Man patinka, kai kalba nėra verčiama ir subtitruose tekstas užrašomas ta kalba, kuria kalbama
- Manau, reiktų tik išversti tekstą, kad būtų galima suprasti, apie ką veikėjai kalba ir nieko papildomai nerašyti
- Galima išversti tekstą ir skirtingomis spalvomis pažymėti atskirų kalbų tekstus
- Manau, būtų gerai užrašyti išverstą tekstą ir skliausteliuose parašyti kalbas, iš kurių buvo versti dialogai
- Manau, galima tiesiog užrašyti, kad veikejas kalba kokia nors kita kalba
- Subtitrai tik lietuvių kalba

Iš pateiktos diagramos akivaizdu, kad Lietuvos kurčiųjų auditorija rekomenduoja pasitelkti tris pagrindines daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategijas: subtitruose užrašyti į lietuvių kalbą išverstą tekstą su skliausteliuose įdėta nuoroda apie tą užsienio kalbą, kuria sakomas tekstas; kai kuriais atvejais dėl didelio ženklų skaičiaus subtitro eilutėje ar dėl AV

turiniui nereikšmingos informacijos apie įtrauktą užsienio kalbą iš viso atsisakyti šios kalbos identifikavimo nuorodos, tik pateikti išverstą lietuvišką tekstą. Ir trečioji strategija, kurią rinkęsi minėtos tikslinės grupės žiūrovai, yra spalvinis įtrauktų užsienio kalbų žymėjimas. Išsamesni anketos rezultatai pateikti 14 paveiksle:

14 paveikslas

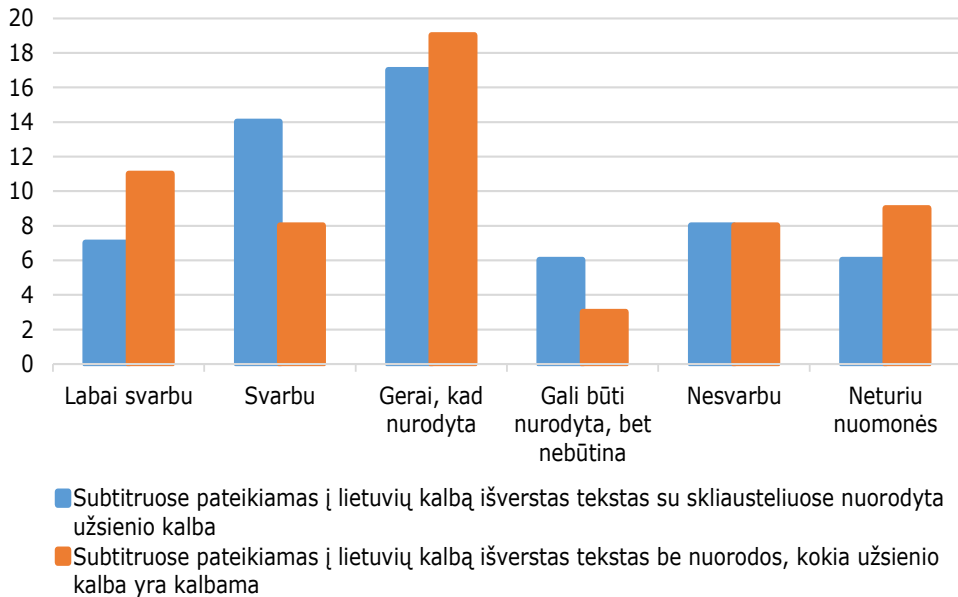
Lietuvos kurčiųjų nuomonė apie filmuose taikytinas daugiakalbystės atskleidimo strategijas



Vis dėlto, detalesni duomenys (15 pav.) leidžia pastebėti, kad tarp respondentų pasirinkimų dominuoja girdintiems žiūrovams taikoma lietuviška standartinio subtitravimo praktika, prie kurios Lietuvos kurtieji galimai yra įpratę. Kita vertus, susipažinę su užsienio pavyzdžiais, tyrimo dalyviai pažymėjo ir kitą pasirinkimą, kai kartu su verstiniu tekstu įtraukiamos svarbios užsienio kalbų nuorodos, padedančios suprasti kultūrinius bendravimo ypatumus.

15 paveikslas

Respondentų nuomonė apie tinkamiausių daugiakalbystės atskleidimo būdų reikšmingumą



Galima daryti išvadą, kad Lietuvos kurtiesiems svarbu ne tik suprasti sakomą tekstą, bet ir sužinoti, iš kokios kalbos jis buvo išverstas. Į tai atsižvelgę, Lietuvos AV specialistai turėtų labiau įsiklausyti į išsakytus kurčiųjų poreikius ir subtitrams taikyti užsienio praktikų siūlomas strategijas, padedančias tikslinei auditorijai perteikti daugiakalbystės aspektus.

Išvados

Subtitravimas yra vienas iš audiovizualinio vertimo būdų, padedantis atskleisti daugiakalbystės aspektus filmuose. Kadangi šiuo būdu AV kūrinio turinys perteikiamas pasitelkus vienodai svarbius ir vienas kitą papildančius verbalinius, neverbalinius, garso ir vaizdo elementus bei jų kombinacijas, tiek vienakalbiai, tiek daugiakalbiai subtitrai kartu su kitais turinio perteikimo komponentais pagelbėja girdinčiam ir matančiam žiūrovui identifikuoti kalbas, pažinti realistišką daugiakalbį siužetą ir suprasti perteikiamas mintis. Kurtiems žiūrovams subtitravimas taip pat yra veiksmingas AV vertimo

būdas, padedantis atskleisti filmo turinį, suvokti pasakojamą AV istoriją. Vis dėlto, daugiakalbiuose filmuose parengti standartiniai subtitrai, tinkantys įprastai auditorijai, riboja daugiakalbystės suvokimą klausos sutrikimų turintiems žiūrovams be fizinių galimybių girdėti originalų garso takelį. Kitaip tariant, girdimoji informacija jiems nėra prieinama, o subtitruose rodomas iš įvairių kalbų išverstas tekstas be kalbų nuorodų nėra informatyvus daugiakalbystės atžvilgiu. Todėl užsienio mokslininkai šiai tikslinei auditorijai siūlo taikyti kūrybinius metodus, susijusius su įvairiomis kalbų žymėjimo subtitruose strategijomis.

Lietuvos šiuolaikinių filmų kūrėjai yra susipažinę su užsienio šalyse taikoma AV informacijos perteikimo praktika įvairių fizinių galimybių tikslinėms auditorijoms. Filmų pritaikymas klausos sutrikimų turintiems žiūrovams nėra naujas dalykas, nes Lietuvos kino platformose galima rasti sukurtų filmų variantų, skirtų šiai tikslinei grupei. Kadangi užsienio šalyse taikoma įvairi praktika, buvo atliktas tyrimas, skirtas įvertinti, kokias strategijas taiko Lietuvos kino kūrėjai ir subtitruotojai, perteikiantys daugiakalbystę Lietuvos kurčiųjų auditorijai. Analizei pasirinkti trys lietuviški filmai – „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ (2010, rež. K. Vildžiūnas), „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ (2011, rež. G. Žickytė) ir „Stebuklas“ (2017, rež. E. Vertelytė) – su specialiai kurtiesiems pritaikytais subtitrais. Atlikto tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė, kad filmuose „Kaip mes žaidėme revoliuciją“ ir „Stebuklas“ daugiakalbystei perteikti kurtiems žiūrovams lietuvių kūrėjų filmuose dažniausiai taikyta *Vertimo kalbos kartu su originalios kalbos nuoroda* strategija, kai viršutinėje subtitro eilutėje nespalvotu tekstu pateikiama užsienio kalbos nuorodos, o žemesnėje eilutėje – kitos užsienio kalbos teksto, dialekto varianto ar dainos teksto vertimas į lietuvių kalbą. Be to, šiuose filmuose taikyta ir *Kalbų nuorodų strategija*, kai be vertimo tik identifikuojama sakomo teksto kalba. Ši strategija ypač dažnai taikyta informacijai apie girdimus muzikinius kūrinius ir atliekamas dainas perteikti. Filmo „Kai apkabinsiu tave“ subtitrai neišsiskyrė daugiakalbės informacijos perteikimo variantais. Čia, kaip ir daugumai Lietuvoje rodomų filmų, taikoma daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategija *Kalbų vienodinimas*, kai subtitruose užrašomas į lietuvių kalbą išverstas tekstas be nuorodos apie tai, kokia kalba ar kalbomis buvo bendraujama. Pastebėta, kad toks į standartinius subtitrus

panašus daugiakalbio filmo vertimo būdas yra dominuojantis lietuviškose filmuose. Tačiau jis parankus girdintiesiems, kurie gali identifikuoti kalbas pasitelkę garsinę informaciją, bet visai neinformatyvus kurtiems žiūrovams.

Įvertinus Lietuvos kurčiųjų poreikius bei išsakytus pasiūlymus dėl tinkamiausių daugiakalbių filmų subtitravimo variantų, išryškėjo trys tendencijos: 1) subtitruose užrašyti į lietuvių kalbą išverstą tekstą su skliausteliuose įdėta nuoroda apie užsienio kalbą, kuria buvo sakomas tekstas; 2) siekiant subtitruoto teksto glaudinimo arba įvertinus, kad informacija apie užsienio kalbą AV kūrinio turiniui neturi svarios reikšmės, užsienio kalbos nuorodos iš viso siūloma atsisakyti ir pateikti tik į lietuvių kalbą išverstą tekstą (standartinių subtitrų formatas); 3) skirtingų užsienio kalbų vertimus subtitruose žymėti skirtingomis spalvomis (tai nebuvo pastebėta analizuotuose filmuose ir tai, anot respondentų, nepridėtų jokios vertės daugiakalbiškumo supratimui, o priešingai – sukurtų papildomą ir nereikalingą vizualinį triukšmą). Vadinas, Lietuvos kurtieji nori ne tik suprasti sakomą tekstą, jiems taip pat aktuali informacija, susijusi su kalbų identifikavimu.

Atsižvelgus į išsakytus pasiūlymus ir rekomendacijas bei išanalizavus lietuviškuose filmuose pasitelktas daugiakalbystės perteikimo strategijas, galima teigti, kad šiame tyrime daugiakalbystės aspektų perteikimas lietuvių menininkų filmuose atitinka minėtos tikslinės auditorijos lūkesčius, nors ir pasižymi įvairove. Tačiau apskritai verčiant AV kūrinius pastebėta vyraujanti tendencija: nepaisant užsienio praktikoje taikomos strategijų įvairovės, Lietuvoje daugiakalbių filmų (kaip ir daugumai kitų) vertimui pasitelkiami standartiniai subtitrai net ir kurčiųjų auditorijai. Tam galimai turėjo įtakos nuo sovietinių laikų ilgai vyravęs abejingas požiūris ir į tokios auditorijos egzistavimą, ir į jos reikmes bei galimybes. Taip pat ir kurčiųjų bendruomenėje nuo to laikmečio formavosi menkos savivertės nuomonė apie kuklius savo poreikius bei riboto visapusiško prieinamumo prie AV kūrinių galimybes. Kita vertus, respondentų pastebėjimu, ir patys Lietuvos kurtieji ilgainiui prisitaikė prie jiems nepalankios situacijos bei priprato žiūrėti filmus su standartiniais subtitrais, savarankiškai analizuoti filmo siužetą, interpretuoti perteikiamą AV kūrinio nuotaiką.

Tikėtina, kad su į Lietuvą aktyviai ateinančiomis šiuolaikinėmis

pasaulyje taikomomis AV vertimo tendencijomis bei technologijomis ims keistis ir kuriamos bei pritaikomos AV medžiagos, atitinkančios tikslinės grupės žiūrovų gebėjimus, kūrimo bei pritaikymo metodai, užtikrinantys vispusišką prieinamumą visų fizinių galimybių žiūrovams prie AV kūrinių. Tai iliustravo ir keli analizuoti Lietuvių kūrėjų darbai. Kita vertus, moksliniai tyrimai ir praktinės išvalgos leidžia teigti, kad filmuose daugiakalbystės perteikimas kurčiųjų auditorijai nėra lengva užduotis, greičiau tai – kūrybiškumo reikalaujantis procesas.

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MULTILINGUAL FILMS: RENDERING MULTILINGUAL NARRATIVE FOR DEAF VIEWERS IN LITHUANIA

Summary. The issue of multilingualism often arises in the context of audiovisual translation, when dubbing, subtitling or voice-over is under discussion. This aspect also does not lose its significance in subtitling multilingual films for the deaf and hard of hearing. By applying this mode, the content of audiovisual product is conveyed to the deaf by employing a special instrument of audiovisual translation, namely, specialized subtitles (SDH). In this case, subtitles must include not only a translated dialogue text; the additional information that helps the deaf perceive the off screen non-verbal and verbal cues, understand the narrative and mood of the film and estimate roles of foreign languages must be added as well. The paper aims at exploring strategies for conveying multilingualism to the deaf in the films created by Lithuanian filmmakers. Three Lithuanian multilingual films "Back to Your Arms" (2010, directed by K. Vildžiūnas), „How We Played the Revolution" (2011, directed by G. Žickytė) and „Miracle" (2017, directed by E. Vertelytė) as the research material were selected for the analysis. In the theoretical part, strategies of application of multilingual films suggested by foreign scholars (De Higes-Andino et al., 2013, 2014, Szarkowska & Żbikowska & Krejtz, 2013, 2014) are outlined; insights into multilingualism presented by Lithuanian researchers are reviewed and practical principles that help reveal multilingualism for the deaf audience in Lithuanian films are examined. A descriptive-analytical approach is employed to analyze the rendition of multilingualism to the target audience; whereas, to reveal needs of the Lithuanian deaf the analysis of achieved quantitative data is made. The study has revealed that the process of conveying multilingualism to the deaf viewers in Lithuanian films is a process that requires creativity. Moreover, the results of the analysis suggested that in the analyzed Lithuanian films a multilingual source text was only translated and subtitled by applying a standard subtitling format. With regard to the multilingualism rendering for the deaf, it can be noted that standard subtitles only partially revealed the content of the film; though, the information and aspects about multilingualism as such still remained inaccessible. For this reason, special subtitles (SDH) for the hearing impaired viewers should be prepared; however, this type of subtitles has stayed uncommon for the Lithuanian filmmakers.

Keywords: audiovisual translation; multilingualism; subtitling; subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH).

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RIČARDO GAVELIO „VILNIAUS POKERIO“ KULTŪRINIŲ REALIJŲ VARTOJIMAS IR VERTIMAS Į ANGLŲ IR PRANCŪZŲ KALBAS

Santrauka. Nuo vertimo mokslo pradžios iki šių dienų teorinė ir praktinė vertimo paradigma nuėjo ilgą raidos kelią. Nors iki XX a. devintojo dešimtmečio pradžios šis kelias buvo glaudžiai susijęs su lingvistika ir lingvistinių vertimo problemų sprendimu, jau pirmosios vertimo teorijos atkreipė dėmesį į kultūrinius tekstų reiškinius ir su jais susijusius vertimo iššūkius. Vertimo tyrėjai Susana Bassnett ir André Lefevre'as (1990) rašė, kad vertimo atsigręžimas į kultūros reiškinius tapo reikšmingu kultūriniu posūkiu. Tai lėmė vertimo paradigmos kaitą ir naują požiūrį, kad vertimas yra tarpkultūrinis veiksmas ir kultūrų dialogas. Atsižvelgus į kultūrinių reikšmių vertimo tyrimų svarbą ir aktualumą, straipsnyje nagrinėjama viena iš kultūrinių reikšmių rūšių – kultūrinės realijos, kurios vertėjams kartais tampa kultūriniu kliuviniu. Straipsnyje aprašomo tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti Ričardo Gavelio romano „Vilniaus pokeris“ kultūrinių realijų vartojimo ypatumus, atlikti kultūrinių realijų vertimo iš lietuvių kalbos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas lyginamąjį tyrimą bei nustatyti vertėjų taikytus vertimo būdus, strategijas ir kultūrinės transpozicijos tendencijas. Tyrimo tikslui įgyvendinti taikomi mokslinės literatūros sintezės, lyginamasis, aprašomasis ir kiekybinės analizės metodai. Tiriant kultūrinių realijų vartojimą ir vertimą, nekeliamas realijos ekvivalentiškumo ir kalbinio deficito klausimas. Kultūrinės realijos, nagrinėjamos ne kaip atskiras teksto vienetas, o kaip holistinės teksto visumos dalis, organiškai suaugusi su teksto visuma ir padedanti atskleisti jos prasmę. Išnagrinėjus tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų vartojimą, buvo nustatytos keturios teminės grupės: socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos, folkloro ir mitologijos realijos, buities realijos ir geografinės realijos. Gauti kultūrinių realijų kiekybinio vartojimo duomenys leidžia teigti, kad du penktadaliai visų analizuojamų realijų priklauso socialinės, politinės ir istorinės tematikos realijoms, atspindinčioms R. Gavelio vaizduojamą sovietinio laikotarpio Vilniaus ir visos Lietuvos visuomenės gyvenimą, deformacijas, sovietines žmonių patirtis ir pasaulėjautą. Atlikus lyginamąjį kultūrinių realijų vertimo iš lietuvių kalbos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas tyrimą pagal Andrew Chestermano aprašytus vertimo būdus ir strategijas, nustatyti devyni vertimo būdai ir trys strategijos: iš semantinei vertimo strategijai priklausančių vertimo būdų buvo taikyti sinonimo parinkimas, abstrakcijos lygio keitimas, pakeitimas ir parafrazė, iš pragmatinės vertimo strategijos vertimo būdų – eksplisitinis vertimas ir praleidimas, iš sintaksinės arba formos pakeitimo strategijos – tiesioginis vertimas, perkėlimas ir transpozicija. Įvertinus anglų ir prancūzų kalbų vertėjų pasirinktus skirtingus kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdus paaiškėjo, kad verčiant į anglų kalbą buvo pasirinkta svetinimo tendencija siekiant „atvesti skaitytoją pas autorių“, t. y. suteikti vertimo skaitytojams kuo daugiau sisteminės kultūrinės informacijos apie sovietmečio ir pokario metų Lietuvą. O prancūzų kalbos vertime išryškėjo priešinga tendencija – savinimas, arba specifinių kultūrinių reikšmių atsakymas, jų praleidimas ar pakeitimas prancūzų kultūros reikšmėmis. Tai atskleidė vertėjos kultūrinės transpozicijos siekį „atvesti autorių pas skaitytoją“.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kultūrinė realija; vertimo strategija; vertimo būdas; kultūrinė transpozicija; R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokeris“.

Įvadas

Nuo vertimo mokslo pradžios iki šių dienų teorinė ir praktinė vertimo paradigma nuėjo ilgą raidos kelią. Nors kelis dešimtmečius šis kelias buvo glaudžiai susijęs su lingvistika ir lingvistinių vertimo problemų sprendimu, jau pirmose vertimo teorijose pradėta svarstyti apie kultūrinius tekstų reiškinius ir su jais susijusias vertimo problemas. Vienas pirmųjų apie tai ėmė rašyti vertimo mokslo kūrėjas amerikietis Eugene'as Nida ir teigė, kad žodžių, atskirtų nuo vietinės kultūros reiškinių, kuriuos jie simbolizuoja, neįmanoma tinkamai suprasti (1945, p. 207). Šią E. Nidos mintį palaikė vėlesnių lingvistinių teorijų atstovai, pavyzdžiui, G. Mouninas. Vertimą jis laikė lingvistiniu ir kultūriniu veiksmu ir rašė, kad kultūra apima tam tikros šalies institucijų bei kitokią veiklą (technologijas, socialinį gyvenimą, švietimo sistemą, teisę, religiją, moralę, meninę veiklą ir kt.), tad norint versti iš užsienio kalbos, reikia įvykdyti dvi sąlygas: studijuoti užsienio kalbą ir sistemiškai tyrinėti ta kalba kalbančios bendruomenės etnografiją, t. y. kultūrą. Pažeidus bent vieną sąlygą, vertimas nebus adekvatus (1963, p. 233–236). Nepaisant šių įžvalgų, Vakarų pasaulyje iki XX a. devintojo dešimtmečio pradžios vyravo lingvistinė vertimo samprata ir vertimo reiškinių traktavimas iš lingvistikos pozicijų. Vertimo tyrėjai Susana Bassnett ir André Lefevre'as (1990) rašė, kad vertimo atsigręžimas į kultūros reiškinius tapo reikšmingu kultūriniu posūkiu (angl. *cultural turn*). Tai lėmė vertimo paradigmos kaitą ir naują požiūrį, kad vertimas yra tarpkultūrinis veiksmas ir kultūrų dialogas.

Laikantis šio požiūrio, straipsnio tyrimo objektu pasirinkti kultūrinę reikšmę turintys teksto vienetai – *kultūrinės realijos*. Jos analizuojamos Ričardo Gavelio romane „Vilniaus pokeris“ (2019, pirmasis leidimas – 1989 m.) ir jo vertimuose į anglų (2016) ir į prancūzų (2014) kalbas. Romaną į anglų kalbą vertė Elizabeth'a Novickas, į prancūzų kalbą – Margarita Le Borgne. Kūrinio originalas ir du jo vertimo tekstai yra šios vertimo analizės tiriamoji medžiaga. Originalo apimtis – 524 puslapiai. Bendra visos tiriamosios medžiagos apimtis trimis kalbomis yra apie 1 585 puslapius. Ši apimtis laikytina reprezentatyvia kultūrinių realijų lyginamajai vertimo analizei atlikti. Rašytojo R. Gavelio kūrinio pasirinkimą lėmė tai, kad „Vilniaus pokeryje“, fantasmagoriškame, groteskiškame ir ironiškame pasakojime, leidžiama atsiskleisti „gaveliškai

sovietmečio vaizdinijai – tam unikaliam gyvenimo sovietinėje sistemoje variantui, kuriame greta meniškų koncepcijų ir realybės transformacijų esama ir dokumentiškų laikmečio detalių“ (Čerškutė, 2015, p. 428). Būtent kultūrinę reikšmę turinčios sovietinės detalės atkreipė straipsnio autorių dėmesį. Sovietmečio vaizdinijos erdvę R. Gavelio kūryboje atskleidžia autorinės metaforos, metaforiniai palyginimai ir kitos kultūrinės reikšmės. Šios reikšmės, o ypač gausiai tekste vartojamos kultūrinės realijos, atspindi tam tikro laikotarpio socialinės sistemos ypatumus, materialines ir dvasines vertybes, mąstymo, gyvensenos, bendravimo ir jausenos modelius, tad suteikia papildomų reikšmių daugiasluoksnei semantinei „Vilniaus pokerio“ visumai.

Kadangi R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokeryje“ gausiai vartojamos autorinės stilistinės priemonės, pavyzdžiui, metaforos, palyginimai, autoriniai naujažodžiai, iš kurių dažnesni yra *kanukas (-ė)* ir *kanukizmas*, reiškiantys plačią minties nelaisvės kategoriją, tad renkant tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžius buvo iš anksto nutarta, kas tyrime laikoma kultūrine realija. Renkant tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinės realijas buvo išrinkti įvairių žmogaus veiklų ir sričių specifiniai kultūriniai pavadinimai, turintys nacionalinės specifikos ar šaliai būdingo tam tikro laikotarpio unikalumo požymių. Taip pat buvo atsižvelgta, kad realija referuotų ekstralingvistinius reiškinius, objektus ir kt., todėl į pavyzdžių imtį nebuvo įtraukti kitoms leksikos grupėms priskirtini lingvistiniai vienetai: tikriniai vardai, kultūrinę reikšmę turintys posakiai, frazeologizmai, terminai ir autoriniai R. Gavelio naujažodžiai.

Šio straipsnio *tyrimo tikslas* – išanalizuoti tiriamosios medžiagos lietuvių kalba kultūrinių realijų vartojimo ypatumus, atlikti kultūrinių realijų vertimo iš lietuvių kalbos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas lyginamąjį tyrimą ir nustatyti vertėjų taikytus vertimo būdus, strategijas ir kultūrinės transpozicijos tendencijas. Siekiant įgyvendinti numatytą tikslą keliami šie uždaviniai: 1) teoriškai aptarti kultūrinės realijas, jų klasifikacijas ir vertimo galimybes, 2) išnagrinėti R. Gavelio romano „Vilniaus pokeris“ kultūrinių realijų vartojimo ypatumus, 3) ištirti tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų vertimą iš lietuvių kalbos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas, nustatyti taikytus vertimo būdus ir strategijas bei atlikti lyginamąją vertimo analizę, 4) išnagrinėjus kultūrinių realijų vertimo ypatumus, nustatyti tiriamųjų realijų kultūrinės transpozicijos tendencijas.

Siekiant įgyvendinti iškeltą tyrimo tikslą ir uždavinius, taikomi

mokslinės literatūros sintezės, lyginamasis, aprašomasis ir kiekybinės analizės metodai. Tiriant kultūrinių realijų vartojimą ir vertimą, šiame straipsnyje nekliamas realijos ekvivalentiškumo ir kalbinio deficito klausimas. Tyrimo objektas – kultūrinės realijos, nagrinėjamos ne kaip atskiras teksto vienetas, o holistinės teksto visumos požiūriu. Laikantis šio požiūrio remiamasi prancūzų filosofo Paulio Ricœuro nuostata, kad „vertėjo užduotis krypsta ne nuo žodžio link sakinio, teksto ar kultūrinės tikrovės, bet atvirkščiai: prisipildydamas neapbrėpiamų konkrečios kultūros idėjų, interpretacijų, vertėjas nuo teksto leidžiasi prie sakinio ir žodžio“ (2010, p. 41). Šią metodologinę tyrimo nuostatą paremia stilistikos, teksto lingvistikos ir vertimo mokslo atstovai. „Meninis stilius yra aukščiausias sąmoningos kalbinės atrankos lygmuo“, – rašo Kazimieras Župerka (2001, p. 89), tad kiekvienas mikrostruktūrinis vienetas meniniame kūrinyje pasirenkamas neatsitiktinai, jis tarnauja autoriaus reiškiamai idėjai, teksto visumos prasmei ir vaizdui kurti. Remiantis šiuo požiūriu, straipsnyje analizuojamų kultūrinių realijų vartojimas ir vertimas nagrinėjami iš holistinės perspektyvos, t. y. laikantis požiūrio, kad teksto visuma nėra lygi atskirų jo vienetų sumai.

Kultūrinės realijos, kaip kultūrinių teksto reikšmių rūšis, vertimo kliuvinys ir kultūrinės vertimo transpozicijos dėmuo, ne kartą buvo nagrinėtos vertimo tyrimuose. Jų kontekstinę realizaciją ir vertimo klausimus analizavo užsienio traduktologai (Aixela, 1997; Baker, 1992; Chesterman, 1997; Davies, 2003; Hongwei, 1999; Ischenko, 2012; Newmark, 2004; Nord, 1997; Pavlovic, Poslek, 1999; ir kt.) ir Lietuvos vertimo tyrėjai (Balčiūnienė, 2005; Buitkienė, 2013; Deltuvaitė, Klioštoraitytė, 2013; Dilytė, 2005; Gimževskienė, 2018, 2019; Kalėdaitė, Asijavičiūtė, 2005; Leonavičienė, 2014a, 2014b; Leonavičiūtė, Kuzminskaitė, 2021; Maksvytytė, 2012; Mikutytė, 2012; Pažūsis, 2014; Petrulionė, 2012; ir kt.). Kai kurias su tyrimu susijusias tyrėjų išvalgas aptarsime teorinėje straipsnio dalyje.

Turint omenyje tai, kad lietuvių literatūros kultūrinių realijų vartojimas ir vertimas į kitas kalbas buvo ne kartą nagrinėtas, kyla klausimas, kuo šis tyrimas yra *naujas* ir *aktualus*. Jo naujumas ir aktualumas sietinas su keliais dalykais: 1) Iki šiol Lietuvos ir užsienio vertimo tyrimuose nebuvo plačiau nagrinėtos sovietinio Lietuvos laikotarpio kultūrinės realijos, atskleidžiančios sovietinę žmogaus pasaulėjautą. Būtent šios realijos išskirtinai gausiai

vartojamos R. Gavelio, vieno iš ryškiausių lietuvių literatūros postmodernizmo atstovų, kūryboje. Pasak literatūrologės Jūratės Čerškutės, R. Gavelis laikomas „pirmuoju ir kol kas stipriausiu ir nuosekliausiu sovietmečio vaizduotoju ir kritiku lietuvių literatūroje“ (2015, p. 422). 2) Be to, per pastaruosius dvidešimt metų daugiau buvo tirtas lietuvių literatūros kultūrinių realiųjų vertimas į kurią nors vieną užsienio kalbą, bet nebuvo atliktų lyginamųjų to paties literatūros kūrinio kultūrinių realiųjų vertimo tyrimų į kelias skirtingas užsienio kalbas. Šiuo požiūriu, straipsnyje aprašomas lyginamasis kultūrinių realiųjų vertimo į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas tyrimas, atskleidžiantis skirtingų šalių vertimo tradicijas, yra naujas ir aktualus. 3) Ankstesniuose vertimo tyrimuose realiųjų vertimas buvo grindžiamas grynai lingvistiniu požiūriu, t. y. traktuojant realiją kaip atskirą lingvistinį vertimo vieneta, beekvivalentę leksiką. Šiame straipsnyje į kultūrinės realijas žvelgiama remiantis naujausiu vertimo mokslo požiūriu: analizuojamo vieneto vertimas nagrinėjamas holistinės teksto visumos požiūriu ir bendros kultūrinės originalo transpozicijos kitoje kultūroje kontekste. Taigi visi čia aptarti punktai rodo kultūrinių realiųjų vertimo tyrimo naujumą ir aktualumą palyginti su iki šiol atliktais vertimo tyrimais.

Kultūrinių realiųjų samprata, klasifikacija ir vertimo galimybės

Kiekvienoje kultūroje atsispindi istorinės ir socialinės sistemos ypatumai, materialinės ir dvasinės vertybės, mąstymo, gyvensenos, bendravimo ir jausenos modeliai, kurie tekstuose arba diskursuose įprasminami tam tikrais kalbos raiškos vienetais. „Mokslininkų tyrimai parodė, kad vienoje kultūroje vartojami tos pačios kalbos posakiai arba metaforos gali būti klaidingai suprantami kitoje kultūroje. Klaidingai gali būti interpretuojami ne tik kultūriškai priklausomi posakiai arba metaforos, bet ir daugeliu požiūrių įprasta informacija.“ (Dagienė, Grigas, Jevsikova, 2011, p. 240). O ką jau kalbėti apie specifinius pavadinimus – kultūrinės realijas. Jomis įvardijami tam tikrai šaliai ar tautai būdingi ekstralingvistiniai reiškiniai, kurie kitoje, t. y. „vertimo kultūroje neturi identiškų daiktų, reiškinių, todėl kalboje nėra ir jų pavadinimų. Šie pavadinimai įvardija geografinius, visuomeninius, politinius, istorinius, buitines ypatumus (maistą, drabužius, statinius, įrankius ir kt.), folklorinius (papročius, šventes ir kt.), mitologinius ir kitus sociokultūrinę reikšmę turinčius

dalykus, su kuriais susiduria tam tikrose geografinėse, istorinėse sąlygose gyvenančios kalbinės bendruomenės.“ (Leonavičienė, 2014a, p. 99). Šios bendruomenės kitaip kategorizuoja daiktus ir reiškinius, skirtingai juos interpretuoja ir kitaip vadina.

Apie kultūrinės realijas, kaip apie specifinius pavadinimus, kurie perteikia kultūrinę konotaciją, kultūrinį tekstų kontekstą, kultūrinę pasaulėjautą, rašė ne vienas kultūrologas, vertėjas ir vertimo tyrėjas. Pasak Jurgitos Mikutytės, kultūrinės realijos yra „unikalūs daiktai ar reiškiniai, materialinės ir dvasinės kultūros elementai, būdingi tik kuriai nors vienai etninei grupei, šaliai ar pasaulio regionui, dažniausiai neturintys jokių atitikmenų kitose kultūrose ir kalbose.“ (Mikutytė, 2012). Sąvokas *realija* ir *realijos pavadinimas* išsamiau aptarė vertimo tyrėja Jūratė Maksvytytė ir teigė, kad realija „suprantama kaip faktas ar duomenys apie daiktus arba objektus. Tai gali būti materialinės kultūros objektas, socialinis procesas ar reiškinys. Minimas objektas ar reiškinys priskiriamas tam tikrai žmogaus veiklos sričiai, su sąvoka siejama svarbi ekstralingvistinė informacija, pabrėžianti jos specifišką, t. y. vienetinio daikto, objekto ar reiškinio, būdingo tik tai veiklos sričiai, išskirtinumą ir unikalumą.“ (Maksvytytė, 2012, p. 52). Tiesa, *kultūrinės realijos* terminas nėra vienintelis, vartojamas specifiniams kultūriniais reiškiniais įvardyti. Vertimo mokslo darbuose galima rasti ir kitų terminų. Štai, tarkime, Mona Baker kultūrinės realijas vadina *kultūros konceptais* (angl. *culture-specific concepts* – 1992, p. 21), Peteris Newmarkas jas vadina *kultūriniais žodžiais* (angl. *cultural words* – 1988, p. 94), Christiane Nord vadina *kultūremomis* (angl. *culturemes* – 1997, p. 34) ir kt. Eglė Deltuvaitė ir Rasa Klioštoraitytė pateikia dar daugiau galimų realijos pavadinimų: *specifinė kultūrinė leksika* (Gill, 1998), *specifinė kultūrinė sąvoka* (Baker, 2002), *ekstralingvistinės kultūrinės nuorodos* (Pedersen, 2005), *specifiniai kultūriniai elementai* (Aixelá, 1996), *specifiniai kultūriniai pasakymai* ir *specifiniai kultūriniai terminai* (Bazzanini, 2011; remtasi Deltuvaitė, Klioštoraitytė, 2013, p. 116). Kai kuriuose lietuvių kalbotyros darbuose kultūrinės realijos sąvokai nusakyti kartais vartojamas terminas *beekvivalentė leksika*. Šiam lingvisto Aloyzo Gudavičiaus siūlomam terminui (2007, p. 89) pritaria Aušra Valančiauskienė (2022, p. 43–46), tačiau šio straipsnio autorės manytų, kad *kultūrinės realijos* ir *beekvivalentės leksikos* terminai nėra tapatūs (antrasis

yra gerokai platesnis ir apimantis daugiau leksikos grupių), bet tai platesnės atskiros mokslinės diskusijos tema.

Kai kalbame apie realijas, suprantame, kad vienos kultūros tarpusavyje turi daugiau bendrumų nei kitos, todėl akivaizdu, kad juo kultūros yra labiau viena nuo kitos nutolusios, juo daugiau pastebima jas skiriančių kultūrinių realijų. „Turint omenyje tai, kad kiekvienas kūrinys yra parašytas skirtingoje kultūrinėje aplinkoje, vertėjui tenka atpažinti ir išversti sociokultūriškai svetimus vienetus taip, kad tekstas būtų sklandus ir suprantamas vertimo skaitytojui.“ (Leonavičiūtė, Kuzmickaitė, 2021, p. 189). Ispanų traduktologas Franco Aixela teigia, kad kultūrinės realijos išryškėja dėl tariamo kultūrinio konflikto: originalo kultūrinis reiškiny, perkeltas į vertimo tekstą, arba praranda tikrąją savo reikšmę, arba įgyja visai kitą, originalui nebūdingą reikšmę. Realijos reikšmės praradimą arba naujos reikšmės atsiradimą vertimo tekste dažniausia lemia ideologijos, realios žodžių vartosenos ir kiti kultūriniai skirtumai (Aixela, 1997, p. 57). Be to, nereikia pamiršti, kad kultūrinės realijos, kaip ir kitos kultūrinės reikšmės, yra dinamiškos, nuolat kinta. „Šios reikšmės atsiranda ne tik iš konkrečios visuomenės gyvenimo patirties, jas plečia tarpkultūriniai kontaktai, tarpkultūrinė patirtis.“ (Leonavičienė, 2014, p. 36). Ilgainiui kitos šalys pažįstamos vis geriau, tad kadaise buvusios nesuprantamos kultūrinės realijos pamažu tampa „savomis“, praranda egzotiškumą ir dėl to keičiasi jų vertimas: tekste vertėjui nebereikia aiškinti realijų.

Vertimo mokslo darbuose iki šiol nėra ne tik vieno kultūrinių realijų pavadinimo, bet ir visoms kultūroms tinkančios bendros kultūrinių realijų klasifikacijos. Vienas pirmųjų kultūrinės realijas pradėjo analizuoti vertimo srities atstovas bulgaras Sideris Florinas. Pasak E. Deltuvaitės ir R. Klioštoraitytės, S. Florinas siūlė skirstyti realijas pagal šiuos kriterijus: 1) temą (pagal tai, kokioms materialioms ar loginėms grupėms priklauso), 2) laiką (pagal tai, kokiam istoriniam laikotarpiui priklauso), 3) geografiją (pagal tai, kuriose vietose paplitusios; 2013, p. 117).

Penkių dalių realijų klasifikaciją su kiekvienos dalies smulkesniu skirstymu yra pateikęs P. Newmarkas. Jis skyrė: 1) ekologijos srities reikšmes, 2) materialinės kultūros reikšmes, 3) socialinės kultūros reikšmes, 4) organizacijų, papročių, veiklų, procedūrų ir konceptų reikšmes, 5) gestus ir įpročius nusakančias kultūrinės reikšmes (Newmark, 2004, p. 133–146).

Kiek siauresnę realijų klasifikaciją siūlo I. Ischenko (2012, p. 275) ir teigia, kad realijos gali būti skirstomos į geografines ir etnografines. Geografinės realijos – tai geografinių ir atmosferos objektų bei endeminių rūšių pavadinimai. Etnografinės realijos apibūdina tautų kasdienį gyvenimą ir kultūrą, jų dvasinę ir materialinę kultūrą, tradicijas, religiją, meną, folklorą ir kt. Etnografinės realijos yra susijusios su kasdienybe, menu ir kultūra, gyventojų ir etninių objektų pavadinimais, piniginiiais vienetais. Vienos kurios nors kalbos realijos, kaip teigia minima tyrėja, gali būti smulkiau skirstomos į nacionalines (žinomas visiems šalies piliečiams), vietines (priklausančias kuriai nors tarmei) ir mikrolokalias, būdingas mažesnei vietai. Pasak I. Ischenko, lygindami kelias kalbas galime rasti regioninių ir tarptautinių realijų, priklausančių ne vienos kalbos leksiniam inventoriui.

Trumpai apžvelgus realijų klasifikacijas matyti, kad įvairių šalių vertimo tyrėjai nevienodai skirsto kultūrines realijas, yra linkę pabrėžti vieną ar kitą teminę realijų grupę. Štai kinų tyrėjas Chen Hongwei (1999, p. 121) rašo, kad kalbant apie kultūras galima išskirti tris aspektus: 1) materialinę kultūrą, kuriai priklauso visi gamybos produktai, 2) institucinę kultūrą, apimančią įvairias sistemas ir jas įtvirtinančias teorijas, pavyzdžiui, socialines sistemas, religines sistemas, ritualus, švietimo sistemą, giminytės ryšius ir kalbą, 3) mentalinę kultūrą, kuri apima žmonių mentalitetą ir elgesį, jų mąstymo modelius, įsitikinimus, vertybes, estetinį skonį.

Itin detalią kultūrinių realijų klasifikaciją pasiūlė kroatai Nataša Pavlovič ir Darko Poslekas (1999, p. 160–163). Jie išskyrė trylika klasifikacijos dalių: 1) ekologines realijas (angl. *ecology*): vėjų, lygumų ir kalvų, augalų ir gyvūnų pavadinimus; 2) kasdienio gyvenimo realijas (angl. *everyday life*): būsto tipus, namų apyvokos daiktus, maisto pavadinimus, drabužių, transporto ir viešųjų paslaugų įmonių pavadinimus; 3) materialiosios kultūros realijas (angl. *material culture*): prekių ženklus ir kt.; 4) istorines realijas (angl. *history*), kurios įvardija istorinius įvykius, institucijas ir asmenybes, literatūros personažus, citatas, folkloro ir tradicijų specifinius dalykus; 5) religines realijas (angl. *religion*); 6) ekonomines realijas (angl. *economy*), kurios įvardija reiškinius, susijusius su vertybinių popierių birža, pinigų rinka, akcijomis; 7) politines ir administracines veiklos realijas (angl. *political and administrative functions and institutions*); 8) ginkluotųjų pajėgų realijas (angl. *the armed*

forces), kurios įvardija karinius laipsnius, ginkluotųjų pajėgų junginių ar dalinių pavadinimus; 9) švietimo sistemos realijas (angl. *education*); 10) kreipinius, turinčius kultūrinę reikšmę (angl. *forms of address*); 11) gestų ir įpročių realijas (angl. *gestures and habits*); 12) darbo veiklos realijas (angl. *work*), kurios yra artimos ekonominėms realijoms; 13) laisvalaikio ir pramogų srities realijas (angl. *leisure and entertainment*), apimančias sportą, žaidimus, laisvalaikio praleidimo vietas ir kt.

Vienos realijų klasifikacijos nerastume ir Lietuvos vertimo srities tyrėjų darbuose. Pavyzdžiui, traduktologės A. Leonavičienės mokslo monografijoje „Kultūrinių teksto reikšmių interpretacija ir vertimas“ siūloma keturių teminių grupių kultūrinių realijų klasifikacija: 1) buitės realijos, kurioms priklauso drabužių, maisto, pinigų, buitės rakandų, įrankių, būsto, baldų ir kt. pavadinimai; 2) socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos, kurioms priskiriamos politinės ir visuomeninės veiklos, judėjimų, veikėjų, organizacijų, švietimo ir mokslo įstaigų, laipsnių pavadinimai ir kt.; 3) folklorinės ir mitologinės realijos, apimančios apeigas, senovės žynius, folkloro veikėjus, mitologines būtybes ir kt.; 4) geografinės realijos, kurioms priskirtini vėjai, su klimatu susiję specifiniai reiškiniai, faunos ir floros išskirtinumas (2014, p. 107–108). Žinoma, yra ir kitų klasifikacijų. Štai, tarkime, A. Gudavičius siūlo dvinarę realijų, kurias savo darbuose vadina beekvivalente leksika, klasifikaciją ir skiria: 1) materialinės kultūros dalykų pavadinimus; 2) dvasinės kultūros reiškinų pavadinimus (2007, p. 89). Šią klasifikaciją palaiko ir A. Valančiauskienė, analizuojanti beekvivalentę leksiką dvikalbiuose lingvistiniuose žodynuose (2022, p. 115–126). Atidžiau paanalizavus labai įvairios beekvivalentės leksikos dvinarę klasifikaciją, kyla abejonių, ar ši apibrėžtumo stokojanti klasifikacija gali apimti visą beekvivalentės leksikos gausą. Kaip suskirstyti šią leksiką, kad tas pats kultūrinis pavadinimas nepatektų į abi klasifikacijos dalis? Abejonių neišsklaido ir paties klasifikacijos autoriaus teiginiai: štai „Gretinamojoje semantikoje“ A. Gudavičius teigia, kad „nėra griežtos ribos“ (2007, p. 89) tarp dvinarės klasifikacijos dalių ir nėra „griežtos ribos tarp to, kas žinoma ir mažai žinoma ar nežinoma.“ (2007, p. 91).

Nagrinėjant įvairias kultūrinių realijų klasifikacijas verta atkreipti dėmesį į Lietuvos vertimo kritikės ir vertėjos Irenos Balčiūnienės 2005 m. sudarytą realijų skirstymą, kuriame skiriamos keturios pagrindinės teminės

realijų grupės ir smulkesni kiekvienos grupės pogrupiai: 1) geografinės ir etnografinės realijos, į kurias įeina geografinės ir etnografinės sąvokos; 2) folklorinės ir mitologinės sąvokos; 3) buitinės realijos, kurias smulkiau galima skirstyti į maistą ir gėrimus, drabužius, apavą, papuošalus, gyvenamąjį būstą, rakandus, indus, gabenimo priemones, muzikos instrumentus, šokius, žaidimus, matus ir pinigus; 4) visuomeninės ir istorinės realijos: administraciniai-teritoriniai vienetai ir gyvenvietės, asmenys, pareigos, profesijos, vardai, titulai, kreipiniai, įstaigos, organizacijos, valstybės valdymo organai, partijų, organizacijų, patriotinių ir religinių grupių nariai ir kt., taip pat karinės realijos, kariniai daliniai, uniformos, ginklai, laipsniai ir kt. (Balčiūnienė, 2005).

Apžvelgę Lietuvos ir užsienio autorių kultūrinių realijų klasifikacijas matome, kad visos klasifikacijos turi panašumo: daugelyje jų minimos buities realijos, socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos, geografinės realijos, folkloro ir mitologijos realijos. Kadangi šios teminės grupės apima kelias potemes ir aprėpia įvairių sričių realijas, šiame straipsnyje remsimės šių keturių dalių skirstymu.

Pripažinę, kad vertimas yra sisteminė tarpkalbinė ir tarpkultūrinė komunikacija, šiuolaikiniai vertimo teoretikai ir tyrėjai (Chesterman, 1997; Davies, 2003; ir kt.) atsisako leksinių vienetų kalbinio deficito, kalbinio ekvivalentiškumo problemos nagrinėjimo ir stengiasi nustatyti realijų, taip pat ir kitų mikrostruktūrinių teksto vienetų, vertimo strategijas ir sprendimus, kurie leistų atskleisti kūrinio visumą, kitos kultūros vaizdą ir savitumą, kad vertimo skaitytojai geriau pažintų svetimą kultūrą, plėstų kultūrinį akiratį. (Leonavičienė, 2014a, p. 105).

Vieną sistemiškesnių vertimo reiškinių klasifikacijų aprašė Andrew Chestermanas. Analizuodamas įvairių lygmenų vertimo reiškinius A. Chestermanas aptaria 30 vertimo būdų, kurie po dešimt priskiriami kuriai nors vienai iš trijų vertimo strategijų. Vertimo strategiją traduktologas įvardija kaip vertimo problemų sprendimo būdą (Chesterman, 1997, p. 89) ir skiria šias strategijas: 1) formos keitimo arba sintaksinę vertimo strategiją, 2) semantinę vertimo strategiją, 3) pragmatinę vertimo strategiją, kuri siejama su originalo informacijos pateikimu. Anot A. Chestermano, pragmatinė strategija apima

didesnius pokyčius ir neretai lemia tiek sintaksinių, tiek semantinių vertimo būdų taikymą. Sintaksinė strategija, kaip rašo A. Chestermanas, siejama su formos pakeitimu, semantinė – su reikšmės transformacijomis, o taikant pragmatinę vertimo strategiją keičiama informacija, atsižvelgus į vertimo skaitytojus, jų sociokultūrinius lūkesčius ir kt.

Strategijai, *kuria keičiama forma*, A. Chestermanas priskiria šiuos vertimo būdus: 1) tiesioginį vertimą (angl. *literal translation*), 2) perkėlimą arba kalnę (angl. *loan, calque*), 3) transpoziciją (angl. *transposition*), 4) vieneto pakeitimą (angl. *unit shift*), 5) frazės struktūros pokyčius (angl. *phrase structure change*), 6) sakinio struktūros pokyčius (angl. *sentence structure change*), 7) sakinio dalies struktūros pokyčius (angl. *clause structure change*), 8) kohezijos pokyčius (angl. *cohesion change*), 9) kalbos lygmens pokyčius (angl. *level shift*), 10) retorinių ypatumų, schemos pokyčius (angl. *scheme change*) (Chesterman, 1997, p. 94–101).

Kitai, *semantinei vertimo strategijai* A. Chestermanas priskiria šiuos vertimo būdus: 1) sinonimo parinkimą (angl. *synonymy*), 2) antonimo parinkimą (angl. *antonymy*), 3) hiponimo keitimą hiperonimu ar atvirkščiai (angl. *hyponymy*), 4) konversiją (angl. *converses*), 5) abstrakcijos lygio keitimą (angl. *abstraction change*), 6) semantinės distribucijos keitimą (angl. *distribution change*), 7) emfazės pakeitimą (angl. *emphasis change*), 8) parafrazę (angl. *paraphrase*), 9) pakeitimą (angl. *trope change*), 10) kitus semantinius pakeitimus (angl. *other semantic changes*).

Kaip teigia minimas vertimo tyrėjas, *pragmatinė vertimo strategija* taikoma atsižvelgus į iš anksto numatytą vertimo tikslą, kuris, savo ruožtu, taip pat lemia semantinės ir sintaksinės arba formos keitimo strategijų taikymą. Į pragmatinę strategiją įeina šie vertimo būdai: 1) kultūrinis filtravimas (angl. *cultural filtering*), kai priimant vertimo sprendimus orientuojamasi į savinimą (angl. *domestication*) arba svetinimą (angl. *foreignization*), 2) eksplicitinis vertimas (angl. *explicitness change*), 3) informacijos pakeitimas (angl. *information change*), kai tekste pridedama reikalinga informacija arba praleidžiama (angl. *omission*), 4) tarpasmeninio santykio pokyčiai (angl. *interpersonal change*), 5) kalbos akto pokyčiai (angl. *illocutionary change*), 6) koherencijos perteikimo pakeitimas (angl. *coherence change*), 7) dalinis vertimas (angl. *partial translation*), 8) vertėjo matomumo verčiant pokyčiai

(angl. *visibility change*), 9) redagavimas (angl. *transediting*) ir 10) kiti pragmatiniai pakeitimai (angl. *other pragmatic changes*).

Kaip matyti, A. Chestermano aprašytos vertimo strategijos tinka įvairių lygmenų vertimo reiškiniams analizuoti, todėl nagrinėdamos tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinės realijas remsimės šio vertimo tyrėjo vertimo strategijomis ir vertimo būdais.

Kultūrinių realijų vartojimas R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokeryje“

Išnagrinėjus R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokerį“, rastos 334 kultūrinės realijos. Siekiant nustatyti teminį kultūrinių realijų pasiskirstymą, visi pavyzdžiai buvo suskirstyti į keturias temines grupes (žr. 1 lentelę). Gauti realijų kiekybinio vartojimo duomenys rodo, kad daugiausia kultūrinių realijų (40 proc. visų surinktų pavyzdžių) priklauso socialinės, politinės ir istorinės tematikos realijoms. Antrą pagal dažnį grupę (31 proc. pavyzdžių) sudaro folkloro ir mitologijos realijos, trečią – buitines realijos (28 proc. visų pavyzdžių) ir ketvirtą, pačią mažiausią grupę – geografinės realijos (1 proc. visų pavyzdžių). Šie kiekybiniai duomenys leidžia teigti, kad analizuojamame R. Gavelio kūrinyje aiškiai vyrauja socialinės, politinės ir istorinės tematikos kultūrinės realijos, kurios atspindi autoriaus aprašomojo sovietinio laikotarpio Vilniaus ir pokario metų Lietuvos tikrovę.

1 lentelė

R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realijų vartojimas

Eil. Nr.	Teminė kultūrinių realijų grupė	Realijų pavyzdžių skaičius	Realijų pavyzdžių skaičius procentais
1.	Socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos	135	40 proc.
2.	Folkloro ir mitologijos realijos	102	31 proc.
3.	Buitinės realijos	93	28 proc.
4.	Geografinės realijos	4	1 proc.
Bendras pavyzdžių skaičius		334	100 proc.

Surinktos tiriamosios medžiagos socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos žymi realius istorinius ir socialinius ženklus, kurių buvimas romane, kaip teigia Inga

Stepukonienė, „liudija vaizduojamą realų Vilnių.“ (2016, p. 8). Šios tematikos realijos dažniausiai referuoja sovietinio laikotarpio politinių ir visuomeninių įstaigų, organizacijų, judėjimų, veiklų, veikėjų, švietimo įstaigų, laipsnių, profesijų pavadinimus ir kt. Literatūrologė J. Čerškutė rašo: „Apskritai Gavelio kūrybinė trajektorija ir likimas yra neatsiejami nuo politinių, socialinių ir kultūrinių Lietuvos pokyčių“ (2014, p. 6). Pateiksime kelis aptariamąs tematikos kultūrinių realijų pavyzdžius:

- (1) Buvo **komjaunimo sekretorius**, dar studijuodamas įstojo į **KP**. (p. 370)¹
- (2) Ne todėl nugalabysim, kad jis **stribas**. (p. 279)
- (3) Laisvos vietos paslaptinai dingdavo, vos jis prisiartindavo prie **kadru skyriaus** durų. (p. 80)
- (4) Civiliai apsirengę **enkavėdistai** apsimetė, kad niekui nieko nenutiko. (p. 232)
- (5) Jūsiškiai supykde ištaškė **milicija**. (p. 415)
- (6) Nužiūrėsiu jo numerį ir apskūsiu jį **autoinspekcijai**. (p. 428)

Sovietinę „Vilniaus pokerio“ aplinką ir jauseną, kartu su kitomis autoriui būdingomis meninėmis priemonėmis, padeda atskleisti kultūrinės realijos *komjaunimo sekretorius*, *stribas*, komunistų partija – *KP*, *kadru skyrius*, *enkavėdistai*, *milicija*, *autoinspekcija* (1–6 pavyzdžiai) ir daug kitų. Jos nukelia skaitytoją į konkretų socialinį politinį Lietuvos laikotarpį ir padeda sukurti vietinį sociokultūrinį koloritą.

Antroji pagal dažnį kultūrinių realijų grupė – folkloro ir mitologijos tematikos realijos, kurios vartojamos apie 1,3 karto rečiau nei socialinės, politinės ir istorinės realijos. Folkloro ir mitologijos realijos implikuoja senąją lietuvių kultūrą, tautinę tapatybę ir referuoja praeities apeigas, reiškinius, baltų religijos žynius, folkloro veikėjus ir mitologines būtybes. „Būtent per šias išgalvotas, bet tvirtai tautosakoje ir pačioje žmonių sąmonėje įsitvirtinusias mitines būtybes atsiskleidžia visos žmonių baimės, noras paaiškinti jiems

¹ Visų pavyzdžių kultūrinės realijos pajuodintos straipsnio autorių.

nesuprantamus būties reiškinius, gyvenimo ir mirties suvokimas, papročiai, bendriausios pažiūros į aplinkinį pasaulį ir t. t.“ (Gimževskienė, 2018, p. 16). Šią mintį papildo Odetos Žukauskienės teiginys, kad „tautos kultūrinį išskirtinumą paprastai išreiškia ilgaamžiai simboliai, herojai, ritualai ar mitai. Kultūrinė tapatybė paprastai grindžiama mitais, kurie veikia ir pačią bendruomenių istoriją (institucinę, socialinę ir fizinę aplinką), ir jos normų bei vertybių sistemas. Ir nors tapatybės sąryšis su mitais atskleidžia, kad sąmoningai sukurta ir kolektyvinėje atmintyje išsaugota tapatybė turi šiek tiek pramano bruožų, tačiau kaip tik dėl to ji įgyja ypatingų galių.“ (2014, p. 51). Palyginti dažnai romane pasitaikančios folkloro ir mitologijos kultūrinės realijos padeda atskleisti individo ir tautos unikalumą, tapatybę, kolektyvinę lietuvių pasaulėjautą, pasaulėvaizdį ir sukuria tam tikrą priešpriešą sovietinio laikotarpio kultūrinėms realijoms. Pateiksime kelis tiriamosios medžiagos folkloro ir mitologijos teminės grupės realijų pavyzdžius, kuriais pavadinami *basiliskas*, pagonių tikėjimo dievybė *žaltys*, *užkeikimai*, *laumės* ir *slogučiai*:

(7) Isteriškai ieškojau žinių apie Vilniaus **basiliską** – deja, bergždžiai. (p. 70)

(8) Mąstymas, teigias, kad upė ir **žaltys** turi bendrą sielą, nes abu rangosi, kad tyloje slypi visi pasaulio garsai, nuveikia daugiau negu protingiausios pasaulio teorijos. (p. 184)

(9) Ji nešnyptauja kaip kiti, o sakytum taria slaptus **užkeikimus** – juos moka vien tikros **laumės**. (p. 73)

(10) **Slogučiai**, – sako mama. – Gyvena giraitėj, už Giedraičių namo, o vakarais ieško neklauzadų vaikų. (p. 30)

Skirtingų laikotarpių Lietuvos istorinį ir kultūrinį kontekstą padeda perteikti ir buitės tematikos kultūrinės realijos, sudarančios trečią pagal vartojimo dažnį pavyzdžių grupę (žr. 1 lentelę). Jos reiškia maisto, drabužių, namų apyvokos daiktų, padargų, transporto priemonių, būstų, baldų ir kitus su žmonių buitimi susijusius pavadinimus, pavyzdžiui,

(11) Kad prieinu prie **sodo namelio**, kuriame be jėgų tysau aš pats. (p. 314)

(12) **Trobos** vidų, rodės, dekoravo dailininkas minimalistas: stalas, kėdės, lentynėlė. (p. 392)

(13) Juk išaugo ten, kur tūlas temato patriarchališkas vertybes, **šulinius su svirtimis**, geltonkases tyras lietuvaites, kaimo išminčius bei kitokią pseudotautinę mišrainę. (p. 164)

Kiekybiškai pačia mažiausia tiriamųjų pavyzdžių grupė galima laikyti geografines realijas, kurios sudaro 1 proc. visų nagrinėjamų pavyzdžių. Kaip minėta teorinėje dalyje, šios kultūrinės realijos gali reikšti klimato ypatumus, vėjus, reljefo specifiką, žymėti vienai ar kitai geografinei aplinkai būdingus augalus ir gyvūnus, ir kt. Nors šią realijų grupę sudaro keli teminiai pogrupiai, tiriamojoje medžiagoje buvo rastos tik klimato temos kultūrinės realijos. Pacituosime kelis pavyzdžius:

(14) Ten šviečia **bobų vasaros** saulė, po šaligatvį striksi žvirbliai. (p. 308)

(15) Jau tikras ruduo, o tądien soduose tvyrojo nuostabi **bobų vasara**; <...> (p. 442)

Kaip rodo straipsnyje cituoti pavyzdžiai ir kiekybiniai realijų vartojimo duomenys, R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokeriui“ itin būdingos kultūrinės realijos. Jos referuoja unikalius ekstralingvistinius reiškinius, asmenų pareigas, daiktus ir padeda perteikti kultūrinę kūrinio savastį bei atskleisti individualų rašytojo stilių. Kultūrinių realijų reikšmės papildo daugiasluoksnę semantinę kūrinio visumą ir atlieka svarbų vaidmenį platesniame kūrinio kontekste. Šie specifiniai teksto vienetai neretai tampa tikru iššūkiu ir kultūriniu kliuviniu vertėjams. Norėdami išsamiau ištirti šios rūšies kultūrinių reikšmių vertimo specifiką, toliau straipsnyje nagrinėsime „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realijų vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas.

Tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų vertimas į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas

Išnagrinėjus R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realijų vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas pagal A. Chestermano aprašytas strategijas, nustatyti devyni kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdai. Iš semantinei A. Chestermano vertimo strategijai priskiriamų vertimo būdų vertėjai taikė sinonimo parinkimą, abstrakcijos lygio keitimą, pakeitimą ir parafrazę. Iš pragmatinės vertimo

strategijos vertimo būdų – eksplicitinį vertimą ir praleidimą, iš sintaksinės arba formos pakeitimo strategijos – tiesioginį vertimą, perkėlimą ir transpoziciją. Kiekvieno vertimo būdo duomenys pateikti 2 lentelėje.

2 lentelė

R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realijų vertimas į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas

Eil. Nr.	Vertimo strategijos ir būdai	Vertimas į anglų kalbą		Vertimas į prancūzų kalbą	
		Pavyzdžių skaičius	Pavyzdžių skaičius procentais	Pavyzdžių skaičius	Pavyzdžių skaičius procentais
Semantinė vertimo strategija					
1.	Sinonimo parinkimas	97	29 proc.	78	23,4 proc.
2.	Abstrakcijos lygio keitimas	11	3,3 proc.	23	6,9 proc.
3.	Pakeitimas	8	2,4 proc.	29	8,7 proc.
4.	Parafrazė	9	2,7 proc.	31	9,3 proc.
Pragmatinė vertimo strategija					
5.	Eksplicitinis vertimas	32	9,6 proc.	30	9 proc.
6.	Praleidimas	0	0 proc.	21	6,3 proc.
Sintaksinė arba formos pakeitimo strategija					
7.	Tiesioginis vertimas	142	42,5 proc.	104	31,1 proc.
8.	Perkėlimas	34	10,2 proc.	11	3,3 proc.
9.	Transpozicija	1	0,3 proc.	7	2 proc.
Bendras pavyzdžių skaičius		334	100 proc.	334	100 proc.

Analizuojant lentelėje pateiktus kultūrinių realijų vertimo duomenis matyti, kad vyraujančiais anglų ir prancūzų kalbų vertimų būdais galima laikyti tiesioginį vertimą (anglų kalbos vertime jis sudaro 42,5 proc. visų vertimo atvejų, prancūzų – 31,1 proc.) ir sinonimo parinkimą (anglų kalbos vertime šis būdas sudaro 29 proc. visų realijų vertimo atvejų, prancūzų kalbos vertime – 23,4 proc.). Šių dažniausių vertimo būdų kiekybiniai duomenys prancūzų kalbos vertime yra kiek mažesni, nes, skirtingai nuo anglų kalbos vertimo, prancūzų kalbos vertimas pasižymi įvairesniu vertimo būdų pasiskirstymu, pavyzdžiui, prancūzų kalbos vertime pakeitimas taikomas 3,6 kartais dažniau nei anglų kalbos vertime, parafrazė – 3,4 kartus dažniau, transpozicija –

7 kartus dažniau, abstrakcijos lygio keitimas – 2 kartus dažniau ir kt. Atkreiptinas dėmesys į tai, kad anglų kalbos vertime nebuvo rasta nė vieno praleidimo atvejo, o prancūzų vertime užfiksuota 21 praleista kultūrinė realija. Tiesa, eksplisitinio perteikimo kiekybinis pasirinkimas panašus abiejuose vertimuose (anglų kalbos vertime – 32 atvejai, prancūzų kalbos – 30 atvejų), tik kultūrinių realijų perkėlimas anglų kalbos vertime taikytas 3 kartus dažniau nei prancūzų vertime. Pateikus kiekybinius vertimų duomenis kyla klausimas, ką šie duomenys atskleidžia ir kuo grindžiamas vienas ar kitas vertėjo sprendimas. Visa tai aptarsime tolesniuose skyreliuose.

Tiesioginis vertimas

Tiesioginiu vertimu (angl. *literal translation*) A. Chestermanas laiko tokį vertimo būdą, kai teksto vienetas verčiamas tiesiogiai ir kai šis vertimas aiškiai suprantamas skaitytojams (1997, p. 94). Kaip buvo minėta, tiesioginis vertimas sudaro beveik trečdalį visų kultūrinių realijų vertimo į prancūzų kalbą pavyzdžių ir beveik pusę visų vertimo atvejų į anglų kalbą. Pateiksime kelis tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžius:

(16) Gaminame tokius visų mėgstamus saldinius – „**Paukščių pienas**“. (p. 198)

We manufacture this candy that everyone likes, called „**Bird's Milk**“ (p. 167)

„**Le lait d'oiseau**“ est une sorte de friandise que nous fabriquons et que tout le monde adore. (p. 214)

(17) **Vilniaus basiliskas** tebetūno savo irštvoje. (p. 271)

The Basilisk of Vilnius is still hiding in its lair. (p. 228)

<...> **le basilic de Vilnius** est toujours terré dans sa tanière;

<..> (p. 290)

(18) Vienas pirmųjų Vilniaus **kolektyvinių sodų**. (p. 309)

One of the first **collective gardens** in Vilnius. (p. 260)

L'une des premières **des jardins collectifs** de Vilnius. (p. 329)

Kaip rodo cituoti pavyzdžiai, taikydami tiesioginį vertimo būdą vertėjai renkasi kalkinį vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas (16–18 pavyzdžiai). Šiais atvejais išlaikoma semantinė realijų prasmė, tačiau išnyksta realijomis implikuojamos kontekstinės asociacijos ir kultūriškai įprasminotos emocinės konotacijos, kurių

negali suprasti kitą kognityvinę patirtį turintys vertimo kultūros skaitytojai. Vertinant aptariamų kultūrinių realijų vertimą vertimo mokslo požiūriu galima teigti, kad abi vertėjos motyvuotai ir pagrįstai taikė tiesioginį vertimą ir perteikė pagrindinę realijomis referuojamą informaciją. Tai patvirtina žinomą vertimo mokslo aksiomą, kad absoliuti tarpkalbinė ir tarpkultūrinė meninė komunikacija yra neįmanoma, bet veiksminga komunikacija išties galima.

Lyginant tiesioginio vertimo būdo taikymo atvejus abiejuose tiriamuosiuose vertimuose pastebėta, kad šis vertimo būdas maždaug 1,4 karto dažniau taikomas verčiant į anglų kalbą nei į prancūzų kalbą. Didesnis tiesioginio vertimo būdo atvejų skaičius anglų kalbos vertime rodo vertėjos nuostatą siekti tikslesnės kultūrinės transpozicijos nei prancūzų kalbos vertime.

Sinonimo parinkimas

Remiantis A. Chestermano vertimo būdų samprata, sinoniminiu vertimu (angl. *synonymy*) laikomas kultūrinės realijos atitikmens parinkimas, kai vertimo kultūroje nėra originale paminėto daikto, reiškinių ar kt. Sinoniminis kultūrinės realijos vertimas, kurį M. Bakeris vadina *kultūrine substitucija* (angl. *cultural substitution*, 1992), E. E. Davies – *lokalizacija* (angl. *localization*, 2003), P. Newmarkas – *kultūriniu atitikmeniu* (angl. *cultural equivalent*, 1998), leidžia aktualizuoti realiją vertimo kultūroje ir pateikti ją skaitytojams žinomu pavadinimu, pavyzdžiui,

(19) Taip, juk dabar pati **bobų vasara**. (p. 309)
Yes, it's the height of **Indian summer** now. (p. 260)
Oui, c'est vrai, nous sommes au cœur de **l'été indien**. (p. 329–330)

(20) Ji nešnypštauja kaip kiti, o sakytum taria slaptus **užkeikimus** – juos moka tikros **laumės**. (p. 73)
She doesn't hiss like others do; you'd think she's uttering **secret curses** – only genuine **fairies** know them. (p. 60)
Son murmure ne siffle pas, comme c'est souvent le cas, non, on dirait qu'elle récite **les formules magiques**, que seules **les fées** connaissent. (p. 79)

(21) Tingūs voratinkliai – **laumių** plaukai – plūduriavo ramioje dangaus jūroje. (p. 37)

Lazy cobwebs–**witch’s** hair–floated in the calm sea of the sky.
(p. 30)

De pesantes toiles d’araignées, des cheveux de **sorcière**,
flottaient patiemment dans l’océan céleste, au-dessus de nous.
(p. 42)

(22) Laisvos vietos paslaptinai dingdavo, vos jis
prisiartindavo prie **kadru skyriaus** durų. (p. 80)

Openings would misteriously dissapear as soon as he approach
the personnel department door. (p. 66)

Les postes vacants trouvaient preneur dès qu’il approchait **du
bureau des ressources humaines**. (p. 87)

Cituoti ir kiti tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų sinoniminio vertimo pavyzdžiai rodo vertėjų siekį pašalinti kultūrinį kliuvinį arba, kaip pasakytų F. Schleiermachers, „atvesti autorių pas skaitytoją.“ (1985, p. 299). Įgyvendinant šį tikslą kultūrinė realija aktualizuojama vertimo kultūros sinoniminiu atitikmeniu ir priartinama prie vertimo skaitytojų kultūrinio pažinimo ir lūkesčių. Taip *bobų vasara* anglų ir prancūzų vertimuose sinonimiškai verčiama *Indian summer* ir *l’été indien*, *laumės* vienur verčiamos *fairies* ir *les fées*, kitur – *witch* ir *sorcière*, *užkeikimai* – *secret curses* ir *les formules magiques*, *kadru skyrius* – *the personnel department* ir *le bureau des ressources humaines*. Tiriamojoje medžiagoje rasta ir kitų sinoniminio vertimo pavyzdžių, kai *troškinti kopūstai* verčiami *reeking of boiled cabbage* ir *la choucroute*, *vienkiemis* – *a farm* ir *une ferme isolée*, *troba* – *the cottage* ir *la maison*, *naminė* – *the hooch* ir *l’eau-de-vie* ir kt. Nors pateikti pavyzdžiai liudija gana panašius anglų ir prancūzų vertėjų sprendimus, tačiau lyginamoji kultūrinių realijų vertimo analizė atskleidė, kad sinoniminį vertimo būdą 1,2 karto dažniau rinkosi anglų kalbos vertėja (žr. 2 lentelę).

Kaip rodo surinkti tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžiai, vienas svarbiausių sinonimo požymių yra „jų tarpusavio pakeičiamumas: tam tikruose kontekstuose vieną sinonimą galima pakeisti kitu, iš esmės neiškreipiant pasakymo prasmės“ (Pažūsis, Maskaliūnienė, Darbutaitė et al., 2014, p. 98). Analizuojant tiriamąją medžiagą kyla klausimas, ar visada vertėjui lengva rasti kultūrinės realijos kontekstinį sinonimą? Lyginant R. Gavelio kūrinio vertimus verta prisiminti garsųjį Umberto Eco teiginį, kad skirtingose kalbose ir kultūrose „referencinis ekvivalentiškumas“ dažnai „nesutampa su konotaciniu ekvivalentiškumu“ (2007), todėl vertėjo pasirinktas vienas ar kitas kultūrinės

realijos sinonimas vertimo skaitytojų sąmonėje gali sukelti kitas asociacijas nei originalo skaitytojams. Nors tiriamojoje medžiagoje sinoniminio vertimo netikslumų nepastebėta, akivaizdu, kad vertėjų pasirinkti sinoniminio vertimo atvejai implikuoja anglakalbiams ir prancūzakalbiams skaitytojams kitas kultūrinės asociacijas, kaip ir tiesioginio vertimo atveju.

Eksplisitinis vertimas

Tada, kai kultūrinių realijų neįmanoma išversti tiesiogiai ar sinonimu, vertėjai ieško kitų sprendimų, iš kurių dažnesnis – eksplisitinis vertimo būdas (angl. *explicitness change*). Apie tai, kad šis vertimo būdas ypač dažnai taikomas verčiant realijas, rašoma „Vertimo studijų žodyne“ (Pažūsis, Maskaliūnienė, Darbutaitė et al., 2014, p. 37). Eksplisitinį vertimo būdą A. Chestermanas priskiria pragmatinei vertimo strategijai ir teigia, kad jis taikomas tuo atveju, kai verčiant vieną ar kitą teksto vienetą pateikiama papildoma informacija. Eksplisitinį vertimą, kai tekste įvardijamos kultūrinė realija implikuojamos asociacijos, E. E. Davies (2003) vadina *pridėjimu* (angl. *addition*), J. F. Aixela (1997) – *intratekstiniu paaiškinimu* (angl. *intratextual gloss*). Kad ir kuriuo terminu pavadintume eksplisitinį vertimą, jis leidžia vertėjui atskleisti svetimos kultūros ypatumus, supažindinti vertimo skaitytojus su originalo kultūrinėmis reikšmėmis. Kadangi originalo ir vertimo skaitytojų „sociokultūrinė, istorinė, geografinė patirtis yra skirtinga, nevienodas skaitytojų bendras sisteminis kultūrinis žinojimas“ (Leonavičienė, 2014a, p. 109), vertimuose prasminga atskleisti kultūrinės teksto reikšmes, kad jos atvertų kitos kultūros, kaip teigia Mariane Lederer, pažinimo duris (1994, p. 123). Dėl šios priežasties, kultūrinės realijos gali būti trumpai pristatomos tekste taikant vidinę adaptaciją arba pasirinkus išorinę adaptaciją, kai realija pristatoma išnašose, nuorodose, pastabose ar kitur.

Analizuojant tiriamosios medžiagos vertimo duomenis (žr. 2 lentelę) matyti, kad abiejuose vertimuose vertėjos panašiai taiko eksplisitinį vertimo būdą: anglų kalbos vertime eksplisitiškai verstos 32 kultūrinės realijos, t. y. 9,6 proc. visų realijų pavyzdžių, prancūzų vertime – 30 realijų, t. y. 9 proc. pavyzdžių. Tiesa, abi „Vilniaus pokerio“ vertėjos šį vertimo būdą taiko skirtingose kūrinio vietose, ir tai rodo, kad eksplisitinis vertimas pasirenkamas

priklausomai nuo originalo ir vertimo kultūrų kontaktų, sisteminio kultūrinio pažinimo, vertimo tradicijų ir kt. Pateiksime kelis eksplisitinio vertimo pavyzdžius:

(23) Jo „Opelį“ sutraiškė senas sukiaužęs „**Mazas**“ be jokio numerio. (p. 58)

His Opel was smashed by a run-down old **MAZ truck** without a license plate. (p. 48)

(24) Pusė Lietuvos laukė iš „**Žalgirio**“ lemiamo žingsnio, Martynas šokčiojo ant kėdės sulig kiekvienu metimu, o ekrane dėjosi begal įprasti dalykai, juos buvo galima iš anksto numatyti. (p. 205)

Half of Lithuania was waiting for a crucial move on the part of **the Zalgiris team**; Martynas jumped up and down in his chair with every shot, while completely unexceptional things were happening on screen. (p. 172)

La moitié du pays attendait une action décisive de la part du **BC Žalgiris**, et Martynas sursautait à chaque lancer alors qu'il ne se passait rien de bien excitant. (p. 221)

(25) Visiems jiems sumanytas apibendrintas pavadinimas – **pribaltai**. (p. 365)

The name of their concocted generalization for all of them is **pribalt**, **the people by the Baltic**. (p. 305)

(26) Vienintelis turi **Vyčio kryžių**, bet nė kiek nesipuikuoja, prisiseiga tik **Vasario šešioliktą**. (p. 177)

Il est le seul à avoir **la Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Vytyis**, mais il ne s'en enorgueillit pas – il ne la met que **le jour de l'indépendance, le 16 février**. (p. 192)

(27) Ant kalno mū-ūhrai, joja lētū-ūviai!

Ant kalno mū-ūhrai, joja lētū-ūviai!

Jo-oja Jo-oja lētūvaičiai,

Ne-eša ne-eša **va-anykaitį!**... (p. 159)

Ride Lithu-uanians, up the castle hill,

Ride Lithu-uanians, up the castle hill,

Ri-i-ide on, ri-i-ide one, Lith-thu-uanians

Car-r-ry on, car-r-ry on, **wreaths of glory!**... (p. 133)

Voici les chevaliers lituaniens qui remontent la coline du château !

Voici les chevaliers lituaniens qui remontent la coline du château !

Chevauchent, chevauchent les Lituaniens

La couronne de la gloire à la main ! (p. 171)

Siekdamos, kad anglakalbiai ir prancūzakalbiai skaitytojai suprastų tekstą ir jo

kultūrinę informaciją, vertėjos taikė eksplcitinį vertimą, t. y. informaciją perteikė teksto viduje vienu ar keliais papildomais žodžiais: „Mazą“ vertė *MAZ truck* (23 pavyzdys), „Žalgirį“ – *the Zalgiris team* ir *BC Žalgiris* (24 pavyzdys), *Vyčio kryžių* – *la Grand-Croix de l’Ordre de Vytyis* (26 pavyzdys), *Vasario šešioliktą* – *le jour de l’indépendance, le 16 février* (26 pavyzdys), *vainikaitį* – *wreaths of glory* ir *la couronne de la gloire* (27 pavyzdys) ir kt. Analizuojant visus eksplcitinio vertimo pavyzdžius anglų ir prancūzų kalbomis pastebėta, kad kultūrinėmis realijomis implikuojamas asociacijas abi vertėjos perteikė „Vilniaus pokerio“ tekste, o ne teksto išorėje, pavyzdžiui, išnašose. Taip vertėjos siekė teksto homogeniškumo ir nenorėjo blaškyti skaitytojų dėmesio pastabomis išnašose. Tiesa, visoje tiriamojoje medžiagoje pasitaikė vienintelis pavyzdys, kai kultūrinė realija buvo paaiškinta tekste ir išskirta kursyvu: *pribaltai* – *pribalt*, *the people by the Baltic* (25 pavyzdys).

Perkėlimas

Ketvirtasis pagal dažnį kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdas yra perkėlimas (angl. *loan, calque*). Pasirinkus šį būdą, išsaugoma autentiška kultūrinė realija. Vertimo tyrėja E. E. Davies (2003) šią strategiją vadina *išsaugojimu* (angl. *preservation*), J. F. Aixelá (1996) – *pakartojimu* (angl. *repetition*), P. Newmarkas (1988) – *perkėlimu* (angl. *transference*). P. Newmarkas teigia, kad kultūrinę reikšmę turintys žodžiai daugiausia perkeliama siekiant suteikti vietinio kolorito ir priartinti skaitytoją prie originalo (Newmark, 1998, p. 82). Tai matyti ir nagrinėjant tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų pavyzdžius. Pateiksime kelis iš jų:

(28) O raganius Vargalys nekreipė į žmones nė menkiausio dėmesio, jam terūpėjo dvasios ir pinigų sistema, sako, vien jo dėka **litas** buvo toks tvirtas; <...> (p. 450)

And the sorcerer Vargalys didn't pay the slightest attention to people, all he was concerned with was the spiritual and monetary system, they say it was thanks to him alone **the litas** was so stable; <...> (p. 376)

Quand au sorcier, Vargalys père, il n'accordait pas la moindre attention aux gens : tout ce qui l'intéressait c'étaient les esprits et le système monétaire. On affirme que c'était grâce à lui si **le litas** était aussi fort ; <...> (p. 464)

(29) Lyg iš po žemių išnirę, prie šaligatvio tingiai rašliaužė keturi valstybiniai **ZIL'ai** neperšaunamais stiklais (iš kur Vilniuje **ZIL'ai**? Žinoma, čia *išvirksčias* miestas), iš jų ėmė ropštis senyvi skrybėlėti vyrai. (p. 192–193)

As if emerging from underground, four government **ZILs** with bulletproof glass lazily rolled up to sidewalk (how could there be **ZILs** in Vilnius? Of course, this is an inverted city); elderly men in hats began to clamber out of them. (p. 162)

(30) Juoda „**Volga**“ sunkiai, nenorom persiropštė per kalniuką prie Banių namelio. (p. 422)

A black **Volga** reluctantly crawled up the small hill to the Banys cottage. (p. 353)

Une **Volga** noire roulait lentement en direction de la maison des Banys. (p. 434)

(31) Aš tebesu **tuteiša**, niekas kitas. (p. 468)

I'm, still **a tuteiša**, nothing more. (p. 392)

Cituotuose pavyzdžiuose vertėjos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas perkelia originalo kultūrinės realijas: piniginis vienetas *litas* verčiamas *the litas* ir *le litas* (28 pavyzdys), *tuteiša* – *a tuteiša* (31 pavyzdys), perkeliamos ir sovietinės tikrovės kultūrinės realijos „*Volga*“ ir *ZIL'as*, kurios padeda atskleisti aprašomojo laikotarpio istorinį ir socialinį kontekstą (29–30 pavyzdžiai). Palyginus perkėlimo atvejų skaičių anglų ir prancūzų kalbų vertimuose matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime šis vertimo būdas taikomas 3 kartus dažniau nei prancūzų vertime (anglų kalbos vertime rasti 34 atvejai, prancūzų vertime – 11 atvejų). Be to, iš visų kultūrinių realijų perkėlimo atvejų, trys anglų kalbos vertimo pavyzdžiai buvo tipografiškai žymėti siekiant atkreipti vertimo skaitytojų dėmesį į originalo kultūrą, jos išskirtinumą (trys iš jų cituojami 41 ir 42 pavyzdžiuose).

Lyginamoji tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinių realijų perkėlimo analizė rodo, kad šis vertimo būdas leidžia atskleisti originalo kultūros savitumą, vietinį koloritą ir suteikia vertimui tam tikro egzotiškumo. Apie tai rašo literatūrologė Milda Danytė. Ji teigia, kad perkeltos realijos, kaip ir kiti kultūrinę reikšmę turintys svetimžodžiai, suteikia kūriniui malonaus egzotiškumo ir nesvarbu, ar skaitytojas juos supranta, ar nesupranta (2008, p. 53–55). Žinoma, vertėjai turėtų apdairiai taikyti kultūrinių realijų perkėlimą, kad vertime neatsirastų per daug nesuprantamų leksinių vienetų ir neapsunkintų skaitymo. Taip neatsitiko analizuojamuose vertimuose, kuriuose kultūrinių realijų perkėlimas sudaro

nedidelę dalį realiųjų vertimo atvejų: anglų kalbos vertime – 10,2 proc. visų realiųjų vertimo pavyzdžių, prancūzų kalbos vertime – 3,3 proc. visų realiųjų vertimo atvejų.

Parafrazė

Kiek mažesnę už perkėlimą vertimo pavyzdžių grupę sudaro kultūrinių realiųjų parafrazė (angl. *paraphrase*). Tai vertimo būdas, kuriuo panaikinama originalo kultūrinė realija, o jos kontekstinė reikšmė nusakoma kitais žodžiais. Pasak A. Chestermano, parafrazė laikytina itin laisvu vertimo būdu, nes ja neperteikiami verčiamo vieneto semantiniai komponentai, o siekiama atskleisti didesnio teksto vieneto, pavyzdžiui, sakinio, prasmę (1997, p. 104). Išnagrinėjus tiriamąją medžiagą pastebėta, kad šis vertimo būdas 3,4 kartus dažniau buvo taikytas „Vilniaus pokerio“ vertime į prancūzų kalbą (anglų kalbos vertime rasti 9 pavyzdžiai, prancūzų – 31 pavyzdys). Pateiksime kelis atvejus:

(32) *Dabar sėdžiu „Narutyje“, kone žiaugčioju nuo prisvilusių kopūstų kvapo ir stengiuosi permušti jį **degtine**.* (p. 151)
*Maintenant, je suis attablé ici. L'odeur de la choucroute trop cuite me donne la nausée. J'essaie de la surmonter en m'enfilant **verre sur verre**.* (p. 163)

(33) <...> né nežinau, kas esu – **tuteiša**, ir tiek, nors galvoju lietuviškai. (p. 437)
Je ne sais même pas qui je suis. « **Une fille du pays** » et c'est tout, bien que je pense en lituanien. (p. 450)

(34) O **ūkinėj** grumdosi tiršta eilutė – pardavinėja vokiškas virtuvės staltieses: su visokiais vaisiais ir kumpiais, ir prieskoniais, ir kitokiais spalvingais skanėstais <...> (p. 442)
Des gens s'agglutinent devant **le magasin des articles ménagers** : ils ont eu un arrivage de nappes allemandes aux imprimés de fruits, de bacon, d'épices et autres gourmandises. (p. 455)

(35) <...> Bezrečjė buvo Lenkijoje, o Vargaliais prasidėjo Lietuva – Dieve mano, vienas juokas, mes niekad nebuvom lenkai, **tuteišy, tuteišy**, kartojo vyreliai ir tada, po pirmojo karo, kai Antantės inspektoriai tikrino administracinę liniją. (p. 445)
Bezriečjė était du côté polonais tandis que le pavillon des Vargalys marquait le début du territoire lituanien ; Seigneur, quelle absurdité. Nous n'avons jamais été de vrais Polonais. «

Les gars du pays, les gars du pays », répétaient les hommes déjà à l'époque après la Première Guerre, lorsque les inspecteurs de la Triple Entente venaient vérifier les frontières administratives. (p. 459)

Surinkti kultūrinių realijų vertimo iš lietuvių kalbos į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas pavyzdžiai atskleidė, kad vertėjai, pasirinkę parafrazę, atsižvelgė į stilistinį kontekstą ir holistinę teksto interpretaciją, todėl pagrįstai panaikino kultūrinės realijas ir kitaip nusakė realijomis referuojamą turinį. Taikant parafrazę *degtinė* prancūzų kalbos vertime perfrazuota *verre sur verre* („taurė po taurės“, 32 pavyzdys), *ūkinė* – *le magasin des articles ménagers* („namų apyvokos daiktų parduotuvė“, 34 pavyzdys), *tuteiša* arba *tuteišy* perfrazuojami *une fille du pays* („šalies mergina“, 33 pavyzdys) arba *les gars du pays* („šalies vaikinai“, 35 pavyzdys). Šie ir kiti tiriamosios medžiagos parafrazės pavyzdžiai rodo, kad šis vertimo būdas pasirenkamas tada, kai realija vertimo kultūroje tampa kultūriniu kliuviniu arba stilistiškai per dažnai kartojama artimiausiame kontekste (taip atsitiko 32 pavyzdyje). Ir nors „Vertimo studijų žodynas“ įspėja, kad taikant parafrazę „visada yra pavojus, jog vertimo kalbos tekste gali atsirasti informacijos, nepateiktos originalo kalbos tekste“ (Pažūsis, Maskaliūnienė, Darbutaitė *et al.*, 2014, p. 83), tačiau holistinė teksto interpretacija ir kultūrinės transpozicijos siekis atskleidžia šio vertimo būdo privalumus.

Pakeitimas

Įvairių šalių literatūros kūryba ir meninis vertimas turi skirtingas tradicijas. Vienus kalbinius ir kultūrinius tekstų skaitymo lūkesčius turi vienos ar kitos šalies anglakalbiai skaitytojai, kitus – frankofoniškųjų šalių, o dar kitus – lietuvių skaitytojai. Štai todėl kiekvienam vertėjui svarbu žinoti, ko tikisi vertimo šalies skaitytojai ir koks jų kultūrinis originalo šalies, visuomenės ir istorijos pažinimas. Vertėją, perkeliantį originalo meninius vaizdus į savąją kultūrą, nuolat trikdo, kaip teigia Paulis Ricœuras, „tarpininko būklė“, ištikimybės originalui ir išdavystės dilema, ir niekad nesibaigianti „tarnystė dviem ponams: svetimšaliui su jo svetimumu ir skaitytojui su jo troškimu savintis.“ (2010, p. 8, 30–31). Ir tai toli gražu ne viskas, nes vertėjo

sprendimus lemia ir visuomenės gyvenimo kontekstai: ideologija, ekonomika, institucijų, literatūros kritikos vaidmuo, leidybos šalyje ypatumai, verčiamos literatūros statusas šalyje (centrinė ar periferinė literatūra), kurie, kaip rašo Itamaras Even Zoharas, veikia literatūros kūrimo, vertimo procesą ir rezultata (1997, p. 50). Dėl šių priežasčių, vertimas nei teoriškai, nei praktiškai negali būti tiksliai originalo kopija. Ši nuostata implikuoja mintį, kad versdamas meninį kūrinį vertėjas neišvengiamai taiko įvairias kalbines ir kultūrinės vertimo transformacijas. Viena iš A. Chestermano klasifikacijoje minimų semantinių strategijų – pakeitimas (angl. *trope change*), kurį vertėjai taiko versdami leksinius, gramatinius reiškinius ir semantines stiliaus figūras.

Šiame straipsnyje pakeitimu laikome tokį vertimo būdą, kuris leidžia pakeisti tiriamosios medžiagos kultūrinės realijas kitais leksiniais vienetais, nelaikytiniais realijų žodyniniais atitikmenimis ir turinčiais kitokią reikšmę vertimo kultūroje. Analizuojant 2 lentelės duomenis matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime buvo rasti 8 pakeitimo atvejai, prancūzų kalbos vertime – 29 pavyzdžiai. Prancūzų kalbos vertime pakeitimas buvo taikytas 3,6 karto dažniau. Šis vertimo būdas leidžia priartinti vertimo tekstą prie priimančios kultūros ir padaryti jį suprantamesnį, kalbiškai ir estetiškai artimesnį. Pateiksime kelis originalo ir vertimo į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas pavyzdžius:

(36) Jau stoviu prie „Naručio“, sulinkusi senutė su krepšeliu rankose pastatė koją ant šaligatvio, sunkiai ropščiasi nuo **kulinarijos** laiptelių. (p. 307)

By now I'm standing in front of the Narutis; a hunched-over old lady with a basket in her hands had set one foot on the sidewalk, carefully climbing down the stairs from **the delicatessen**. (p. 258)

(37) <...> anapus gatvės – stebuklą kampilis, rojaus nuolauža, sapnų karalystė, anapus gatvės – **dolerinė parduotuvė**; tiesiog negali patikėti, kad toks pasaulis išties egzistuoja, <...> (p. 453)

<...> de l'autre côté de la rue face à moi – un coin de paradis, un avant-goût de l'Éden, l'entrée du royaume des rêves – , **la boutique américaine**. Je n'arrive pas à croire qu'un tel monde existe. (p. 468)

(38) Aš pati įsmukau į šį **akivarą**. (p. 345)

Je me suis avancée sur ces **sables mouvants** de mon plein gré. (p. 367)

Cituoti pavyzdžiai rodo, kad vertėjos keičia originalo kultūrinės realijas savo kultūrai artimesniais leksiniais vienetais: anglų kalbos vertime *kulinarija* keičiama *the delicatessen* (*bakalėja*, nors lietuvių kultūrinė realija *kulinarija* galėtų būti *cookery*², 36 pavyzdys), prancūzų kalbos vertime sovietinė kultūrinė realija *dolerinė parduotuvė*, veikusi Vilniuje, tuometės M. Gorkio gatvės (dabartinės Pilies g.) pradžioje, priešais Gedimino pilį, verčiama Prancūzijoje įprastesniu pavadinimu *boutique américaine* (37 pavyzdys), reiškiančiu amerikietišką parduotuvę (matyt, pagal *dolerinės parduotuvės* asociaciją su doleriais). Šį *boutique américaine* pavadinimą ir dabar galima rasti internetiniuose puslapiuose, kaip ir kitą panašų pavadinimą – *épicerie américaine* (amerikietiškoji bakalėja). Cituotame 38 pavyzdyje pateikėme dar vieną originalo kultūrinės realijos pakeitimą: R. Gavelio teksto *akivaras*, reiškiantis neužžėlusią pelkės, liūno vietą, klampynę („Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas“, 2000, p. 7), keičiamas į *sables mouvants* – *lakiu, smengančiu smėliu*, į kurį galima nugrimzti kaip ir į pelkės akivarą. Šie pavyzdžiai rodo kūrybinius kultūrinių realijų pakeitimo atvejus, leidžiančius adaptuoti realijas vertimo kultūrinėje aplinkoje.

Žinoma, ne visi pakeitimo atvejai laikytini tinkamais. Analizuojant kultūrinių realijų pakeitimo pavyzdžius pastebėtas ne vienas abejonių keliantis prancūzų kalbos vertimo sprendimas. Norėdami palyginti analizuojamus vertimus, pateiksime kelių socialinės, politinės ir istorinės tematikos kultūrinių realijų vertimo į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas pavyzdžius:

(39) O jos sūnelis, sako, buvo **stribų** šnipas. (p. 394)
And the boy, they say, was a spy for the **stribai**. (p. 330)
Et quant à son fils, il paraît que c'était un espion **du NKVD**.
(p. 411)

(40) – Ne todėl nugalabysim, kad jis **stribas**. (p. 279)
We won't finish him off because he's **a stribas**. (p. 235)
« Nous n'allons pas l'exécuter parce que c'est **un assassin**.
<...> (p. 298)

(41) O mūsų pelkė dvokė kruvina praeitim, ašarom ir pūvančiais medžiais, žmonės šnekėjo, kad kitados **stribai** apsupo ir įvarė į pelkę visą **miškinių** būrį, šie klimpo ir po vieną skendo skystose durpėse, o **stribai** stovėjo ant kranto ir

² Piesarskas, B., Svecevičius, B. (1991). *Lietuvių–anglų kalbų žodynas*. Mokslas, p. 294.

žiūrėjo, kaip anie dingsta juodoj klampynėj; <...> (p. 435)
But our swamp stank of a bloody past, of tears and rotting trees, people said that once the **stribai** surrounded and drove an entire platoon of **forest brothers** into the swamp, they got stuck and one by one drowned in the watery peat, while **the stribai** stood on the shore and watched the others disappear into the black quagmire; <...> (p. 363)
Une fois de plus, j'ai pensé que Vilnius était une ville capable de miracles, alors que notre marais empestait un passé sanglant, les larmes et arbres en putréfaction. Les gens racontaient que, autrefois, **les Russes** avaient acculé dans ce marais tout un peloton de **maquisards**, et que ceux-ci s'enlisaient et se noyaient un par un dans la tourbe fangeuse, tandis que **les soldats** restaient là à les regarder disparaître dans le sombre borbier ; <...> (p. 447)

(42) Giedraičiukas, sako, buvo susidėjęs su **stribais**, motina net metė jį ir išvažiavo į Sibirą ieškot, kur sėdi Vargalys; <...> (p. 456)
Giedraitis Junior, they say, joined up with **the stribai**, his mother even disinherited him and went to Siberia to find out where Vargalys was confined; <...> (p. 381)
Le petit Giedraitis, à ce qu'on dit, collaborait avec **le KGB**, sa mère l'a même renié pour ça puis elle est partie en Sibérie chercher Vargalys ; <...> (p. 471)

Analizuojant cituotus pavyzdžius matyti, kad versdama *stribus* anglų kalbos vertėja nuosekliai rinkosi ne pakeitimo, o *perkėlimo būdą* (apie tai žr. skyrelyje „Perkėlimas“) ir vertimo tekste išlaikė tipografiškai žymėtą (41–42 pavyzdžiai) arba nežymėtą (39–40 pavyzdžiai) kultūrinę realiją. Nuoseklus tos pačios kultūrinės realijos vertimas visame kūrinyje leidžia anglakalbiams skaitytojams daugiau sužinoti apie aprašomą istorinį ir politinį Lietuvos kontekstą. Kitaip yra prancūzų kalbos vertime. Nusprendusi taikyti pakeitimo strategiją, vertėja *stribus* kaskart keičia kitu leksiniu vienetu, todėl skaitant prancūzų vertimą darosi neaišku, kas yra *stribai* ir su kuo jie kovojo pokario Lietuvoje. Vienoje teksto vietoje jie vadinami *KGB* (42 pavyzdys), kitoje – *kareiviais* ir *rusais* (*les soldats, les Russes*, 41 pavyzdys), dar kitur – *NKVD* (39 pavyzdys), *žudikais* (*un assassin*, 40 pavyzdys) ir kt. *Stribų* vertimo įvairovės prancūzų kalbos vertime nepaaiškintų jokia vertimo teorija, nes nuo pat vertimo mokslo pradžios yra žinoma, kad žodžių, atskirtų nuo vietinės kultūros reiškinių, kuriuos jie simbolizuoja, neįmanoma tinkamai suprasti (Nida, 1945, p. 207). Tik gerai susipažinus su šalies istorija, kultūros kontekstais, visuomenės raida

ir kalbos ypatumais, vertėjui pavyksta adekvačiai suprasti ir interpretuoti kultūrinės realijas.

Nagrinėjant *sribų* pakeitimą prancūzų kalbos vertime, verta prisiminti Juozo Daumanto knygos „Partizanai“ *sribų* apibūdinimą, kuris galėjo būti naudingas ir prancūzų vertėjai: „Kovai su partizanais bolševikai dar 1944 metų rudenį mobilizavo dalinius vadinamųjų „liaudies gynėjų“ – istrebitelių, paprastai žmonių „sribais“ vadinamų. Šis vardas yra verstinis iš rusiškojo – „istrebitel“ – naikintojas. Į šiuos dalinius buvo stengiamasi sumobilizuoti kiekviename valsčiuje iki 30 vyrų. Jų tikslas buvo kova su partizanais. Į juos stojantieji buvo atleidžiami nuo karinės mobilizacijos.“ (2015, p. 96). Šią informaciją iš skirtingų šaltinių žinojo kiti prancūzų vertėjai, kiek anksčiau vertę lietuvių literatūros kūrinius ir kultūrinę realiją *sribai*. Štai 2008 m. prancūzų kalba publikuoto E. Žindžiuvienės-Deksnytės „Baltojo bokšto“ vertėjas Jean-Claude Lefebvre'as realiją *sribai* vertė eksplicitiniu būdu ir išnašose nurodė: *sribai* – lietuvių kalbos terminas, žymintis sovietinės valdžios suformuotas vietinių kovotojų grupes.³ Eksplicitinį šios realijos vertimą taip pat pateikė vertėja Marielle Vitureau, vertusi Icchoko Mero „Kartų rūgštynių skonį“. Šiame apsakyme realiją *sribukai* ji eksplicitiškai perteikė išnašose: nurodė, kad tai sovietinės valdžios apginkluotos ir 1944–1954 metais veikusios civilių grupės, padėjusios okupantams vykdyti represijas ir kovojusios su miško broliais, partizanais, gynusiais Lietuvos nepriklausomybę.⁴ Vertėjai J.-C. Lefebvre'as ir M. Vitureau ne tik pateikė trumpą informaciją prancūzų skaitytojams, menkai žinantiesiems Lietuvos istoriją, bet ir laikėsi vieno realijos vertimo visame vertime, panašiai kaip „Vilniaus pokerio“ vertėja į anglų kalbą.

Šiame straipsnyje anaip tol nesiekama įrodyti, kad eksplicitinis vertimas arba perkėlimas yra geriausi realijų vertimo būdai. Vertėjai gali rinktis įvairius vertimo būdus siekdami atskleisti verčiamo kūrinio istorinį ir kultūrinį kontekstą. Kartais jiems tenka „paaukoti“ vieną kitą realiją ant vertimo estetikos aukuro, bet nederėtų nusižengti vertimo etikai ir iškraipyti istorinę

³ „Terme lituanien pour désigner les membres des unités militaires locales formées par le pouvoir soviétique.“ (*Cahiers lituaniens*, 9, p. 53).

⁴ „Membres des groupes de civils armés du pouvoir soviétique, de 1944 à 1954, en Lituanie, aidant les occupants à assurer la répression. Ils se battaient contre les frères des forêts, les partisans, qui défendaient, eux, l'indépendance de la Lituanie.“ (Meras, 2003, p. 91).

tiesa, nušalinti vertimo skaitytojus nuo Lietuvos istorijos ir kultūros pažinimo. Deja, kaip tik taip atsitiko verčiant į prancūzų kalbą dar vieną kultūrinę realiją – *miškinius*. Norėdami palyginti šios realijos vertimą, pavyzdžius pateiksime anglų ir prancūzų kalbomis:

(43) <...> tiesa, aš buvau dar mažesnė, kai mūsų apylinkėse siautė **miškiniai**, anuos prisimenu miglotai, kai juos suvarė į pelkę ir paskandino, man buvo gal penkeri, tačiau gerai pamenu žmonių kalbas: **miškinių** esą negalima sugaut ar apsupt todėl, kad jie slapstosi ne šiaip bunkeriuose, o prasmegusiam Užubalių kaime, kiekvienas ten turi po **trobą**; <...> (p. 466)

<...> I was even younger when **the forest brothers** raged through our area; I remember them vaguely, when they drove them into swamp and drowned them I was maybe five, but I remember people's talk well: **the forest brothers**, they said, can't be caught or surrendered because they weren't hiding in ordinary bunkers, but rather in a sunken village of Užubaliai, everyone has his own **cottage** there; <...> (p. 396)

À l'époque il devait être bien jeune, d'ailleurs. Et je devais l'être encore plus. Ça remonte au moment où notre village enrageait contre **les maquisards**. Je ne me souviens que vaguement de ces hommes. Je sais seulement qu'on les a acculés dans le marais et qu'on les a tous noyés. Je devais avoir cinq ans ; mais je me rappelle très bien ce que disaient les gens : on racontait que **les maquisards** étaient insaisissables parce qu'ils se cachaient non pas dans des bunkers mais dans les bâtisses englouties du village d'Užubalys. Chaque tirailleur y avait **sa demeure**. (p. 482)

Analizuojant cituotus pavyzdžius matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime kultūrinė realija *miškiniai* perfrazuojama (apie šį vertimo būdą žr. skyrelyje „Perfrazavimas“) *miško broliais* – *forest brothers* (43 pavyzdys). Peržiūrėjus visus surinktus „Vilniaus pokerio“ *miškinių* vertimo pavyzdžius matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime nuosekliai vartojamas *forest brothers* pavadinimas. Panašiai *miškiniai* vadinami ir Lietuvoje. O kaip šią kultūrinę realiją verčia prancūzų vertėja Margarita Le Borgne? Dažniausiai *miškinius* ji keičia Prancūzijos kultūrinė realija *maquisards* arba dar vadina *les tirailleurs* (liet. *šauliai*). Vertėjos pasirinkta *maquisards* realija kelia daug abejonių, nes Lietuvos *miškiniai* ir Prancūzijos Antrojo pasaulinio karo partizanai *maquisards* reiškia skirtingą partizaninę kovą, ne tuos pačius tikslus ir iškreipia R. Gavelio romane minimą istorinį kontekstą. Norėdami tai paaiškinti remsimės Roberto

Belot'o, Bénédicte'os Vergez-Chaignon *et al.* leidiniu „Les Résistants. L'histoire de ceux qui refusèrent“ (liet. *Rezistentai. Pasipriešinusiujų istorija*, 2004, p. 211–214), kuriame teigiama, kad *maquisards* yra Prancūzijos partizaninio pasipriešinimo judėjimo prieš nacistinį *Vichy* režimą dalyviai, stoję į pogrindžio kovą nuo 1942 metų. Mat tų pačių metų rugsėjo 4 d. *Vichy* režimas, kolaboravęs su vokiečių naciais, išleido įstatymą, pagal kurį prancūzų darbininkai nuo 18 iki 50 metų galėjo būti siunčiami dirbti į Vokietiją, nes, kaip žinome, tuo metu Vokietija patyrė didelių nuostolių rytų fronte ir reikėjo darbo jėgos smunkančiai Vokietijos ekonomikai atkurti. Įstatymas buvo skirtas darbininkų sluoksniui, kuriam politinė šalies situacija pasidarė dar nepalankesnė 1943 m. vasario mėnesį, kai Priverstinių darbų tarnyba (pranc. *Service du Travail Obligatoire* – S. T. O.) ėmė versti jaunos prancūzus, gimusius 1920–1922 metais, vykti dirbti į Vokietiją. Kaip rašoma minėtame leidinyje, įstatymui nepaklusę darbininkai ėmė slapstytis, trauktis į atokius kaimus, miškingas teritorijas, tankynes (pranc. *le maquis*) ir kalnus. Nors daug darbininkų slapstėsi nuo priverstinių darbų (Jūrinėse Alpėse 1944 m. jų buvo apie 64 proc., t. y. 1 814 iš 2 844 pasitraukusiųjų į pogrindį (Belot, Vergez-Chaignon *et al.*, 2004, p. 212), ne visi stojo į pasipriešinimo kovą. 1942 m. lapkritį pogrindyje veikęs darbininkų judėjimas *Combat* (liet. *Kova*) įkūrė *Action ouvrière* (AO, liet. *Darbininkų akcija*), kurios tikslas buvo trukdyti vežti darbininkus dirbti į Vokietiją ir rengti sabotažus. Tiesa, 1943 m. balandžio mėnesį Jungtinis pasipriešinimo judėjimas (pranc. *Les Mouvements unis de Résistance*) įsteigė *Le Servis Maquis* ir ėmė siekti performuoti civilinį judėjimą į ginkluotą pogrindinį pasipriešinimą prieš Vokietijos nacius ir jų kolaborantus Prancūzijoje. Reikia paminėti tai, kad šis pogrindinis pasipriešinimas sudarė tik dalį viso Prancūzijos pasipriešinimo judėjimo, kuriam šalyje vadovavo generolas Charles de Gaulles'is ir jo šalininkai. Be to, kovotojai *maquisards*, kaip rašoma leidinyje, veikė stichiškai, neorganizuotai, buvo nenuspėjami, todėl tiek anglai, tiek generolo Ch. de Gaulles'io šalininkai nenorėjo tiesti jiems ginklų ar kito pastiprinimo ir laikė juos papildoma našta.⁵ Apie šio *maquisards* judėjimo kontraversišką vertinimą užsimena ir Fabrice'as Grenard'as knygoje

⁵ „Les Anglais ne sont pas désireux de voir se constituer des poches armées non maîtrisées. Les gaullistes sont sur la même longueur d'onde. Les mouvements de Résistance regardent le maquisard plus comme un poids que comme une aubaine.“ (Belot, Vergez-Chaignon *et al.*, 2004, 214).

„Les Maquisards. Combattre dans la France occupée“ (liet. *Pasipriešinimo judėjimo dalyviai. Kovoti okupuotoje Prancūzijoje*, 2019).

Įvertinus Prancūzijos ir Lietuvos partizaninę kovą kyla klausimas, ar galima Lietuvos partizanus (vadinamus miškiniais, miško broliais, pokario rezistentais), organizuotai kovojusius visos šalies mastu už Lietuvos nepriklausomybę ir gynusius savo šalį nuo rusų okupacijos, vertime vadinti *maquisards*, kurie ne vienam prancūzų skaitytojui gali asocijuotis su tam tikrą socialinę konotaciją turinčiais pagrindžio kovotojais prieš nacistinę savo šalies valdžią. Ar *miškinių* pervadinimas Prancūzijos partizaninio judėjimo (daugiausia darbininkų klasės) dalyviais *maquisards* nesumenkina organizuotos Lietuvos partizaninės kovos ir neiškreipia istorijos faktų? Viena aišku, kad vertėjos pasirinktas *miškinių* pakeitimas Prancūzijos kultūrine realija *maquisards* neutralizuoja Lietuvos pokario istorinį kontekstą, neleidžia vertimo skaitytojams susipažinti su Lietuvos istorija, partizaniniu judėjimu ir kova prieš sovietų okupaciją bei sukelia Prancūzijos pokario kovų *maquisards* asociacijas. Ši vertėjos sprendimą prancūzų vertimo tyrėjas Jean-Louis Cordonnier greičiausiai pavadintų etnocentriškumu, kai atmetama kitos šalies kultūra ir vertimuose jai suteikiamas savos kultūros veidas (1995, p. 167–186). Šio straipsnio autorių nuomone, versdama *miškinius* vertėja galėjo rinktis prancūzų kultūroje neutralesnį vertimo sprendimą, pavyzdžiui, *partisans* arba *résistants*, nuosekliai taikyti jį tekste. Žinoma, kultūrinė realija nėra savitiksliis vertimo vienetas. Ją derėtų interpretuoti ir versti holistinės teksto visumos požiūriu, nes, kaip rašė Hansas-Georgas Gadameris, „daly, kurias apibrėžia visuma, savo ruožtu apibrėžia šią visumą.“ (1999, p. 27). Būtent šio požiūrio pasigendama prancūzų kalbos vertime.

Abstrakcijos lygio keitimas

Septintasis pagal dažnį kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdas – abstrakcijos lygio keitimas (angl. *abstraction change*), kai verčiant pereinama nuo abstraktaus prie konkretesnio arba nuo konkretauro prie abstraktesnio teksto vieneto (Chesterman, 1997, p. 103), t. y. konkretizuojama arba generalizuojama. Tiesa, be šios semantinės vertimo transformacijos, A. Chestermanas atskirai aptaria hiponimo pakeitimą hiperonimu ir atvirkščiai, nors šis vertimo būdas iš

dalies dubliuoja abstrakcijos lygio keitimo būdą. Siekiant išvengti vertimo būdų dubliavimo ir pavyzdžių priskyrimo kelioms klasifikacijos dalims, šiame straipsnyje pasirinktas tik vienas iš dviejų vertimo būdų – abstrakcijos lygio keitimas. Šis vertimo būdas yra įtrauktas į „Vertimo studijų žodyną“, kuriame teigiama, kad abstrakcijos lygio keitimo (angl. *abstraction change*, it. *cambiamento di astrazione*, pranc. *changement de niveau d'abstraction*, vok. *Abstraktionswechsel*, rus. *изменение уровня абстрагирования*) „esmę sudaro perėjimas nuo abstraktaus prie konkretesnio arba nuo konkretaus prie abstraktesnio dalyko.“ (Pažūsis, Maskaliūnienė, Darbutaitė et al., 2014, p. 9). Žodyne aptariamas terminas taip pat siejamas su konkretizacija ir generalizacija. Atsižvelgę į lietuvių vertimo moksle įsivirtinusį terminą *abstrakcijos lygio keitimas*, toliau straipsnyje vartosime šį terminą, kurio reiškiamas rūšinio pavadinimo (hiponimo) keitimas gimininiu pavadinimu (hiperonimu) arba atvirkščiai. Pateiksime tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžių:

(44) O aš pavydėjau jam dabitos muzikos mokytojo, pavydėjo jam visa klasė: jis pasitikdavo Giedraičiuką prie **gimnazijos**, apsikabindavo per pečius ir nusivesdavo, kažką šnekėdamas į ausį. (p. 136)

And I envied him his dandy of a music teacher; the entire class envied him. He would meet Giedraitis Junior by **the school**, put his arm around his shoulders, and lead him off, whispering something in his ear. (p. 114)

Moi aussi, j'avais été jaloux de lui autrefois, jaloux de sa relation avec notre professeur de musique, un élégant dandy – toute la classe était jalouse, d'ailleurs : ce dernier attendait le petit Giedraitis à la sortie de **l'école**, lui posait la main sur l'épaule et l'emmenait, tout en lui murmurant quelque chose à l'oreille. (p. 146)

(45) Jiedu su VV susimylėjo tarsi devyniolikto amžiaus **gimnazistai**, nors prieš tai abu perėjo po keletą pragaro ratų – kiekvienas savojo. (p. 351)

She and VV fell in love like a pair of nineteenth-century **teenagers**, even though both of them had gone through several circles of hell- each own-before then. (p. 293)

Malgré les cercles infernaux qu'ils avaient traversés auparavant – chacun avait, bien sûr, son propre enfer –, Lolita et VV sont tombés amoureux comme **les adolescents** du dix-neuvième siècle. (p. 371)

(46) Mes esam bevedė **manų košė**, mes esam niekas, tuštuma... (p. 42)

We're a faceless **porridge** , we're a nothing, a void... (p. 34)
Nous ne sommes qu'**une bouillie** sans visage. Nous ne
sommes rien, que du vide... (p. 47–48)

Išnagrinėjus tiriamojoje medžiagoje rastus abstrakcijos lygio keitimo atvejus (anglų kalbos vertime jų rasta 11, prancūzų kalbos vertime – 23) matyti, kad versdamos „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinės realijas vertėjos dažniau taikė generalizaciją, t. y. realiją vertė platesnės reikšmės leksiniu vienetu – hiperonimu: *gimnaziją* vertė bendresnės reikšmės anglų ir prancūzų kalbos žodžiais *the school* ir *l'école* (44 pavyzdys), *gimnazistus* – *teenagers* ir *les adolescents* (liet. *paaugliais*, 45 pavyzdys), *manų košę* – bendresniu žodžiu *porridge* ir *une bouillie* (liet. *koše*, 46 pavyzdys) ir kt. Šie ir kiti tiriamojoje medžiagoje rasti kultūrinių realijų generalizacijos atvejai anglų ir prancūzų kalbų vertimuose sudaro 94 proc. visų abstrakcijos lygio keitimo pavyzdžių. Žinoma, ne visada anglų ir prancūzų kalbos vertėjos tose pačiose vietose taikė abstrakcijos lygio keitimą. Kadangi prancūzų kalbos vertime šio vertimo būdo pavyzdžių buvo dvigubai daugiau, pateiksime dar kelis pavyzdžius lietuvių ir prancūzų kalbomis:

(47) Lyg iš po žemių išnirę, prie šaligatvio tingiai prišliaužė keturi valstybiniai **ZIL'ai** neperšaukamais stiklais (iš kur Vilniuje **ZIL'ai**? žinoma, čia *išvirkščias* miestas), iš jų ėmė ropštis senyvi skrybėlėti vyrai. (p. 192–193)

Quatre **camions-bennes** du gouvernement, aux vitres pare-balles, étaient stationnés sur la chaussée, sortis de nulle part. (Que font ces **camions** en plein milieu de Vilnius ? C'est vraiment le monde à l'envers.) Des hommes d'un certain âge, tous chapeautés, apparurent, s'extirpant péniblement de leurs voitures. (p. 208)

(48) Gedis nusikvatojo, išgirdęs apie manąjį kelių šimtų tomų **specfondą**. (p. 163)

Gédiminas a bien ri en apprenant ce que je croyais être **les Archives**. (p. 176)

(49) „**Žalgiriai**“ betrūko vieno žingsnio, tačiau krepšininkai, deja, irgi buvo lietuviai, kaip tik lemiamą mirksnį pralošinėjo – beviltiškai ir be galo kvailai. (p. 205)

Il manquait à cette **équipe** un ultime effort pour l'emporter ; malheureusement, les joueurs étaient lituaniens et donc, prévisibles : dans les dernières minutes, ils allaient perdre, autant par bêtise que par désespoir. (p. 221)

(50) Jau stoviu prie „Naručio“, sulinkusi senutė su krepšeliu rankose pastatė koją ant šaligatvio, sunkiai ropščiasi nuo **kulinarijos** laiptelių. (p. 307)

Je suis déjà arrivé dans le quartier du Narutis. Une petite vieille courbée, un panier à la main, a mis un pied sur le trottoir. Elle est sur le point de descendre les marches **de la charcuterie** avec précaution. (p. 327)

(51) Kad prieinu prie **sodo namelio**, kuriame be jėgų tysau aš pats. (p. 314)

Pendant un instant, j'ai l'impression de me voir depuis l'extérieur, de m'approcher de **cette maison** où je suis, *maintenant*, étendu sans force. (p. 334–335)

(52) <...> „Žarijoj“ jau pilsto **degtinę**, <...> (p. 443)

Au *Žarija*, on sert déjà **des boissons alcoolisées**. (p. 456)

(53) <...> todėl, kad jie slapstosi ne šiaip bunkeriuose, o prasmegusiam Užubalių kaime, kiekvienas ten turi po **troba**; <...> (p. 466)

<...> ils se cachaient non pas dans des bunkers mais dans les bâtisses englouties du village d'Užubalys. Chaque tireur y avait **sa demeure**. (p. 482)

Išanalizavus visus kultūrinių realijų vertimo į prancūzų kalbą pavyzdžius, matyti vyraujantis hiponimo keitimas hiperonimu, t. y. generalizacija, kai *ZIL'ai* keičiami sunkvežimiais *camions* ir *camions-bennes* (47 pavyzdys), *specfondas – les Archives*, užuot, kaip kitose vertimo vietose, rašius *les Archives Spéciales* (liet. *specialieji archyvai*, 48 pavyzdys), „Žalgiris“ verčiamas *cette équipe* (liet. *ši komanda*, 49 pavyzdys), *sodo namelis – cette maison* (liet. *šis namas*, 51 pavyzdys), *degtinė* verčiama *alkoholiniais gėrimais – des boissons alcoolisées* (52 pavyzdys), *troba – būstu* (pranc. *sa demeure*, 53 pavyzdys) ir kt. Žinoma pasitaikė vienas kitas atvejis, kai kultūrinės realijos reikšmė buvo sukonkretinta. Pavyzdžiui, cituoto 50 pavyzdžio *kulinarija*, kurioje sovietmečiu buvo parduodami ne tik mėsos gaminiai, verčiama siauresnė reikšmės žodžiu *la charcuterie* – mėsos gaminių parduotuvė. Kaip rodo anksčiau atlikti vertimo tyrimai (Leonavičienė, 2010, p. 22, 76–77), leksikos konkretizacijos pavyzdžių nemažai galima rasti vertimuose iš analitinės prancūzų kalbos į sintetinę lietuvių kalbą. Pastarosios kalbos konkretumas, detalios semantikos leksinių vienetų, ypač veiksmažodžių, gausa lemia dažną „konkretizavimo principų realizavimą vertimuose“, kaip rašė Jūratė Navakauskienė (1999, p. 63–77). Deja, verčiant „Vilniaus pokerio“

kultūrinės realijas iš lietuvių kalbos į analitinės prancūzų ir anglų kalbas akivaizdžiai vyrauja generalizacija, kai vietoj hiponimo vertėjos renkasi platesnės reikšmės žodį – hiperonimą.

Praleidimas

A. Chestermano aptartas *praleidimas* (angl. *omission*) taikomas kaip informacijos pakeitimo būdas (angl. *information change*), kai motyvuotai praleidžiama nesvarbi ar perteklinė informacija. Remiantis ankstesniais kultūrinių realijų vertimo tyrimais galima teigti, kad šie teksto vienetai praleidžiami „dėl semantinio, stilistinio pertekliaus ar pragmatinių sumetimų“ (Leonavičienė, 2014a, p. 126) arba, „kai realija atsitiktinė, neturi kultūros kolorito“ ir nereikalingai apsunkina tekstą (Mikutytė, 2005). Savaiame suprantama, kad perkeldamas kūrinį į kitą kultūrą vertėjas neprivalo laikytis perdėto tikslumo, ištikimybės kiekvienai realijai, tačiau turi stengtis atskleisti meninio teksto individualumą, kultūrinį savitumą ir socialinį-istorinį koloritą. Nagrinėjant tiriamosios medžiagos kiekybinius vertimo duomenis (žr. 2 lentelę) matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime nepasitaikė nė vieno kultūrinės realijos praleidimo atvejo, tačiau prancūzų kalbos vertime jų buvo 21 pavyzdys, t. y. 6,3 proc. visų surinktų pavyzdžių. Pateiksime kelis buitines kultūrinių realijų praleidimo atvejus:

(54) Už **pašiūrės** lango kybo vyro galva. (p. 23)
Derrière la fenêtre, tu aperçois une tête d’homme. (p. 27)

(55) Juk išaugo ten, kur tūlas temato patriarchališkas vertybes, **šulinius su svirtimis**, geltonkases tyras lietuvaite, kaimo išminčius bei kitokią pseudotautinę mišrainę. (p. 164)
N’avait-il pas grandi dans un milieu où les jeunes ne juraient que par les valeurs patriarcales, les jeunes filles pures aux tresses blondes, les vieux sages, ou tout autre boniment issu d’un pseudo folklore ? (p. 177)

(56) Vėjo gūsis aprimo, bet lapai vis dar plevena ore, čia pat išsirikiavo kiti namukai, ant aukščiausio **verandos** laipto sėdi žilas vyriškis, rūkydamas cigaretę. (p. 309–310)
Le vent s’est calmé, mais les feuilles continuent à flotter. D’autres maisonnettes sont venues se ranger autour du vieux jardin. Un vieil homme aux cheveux poivre et sel est assis sur les marches de l’une d’elles, occupé à fumer. (330 p.)

Cituotų pavyzdžių kultūrinių realių praleidimą būtų galima paaiškinti semantiniu ir stilistiniu pertekliumi. Juk tai, kad veiksmas vyksta prie verandos ar pašiūrėje, prancūzų vertime yra aišku iš aplinkinio konteksto, todėl nebūtina versti vietą tikslinančių realių. Kiek sunkiau pagrįsti *šulinių su svirtimis* praleidimą, nes ši realija nenumanoma iš konteksto ir originale padeda atskleisti buitinę aplinką, senojo Lietuvos kaimo kultūrinę specifiką. Versdama 54–56 pavyzdžius prancūzų kalbos vertėja praleido realijas, o anglų kalbos vertėja rado, kuo jas pakeisti: *pašiūrę* vertė *the shed*, *šulinius su svirtimis* – *wells with sweeps*, *verandą* – *the porch*.

Analizuojant prancūzų kalbos vertimą buvo rasta daugiau neverstų „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realių kartu su praleistais ištisais originalo puslapiais. Štai, tarkime, prancūzų kalbos vertime pastebėtos praleistos 369 ir 370 originalo puslapių 29 eilutės, t. y. visas romano puslapis, kuriame buvo keturios visuomeninės, socialinės ir istorinės tematikos realijos: *komjaunimo sekretorius, KP, sąjunginė paieška* ir *saugumietis*. Į anglų kalbą jos išverstos *the Komsomol Secretary, the Communist party, a union-wide search* ir *KGB agent*. Be paminėtų kultūrinių realių, prancūzų vertime rasta ir daugiau praleistų originalo puslapių ir pastraipų, pavyzdžiui, visas 411 originalo puslapis, t. y. 27 eilutės, kuriose buvo 7 kultūrinės realijos: *TSRS rinktinė* (pavartota du kartus), *Centrinis sporto komitetas, Sporto rūmai* (pavartoti du kartus), *milicininkai* ir *rubliai*. Analizuojant viso kūrinio kultūrinių realių vertimą į prancūzų kalbą matyti, kad praleisdama ištisus originalo puslapius ir juose vartojamas kultūrinės realijas, vertėja iš dalies savivaliauja ir atlieka cenzoriaus vaidmenį. Sprendimai, ką versti, o kurių puslapių atsisakyti, rodo itin subjektyvią vertėjos interpretaciją. Analizuodami praleistas „Vilniaus pokerio“ vietas galėtume prisiminti rumunų traduktologės Georgianos Lungu-Badea mintį, kad praleidimas, išskyrus būtinas ir svarbias jo taikymo priežastis, gali rodyti vertėjo nenorą versti arba gal net nesąmoningą nepagarbą autoriui ir jo tekstui.⁶ O gal yra ir kitų priežasčių, pavyzdžiui, senas tradicijas prancūzų vertimuose turinčios *les belles infidèles* (liet. *gražiujų neištikimųjų*, t. y. neištikimųjų vertimų) apraiškos? Tokių abejonių anaipol negalėtume pateikti apie atidų vertimą į anglų kalbą.

⁶ „On pourrait sans doute parler d’un désir de ne pas traduire. <...> Un désir inconscient qui ne respecte ni l’auteur ni son texte“ (Lungu-Badea, 2010, p. 29).

Transpozicija

Vieno iš vertimo būdų – *transpozicijos* (angl. *transposition*) terminą A. Chestermanas perėmė iš situacinės vertimo teorijos atstovų Jean-Paulio Vinay ir Jean Darbelnet, kurie šį būdą priskyrė netiesioginio vertimo būdams (1997, p. 50–54). Transpozicija, kaip viena universaliausių vertimo transformacijų, vertimo darbuose „apibrėžiama kaip originalo teksto kalbos dalies pakeitimas kita vertimo teksto kalbos dalimi nekeičiant pranešimo turinio.“ (Leonavičienė, 2010, p. 24.) Taikant transpoziciją išlaikomas originalo vieneto referencinis turinys, bet keičiama morfologinė kalbos dalis, pavyzdžiui, daiktavardis verčiamas veiksmažodžiu, įvardžiu ar būdvardžiu ir kt., veiksmažodis – prievieksmiu, daiktavardžiu ir kt. Šis vertimo būdas, kaip teigia A. Chestermanas, reiškia ne ką kitą, o gramatinės žodžių klasės pakeitimą (1997, p. 95).

Tiriant kultūrinių realijų vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas nustatyta, kad anglų kalbos vertime transpozicija buvo taikyta tik vieną kartą (57 pavyzdys), o prancūzų kalbos vertime – 7 kartus. Pastebėta, kad šį vertimo būdą vertėjai rinkosi atsižvelgę į situacinį kontekstą ir stilistinius teksto ypatumus:

(57) Jis žino, kad kraujas – iš **burokų sunkos**, kankynės tyčia sutirštintos ir beprasmės, kad būtų kvailiau, o neva sudegintieji ant laužų nusipurtė pelenus ir jau ruošiasi kitai scenai. (p. 189)

He knows that the blood is **squeezed from beets**, that the torture sessions are intentionally laid on thick and senseless so that they'd be sillier, and that those who are supposedly burned at the stake shake off the ashes and are already preparing for the next scene. (p. 159)

(58) Įdomiausia, kad niekas nematė vairuotojo – sakytum „**Mazas**“ būtų važiuavęs vienas pats. (p. 58)

Le plus étrange, c'est que personne n'a vu son conducteur. On aurait dit qu'**elle** roulait sans chauffeur. (p. 65)

(59) Daugiausia laiko jis prasėdi **spectualete** ir nieko nerašo. (p. 83)

Il est très important pour un écrivain d'avoir des toilettes à soi : il **y** passe le plus clair de son temps, sans écrire une ligne. (p. 90)

(60) Matau, kaip senelis plėšia **pašiūrės** duris, kad viduje būtų šviesiau. (p. 97)

Je vois le grand-père **en** arracher la porte pour avoir plus de lumière. (p. 104)

(61) **Slibinas**, vien **slibinas** čia kaltas. (p. 506)

C'est **le dragon**, et **lui** seul, qui se cache derrière tout ça. (p. 524)

(62) <...>, jie planavo savo ūkį ir savo ateitį, o mūsiškiams tereikėjo **degtinės**, tais klaidiais rytais iš viso pasaulio tereikėjo **degtinės** <...> (p. 443)

<...> ils planifiaient leurs affaires et leur avenir tandis que les nôtres ne désiraient que **s'enivrer** : lors de ces matins infâmes, tout ce qu'ils demandaient en ce monde, c'était **de la vodka** <...> (p. 456–457)

Cituotuose pavyzdžiuose matyti, kad anglų kalbos vertime realijos *burokų sunka* daiktavardis *sunka* virto veiksmožodžio forma *squeezed*, bet išliko tas pats referencinis turinys: *squeezed from beets* (57 pavyzdys). Reikia paminėti, kad prancūzų kalbos vertime transpozicija taikyta dažniau nei anglų kalbos vertime. Norėdama nekartoti tų pačių realių artimiausiame kūrinių kontekste, prancūzų vertėja keitė jas kitomis kalbos dalimis: 1) įvardžiais (*Mazas* verstas įvardžiu *elle* (58 pavyzdys), *pašiūrė* – *en* (60 pavyzdys), *slibinas* – *lui* (61 pavyzdys) ir kt.), 2) vietos prieveiksmiu, pavyzdžiui, *spectualete* verčiama *y* (59 pavyzdys), 3) veiksmoždžiu, tarkime, *vodka* verčiama *s'enivrer* (62 pavyzdys). Dažnesnis transpozicijos taikymas verčiant kultūrinės realijas rodo stilistinę vertimo lankstumą, kūrybinių sprendimų ieškojimą ir holistinę kultūrinio konteksto interpretaciją.

Išvados

Išanalizavus R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realių vartojimą ir vertimą į anglų ir prancūzų kalbas, galima teigti:

- Kultūrinės realijos, kaip unikalūs materialinės ir dvasinės kultūros pavadinimai, R. Gavelio „Vilniaus pokeryje“ atskleidžia sovietinio laikotarpio Vilniaus ir visai Lietuvai būdingą socialinį, istorinį, politinį, gamtos ir buities kontekstą ir atspindi visuomenės gyvenimo aplinką, žmonių patirtis, sovietinių metų pasaulėjautą ir pasaulėvaizdį.

- Atlikus kiekybinį kultūrinių realijų vartojimo tyrimą, dažniausia temine realijų grupe galima laikyti socialines, politines ir istorines realijas, kurios sudaro du penktadalius visų romano kultūrinių realijų ir leidžia autoriui perteikti aprašomojo laikotarpio savitumą. Antroji pagal dažnį pavyzdžių grupė yra folkloro ir mitologijos realijos, implikuojančios senąją lietuvių kultūrą, tautinę tapatybę ir kartu su kitų teminių grupių realijomis padedančios atskleisti fantasmagorišką ir baimių kupiną sovietinę aplinką.

- Suskirsčius kultūrinės realijas pagal A. Chestermano aprašytas vertimo strategijas ir vertimo būdus, nustatyta, kad anglų kalbos vertėja dažniausiai taikė *sintaksinę arba formos pakeitimo strategiją* ir jai priklausančius vertimo būdus, kurie, kartu sudėti, sudaro kiek daugiau nei pusę visų kultūrinių realijų vertimo pavyzdžių. O prancūzų kalbos vertime vyrauja *semantinė vertimo strategija* ir jai priklausančios vertimo būdai, kurie sudaro kiek mažiau nei pusę analizuojamų kultūrinių realijų pavyzdžių. Įvertinus kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdų pasiskirstymą abiejuose vertimuose, aiškiai matyti vyraujantys tiesioginiai ir sinoniminiai vertimo būdai. Akivaizdi jų persvara kitų vertimo būdų atžvilgiu rodo vertėjų pastangas perteikti kultūrinių realijų reikšmes. Lyginamoji kiekybinė ir kokybinė tiesioginio ir sinoniminio vertimo būdų analizė leidžia teigti, kad anglų kalbos vertėja dažniau rinkosi šiuos vertimo būdus ir siekė didesnės ištikimybės originalui.

- Įvertinus anglų kalbos vertėjos pasirinktus kultūrinių realijų vertimo būdus (dažnesnį, palyginti su prancūzų vertimu, kultūrinių realijų perkėlimą, nepraleistą nė vieną kultūrinę realiją) galima teigti, kad vertėja siekė adekvačiai interpretuoti realijas, ypač socialinės, politinės ir istorinės tematikos realijas, kuo tikslesnio vertimo ir kaip įmanoma teisingiau atskleisti meninį kūrinio pasaulį.

- Atsižvelgus į tai, kad prancūzų vertėja dažniau naudojo įvairesnius vertimo būdus (tris kartus dažniau už anglų kalbos vertėją taikė parafrazę, pakeitimą, septynis kartus dažniau rinkosi transpoziciją, nevengė kultūrinių realijų praleidimo ir kt.), galima teigti, kad ji siekė laisvesnės kultūrinių realijų interpretacijos ir vertimo, bet neišvengė neprofesionalių vertimo sprendimų. Nagrinėjant kultūrinių realijų vertimą išaiškėjo prancūzų kalbos vertėjos nemotyvuotai taikytas ne vienas pakeitimo atvejis, sisteminio Lietuvos istorijos pažinimo spragos, tam tikras nesiskaitymas su istorijos

faktais ir vertimo etikai prieštaraujantis ištiesų originalo puslapių praleidimas.

- Holistinė „Vilniaus pokerio“ kultūrinių realijų vertimo analizė atskleidė anglų ir prancūzų kalbų vertimų kultūrinės transpozicijos tendencijas. Remiantis A. Chestermano kultūrinio filtravimo (angl. *cultural filtering*) samprata galima teigti, kad anglų kalbos vertime pastebėta aiškesnė svetinimo tendencija, kai vertėja siekia „atvesti skaitytoją pas autorių“, suteikti daugiau sisteminės kultūrinės informacijos apie aprašomojo laikotarpio Vilnių ir Lietuvą. Analizuojant prancūzų kalbos vertimą išryškėjo priešinga tendencija – savinimas, t. y. dažnesnis specifinių kultūrinių reiškinių neišlaikymas, siekis jas praleisti arba pakeisti prancūzų kultūros reikšmėmis, vadinasi – „atvesti autorių pas skaitytoją“. Šios dvi priešingos anglų ir prancūzų kultūrinių realijų vertimo tendencijos rodo skirtingą vertėjų požiūrį į verčiamą kūrinį ir nevienodą atidumą originalo kultūrai.

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**USE OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS AND THEIR TRANSLATION
FROM LITHUANIAN INTO ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN RIČARDAS
GAVELIS'S *VILNIUS POKER***

Summary. From the beginnings of translation studies to the present day, the theoretical and practical paradigm of translation has come a long way. Although it was closely associated with linguistics and the solution of linguistic problems of translation until the early 1980s, it was the first translation theories that drew attention to the cultural phenomena of texts and the challenges of translation. Translation scholars Susan Bassnett and André Lefevre (1990) wrote that translation's shift to cultural phenomena represented a significant cultural turn. This led to a paradigm shift in translation and a new view that translation is an intercultural act and a dialogue between cultures. Given the importance and relevance of research on cultural meanings in translation, this paper focuses on one type of cultural meanings – culture-specific items that sometimes become a cultural stumbling block for translators. The aim of the research described in the article is to analyse the peculiarities of the use of culture-specific items in Ričardas Gavelis's novel *Vilnius Poker*, to conduct a comparative study of the translation of culture-specific items from Lithuanian into English and French, and to determine the translation techniques, strategies and trends of cultural transposition used by translators. The methods used to achieve the aim of the study include synthesis of scientific literature, comparative, descriptive and quantitative analysis. The use and translation of culture-specific items does not raise the issue of equivalence and linguistic deficit. Culture-specific items are analysed not as a separate unit of the text, but as part of a holistic whole that is organically integrated into the text and contributes to its meaning. The use of culture-specific items in the research material has led to the identification of four thematic groups: social, political, and historical; folkloric and mythological; domestic; and geographical. The data obtained in the quantitative use of culture-specific items suggest that two-fifths of all the culture-specific items analysed belong to the social, political, and historical thematic group reflecting the social life, deformations, Soviet experiences, and worldview of the people in the Soviet period in Vilnius and Lithuania as a whole, as portrayed by R. Gavelis. In a comparative study of translating culture-specific items from Lithuanian into English and French, based on the translation techniques and strategies described by Andrew Chesterman, nine translation techniques and three strategies were identified: from the semantic translation strategy, synonymy, abstraction change, trope change, and paraphrase were used; from the pragmatic translation strategy, the techniques of translation were: explicitness change and omission; from the syntactic or change of form translation, the translation techniques were: literal translation, loan, and transposition. The evaluation of the different translation techniques chosen by the English and French translators to translate culture-specific items showed that the English translation adopted the tendency of foreignization in order to “bring the reader to the author”, i.e. to provide the readers of the translation with as much systematic cultural information as possible about Soviet and postwar Lithuania. In contrast, French translation showed the opposite tendency toward domestication, i.e. the abandonment, omission, or replacement of certain cultural meanings with French cultural meanings. In this, the translator's cultural transposition was shown to “bring the author to the reader”.

Keywords: culture-specific items; translation strategy; translation technique; cultural transposition; R. Gavelis's *Vilnius Poker*.

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LIETUVIŲ KALBOS DISKURSO ŽYMIKLIAI IR JŲ RYŠIAI DAUGIAKALBIAME TEKSTYNE

Santrauka. Diskurso ryšiais anotuotų tekstynų kūrimas ir tyrimai yra gana nauja sritis, todėl Lietuvos mokslininkai siekia papildyti esamus tekstynų resursus ir ieško būdų, kaip būtų galima tyrinėti diskurso ryšius siejant ir lyginant juos su kitomis kalbomis, nes tam tikrais atvejais skirtingose kalbose diskurso ryšiai realizuojami skirtingomis kalbinėmis priemonėmis. Šio straipsnio tikslas – remiantis užsienio mokslininkų patirtimi pristatyti lietuvių kalbos diskurso žymiklių ir ryšių anotavimą daugiakalbiame tekстыne ir aptarti diskurso žymiklių vertimo tyrimų gaires, verčiant iš anglų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą. Todėl pirmiausia aptariamos diskurso ryšių ir juos išreiškiančių diskurso žymiklių raiškos galimybės lietuvių ir anglų kalbose, atskleidžiami galimi vertėjų pasirinkimai atsižvelgiant į diskurso ryšius vertime ir skirtingų kalbinių priemonių vartojimą pusiau paruoštoje monolingvinėje kalboje. Straipsnyje pristatomas lygiagretusis daugiakalbis tekstynas TED-MBD (angl. *Multilingual discourse-annotated corpus*), kuris yra anotuotas diskurso lygmeniu, laikantis PDTB (angl. *Penn Discourse Treebank*) diskurso anotavimo tikslų ir principų. Straipsnyje išsamiai aptariama PDTB diskurso žymiklių anotavimo sistema, skaitytojas supažindinamas su diskurso ryšių reikšmių hierarchija, anotavimo principais ir PDTB schemos taikymo įžvalgomis. Taip pat aprašomi lietuviškosios tekstyno dalies anotavimo principai, pritaikyti laikantis PDTB diskurso anotavimo taisyklių; aptariami pirmieji rezultatai, susiję su diskurso ryšių raiška ir diskurso žymiklių vartojimu. Straipsnyje taip pat pristatomos pirmosios tyrimų gairės, kaip galima palyginti diskurso ryšiais anotuotus lietuviškus ir angliškus tekstus, siekiant suprasti vertimo tendencijas diskurso lygmeniu.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: diskurso žymikliai; diskurso ryšiai; daugiakalbis tekstynas; anotavimas; PDTB diskurso ryšių hierarchija.

Įvadas

Diskurso ryšiais anotuotų tekstynų kūrimas, tyrimas ir taikymas yra nauja sritis, reikalaujanti naujų mokslininkų kompetencijų kuriant ir anotuojant tekstynus bei tiriant diskurso ryšiais anotuotų tekstynų taikymo galimybes. Efektyvus diskurso valdymas bet kurioje kalboje charakterizuojamas aiškiais ryšiais tarp diskurso vienetų ir rišlia, nuoseklia kalbos struktūra. Tačiau tam tikrais atvejais skirtingose kalbose diskurso ryšiai ir struktūra užtikrinama

skirtingomis kalbinėmis priemonėmis. Taip pat reikia pastebėti, kad didžioji dalis diskurso tyrimų iš pradžių buvo pagrįsta gramatiniais jungtukų sąrašais, apibūdinančiais tam tikras teksto jungimo ir rišlumo užtikrinimo funkcijas (Hunston, 2002). Vėliau tyrimai plėtėsi ir rėmėsi pragmatinėmis kategorijomis, diskurso žymikliai analizuoti pragmatiniais, sociolingvistiniais aspektais ir interpretuoti kaip pragmatiniai vienetai, turintys pragmatikalizacijai būdingų bruožų (Beeching, 2012; Degand, Evers-Vermeul, 2015; Brinton, 2017; Šinkūnienė et al., 2020). Taigi, norėdamos užpildyti šį žinių lauką, įvairių šalių mokslininkų komandos kuria savo kalbų diskurso žymiklių leksikonus, pavyzdžiui, Ch. Roze ir kt. (2010) sukūrė prancūzų kalbos diskurso žymiklių leksikoną. Lietuvos mokslininkai taip pat pradeda gilintis į lietuvių ir kitų kalbų lyginamuosius diskurso ryšių ir diskurso žymiklių (angl. *discourse markers*) tyrimus, remdamiesi tekstynų duomenimis (Šolienė, 2018; 2020a; 2020b; Šinkūnienė et al., 2020). Taigi šiame straipsnyje pristatomas diskurso ryšiais anotuotas daugiakalbis tekstynas TED-MDB (angl. *Multilingual discourse-annotated corpus*), sukurtas bendradarbiaujant su tarptautine mokslininkų bendruomene; siekiama sudominti Lietuvos mokslininkus ir suinteresuotus asmenis diskurso ryšių tyrimais ir tikimasi, kad atsiras tyrėjų, norinčių kurti lietuvių kalbos diskurso žymiklių leksikoną, kaip tai jau atlikta kitose kalbose. Toks tyrimas būtų žymus indėlis kuriant modernius išteklius lietuvių kalba, kurie būtų naudingi vertėjams bei vertimo studijų programų studentams. TED-MDB tekстыne pusiau paruoštą monologinę kalbą įvairia tematika iš anglų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą verčia savanoriai vertėjai, prižiūrimi institucijų, atsakingų už vertimo kokybę.

Diskurso ryšiai tekстыne

Diskurso žymikliai, arba jungiamieji diskurso elementai, sudaro funkcinę leksinių elementų kategoriją, kuri naudojama tarp teksto ar diskurso vienetų žymėti ryšiams, užtikrinantiems teksto rišlumą, pavyzdžiui, tokius kaip paaiškinimas, kontrastas ar kt. (Hallidėjus & Hassan, 1976; Mannas & Thomson, 1988; Knottas & Dalas, 1994; Sandersas, 2000). Dauguma kalbų turi tokių elementų rinkinius, bet labai skiriasi jungiamųjų elementų skaičius, jų vartojimas ir išreiškiami diskurso ryšiai. Be to, žinoma diskurso žymiklių

savybė, kad jie dažnai yra daugiafunkciai ir gali perteikti kelis diskurso ryšius. Kai kuriais atvejais tą patį jungiamąjį ryšį perteikia įvairūs diskurso žymikliai. M. Baker (2011), aptardama įvairių kalbų skirtumus, teigia, kad vienos kalbose diskurso ryšiai išreiškiami sudėtingomis, kitose – paprastesnėmis struktūromis, kur diskurso ryšiai tarp struktūrų yra aiškiai išreikšti. Kitaip tariant, vienos kalbose labiau priimtina informaciją pateikti mažesnėmis dalimis, naudojant išreikštus diskurso žymiklius diskurso ryšiams signalizuoti, o kitose – didelėmis diskurso dalimis, naudojant mažiau išreikštų diskurso žymiklių. Taigi kyla klausimas, kaip vertėjai susitvarko su diskurso ryšiais, kai šaltinio tekste yra daugybė išreikštų diskurso žymiklių, arba, atvirkščiai, kaip jie pateikia diskurso ryšius, kai šaltinio tekste yra ribotas diskurso žymiklių skaičius.

Diskurso žymikliai susiję su teksto logika ir interpretacija, taigi diskurso žymiklių derinimo procesas, atsižvelgiant į tikslinės kalbos specifiką ir tikslinės kalbos teksto tipą, yra sudėtingas procesas. Vertėjai gali pasirinkti tam tikras strategijas. Norėdami sklandaus ir aiškaus vertimo, jie gali bandyti įterpti papildomų diskurso žymiklių, net jeigu originaliame tekste jie neįvartojami, arba gali pasirinkti originalaus teksto diskurso žymiklių vertimą pažodžiui, nors vertimas tiksline kalba gali atrodyti svetimas tos kalbos raiškiai. Praktiškai vertėjai yra linkę pasirinkti arba dažniau naudoti vieną iš minėtų strategijų, arba ieškoti balanso ir naudoti šiek tiek visų paminėtų būdų (Baker, 2011).

Klasikinis diskurso žymiklių anotavimo metodas susideda iš nepriklausomo kelių anotatorių anotavimo, priskiriant reikšmę iš diskurso ryšių sąrašo tam tikram diskurso žymikliui. Paprastai tokias anotacijas vykdo daugiau nei vienas anotatorius, o vertinimo etape įvertinamas anotacijos patikimumas, išmatavus kelių anotavimų sutapimą.

Diskurso ryšiai gali būti anotuojami remiantis keliais žinomais diskurso modeliais, pavyzdžiui, retorinės struktūros teorija (angl. *Rhetorical Structure Theory* (RST)) (Mannas & Thompson, 1988) ir segmentinio diskurso pateikimo teorija (angl. *Segmented Discourse Representation Theory* (SDRT); Asheris & Lascarides, 2003). Tačiau šie du modeliai siekia pateikti išsamų teorinį diskurso santykių vaizdą, o anglų mokslininkų (Prasadas et al., 2000) sukurtas „Penn Discourse Treebank“ (PDTB) leidžia labiau atsižvelgti į jungiamųjų elementų prasmę. Ši sistema leksiniu požiūriu remiasi į diskurso ryšius arba leksine

diskurso žymiklių reikšme grįstu požiūriu (net numanomi diskurso ryšiai yra išreiškiami galimu diskurso žymikliu) ir nedaromos prielaidos apie globalią diskurso struktūrą, todėl jis dar vadinamas teoriškai neutraliu požiūriu.

Vienas svarbiausių šaltinių, turinčių diskurso žymiklių anotaciją, yra „Penn Discourse Treebank“ (Prasadas et al., 2008). PDTB pateikia „Wall Street Journal Corpus“ (toliau – WSJ) tekstyno anotavimą diskurso lygmeniu. Diskurso anotavimas susideda iš rankiniu būdu anotuotų diskurso ryšių reikšmių – apie 100 rūšių tekste esančių diskurso žymiklių ir numanomų diskurso ryšių, siejančių diskurso argumentus. Visame WSJ tekстыne, apimančiame 1 000 000 anotuotų žymių, yra 18 459 anotuotų diskurso žymiklių, esančių tekste, ir 16 053 anotuotų numanomų diskurso ryšių. Reikšmės, kurias gali signalizuoti diskurso žymikliai, sudėtos į hierarchinę reikšmių struktūrą, kurią sudaro trys detalumo lygiai su keturiomis aukščiausio lygio reikšmėmis (laiko, priežasties, lyginamąja ir išplečiamąja), po kurių yra 16 potipių antrame lygmenyje ir 23 išsamios antrinės reikšmės trečiame lygmenyje.

Diskurso žymikliai PDTB anotavimo schemoje apima keletą diskurso žymiklių kategorijų. Pirmiausia aptariami išreikšti diskurso žymikliai, priklausantys aiškiai apibrėžtomis sintaksinėms klasėms, ir numanomi diskurso žymikliai, kurie gali būti įterpiami tarp pastraipų ar sakinių arba sudėtinių sakinių viduje tarp vidinių sakinių porų ir kurie nėra tiesiogiai susiję su apibrėžtomis sintaksinėmis klasėmis ir apibrėžtais diskurso žymiklių rinkiniais. Numanomų diskurso žymiklių atveju skaitytojas ar anotatorius turi mėginti įminti diskurso ryšį tarp gretimų sakinių ar diskurso dalių. Anotaciją sudaro jungiamojo diskurso žymiklio įterpimas, kuris geriausiai perteikia numanomą diskurso ryšį. Taip įterpti jungiamieji diskurso žymikliai vadinami numanomais diskurso žymikliais. B. Webber ir kt. (2008) taip pat aptaria daugybinius diskurso ryšius, kai skaitytojas ar anotatorius gali išžvelgti kelis diskurso ryšius ir siūlyti įterpti kelis numanomus diskurso žymiklius. Gretimos sakinių ar didesnės diskurso elementų poros, tarp kurių skaitytojas ar anotatorius neižvelgia numanomo diskurso žymiklio, toliau skirstomos taip: a) AltLex (vadinamoji alternatyvi leksikalizacija), kai diskurso ryšys numanomas, bet bandymai įterpti kokį nors diskurso žymiklį yra pertekliniai dėl to, kad numanomas diskurso ryšys jau yra išreikštas kita leksine išraiška ar forma, kuri

gali būti vadinama alternatyvia leksikalizacija; b) EntRel (vadinamieji vientisumo ryšiai), kai negalima daryti jokių išvadų apie konkretaus diskurso ryšio egzistavimą, bet antrasis sakinyss ar didesnis diskurso elementas yra skirtas tik tam tikram tolesniam pirmojo elemento aprašymui pateikti; c) NoRel (vadinamasis ryšio nebuvimas), kai nėra jokio diskurso ryšio tarp gretimų sakinių ir net negalima identifikuoti vientisumo ryšio, tada daroma išvada apie ryšio nebuvimą.

Kadangi vadinamiesiems argumentams (sakiniams ar diskurso dalims) klasifikuoti nėra visuotinai priimtų abstrakčių semantinių kategorijų, todėl du diskurso žymiklio jungiami elementai, arba argumentai, paprasčiausiai žymimi Arg2 ir Arg1. Arg2 – tai argumentas, sintaksiškai susijęs su diskurso žymikliu, Arg1 – tiesiog kitas argumentas. Arg1 ir Arg2 apibrėžiami kaip pažymėta teksto medžiaga, aktuali ir minimaliai reikalinga diskurso ryšiui paaiškinti. Kita papildoma teksto medžiaga nežymima.

Išreikštų diskurso žymiklių ir jų argumentų anotavimą sudaro atitinkamų teksto, su kuriuo dirbama, dalių parinkimas bei priskyrimas Arg1 ir Arg2 ir diskurso ryšio reikšmės priskyrimas atitinkamam diskurso žymikliui. Numanomų diskurso žymiklių anotavimas pradedamas pirmiausia pasirinkus Arg2 teksto dalį numanomam diskurso žymikliui, tada pasirenkama teksto atkarpa Arg1 ir galiausiai identifikuojama diskurso ryšio reikšmė, išreiškianti Arg1 ir Arg2 ryšį, teikiant žodį ar frazę šiam ryšiui išreikšti. AltLex atveju, užuot pateikus žodį ar frazę diskurso ryšiui išreikšti, pasirenkama ir pažymima teksto atkarpa, esanti Arg2, kuri išreiškia diskurso ryšį. EntRel ir NoRel atvejais anotavimas apima pirmiausia Arg2 teksto dalies pasirinkimą ir tada gretimų sakinių ar teksto dalių parinkimą ir žymėjimą kaip Arg1.

Taigi diskurso ryšiai pažymimi išreikštais diskurso žymikliais, numanomais diskurso žymikliais ir Altlex, vadinamąja alternatyvia leksikalizacija. EntRel ir NoRel atvejais nėra identifikuojami jokie diskurso ryšiai. Diskurso žymiklių reikšmės ar etiketės parenkamos iš hierarchinės klasifikacijos trijų lygių hierarchinio diskurso ryšių reikšmių grupavimo, kai diskurso žymikliai pagal išreiškiamą diskurso ryšį skirstomi į klases, tipus ir potipius bei anotavimo metu parenkamos reikšmės iš visų trijų hierarchijos lygių diskurso žymikliui apibūdinti.

Kalbant apie išreikštus daugybinius diskurso žymiklius, esančius šalia

vienoje vietoje, reikėtų akcentuoti, kad jie visi anotuojami atskirai. Kai toje pačioje vietoje yra keli išreikšti diskurso žymikliai (pvz., du ar keli diskurso žymikliai, išreikšti keliaisrieveiksmiais arba jungtukų irrieveiksmių samplaikomis ir kt.: *taip, pavyzdžiui; bet tada; ir dar daugiau; anksčiau, pavyzdžiui* ir kt.), tada kiekvienas diskurso žymiklis žymimas atskirai, atsižvelgiant į du jo argumentus. Tačiau reikia pažymėti, kad PDTB schemeje neatsižvelgiama į galimybę, jog diskurso žymikliai gali būti priklausomi vienas nuo kito ir turėti skirtingus argumentus. PDTB anotavimo schemeje nėra numatytas atskyrimas tarp priklausomų ir nepriklausomų diskurso žymiklių ir kaip sakinyje išdėstomi jų argumentai. Kalbant apie numanomus diskurso žymiklius, net jeigu anotatorius ir nori įterpti daugybinį diskurso žymiklį, toks atvejis anotuojamas viena diskurso ryšio reikšme iš diskurso reikšmių hierarchijos. Apibendrinant, moksliniai tyrimai rodo, kad PDTB anotavimo schema suteikia įžvalgų apie diskurso ryšius tekste ir diskurso žymiklius, identifikuojančius šiuos diskurso ryšius.

PDTB anotatoriams leidžiama laisvai pasirinkti reikšmes iš visų lygių, įskaitant galimybę anotuoti dviem reikšmės ženklais (iš bet kurio hierarchijos lygio), kad būtų galima atsižvelgti į dviprasmiškus atvejus. Taigi iš principo galimi 129 reikšmių deriniai. Panaši metodika buvo įgyvendinta norint anotuoti daugelio kitų kalbų, pavyzdžiui, hindi, čekų, arabų ir italų, diskurso ryšius (Webber & Joshas, 2012). Be to, S. Zufferey ir kt. (2017) atliko daugiakalbio anotavimo eksperimentą su penkiomis indoeuropiečių kalbomis, priklausančiomis germanų ir romanų kalbų šeimoms: anglų, prancūzų, vokiečių, olandų, italų. Atliekant visus šiuos tyrimus buvo pastebėta, kad nesutapimų tarp skirtingų anotatorių atvejai yra panašūs ir jų skaičius nėra didelis. Šie rezultatai rodo, kad PDTB metodika ir rezultatai gali būti pakartoti ir pritaikyti kitoms kalboms.

Lietuvių kalbos diskurso ryšių anotavimas TED-MBD tekстыne

TED daugiakalbis diskurso tekstynas (toliau – TED-MDB) yra lygiagretusis tekstynas, anotuotas diskurso lygmeniu, laikantis PDTB diskurso anotavimo tikslų ir principų (Zeyrek et al., 2018). TED-MDB sukurtas B. Webber ir kt. (2016) PDTB diskurso ryšių hierarchijos pagrindu ir jau apima 7 kalbas: turkų,

anglų, lenkų, vokiečių, rusų, portugalų, lietuvių¹. Taigi šis tekstynas leidžia palyginti diskurso ryšiais anotuotus tekstus su angliškais diskurso ryšiais anotuotais teksta siekiant suprasti vertimo tendencijas (TED-MDB tekstyno originalūs angliški tekstai yra išversti į kitas tekstyno kalbas), taip pat leidžia atlikti įvairių tekstyno kalbų analizę. Pagal TED-MDB projekto principus lietuviški tekstai buvo anotuoti pagrindiniais diskurso ryšių tipais (išreikštas (diskurso žymiklis, esantis tekste), numanomas (neišreikštas tekste), alternatyvi leksikalizacija, vientisumo ryšys, nėra ryšio) ir jų aukščiausio lygio reikšmėmis (laiko, priežasties, lyginamąja ir išplečiamąja), taip pat antrojo ir trečiojo lygio reikšmėmis, remiantis PDTB anotavimo schema. Bendras žodžių skaičius tekстыne – 53 305; iš jų anglų kalbos tekstuose – 8 094, vokiečių kalbos tekstuose – 8 472, lietuvių kalbos tekstuose – 5 857, lenkų kalbos tekstuose – 7 953, portugalų kalbos tekstuose – 9 298, rusų kalbos tekstuose – 7 696, turkų kalbos tekstuose – 5 935 žodžiai.

Vadovaujantis PDTB anotavimo schema, lietuvių kalboje išreikšti (aiškūs) diskurso žymikliai apima leksinius vienetus iš keturių gramatinių klasių: prijungiamieji jungtukai, pavyzdžiui, *kai, kol, nes, kadangi*; sujungiamieji jungtukai – *ir, bei, o, tačiau*; jungiamosios žodžių samplaikos (kai prie jungtukų šliejasi įvardžiai ar dalelytės) – *tam kad, taip kad, bet gi*; ir prieveiksmiai – *faktiškai, galiausiai*. Pagrindinė anotavimo užduotis yra išsiaiškinti, ar anotuojami žodžiai ir frazės veikia kaip diskurso žymikliai, nes jie gali atlikti ir kitas funkcijas tekste. Kaip ir PDTB, nustatomi ir anotuojami penki diskurso ryšių tipai: išreikšti diskurso ryšiai, numanomi diskurso ryšiai, alternatyvios leksikalizacijos, vientisumo ryšiai ir jokių ryšių. Žymint diskurso argumentus, tiek išreikštų diskurso žymiklių, tiek ir alternatyvių leksikalizacijų atveju, vadovujamasi taisykle, kad Arg2 etiketė priskiriama argumentui, kuris yra sakinyje, sintaksiškai susijusiame su diskurso žymikliu; kitas argumentas žymimas Arg1. Ir PDTB schemoje, ir TED-MDB tekстыne prieveiksmiai vadinami „diskurso struktūros žymikliais“ (Hirschberg & Litman, 1987), nėra anotuojami, nes nurodo diskurso organizacinę struktūrą, o ne diskurso ryšius, siejančius du argumentus semantiškai, pavyzdžiui, lietuviškas *dabar* ir jo angliškas atitikmuo *now* (žr. 1 ir 2 pvz.):

¹ Jis yra atvirai prieinamas mokslininkams adresu: <https://github.com/MurathanKurfali/Ted-MDB-Annotations>

1. *Dabar, kaip matote, įtampa, apie kurią girdėjome San Fransiske, kalbant apie žmonių susirūpinimą dėl būsto kainų ir gyventojų išstūmimo ir technologijų kompanijų, kurios atneša daug turto ir įsikuria, yra tikra.*

2. *Now you can see, though, that the tensions that we've heard about in San Francisco in terms of people being concerned about gentrification and all the new tech companies that are bringing new wealth and settlement into the city are real.*

Lietuvių kalboje, remdamasis PDTB anotavimo gairėmis ir anotodamas numanomus diskurso žymiklius, anotatorius turi įterpti diskurso žymiklį, kuris geriausiai išreiškia numanomą dviejų gretimų sakinių santykį (žr. 3 pvz.) (visuose pavyzdžiuose Arg1 parodytas kursyvu, Arg2 paryškintas):

3. *Jie tokie sudėtingi ir gali atrodyti mums tolimi, kad galime būti linkę daryti štai ką: slėpti galvą smėlyje ir negalvoti apie tai.* [Numanomas = Bet] **Jeį tik galite, priešinkitės tam.** (Numanomas (Implicit)) (Palyginimas: kontrastas (Comparison: Contrast)).

Lietuvių kalboje, remiantis PDTB gairėmis, alternatyvi leksikalizacija (AltLex) apima numanomus diskurso žymiklius tarp gretimų sakinių, kur atsiranda perpildymas, jei bandoma įterpti išreikštą diskurso žymiklį. Šio perpildymo priežastis yra ta, kad diskurso ryšys jau yra išreikštas tam tikra alternatyvios leksikalizacijos forma, į kurią lietuvių kalboje pateko dalelytės, pavyzdžiui, *na*, *va*, ir kitos kalbinės formos, pavyzdžiui, *vadinasį, vienas iš pavyzdžių* ir kt. (žr. 4 pvz.):

4. *Sėkmė mus motyvuoja, bet beveik pasiekta pergalė skatina mus leistis į nuolatinius ieškojimus.* [Vieną iš ryškiausių to pavyzdžių pastebime], **kai žvelgiame į skirtumą tarp olimpinio sidabro laimėtojų ir bronzos laimėtojų rungtynėms pasibaigus.** (AltLex) (Išplėtimas: pavyzdys (Expansion: Instatiation)).

Šiuo atveju galėtume bandyti įterpti diskurso žymiklį *pavyzdžiui*, bet toks bandymas būtų perteklinis.

Vientisumo ryšiai (EntRel) yra anotuojami tarp gretimų sakinių, kai subjektas ar objektas viename argumente toliau plačiau aprašomas kitame argumente (žr. 5 pvz.):

5. *Jie turėtų įvertinti ir tuos efektyvumo rodiklius, kuriuos vadiname ASV: aplinkosauga, socialiniai klausimai ir valdymas. **Aplinkosauga apima energijos vartojimą, prieigą prie vandens, atliekų tvarkymą ir taršą ir ekonomišką išteklių naudojimą.*** (EntRel).

Šiuo atveju matome platesnį aplinkosaugos aprašymą antrame diskurso viename (sakinyje), tačiau negalime pritaikyti jokio diskurso ryšio iš PDTB ryšių hierarchijos, todėl anotuojame vientisumo ryšiu.

Nėra jokio ryšio (NoRel), jei anotatorius (skaitytojas) nemato jokio diskurso ryšio tarp gretimų sakinių (žr. 6 pvz.):

6. *Tai 4 milijardai vidurinėsios klasės žmonių, kuriems reikia maisto, energijos ir vandens. **Dabar jūs turbūt klausiate savęs: gal tai tik pavieniai atvejai.*** (NoRel).

Šiuo atveju negalime identifikuoti jokio diskurso ryšio remdamiesi PDTB diskurso ryšių hierarchija.

TED-MDB prideda naują aukščiausio lygio kategoriją prie PDTB diskurso ryšių hierarchijos, vadinamąją hipoforą. Ši kategorija skirta užfiksuoti retorines klausimų–atsakymų poras, kai užduodamas retorinis klausimas ir pats kalbėtojas į jį atsako. TED-MDB anotuoja hipoforą kaip AltLex atvejį, išreikštą klausiamuoju žodžiu. Jei įmanoma ir reikalinga, gali būti pridėtas dar kitas papildomas klausimo–atsakymo poros diskurso ryšys. Pagal TED-MDB anotavimo instrukcijas lietuvių kalboje anotuojame klausimą kaip Arg2, atsakymą – kaip Arg1. Klausimas žymimas Arg2, nes AltLex išreiškiantis žodis yra klausimo dalis. Klausiamasis žodis (arba specialus žodis, arba žodis *ar*, vartojamas Taip / Ne klausimuose, kuris taip pat gali būti vartojamas kaip

išreikštas diskurso žymiklis lietuvių kalboje (žr. 7 pvz.), žymimas kaip AltLex, nes išreiškia diskurso ryšį tarp klausimo ir atsakymo. Pateiktame 7 pavyzdyje *ar* funkcionuoja kaip diskurso žymiklis, parodantis išreikštą diskurso ryšį:

7. *Niekas nepasikeis, [ar] mes bandysime pakeisti, [ar] tu nieko nebandysi* (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Išplėtimas: atskyrimas) (Expansion: Disjunction).

Tolesniuose pavyzdžiuose iliustruojama, kaip hipofora anotuojama lietuvių kalboje (žr. 8 ir 9 pvz.):

8. [Ar] **įmonės, atsižvelgiančios į tvarumą, išties finansiškai sėkmingos?** *Galintis nustebinti atsakymas yra „taip“.* (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Altlex: Ar; Išplėtimas: detalizavimas: Arg1-kaip-detalė; Hipofora (Expansion: Level-of-detail: Arg1-as-detail; Hypophora)).

9. [Kodėl] **kas nors apskritai rinktųsi tokį gyvenimą** – *Atsakymas į šį klausimą gali skirtis, kaip skiriasi ir žmonės, sutinkami kelyje, bet keliautojai dažnai atsako vienu žodžiu: laisvė.* (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Altlex: Kodėl; Priežastinis: priežastis: pagrindas; Hipofora (Contingency: Cause: Reason; Hypophora)).

Tekstyno naudojimo tyrimui pavyzdžiai

Daugiakalbį tekstyną galima naudoti vertimo tyrimams. Pradžioje galima apžvelgti ir palyginti visą anotuotų tekstų anglų ir lietuvių kalbomis rinkinį ir pateikti anotuotų diskurso ryšių tipų dažnius bei PDTB aukščiausio lygio diskurso ryšių reikšmes lentelėse (žr. 1 ir 2 lentelę).

1 lentelė

Anotuotų ryšių tipų dažnis anglų ir lietuvių kalbose

Ryšio tipas	Anglų kalboje	Lietuvių kalboje
Alternatyvi leksikalizacija (AltLex)	33	7
Nėra ryšio (NoRel)	38	24
Išreikštas ryšys (Explicit)	225	297
Numanomas ryšys (Implicit)	132	177
Vientisumo ryšys (EntRel)	43	44

2 lentelė

Anotuotų aukščiausio lygio diskurso ryšių dažnis anglų ir lietuvių kalbose

Aukščiausio lygio reikšmės	Anglų kalboje	Lietuvių kalboje
Laiko	24	25
Lyginamoji	57	66
Hipofora	9	13
Išplečiamoji	213	262
Priežastinė	94	127

2 lentelėje matomas nedidelis anotuotų AltLex dažnis lietuvių kalboje galėtų reikšti tam tikrą tendenciją, atspindinčią vertėjų pasirinkimus verčiant diskurso žymiklius. Atrodo, kad vertėjai nebuvo linkę vartoti alternatyvios leksikalizacijos ir demonstravo tendenciją diskurso žymiklius perteikti žodynų pateiktais variantais. Tai siejasi su M. Baker (2011) pastebėjimais, kad vertėjai gali pasirinkti derinti diskurso žymiklius su tikslinės kalbos (kalbos, į kurią verčiama) pobūdžiu.

Kitas įdomus pastebėjimas – lietuvių kalboje yra daugiau išreikštų diskurso žymiklių nei angliškame variante. Tai gali būti paaiškinta vertėjų pastangomis perteikti angliškus numanomus diskurso ryšius aiškiai išreikštais diskurso žymikliais lietuvių kalboje (žr. 10 pvz.):

10. *Neblogai, tiesa* [Bet] **mes norim daugiau.** (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Palyginimas: nuolaida: Arg2_kaip_paneigimas) (Comparison: Concession: Arg2_as_denier).

<...> *that's okay, right.* [Numanomas (Implicit) = But] **We want more.** (Numanomas) (Implicit) (Palyginimas: nuolaida: Arg2_kaip_paneigimas) (Comparison: Concession: Arg2_as_denier).

Tačiau taip pat yra atveju, kai angliškasis diskurso žymiklis perteikiamas netiesioginiu diskurso žymikliu lietuvių kalboje ir kartais dėl to lietuviškame vertime prarandama pradiniame angliškame tekste anotuoto diskurso ryšio prasmė (žr. 11 pvz.):

11. <...> *žiūrėti tik į rasę nepadedą bandant prisidėti prie įvairumo vystymo.* [Implicit = Taigi] **Bandome įvairumą naudoti sprendžiant kai kurias sudėtingesnes problemas, turime**

pradėti kitaip galvoti apie įvairumą. (Numanomas) (Implicit) (Priežastinis: priežastis: rezultatas (Contingency: Cause: Result)).
<...> *only looking at race doesn't really contribute to our development of diversity.* **So if we're trying to use diversity as a way to tackle some of our more intractable problems, we need to start to think about diversity in a new way.** (So (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Priežastinis: priežastis: rezultatas (Contingency: Cause: Result)) if (Išreikštas) (Explicit) (Priežastinis: sąlyga: Arg2_kaip_sąlyga (Contingency: Condition: Arg2_as_condition))).

Taigi 11 pavyzdys rodo, kad vertėjas pasirenko neperteikti angliškujų išreikštų diskurso žymiklių *So* ir *if*, ir nors „rezultato“ diskurso ryšys išlieka numanomas, galima pastebėti „sąlygos“ diskurso ryšio reikšmės praradimą.

Šiame straipsnyje pateikta tik keletas pavyzdžių, atskleidžiančių vertimo tyrimų galimybes naudojant diskurso ryšiais anotuotą daugiakalbį tekstyną. Taip pat, kaip minėta pradžioje, remiantis šiuo tekstynu galima tirti ir lietuviškų diskurso žymiklių raiškos ypatumus.

Išvados

Diskurso ryšiais anotuotas TED-MDB daugiakalbis tekstynas leidžia tirti lietuviškus diskurso žymiklius bei palyginti juos su kitų tekstyno kalbų diskurso žymikliais. Straipsnyje pateikti lietuvių ir anglų kalbos lyginamieji pavyzdžiai rodo, kad lietuviški diskurso žymikliai kartais išreiškiami vietoj angliškujų numanomų – tai būtų galima paaiškinti vertėjų pastangomis išversti numanomą diskurso ryšį į ryšį su išreikštu diskurso žymikliu. Be to, pastebima, kad išreikštų diskurso žymiklių perteikimas netiesiogiai gali pakenkti diskurso ryšių prasmės perteikimui tekste. Tačiau tam reikėtų platesnių tyrimų ir įžvalgų apie konkrečius vertėjų pasirinkimus. Viena vertus, tokius pasirinkimus galima būtų paaiškinti sinchronizacijos reikalavimais verčiant transkribuotą tekstą, antra vertus, reikėtų nepamiršti, kad tam tikros stilistinės nuostatos gali būti individualus vertėjų pasirinkimas, pavyzdžiui, vieni vertėjai mėgsta dažniau vartoti išreikštus diskurso žymiklius, kiti – rečiau.

Ateityje gilinantis į lietuviškų tekstų ir TED-MDB daugiakalbio tekstyno

lyginamuosius tyrimus galima tikėtis atskleisti ir patikslinti daugiau vertimo tendencijų. Anotodami daugiau lietuviškų tekstų pagal TED-MDB schemą ir tyrinėdami diskurso ryšiais anotuotus tekstus galime sukurti lietuvių kalbos diskurso žymiklių leksikoną.

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**LITHUANIAN DISCOURSE MARKERS AND THEIR RELATIONS
IN A MULTILINGUAL CORPUS**

Summary. The development and research of discourse-annotated corpora is a relatively new field, therefore Lithuanian researchers seek to supplement the existing corpora resources and look for ways to study discourse relations by linking and comparing them with their counterparts in other languages because in different languages discourse relations are realized by different linguistic means. The aim of the article is to present the developing available corpora resources drawing on the experience of foreign scholars and to discuss guidelines for translation research at the discourse level. Therefore, the article first deals with the possibilities of expressing discourse relations by using discourse markers as their linguistic realization in different languages, discussing possible choices of translators, taking into account discourse realtions in translation and the use of different linguistic means. The article presents the parallel multilingual corpus TED-MBD (*Multilingual discourse-annotated corpus*), which is annotated at the discourse level, in accordance with the objectives and principles of PDTB (*Penn Discourse Treebank*) discourse annotation. The article discusses in detail the annotation system of PDTB discourse markers, the reader is introduced to the hierarchy of senses of discourse relations, the principles of annotation and insights into the application of the PDTB scheme. It also describes the annotation principles of the Lithuanian part of the corpus in accordance with the PDTB discourse annotation rules; the first results related to the expression of discourse relations and the use of discourse markers are discussed. The article also presents the first research guidelines on how to compare Lithuanian and English discourse-annotated texts in order to understand translation tendencies at the discourse level.

Keywords: discourse markers; discourse relations; multilingual corpus; annotation; PDTB sense hierarchy.

BENDRIEJI REIKALAVIMAI RANKRAŠČIAMS

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EXAMPLE ENTRIES (please follow the requirements of APA 7th Edition)

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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>

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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

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