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EDITORIAL

Prof. Dr. Jose Javier Martos Ramos
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Dear *Sustainable Multilingualism* community,

welcome to the twenty-fourth issue of *Sustainable Multilingualism*. In his book *Sapiens. A Brief History of Humankind* (2014), Yuval Noah Harari argues that fiction allows us not only to imagine things, but to do so collectively and, above all, flexibly – something unprecedented and characteristic of the human species. He claims that this is the very ability that has enabled Homo sapiens to dominate the world. It is widely accepted that human cooperation developed thanks to the mastery of language. Lorenzo (2008) highlights several features of language that have contributed to a more versatile and flexible way of communicating compared to other species. These include the ability to articulate utterances about both the past and the present, the capacity of minimal units of the linguistic system to generate further meanings, and the ability to discuss the characteristics of the language itself (as described by Hockett, 1958). Undoubtedly, language is the tool that makes possible a social organization tailored to complex and ever-changing needs. Without this resource, as we understand it in society, communication and the transmission of content would probably take place through a different code, with different relational implications. Communities have always adapted and shaped their language systems in different contexts (Brinker, 1997): private (such as personal relations within the family or circle of friends), official (such as relations with institutions), and public (such as relations through the media). Another form of adaptation is observed in communicative genres (Luckmann, 1986), which reflect how speakers construct routine and consolidated structures that provide more or less binding solutions to concrete communicative problems. Every language makes it possible to organize and regulate social relations in an acceptable way. It is therefore crucial to prioritize how language use is managed in order to adequately guarantee the rights and obligations of individuals.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, proclaimed by the European Parliament, the Council, and the Commission in 2000, emphasises the right of citizens not to suffer linguistic discrimination and the importance of respecting linguistic diversity, as stated in its preamble and in Articles 21, 22 and 41. In the light of this objective, it is essential to legislate on language policy and planning in a Europe with more than 24 official languages, 60 languages spoken in regions or by specific groups, three different alphabets and a diverse immigrant population representing at least 175 nationalities (European Commission). These data paint a complex picture of language management, especially considering that languages are not governed by empirical parameters and should not be left alone (Wickström, Gazzola & Templin, 2018). The European Commission has consistently stressed the importance of language skills through measures such as the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2000) and the Erasmus+

mobility scheme (1987). It has also sought to promote multilingualism, recognized as one of the eight key competences necessary for personal fulfilment, through initiatives such as the recommendation to learn two foreign languages (Barcelona European Council, 2002) and the promotion of multilingual classrooms (2018). The impact of these measures can be seen in increased social awareness and higher rates of second language learning (Eurobarometer 386). However, despite these efforts, much remains to be done. The linguistic landscape in Europe shows a growing trend towards the use of English at the expense of other official and local languages. Everyday languages are gradually giving way to others that do not necessarily reflect the linguistic diversity of certain communities (see both Mazlum, Shadman & Khademnabi and Luchenko, Doronina & Chervinko in this volume). Examples include universities where technical degrees and masters are taught almost exclusively in English, even though English is not an official language.

No government should neglect Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity, as this would ignore the fundamental needs of its citizens. We need more tools to continue to defend values and rights as fundamental as linguistic ones (see Sabaliauskienė & Cortés Gañán in this volume). Political action must legislate and promote fair use according to local circumstances, even if economic parameters often dictate such measures (Wickström, Gazzola & Templin, 2018; Conceição, 2020). Certainly, economic factors cannot and should not be ignored in any society, but they must be balanced with the rights of citizens to express themselves in their own language, or at least in the language of the community in which they live. I would almost dare to compare this situation to that of city dwellers, whose habitual places are gradually being displaced by unsustainable tourism, forcing them to constantly adapt their habits. 2024 is an election year in Europe. Linguists and society in general will have to pay close attention to how the linguistic rights of the inhabitants of the European Union are managed. If we want a fairer Europe, we need a real promotion of multilingualism that goes beyond good intentions. We need policies that promote local and regional languages, while raising awareness of the value of language as a tool for cultural expression and management.

For all the above reasons, it is to be welcomed that this issue of *Sustainable Multilingualism* addresses many of the aspects involved in developing and managing languages. Its first section "Society. Identity. Language Preservation and Revival" presents two studies touching on key aspects of identity and social language management. The first highlights the importance of heritage language proficiency for understanding cultural heritage, fostering identity development, and building social connections within both heritage and majority communities in a study of the heritage language of Korean American adolescents (Mi Yung Park). The second paper (Pittman & Glimois) discusses language management in multilingual family contexts and emphasizes the need to raise awareness among such families about the implementation of a Family Language Policy (FLP). Based on the reflections of two parents in multilingual families, the paper explores parental awareness of their family's multilingual practices and policies, as well as strategies for supporting children's language development. The findings point to the need for continuous updating of FLPs.

In the second section, "Language use and education in multilingual and multicultural settings", four other articles focus on different learning situations. The first study (Luchenko, Doronina & Chervinko) examines the use of English

as a medium of instruction (EMI) in the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). It looks at the practices of JFL teachers from fifty-seven predominantly non-English-speaking countries and investigates the demographic, linguistic and contextual factors that influence their use of EMI. The results reveal several significant parameters, including teachers' work experience, highest level of education, educational level, geographical region, native language group, Japanese language proficiency, and knowledge of other languages. A second study (B. Nangle, López Parreño, C. Nangle, Valūnaitė-Oleškevičienė & Gulbinskienė) analyses the most common English errors made by Lithuanian high school and university students in written tasks focusing on business and finance. The research suggests that detailed and personalized feedback can help to minimize errors in writing tasks, especially if it is accessible during the task. A third study examines the challenges of ESL learning in the context of autism spectrum disorders (ASD). As highlighted by the authors (Shaaban & Amr), there is a lack of research in an area that requires the involvement of parents, educational leaders and teachers. The study sample consisted of qualitative interviews with parents and teachers of children diagnosed with ASD. According to the findings of the research, teaching English as a second language to children with ASD using visual aids, modelling and repetition has been shown to be effective in improving the language and social skills of autistic children. The final study in this section (Ballıdağ & Dikilitaş) presents a case study of the bilingual Turkish-English education of a 5-year-old child using a 'non-native parent (NNP) strategy' in a community where English is not the first or majority language. The results show that even limited exposure to a second language can lead to its acquisition through the NNP strategy and parents' efforts to avoid code-mixing in their own discourse.

In the third section on Romance languages, an article by Sabaliauskienė & Cortés Gañán aims to analyse the situation of foreign language teaching and learning at the Institute of Foreign Languages of Vytautas Magnus University (VMU). The study examines how the university's language policy contributes to the EU's goal of multilingualism. Key feedback from students suggests that there is room for improvement in the university system to promote multilingualism. Factors such as lack of awareness of the importance of languages, the increasing dominance of English, lack of motivation and negative learning experiences have a significant impact on the decline of interest in other foreign languages and pose a major threat to the implementation of multilingualism policies. In relation to the Spanish language, a second study (Serapinienė) focuses on formulaic language. Using the Sketch Engine software and a corpus from the EUR-Lex database, it was found that the grammatical meaning of these light verbal constructions is mostly represented by the supporting verbs *tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar* and *hacer*.

The final section, devoted to translation, presents two studies. The first (Mazlum, Shadman & Khademnabi) deals with the relationship between globalisation and translation. The authors argue that globalisation has led to an inexorable expansion of the English language around the world. Contrary to expectations, however, it has been found that, based on the opinions of Iranian translators, the need for translation services has not only not decreased but, on the contrary, has increased. Analysis of the data has revealed important factors in the Iranian context, namely the limitation of the target language (English)

and the preference for Persian over English, as well as ideological issues. Finally, the second article in this section (Vaičėnonienė) aims to answer the question of the distribution and translation into English of dual pronouns in Lithuanian fiction. It argues that dual pronouns, as a characteristic feature of the Lithuanian language, should be less common in translations.

All in all, issue 24 of *Sustainable Multilingualism* brings together analysis and research on real-life evidence in which language plays a key role, impacting the people in the communities. Let's enjoy all of them.

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Gerbiama *Darniosios daugiakalbystės* bendruomenė,

kviečiame susipažinti su dvidešimt ketvirtuoju *Darniosios daugiakalbystės* numeriu. Savo knygoje *Sapiens. Trumpa žmonijos istorija* (2014) Yuval Noah Harari teigia, kad grožinė literatūra leidžia mums ne tik įsivaizduoti dalykus, bet ir daryti tai kolektyviai ir, svarbiausia, lanksčiai – tai yra kažkas neregėta ir būdinga žmonių rūšiai. Jo teigimu, būtent šis gebėjimas leido *Homo sapiens* dominuoti pasaulyje. Visuotinai pripažįstama, kad žmonių bendravimas išsivystė dėl kalbos. Lorenzo (2008) išskiria kelias kalbos ypatybes, dėl kurių žmonių, palyginti su kitų rūšių, bendravimas tapo universalesnis ir lankstesnis: 1) gebėjimas artikuliuoti pasisakymus ir apie praeitį, ir apie dabartį, 2) minimalių kalbos sistemos vienetų gebėjimas generuoti tolesnes reikšmes ir 3) gebėjimas aptarti pačios kalbos ypatybes (aprašė Hockett, 1958). Be abejo, kalba yra įrankis, leidžiantis sukurti sudėtingiems ir nuolat kintantiems poreikiams pritaikytą socialinę organizaciją. Be šio ištekliaus, kaip mes jį suprantame visuomenėje, bendravimas ir turinio perdavimas tikriausiai vyktų naudojant kitokį kodą, paliekantį kitokias santykių pasekmes. Bendruomenės visada pritaikė ir formavo savo kalbos sistemas įvairiomis aplinkybėmis (Brinker, 1997): privačiomis (pvz., asmeniniai santykiai šeimoje ar su draugais), oficialiomis (pvz., santykiai su institucijomis) ir viešomis (pvz., santykiai per žiniasklaidą). Kita prisitaikymo forma pastebima komunikaciniuose žanruose (Luckmann, 1986), kurie atspindi, kaip kalbėtojai konstruoja įprastas ir konsoliduotas struktūras, daugiau ar mažiau įpareigojančias spręsti konkrečias komunikacines problemas. Kiekviena kalba leidžia priimtinu būdu organizuoti ir reguliuoti socialinius santykius. Todėl labai svarbu teikti pirmenybę tam, kaip valdomas kalbos vartojimas, kad būtų tinkamai užtikrintos asmenų teisės ir pareigos.

2000 m. Europos Parlamento, Tarybos ir Komisijos paskelbtoje *Europos Sąjungos pagrindinių teisių chartijoje* pabrėžiama piliečių teisė nepatirti kalbinės diskriminacijos ir pagarbos kalbų įvairovei svarba, kaip teigiama jos preambulėje bei 21, 22 ir 41 straipsniuose. Atsižvelgiant į šį tikslą, Europoje, kurioje yra daugiau kaip 24 oficialiosios kalbos, 60 kalbų, kuriomis kalbama regionuose arba tam tikrose grupėse, vartojamos trys skirtingos abėcėlės ir gyvena imigrantai, atstovaujantys mažiausiai 175 tautybėms, būtina priimti teisės aktus dėl kalbų politikos ir planavimo (Europos Komisija). Šie duomenys piešia sudėtingą kalbų valdymo vaizdą, ypač atsižvelgiant į tai, kad kalbos nėra valdomos pagal empirinius parametrus ir todėl neturėtų būti paliktos savieigai (Wickström, Gazzola ir Templin, 2018). Europos Komisija nuolat pabrėžia kalbinių gebėjimų svarbą, taikydama tokias priemones, kaip *Bendrieji Europos kalbų metmenys* (2000) ir judumo programa *Erasmus+* (1987). Europos sąjungoje daugiakalbystė pripažįstama vienu iš aštuonių pagrindinių gebėjimų, būtinų asmeninei pilnatvei, ir skatinama tokiomis iniciatyvomis kaip rekomendacija mokytis dviejų užsienio kalbų (Barsėlonos Europos Vadovų Taryba, 2002) bei daugiakalbės klasės (2018). Šių priemonių poveikis

pasireiškė didesniu socialiniu sąmoningumu ir aktyvesniu antrosios kalbos mokymusi (Eurobarometras 386). Tačiau, nepaisant šių pastangų, dar daug ką reikia nuveikti. Europos kalbinė aplinka rodo, kad anglų kalba plinta vis labiau užgoždama kitas oficialiąsias ir vietines kalbas. Kasdienės kalbos pamažu užleidžia vietą kitoms, nebūtinai atspindinčioms tam tikrų bendruomenių kalbinę įvairovę (pvz., Mazlum, Shadman ir Khademnabi bei Luchenko, Doronina ir Chervinko šiame leidinyje). Kaip pavyzdį galima paminėti universitetus, kuriuose technikos ir magistrantūros studijos dėstomos beveik vien tik anglų kalba, nors ji nėra valstybinė.

Nė viena vyriausybė neturėtų nepaisyti Europos kalbų ir kultūrų įvairovės, nes taip būtų ignoruojami pagrindiniai piliečių poreikiai. Mums reikia daugiau priemonių, kad ir toliau galėtume ginti pamatines vertybes ir teises, tokias kaip kalbinės (Sabaliauskienė ir Cortés Gañán šiame numeryje). Politiniais veiksmais turi būti priimami teisės aktai ir skatinama sąžiningai juos taikyti atsižvelgiant į vietos aplinkybes, net jei tokias priemones dažnai diktuoja ekonomiškai parametrai (Wickström, Gazzola ir Templin, 2018; Conceição, 2020). Žinoma, ekonominių veiksnių negalima ir nereikėtų ignoruoti jokioje visuomenėje, tačiau jie turi būti derinami su piliečių teisėmis reikšti savo mintis gimtąja kalba arba bent jau bendruomenės, kurioje gyvena, kalba. Šią situaciją beveik drįsčiau palyginti su miestiečių, kurių įprastas vietas pamažu išstumia netvarus turizmas, situacija, verčiančia juos nuolat derinti savo įpročius. 2024-ieji – rinkimų metai Europoje. Kalbininkai ir visuomenė apskritai turės atidžiai stebėti, kaip tvarkomos Europos Sąjungos gyventojų kalbinės teisės. Jei norime teisingesnės Europos, turime iš tiesų skatinti daugiakalbystę, neapsiriboti tik gerais ketinimais. Mums reikia politikos, kuri skatintų vietas ir regionų kalbas, kartu išryškintų kalbos, kaip kultūros raiškos ir valdymo priemonės, vertę.

Dėl visų minėtų priežasčių sveikintina, kad šiame *Darniosios daugiakalbystės* numeryje aptariama daug su kalbų plėtra ir valdymu susijusių aspektų. Pirmajame skyriuje „Visuomenė. Tapatybė. Kalbos išsaugojimas ir atgaivinimas“ pristatomos dvi studijos, kuriose nagrinėjami pagrindiniai tapatybės ir socialinės kalbos vadybos aspektai. Pirmame tyrime apie korėjiečių kilmės amerikiečių paauglių paveldo kalbą (Mi Yung Park) pabrėžiama jos mokėjimo svarba kultūriniam paveldui suprasti, tapatybei ugdyti ir socialiniams ryšiams kurti tiek tautinės mažumos, tiek daugumos bendruomenėse. Antrame straipsnyje (Pittman ir Glimois) aptariamas kalbos valdymas daugiakalbėse šeimose ir pabrėžiamas poreikis labiau informuoti jas apie šeimos kalbų politikos įgyvendinimą. Remiantis dviejų daugiakalbių šeimų tėvų apmąstymais, straipsnyje nagrinėjamas tėvų informuotumas apie daugiakalbės šeimos praktiką ir politiką, taip pat vaikų kalbos raidos rėmimo strategijos. Išvados rodo, kad šeimos kalbų politiką reikia nuolat atnaujinti.

Antrajame skyriuje „Kalbų vartojimas ir ugdymas daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūroje aplinkoje“ aptariamos įvairios mokymosi situacijos. Pirmame tyrime (Luchenko, Doronina ir Chervinko) nagrinėjamas anglų kalbos kaip mokymo priemonės (angl. *English as a medium of instruction*, EMI) vartojimas mokant japonų kaip užsienio kalbos (angl. *Japanese as a foreign language*, JFL). Jame nagrinėjama JFL mokytojų iš penkiasdešimt septynių, daugiausia ne anglakalbių šalių praktika ir tiriami demografiniai, kalbiniai ir kontekstiniai veiksniai, darantys įtaką EMI vartojimui. Rezultatai atskleidžia kelis svarbius parametrus, įskaitant mokytojų darbo patirtį, aukščiausių įgytą išsilavinimą, švietimo lygį, geografinį regioną, gimtosios kalbos grupę, japonų kalbos

mokėjimą ir kitų kalbų mokėjimą. Antrame tyrime (B. Nangle, López Parreño, C. Nangle, Valūnaitė-Oleškevičienė ir Gulbinskienė) analizuojamos dažniausios Lietuvos vidurinių mokyklų moksleivių ir aukštųjų mokyklų studentų anglų kalbos klaidos, daromos atliekant rašytines užduotis, skirtas verslui ir finansams. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad išsamus ir individualus grįžtamasis ryšys gali padėti sumažinti rašymo užduočių klaidų skaičių, ypač jei jis prieinamas atliekant užduotį. Trečiame straipsnyje nagrinėjami anglų kalbos mokymosi sunkumai autizmo spektro sutrikimų (ASS) kontekste. Kaip pabrėžia autoriai (Shaaban ir Amr), šios srities mokslinių tyrimų trūksta, reikia įtraukti tėvus, švietimo vadovus ir mokytojus. Tyrimo imtį sudarė kokybiniai interviu su vaikų, kuriems diagnozuotas ASS, tėvais ir mokytojais. Rezultatai atskleidė, kad anglų kaip antrosios kalbos mokymas, naudojant vaizdines priemones, modeliavimą ir kartojimą, yra veiksmingas gerinant autizmu sergančių vaikų kalbinius ir socialinius įgūdžius. Paskutiniame šio skyriaus straipsnyje (Ballidağ ir Dikilitaş) pateikiamas 5 metų vaiko dvikalbio ugdymo turkų ir anglų kalbomis, taikant „negimtosios kalbos tėvų (NNP) strategiją“, atvejo tyrimas bendruomenėje, kurioje anglų kalba nėra pirmoji ar daugumos kalba. Rezultatai rodo, kad net ir ribotas antrosios kalbos poveikis gali paskatinti jos mokymąsi taikant NNP strategiją ir tėvų pastangas išvengti kodų maišymo savo diskurse.

Trečiajame – Romanų kalbų – skyriuje Sabaliauskienės ir Cortés Gañán straipsnyje analizuojama užsienio kalbų mokymo ir mokymosi situacija Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto (VDU) Užsienio kalbų institute. Tyrime nagrinėjama, kaip universiteto kalbų politika prisideda įgyvendinant ES daugiakalbystės tikslą. Pagrindiniai studentų atsiliepimai rodo, kad universiteto sistemoje yra galimybių tobulinti daugiakalbystės skatinimą. Tokie veiksniai, kaip menkas kalbų svarbos suvokimas, didėjantis anglų kalbos dominavimas, motyvacijos stoka ir neigiama mokymosi patirtis, daro didelę įtaką mažėjančiam susidomėjimui kitomis užsienio kalbomis ir kelia didelę grėsmę daugiakalbystės politikos įgyvendinimui. Kalbant apie ispanų kalbą, antrame straipsnyje (Serapinienė) daugiausia dėmesio skiriama kalbos fraziškumo principui. Naudojant *Sketch Engine* programinę įrangą ir EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazę nustatyta, kad gramatinę šių analitinių konstrukcijų reikšmę dažniausiai perteikia pagalbinių veiksmažodžiai *tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar* ir *hacer*.

Paskutiniame, vertimo problemoms skirtame skyriuje pateikiami du tyrimai. Pirmame (Mazlum, Shadman ir Khademnabi) nagrinėjamas globalizacijos ir vertimo santykis. Autoriai teigia, kad globalizacija lėmė nenumaldomą anglų kalbos plėtrą visame pasaulyje; tačiau, kitaip nei tikėtasi, remiantis Irano vertėjų nuomone, nustatyta, kad vertimo paslaugų poreikis ne tik nesumažėjo, bet, priešingai, padidėjo. Duomenų analizė atskleidė svarbius Irano konteksto veiksnius, t. y. tikslinės kalbos (anglų kalbos) ribotumą ir pirmenybės teikimą persų kalbai, taip pat ideologinius klausimus. Antrame šio skyriaus straipsnyje (Vaičėnienė) siekiama atsakyti į klausimą apie įvardžių dviskaitos sklaidą ir vertimą į anglų kalbą lietuvių grožinėje literatūroje. Jame teigiama, kad įvardžių dviskaita, kaip lietuvių kalbai būdingas bruožas, vertimuose turėtų būti retesnė.

Apskritai 24-ajame *Darniosios daugiakalbystės* numeryje pateikiama realaus gyvenimo, kuriame kalba atlieka svarbų vaidmenį, darantį poveikį bendruomenių žmonėms, analizė ir tyrimai. Pasidžiaukime jais visais.

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

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



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HERITAGE LANGUAGE USE AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: A STUDY OF TWO KOREAN- AMERICAN BILINGUAL ADOLESCENTS

Annotation. This study examines heritage language use and identity construction of two Korean-American bilingual adolescents who have acquired a high level of proficiency in the heritage language. An analysis of the interview narratives showed that the high level of their heritage language proficiency played a crucial role in understanding the heritage culture and its people, developing a strong sense of self, and building social relationships with members of the heritage language and mainstream communities. In addition, it was found that their ethnic identities were co-constructed and reshaped over time not only by their individual choices but also by various sociocultural factors — the environment, their surroundings, and their relationships with others. However, although both participants agreed that their heritage language and culture were fundamental parts of their identities, the forces and processes that shaped each participant's identities were different. One participant developed his dual identities by maintaining cultural boundaries and group differentiation whereas the other participant tried to combine two cultural characteristics in creating a new self, having invested in dual identities — Korean and American — which she would assume in the private and public spheres of her life, respectively. The findings shed light on the complex process of bilingual adolescents' identity construction.

Keywords: Heritage language; identity; hybridity; Korean-American bilingual adolescents; Korean language.

Introduction

Because of the increasing immigrant population in the United States (U.S.), researchers and educators have been paying increasing attention to the topic of heritage language (HL) use and learning. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2018), almost 67.3 million residents are foreign-born, and nearly 21.9% of the population aged five and over speaks a language other than English at home. In response to HL speakers' desire to learn the languages of their parents and ancestors, American universities have offered a growing number of "less widely taught language" courses, such as Korean, Chinese, Tagalog, and Vietnamese (Duesen-Scholl, 2003). In this study, HL learners are

referred to as people who have an ethnolinguistic affiliation with the HL at varying levels of language proficiency (Valdés, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). One of the primary reasons for university HL students' enrolling in HL courses is to get back to their roots and discover their ethnic identities (e.g., Kim, 2006; Lee & Kim, 2008).

Identity is closely related to HL use and development, and this relationship is bound to specific sociocultural contexts (Choi, 2015). A number of Korean HL studies suggest that identity and HL proficiency are strongly interrelated, meaning those who are more proficient in their HL tend to embrace and incorporate more elements of their cultural and ethnic backgrounds as an essential part of their identity (e.g., Cho, 2000; Choi, 2015; Kang & Kim, 2012; Kim, 2006; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2008). Prior research has also shown that many HL students tend to explore their ethnic identities while at university through studying their HL (e.g., Kim, 2020; Park & Choi, 2022; Park & Chung, 2022). Communication with their parents or other family members and ethnic identity were frequently reported as the motive to learn and maintain their HL. For example, Lee and Kim's (2008) study of university students enrolled in a Korean language class at American universities showed that, regardless of their HL proficiency levels, integrative orientation played a more important role than instrumental orientation in their desire to learn the HL. The participants identified most strongly with heritage-related motivational reasons and least strongly with school-related motivational reasons. For the majority of the participants, the Korean language was "the main connector to their roots and their family and an expresser of who they are as a cultural being" (Lee & Kim, 2008, p. 168). Recent studies (e.g., Choi & Yi, 2012; Park, 2022) have also identified K-music and K-drama as motivators for HL learning and maintenance, making the role of Korean popular culture in HL learning an area of further interest and study.

HLs can play a significant role in HL speakers' performance of ethnic identity. One manifestation of ethnic identity is the use of the HL as a marker of ethnic identity. For example, HL speakers express their fluid ethnic identities by drawing on and combining both sides of their linguistic repertoires. A number of studies of Korean-American HL speakers (e.g., Jo, 2001; Kang, 2013) have observed code-switching and language mixing in different contexts.

Moreover, Kim (2020) reported that her Korean-American participants expressed their ethnic identities even when speaking in English by integrating the HL into their English via the use of contemporary Korean slang words. Similarly, Park's (2021) study of 1.5-generation Korean HL speakers in New Zealand illustrated that they mixed Korean and English with siblings and friends, inserting Korean words (e.g., *taptaphay* 'frustrated, stuffy, restricted, repressed') that do not have exact equivalents in English to express specific personal feelings and a shared "Kowi" (Korean-Kiwi) identity.

Although ethnic identity has been investigated in the field of Korean HL education, the majority of this research was carried out with adult learners, including university students. Research conducted on Korean-American adults has primarily focused on the correlation between the degree of ethnic belonging and its effects on HL learning, motivational orientation for HL learning, and language practices (e.g., Cho, 2000; Jo, 2001; Kang, 2013; Kim, 2007; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2008; Kim, 2020). Little attention has been paid to the experiences of Korean-American adolescents. Although immigrant parents may strive to help their children maintain connections to their HL and heritage culture, the children may experience challenges in the process of learning the HL due to both environmental factors (e.g., an English-dominant environment) and complicated internal identity factors (e.g., a sense of belonging and acceptance by the mainstream and HL groups). Immigrant children, who are raised with influences from both minority and majority cultures and from heritage and dominant languages, face immense pressure to shift to the dominant language of the host society (English in this case), especially after starting school. The shift from the immigrants' HL to English takes place over a number of years, demonstrating a complete language shift within two generations (Wiley, 2001). The shift to the dominant language was documented in research on Korean Americans (e.g., Choi, 2015; Shin, 2005). It is crucial to understand the factors and conditions that contribute to both the maintenance and development of immigrant adolescents' HL and their identity construction.

Using the data collected through narrative interviews, this study seeks to understand the role of HL in adolescents' lives and how they construct their identities, living as they do at the intersection of two cultures and languages.

It focuses on the personal narratives of two Korean-American bilingual adolescents who have developed a high proficiency in their HL, including literacy skills. This study aims to address the following research questions:

1. What roles has the HL played in the Korean-American bilingual adolescents' lives?
2. How do they construct their identities in relation to their HL and culture?

Ethnic Identity Development and Hybridity

The term "identity" refers to our sense of who we are and our relationship to the social world. Identity is not singular and static, but rather multiple, complex, and evolving over time (Kanno, 2003; Norton, 2013). Within the umbrella term "identity," I have focused on ethnic identity because it has particular relevance for adolescents from immigrant backgrounds (Phinney et al., 2001) and is closely related to HL development (Kim, 2007; Lee & Kim, 2008). In this study, I have adopted Phinney's concept of ethnic identity as "a subjective sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the feelings and attitudes that accompany this sense of group membership" (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 136). Although the search for ethnic identity is a complex journey for all, it can be particularly difficult for the offspring of immigrant families who are living in two cultures—the home culture and the mainstream American culture.

A question that has remained unanswered is whether it is possible for bilingual adolescents to hold membership of different cultural groups without being socially or psychologically marginalized. Bhabha (1994) refers to "third spaces" as the places where a process of embracing "hybridity" can take place. Dardner (1995) provides the following definition of "hybridity":

Hybridity here does not represent a relativist notion of culture, but instead challenges the global structures of domination which shape the lives of subordinate groups and creates a space for new formations of cultural identity to take hold (p. 13).

The notion of the “third space” and “hybridity” opens up possibilities for bilingual children of reaching a point in their lives where they can take on multiple, complex and fluid identities while drawing on different discourses and engaging in hybrid linguistic, cultural and social practices.

In discussing how Korean-American bilingual adolescents develop and negotiate their ethnic identity, I have adopted Tse’s (1999) model of ethnic identity development. She examined narratives of Asian-Americans regarding their attitudes and perceptions towards their heritage and majority languages. Tse (1999) proposed that Asian-Americans tend to undergo four major stages of identity development, transitioning from assimilative to additive modes over time. In Stage 1, ethnic unawareness, ethnic minorities are unconscious of their minority status due to limited contact with other ethnic groups. As they enter school and have subsequent involvement with various ethnic groups, they move into Stage 2, ethnic ambivalence/evasion. In this stage, they recognize their minority status and develop ambivalent or negative attitudes towards their own ethnic group. For this reason, they reject being identified with their own ethnic group and prefer to adopt the norms and behaviors of the dominant group. Stage 3, ethnic emergence, begins in adolescence or early adulthood, when ethnic minorities realize that it is difficult to fully become part of the dominant group. Finally, ethnic minorities undergo Stage 4, ethnic identity incorporation, in which they join the appropriate ethnic American group (e.g., Asian-Americans) and embrace themselves as part of their ethnic group. This model does not suggest that every bilingual adolescent undergoes all stages sequentially; rather, it outlines the general steps of ethnic identity development among children from dual cultural backgrounds.

The Study

The participants are two Korean-American bilingual high school students whose parents immigrated to the U.S. from South Korea. I have referred to the participants as Hana and Junsoo (pseudonyms). Hana was born and raised in Honolulu, Hawaii. At the time of data collection, Hana was in the tenth grade. Junsoo was born and raised in Oakland, California, and was in his last year of high school. Both Hana and Junsoo speak in Korean with their

parents who have very limited English proficiency. Hana acquired Korean literacy skills through attending a Korean community school for approximately ten years. Junsoo has studied the Korean language formally for over three years as part of the regular curriculum during his high school years. At the time of data collection, he was enrolled in a fourth-year (advanced level) Korean language course.

In terms of participant recruitment, I used a purposeful sampling approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) to recruit participants who had attained an advanced level of HL proficiency and could engage in an open conversation with me about HL- and identity-related issues. I first became acquainted with Hana at a Korean community school in Hawaii where I taught an intermediate-level Korean language course for American-born Korean students. She was a student of my colleague who taught an advanced-level Korean language course. I occasionally helped Hana when she had Korea-related questions and talked to her about her daily life at the HL school, which helped build friendly, trusting relationships with her prior to conducting an interview. I met Junsoo in a high school in San Francisco, California, which I visited for a week for classroom observations. He was one of the most active students in his advanced-level Korean language class, and he had a background of Korean heritage, which motivated me to learn more about his experiences in learning his HL. Junsoo was a very friendly and polite Korean student who showed me around his school and shared information on his interests, family, and San Francisco during my visit. As a migrant whose mother tongue is Korean, I also shared prior to the interview my personal background and experiences teaching Korean to HL students at an HL school and how these experiences motivated me to study HL learners' identity. Through these interactions, we thus got to know each other and built rapport, making it easier for Junsoo to share his experiences openly in the subsequent interview.

In this study, narrative inquiry was used to understand what conditions and factors made it possible for bilingual individuals to develop their HL skills and how they incorporated their bilingual and bicultural abilities into their sense of who they are. According to Pavlenko (2002), personal narratives are important for the field of language education, as they enable learners' and teachers' voices to be heard. She further claimed that, through narratives,

researchers could gain unique insights into “learners’ motivations, investments, struggles, losses and gains as well as into language ideologies that guide their learning trajectories” (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 214). As Pavlenko (2002) points out, narratives are largely influenced by social, cultural and historical factors as well as by the relationship between the storyteller and the interlocutor. Before the interviews were conducted, the researcher engaged in informal conversations with each participant about their life in general; this helped to build a rapport, thus making it easier for participants to openly share their experiences with me. Interviews were conducted with each participant for approximately two hours, the aim being to elicit information about their childhood experiences, HL maintenance and development, language use, attitudes towards the HL and the English language, experiences with social networks, community involvement, and identities. During the interviews, the participants were allowed to speak in both Korean and English.

The interview data were audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed qualitatively using an inductive thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The procedure started with initial coding, which involved becoming familiar with the dataset’s content and coding the data line-by-line by searching for specific data segments deemed relevant to the research questions. The second step entailed categorizing the codes which were related to each other in order to create larger categories. These categories were then organized into broader themes. A brief summary of the preliminary findings was given to the participants, who checked it for accuracy (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Findings

In this section, I discuss the participants’ HL-related experiences, including their reasons for HL maintenance, the role of HL in their lives and factors that contributed to their HL development. The participants were found to have positive attitudes towards HL use, maintenance and development which were largely influenced by their attitudes to the language of their parents, and they perceived the HL to be naturally connected to their cultural and ethnic identity. Attaining a level of competence in the HL, having grown up with sufficient opportunities for HL use both inside and outside the home, had a positive

impact on participants' communication and relationships with their families, their social interactions with other HL speakers, and their construction of positive bicultural identities.

The Role of HL in Korean-American Adolescents' Lives

When asked to describe the reasons for their maintenance of the HL and its importance in their lives, Hana and Junsoo responded that they have learned the Korean language because it is part of their heritage. They reported that they have always spoken in Korean with their parents at home and in public. Hana viewed Korean as a vital part of herself; developing HL skills gave her a sense of completeness. Hana stated:

Knowing and speaking the Korean language is so important to me, because it is my background, it is my culture. It is important to know about my own culture. If I don't, it's like I don't know a part of myself. I don't get to fully understand who I am and where I am from.

The HL played a significant role in enabling Hana to be connected to her roots and to learn about her cultural heritage.

An analysis of the participants' narratives showed that the HL was associated with family values and cultural affiliations. Hana mentioned that improving her ability to speak the HL was particularly important because of her strong desires for communicating effectively and building a solid relationship with her parents. Despite her high proficiency in the HL, Hana's effort to improve her Korean was never-ending as she increasingly encountered challenges in communicating with her parents, as she got older, such as expressing her emotions more deeply. Hana reported:

My parents are first generation, so they don't speak English. So, in order to communicate with them, I need to use Korean ... I'm very attached to my mom. I talk to her a lot. I tell her almost everything that's going on in my life. It's hard to communicate if you don't know Korean, right? That's why I want to continue improving my Korean, 'cause right now, it is very hard for me to communicate with my mom, about my feelings and stuff. So, I would like to learn more about [how to

express my feelings] so that I can hopefully have an easier time communicating with my parents.

Hana made an effort to practice Korean with her parents at home:

It is important to practice what you have learned in school. What you are learning in school is usage—how to say things. Some kids learn Korean at Saturday school, but when they go home, they speak English to their parents. They don't practice. They may know a lot, but they don't apply it to real life. Their ability to speak Korean is different from that of people who practice it every day. I always speak Korean at home, and I make sure I practice what I learn with my parents.

Hana stressed the importance of utilizing what she has learned in class to develop a high level of proficiency in the HL.

In discussing the reasons for learning Korean, Junsoo also emphasized the crucial role of his HL in strengthening a bond with his parents. According to him, speaking the language of his parents is an inherent responsibility. Through communicating with his mother in Korean, Junsoo transmitted a sense of family intimacy and felt a high sense of self-esteem and satisfaction, as evidenced below.

My parents are from Korea. I'm their son. Of course, I should speak Korean. It's very important to communicate with your parents, right? I communicate a lot with my mom because I can speak Korean. I express my feelings to her by saying 'I love you, mom' in Korean. I feel good about myself.

Junsoo's mother's strong desire for preserving her HL and passing it down to her son and future generations also contributed to Junsoo's positive attitudes towards maintaining and improving his HL.

My mom said 'Junsoo, you're Korean. You have to carry the Korean language with you until you die.' My mom also stressed that I must teach Korean to my own children in the future. I think the reason is because, based on her experiences living in the U.S., a lot of children in my generation cannot speak Korean.

The HL serves not only as a tool that connects the Korean–American bilingual adolescents to their parents, but also as a bridge between English-speaking society and their parents. Hana and Junsoo mentioned that their immigrant parents have often worked long hours and have not had the same time and opportunities as themselves to learn English. Thus, both Hana and Junsoo have had much experience of translating and interpreting written and face-to-face communication from English to Korean for their parents, in a variety of contexts, including when dealing with bills, attending doctor’s visits, and communicating with their teachers and the teachers of their siblings. According to Cho (2000), Korean–American bilingual adolescents can build a trusting relationship with their parents through the process of “language brokering”, which is “an act of interpreting or translating a language for another” (p. 346). Hana acknowledged the equal importance of her English and Korean abilities in her life, because she needed to speak two languages fluently in order to help her parents interact with English-speaking individuals. She reflected on her experience:

Sometimes in everyday life, there are problems; like when something’s wrong with the bills, I have to help my mom. Usually it’s about my sister. I have a younger sister, and when there are parent-teacher conferences, and the teacher has to tell my mom how my sister is doing [in school], I need to translate for her. That’s why it is important to learn both [Korean and English]. Both are equally important to me.

Junsoo attributed his success in attaining a high level of proficiency in Korean to his translating and interpreting experiences. Playing the role of a language broker to his parents provided him with opportunities to utilize his bilingual skills in a variety of social contexts beyond his comfort zone and helped him to further improve his HL skills, such as expanding his Korean vocabulary and range of expressions. He stated:

My parents cannot speak English at all. My father knows a little though. Since I was very little, I have had to translate things for my parents. When my mom visited the doctor, even if I was five years old, I had to explain to my mom what the doctor was saying in Korean. That’s how I improved my Korean. If there were documents that my mom couldn’t understand, like tax forms, I had to help her with that. Looking back, translating for

my parents played an important role. It helped me to become better at Korean.

The eldest children in immigrant families tend to experience more of the burdens—as well as the potential benefits—of language brokering. While their experiences of language brokering might have given Junsoo and Hana a sense of being heavily burdened (since language brokering involves high stress situations), it is evident that the same experiences resulted in increased levels of competence in their HL, closeness to the family, and responsibility as cultural and linguistic mediators.

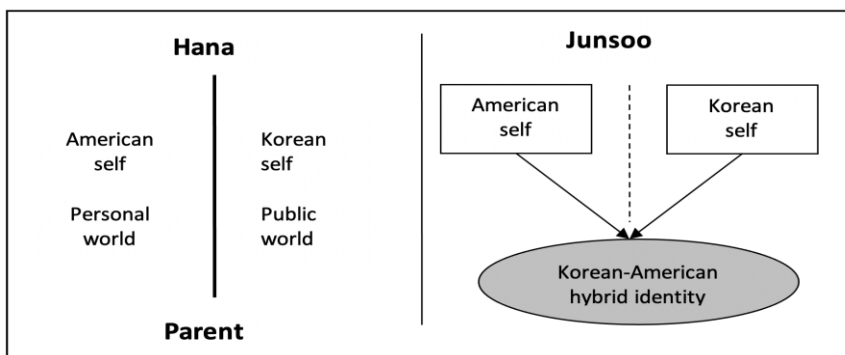
Identity Construction

In this section, I discuss how the participants constructed their identities in relation to their HL and culture. I particularly focus on the participants' identity development by describing the different processes by which Hana and Junsoo developed their ethnic identities, and the specific ways in which they made sense of their HL and cultural learning as integral elements of their identities. The narratives demonstrate that their identity is not static but rather dynamic, ever-changing and complex, and that identity development is a process resulting from interactions with others and the environment.

Hana: Dual Identities.

Figure 1

Different Processes of Identity Construction



The HL and culture played a crucial role in both participants' identity construction; however, the processes of their identity formation were different. As seen in Figure 1 above, Hana formed her dual cultural identities by creating and maintaining a cultural boundary, whereas Junsoo tried to integrate two cultural characteristics into building his sense of self. For example, while Hana reported speaking exclusively in Korean with her parents and Korean community members, she used English with her friends, peers and schoolteachers. She elaborates on her dual identities below:

I have both American and Korean styles. For example, when I'm in school or when I hang out with my friends, I'm mostly American, but when I'm at home, when I'm with my parents and other family members, I'm very Korean.

My friends are very Americanized. I am as well when I'm around them... I'm more Korean than they are, but I'm no less American. It does not make me become less American. People see me as both. Maybe, when it comes to style and culture, I'm more American. More like dress sense and personality—how I act towards others.

Based on Hana's interview data, the reason why she tried to maintain separate facets of her identity and delineate the two different social contexts was to avoid having a clash of identities.

Hana reported having experienced communication problems with her mother because of different cultural values between her parents and herself. Hana stated:

Most of the problems I have with my parents arise from cultural differences. I think Korean parents are not aware of American culture. For example, all of my friends wear flip-flops. But, my mom said Korean people don't like me wearing them. In Hawaii, everyone wears them, right? All of our cultural problems are about small things and my parents don't understand that.

As shown by Hana's interview extract, HL learners living in two different cultures can encounter conflicting beliefs and assumptions about who they are and where they belong to. They may harbor inner tensions due to different expectations of linguistic competence, identities, and their cultural and linguistic preferences, as well as struggles with issues of membership in both

the HL and the host societies. In the case of Hana, her parents' cultural values and background conflicted with her cultural orientation. Developing dual identities was one way for Hana to deal with these issues.

Junsoo: Hybrid Identity. The notion of fluid and evolving identities is substantiated by Junsoo's case. He transitioned from ethnic ambivalence to ethnic emergence as he reached adolescence. According to Junsoo, during his childhood, he had negative feelings towards using and learning his HL due to his parents' foreign accents and Korean regional dialects. Junsoo's HL learning process revealed "confusion and struggle with language authorities such as standard forms of speaking and writing" (Jo, 2001, p. 39). This negative perception towards his HL prevented him from developing a positive Korean ethnic identity.

When I was very young, my mom used to emphasize that I'm Korean. However, I replied to her 'I'm not Korean, I'm American'. At that time, I didn't like the Korean language. When my mom spoke Korean to me, she pronounced things in a funny way, in a Korean way. For example, she says 'copi' instead of 'coffee'. I hated hearing that sound. I told my mom 'it's not COPI. Say COFFEE'. I guess that was the reason why I didn't like the Korean language.

My mom is from Busan, Korea. She spoke Busan dialect to me. When I was young, I also spoke Busan dialect ... Back then, I hated Korean because it sounded very awkward. My dad is from a different place. Somewhere on Jeju Island. The mixture of my mom's and my dad's dialects sounded very confusing. The sounds were inconsistent and the vocabulary was different too. So, I asked my dad 'can you please speak normal Korean?'

However, Junsoo's attitude towards the Korean language changed dramatically after he entered a high school located in the culturally diverse community of San Francisco, away from his original hometown of Oakland. His positive view of his HL was influenced by several significant social factors, such as moving to an ethnically diverse community with a higher number of Asian ethnic groups, having sufficient interaction with peers of the same ethnicity, and taking Korean language courses with other ethnic peers in school. Junsoo related how he developed his Korean identity during adolescence:

Before I moved to San Francisco, I used to go to school in Oakland. The majority of students in my elementary and middle schools were African-American students. I didn't see many Korean students there. I had only one Korean friend whose name was Se-jin. Then I came to this high school. I was recruited by this school. Since moving here, I have felt comfortable attending school. I have many Korean friends now as well as other Asian friends. By interacting with them, I have come to realize that I'm Korean.

There were not many places teaching Korean where I grew up. There were no Korean courses in my elementary and middle schools. This school is the only one I know. If you go to church, you can learn Korean, but I don't go to church often. After entering this high school, I was told to choose a foreign language to learn. There were many options, including Japanese and Chinese, but I decided to take Korean so that I can learn how to write and read and to enhance my vocabulary.

While Hana seemed to construct binary Korean and American identities, Junsoo created a third space where his Korean and American cultures and languages can be merged and interwoven. Hana's Korean language use and identity development were highly dependent on her interaction with her parents; however, Junsoo developed his unique ethnic identity by interacting with both Korean and non-Korean peers.

For example, Junsoo has been learning the HL with a large group of non-Korean students in the classroom setting for over three years. Socializing with non-Korean peers while learning the Korean language has helped Junsoo improve and appreciate his HL skills. Junsoo stated that his non-Korean ethnic peers consider him a language resource and have asked him for help on many occasions. These experiences have inspired him to volunteer to tutor Korean to non-Korean students regularly in his school. By teaching non-Korean friends his HL, Junsoo has become an expert in the language and gained a sense of pride and empowerment. Teaching his HL to non-Korean students has created a unique place for him to embrace hybrid language practices (e.g., Kang, 2013; Jo, 2001). Junsoo explained:

It's good to practice Korean with others. I think it's better than learning alone. I have several friends who come to ask me for help. I tutor several people. You know the boy who just came by and said hello? He is Chinese, and I help him with his Korean.

When I tutor, I try to explain things in a simple and creative way using my knowledge of English. It's hard to teach Korean letters, but, for example, if I tell my friends the Korean letter 'ㄱ' has an equivalent sound to the English 'g', then they just get it right away. Also, the Korean letter "ㅈ" is very tricky, it's easy to misspell it. So, I tell my friend to remember it as an English "H". By helping others, I learn a lot. I get to find out areas of my knowledge which are lacking. I can study more about them.

In addition, Junsoo reported that he has actively participated in the Korean club in his high school. This Korean club was established by parents, staff and students who were interested in promoting the study of Korean language and culture through various academic and social activities. Junsoo mentioned that he has participated in Korean cultural activities with other members and has regularly attended the meetings in order to keep up to date with information on Korean cultural and social issues. Therefore, the Korean club has played a significant role in affirming the uniqueness of his own culture and shaping his positive opinions towards his HL and culture. The Korean club creates a comfortable environment for both Korean and non-Korean members to co-participate and promote mutual understanding and cultural exchange, as he describes below:

We have a Korean club in our school. This Korean club has unique characteristics. We have many Korean members, but the majority of our members are from non-Korean ethnic backgrounds, and the president of our club is a student of Chinese decent. We meet once every other week. We learn about the Korean language, history and culture. For example, we watch Korean movies and have follow-up discussions. We also do a lot of cultural activities to celebrate Korean food, games and traditional holidays. Last week, several Korean parents came to our school to teach us how to make the Korean dish Kimbap [Korean seaweed rice rolls]. Many parents, teachers and students participated. There was no extra room in the classroom. It was a really fun and meaningful experience.

Discussion

This study examined HL use and identity construction among two Korean-American bilingual adolescents who have acquired a high level of

proficiency in the HL. There have been a number of studies in the field of HL education investigating Korean-American bilinguals' reasons for studying the HL, many of which relate to communication with family and community (e.g., Cho, 2000; Kang, 2013; Kim, 2006; Kim, 2020; Lee, 2002; Lee & Kim, 2008; Park & Choi, 2022; Park & Chung, 2022; Shin, 2005). Similarly, the participants in this study have learned their HL in order to more effectively communicate with their families and to maintain their cultural heritage and construct their identities as Korean. Several factors have contributed to the participants' successful HL development. These factors include (1) the Korean-American adolescents' strong desires for building a solid relationship with their parents, (2) their long-term experiences of translating and interpreting for their parents, (3) their extensive use of their HL in various social settings, including formal contexts (e.g., Korean language classrooms), and (4) their parents' ongoing support and positive attitude towards preserving their HL and passing it down to their children.

An analysis of the interview narratives highlighted several key features in the identity development of the two Korean-American bilingual adolescents. First, they experienced emerging and multiple identities as they moved from childhood to adolescence (Kanno, 2003; Shin, 2005). Their ethnic identities were co-constructed and reshaped over time not only by their individual choices but also by various sociocultural factors—the environment, their surroundings, and their relationships with others. Second, the participants' HL and culture were core elements of their identities (Lee, 2002). The high level of HL proficiency of one of the participants played a crucial role in understanding the heritage culture and its people, developing a strong sense of self, and building social relationships with members of the HL and mainstream communities (Cho, 2000). Third, the participants' narratives have given insights into cultural conflicts that HL learners may experience with their parents due to different expectations and cultural values between the home environment and mainstream society.

The findings demonstrated that although both participants agreed that their HL and culture were fundamental parts of their identities, the process of forming an identity was different. As seen in the participants' narratives, Hana developed her dual cultural identities by maintaining cultural boundaries and

group differentiation whereas Junsoo tried to combine two cultural characteristics in creating a new self. Junsoo's case is similar to other young Korean-American adults in Kim's (2020) study who recreated new and fluid ethnic identities and were engaged with their "possible selves" through drawing on their HL. Hana seemed to have invested in dual identities—Korean and American—which she would assume in the private and public spheres of her life, respectively. She seemed to have clear ideas regarding when, where and with whom she can use and practice her two languages and cultures. For her, Korean and American languages and cultures were mutually exclusive and served different roles and functions. On the other hand, Junsoo constructed a hybrid identity by creating and using unique "third space" (Bhabha, 1994) for him to connect with his heritage and embrace hybrid language and cultural practices.

The findings offer practical implications. As previous research (e.g., Kim, 2020) and this study have shown, the HL plays a critical role in HL speakers' identity construction and allows for the construction of the third space and positive and hybrid ethnic identities, thereby suggesting the importance of bi/multilingual approaches to HL speakers' identity. In order to facilitate their own identity formation and lessen the inner conflicts and tensions in searching for a comfortable sense of self, bilingual adolescents should be encouraged and supported to take ownership of their bicultural and bilingual knowledge and become active agents in reinventing their sense of self. Providing spaces for creating a hybrid identity (Jo, 2001; Kang, 2013; Kim, 2021) in educational settings can be a first step towards achieving this goal. In order to assist students in this process, it is important for immigrant parents and teachers to value children's bilingual and bicultural knowledge and to provide room for more creative and inclusive hybrid language and cultural practices (Davis et al., 2005). For instance, teachers can allow students to discover different genres of writing wherein bilingual children's two languages can be utilized to create a hybrid text. Exposing students to Asian-American works of literature which present role models of Asian-American descent for children and offer a forum for open discussion could also be helpful. In addition, teachers and school administrators may consider incorporating students' diverse cultures into the school curriculum by integrating Asian-American

diasporic experiences and identities into cultural studies courses. This would help not only Asian-American students but also non-Asian mainstream students to improve their understanding of the historical and contemporary experiences of Asian Americans who make up a large share of the overall population.

Conclusion

The study focused on the processes of identity development and role of HL in the lives of two Korean-American bilingual adolescents who have acquired a high level of proficiency in the HL. In the light of the study, future studies may consider HL learning and identity among diverse HL learner groups. The two participants described in this study are exceptional learners who have achieved a high degree of proficiency in the HL through utilizing various resources available in the diasporic environments where they grew up. Hawaii and San Francisco, where Korean and Asian-American communities are well established, served as uniquely effective environments for HL learning and identity development. The participants had relatively easy access to the Korean communities, peer social networks, and informal and formal Korean language instruction at home and in community-based schools and mainstream schools. All of these resources helped each participant construct and re-construct their identities in relation to their HL and heritage culture. As the experiences discussed here may not be representative of HL learners' lives in general, future studies should extend this line of narrative research by focusing on HL learners with different backgrounds, language abilities and language attitudes. Such efforts will contribute to offering a more in-depth analysis of the complex connection between HL and identity, and a more nuanced understanding of HL learners' identity formation.

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**PAVELDĖTOSIOS KALBOS VARTOJIMAS IR TAPATYBĖS
KŪRIMAS: DVIEJŲ DVGUBOS PILIETYBĖS DVIKALBIŲ
KORĖJIEČIŲ–AMERIKIEČIŲ PAAUGLIŲ TYRIMAS**

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamas dviejų dvigubą pilietybę turinčių dvikalbių korėjiečių–amerikiečių paauglių, įgijusių aukštą kalbų mokėjimo lygį, paveldėtosios kalbos vartojimas ir tapatybės kūrimas. Interviu pasakojimų analizė parodė, kad aukštas jų paveldėtosios kalbos mokėjimo lygis atliko lemiamą vaidmenį suprantant paveldo kultūrą ir jos žmones, kuriant stiprų savęs suvokimą ir užmezgant socialinius santykius su paveldėtosios kalbos ir pagrindinės bendruomenės nariais. Be to, nustatyta, kad jų etninės tapatybės kaitai ir perkūrimui ilgainiui įtakos turėjo ne tik asmeniniai pasirinkimai, bet ir įvairūs sociokultūriniai veiksniai – aplinka, gyvenamoji vieta ir santykiai su kitais asmenimis. Tačiau nors abi tyrimo dalyvės sutiko, kad jų paveldėtoji kalba ir kultūra yra esminės jų tapatybės dalys, kiekvienos dalyvės tapatybę formavusios jėgos ir procesai buvo skirtingi. Viena tyrimo dalyvė savo dvigubą tapatybę kūrė išlaikydama kultūrinės ribas ir grupinę diferenciaciją. Kita tyrimo dalyvė, kurdama naująjį „aš“, stengėsi sujungti abiejų šalių kultūrinės charakteristikas: kurdama savo dvigubą tapatybę – išlaikyti korėjietės tapatybę privataus gyvenimo sferoje, o amerikietės tapatybę – viešojoje gyvenimo sferoje. Gauti rezultatai atskleidžia sudėtingą dvikalbių paauglių tapatybės kūrimo procesą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: korėjiečių ir amerikiečių dvikalbiai paaugliai; korėjiečių kalba; identitetas; hibridiškumas.

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INTENTIONALITY AND ADAPTABILITY IN FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

Annotation. Heritage language maintenance is affected by many different factors. Particularly for families in subtractive bilingual environments, it is crucial to have a well-defined family language policy (FLP). Even with an established FLP, major disruptions and changes, as well as smaller shifts in families' lives, can significantly affect children's multilingual development and threaten heritage language maintenance. These shifts can be sudden or gradual. This study focuses on the importance of bringing the need for a FLP into multilingual families' awareness and explores the challenges of sustaining it. More specifically, this study uses two parents' reflections regarding their own families' language policies to gain a better understanding of the challenges and to make recommendations to other families. It is guided by the following questions: To what extent are parents aware of their family's multilingual habits and policies? How can parents support their children's heritage language development in the face of significant disruptions or even subtle life changes? Two linguists raising multilingual children in different contexts agreed to become accountability partners to gain a better understanding of their own dynamic situations and support each other to become more intentional in their family multilingual development. Data were collected over a six-month period. Findings suggest that intentionality increased due to the accountability partnership. Furthermore, this study challenged several of the researchers' assumptions, particularly regarding the amount of heritage language spoken, how transitions affect the family, what it takes for linguistic changes to occur, and the ease of tracking one's own family's linguistic habits. This study suggests that having a FLP is not sufficient, but that it requires periodic updating, and changes need to be implemented to match the evolving plan.

Keywords: disruptions; family language policy; heritage language; intentionality; minority language; multilingual parent reflections.

Introduction

Family Language Policy (FLP) refers to how a family perceives and manages language use. It takes a bottom-up approach to planning and includes ideologies, goals, practices, and outcomes related to language use at the micro, family-level (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). In today's global world, where political, social, and economic forces push families to move from one country to another, top-down approaches to heritage language maintenance are not

necessarily in line with the FLPs of individual families. Oftentimes, the heritage language(s) of multilingual families is/are simply not – or barely – present in their host society. As a result, and because displacement inevitably causes changes in family dynamics, these families may be confronted with new choices to make and changes to implement in their FLPs.

The focus of this paper is on family language policy and the role of parents' intentional observations and reflections about their families' language habits and patterns. Specifically, this article presents a case study on the efforts made by two multilingual families to maintain the use of a minority language (i.e., a language that is not represented in the family's social environment) by becoming more aware, intentional, and responsive in their language choices as they adapt to new family dynamics.

Review of Literature

Families raising their children multilingually are confronted with decisions regarding the language(s) they use at home and in various family settings. Such decisions, should they be taken consciously or not, shape their FLP, affecting both the children and the family as a whole (Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020). In the past two decades, researchers interested in studying the beliefs, practices, and management efforts associated with the languages present within a family have adapted Spolsky's (2004, 2012) language policy framework to the family domain (King et. al, 2008; Spolsky 2004) and thereby bridged a gap between language policy and child language acquisition. This work revealed that FLPs can range from strategically planned policies to highly flexible ones (Caldas, 2012). Caldas notes in this respect that "somewhere in between are found the pragmatically inspired language strategies employed by families who are confronted with real choices that have real consequences for their children" (p. 352).

Research on the effects of FLP on child language development has produced a large body of evidence indicating that practices and management efforts connected to language exposure are crucial to linguistic outcomes. Among other factors, higher quality or quantity of input in the target language has been associated with earlier and better language acquisition (Blom, 2010;

Hoff et al., 2012; Paradis, 2011; Place & Hoff, 2011; Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010). Without questioning the crucial role of input in multilingual acquisition, studies have revealed, however, that input in the target language is not always sufficient for children to be able to regularly use their minority language. Research by De Houwer (2007), for instance, suggests that parental attitudes and discursive strategies can affect children's language use (De Houwer, 1999; 2007). In her 2007 study, the questionnaire data collected in 1,899 families in which at least one of the parents spoke a language other than the majority language (i.e., Dutch) revealed that the children did not necessarily use their minority language even when the parents used the "one parent-one language" strategy.

Research in FLP by Lanza (1992; 1997; 2001) has indeed shown that parental discursive strategies and management efforts also have a significant influence on their children's active bilingualism and tendency to codeswitch. Since then, many studies have found corroborating evidence that the way parents negotiate language use with their children can significantly affect language use and development (Hollebeke et al., 2020).

Researchers have also explored socio-emotional effects of FLP on linguistic well-being (i.e., the positive and negative emotions of both parents and children regarding language acquisition) and general socio-emotional well-being (i.e., the emotions related to family relationships, identity issues, and the feelings pertaining to general well-being, as defined in Hollebeke et al. (2020)). Findings from these studies concur to indicate a positive correlation between FLP, linguistic well-being, and overall well-being. Specifically, several studies revealed a link between heritage language loss, negative feelings towards the heritage language and culture, and deterioration of family relationships (Cummins, 2001; Kouritzin, 1999; Parks, 2013). Conversely, other studies indicate a link between the preservation of the heritage language and congruent language use and proficiency in the family, positive emotions towards cultural values, and family cohesion (Okita 2002; Schwartz, & Verschik 2013; Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 2000).

Another aspect to keep in mind in the context of family language policy and multilingual development is its dynamism. There are a number of ways

that a family's changing situation can have an effect on its linguistic makeup.

One predictable and significant change that families deal with is the children's transition from home to being immersed in the majority language through schooling. Even families with a well-developed language plan can struggle to maintain the minority language due to the children's sudden strong preference for the majority language of their schooling. In a study by Surrain (2021) on Spanish-speaking families in the United States, once children started preschool in an English-speaking environment, changes were observed in the families' attitudes and beliefs, as well as responses to the children's preference for English. Whether sudden or anticipated, predictable or not, these changes and disruptions are identifiable. However, it does not often take much of a change or disruption for the long-term effects on the language development to be significant. It is not hard to get caught up in the busyness of life and operate from a place of default, routine, and staying with the familiar. Changes can be gradual, and it is perhaps when shifts in the family dynamic are small that awareness, intentionality, and attention to family language policy need to be in constant review.

Before moving to the next section in the paper, we would do well to address the concept of "success" in family language policy. While many families have a strong desire to pass on their heritage language and culture, parents often feel pressure to meet other people's expectations that their children attain a certain level of proficiency or reach certain benchmarks. When the attention shifts from what is realistic in the family at a given time to what other people expect, the well-being of the family can be negatively affected. It is our hope that with this study, we are transparent about the difficulties involved in maintaining a heritage language and that we invite parents to a place of confidence. From such a place, they can better make the right decisions in their families yet feel that they have the freedom to adapt as needed. Smith-Christmas et al. (2019) advocate for a holistic approach to family well-being rather than measuring success by the children's linguistic output.

The purpose of this study was to place two families' FLP through the process of intentionality and adaptability to develop best practices that encourage heritage language maintenance. This study was guided by

the following research questions: To what extent are parents aware of their family multilingual habits and policies? How can parents support their children's heritage language development in the face of significant disruptions or even subtle life changes?

Methodology

This study was conducted by two linguists, one in Ireland, the parent of two French-Italian-English trilingual children, and one in the United States, the parent of three Hungarian-English bilingual children. They agreed to put themselves in the center of this study in order to track their own habits, behaviors, and potential challenges.

Family Profiles

In Family 1, the mother grew up monolingually in France. She moved to the United States (US) in 2013 to complete her Ph.D. in French/Second Language Acquisition. In addition to French and English, she also speaks fluent Italian, which is the native language of the father. He grew up monolingually in Italy and also moved to the US in 2013 to complete his Ph.D. In addition to Italian, Chinese, and English, he also speaks fluent French. The couple lived in the US for 8 years before moving to Italy in December 2020 and to Ireland in September 2022. Their children are E and I. E, a boy, was 6 years, 5 months at the time of the study and fluent in French, Italian, and English. He was born in the U.S., moved to Italy in winter of 2020 at age 4 years, 4 months, and then moved to Ireland in September 2022 at age 6 years, 1 month. I is a little girl who was 2 years, 3 months at the beginning of the study, understood French and Italian equally well, and used a mix of French and Italian words. (Due to the stage of her language development and similarities between French and Italian, it was often difficult to tell for sure which language she was using). She was born in the U.S., moved to Italy when she was 2 months old, and then moved to Ireland in January of 2023 at age 2 years, 3 months. This was also the time she started attending daycare in English.

The family mostly uses a mix of the “one-parent-one-language” approach (OPOL) – where each parent speaks their own language with the children – and the “time-and-place” approach – where language use depends on the time and place of the interaction. Specifically, within the family, the mother speaks and reads consistently in French to the children, and the father speaks and reads consistently in Italian to them. However, when engaged in a conversation with relatives or friends, the parents tend to address their children in the majority language as it feels more socially appropriate. The children communicate with each other in French and Italian. During their time in the U.S. and since their arrival in Ireland, English has had the status of community language (as well as daycare/school language). In the U.S., French and Italian were fairly evenly distributed as home languages. E started being exposed to English consistently at age 2 when he started daycare. By the time he was 2 years, 6 months old, he mastered the three languages without the clear dominance of one or the other. However, during the family’s 18-month stay in Italy, Italian took on a more dominant role compared to French, which the parents attribute to E attending an Italian preschool and speaking Italian daily, as well as an increase in social interactions where it felt more appropriate to the mother to address her children in Italian. In the summer of 2022, while visiting family in France, the mother noticed that E’s vocabulary choices, though understandable, sometimes drew more attention from family members than she would have liked. It also seemed that E lacked some vocabulary associated with collective play. While these initial lexical mismatches appeared to have faded two weeks later, this trip made her wonder whether she was still doing enough to support her children’s language development or whether French was starting to drift. The intention discussed in this study is the family’s desire to increase the children’s proficiency level and linguistic well-being in French by enhancing the amount of input and conversations in that language.

In Family 2, the mother grew up in a Hungarian-Romanian bilingual household in Romania. She attended a German preschool and school and moved to the U.S. in 2000 to get her Ph.D. in Linguistics/SLA. She has native or near-native knowledge of Romanian, Hungarian, English, and German. The father grew up monolingually in the United States. He speaks fluent

English, German, Romanian, and French and has limited knowledge of Hungarian. Their children are H (female, age 14 years, 10 months at the beginning of the study), D (male, age 13 years, 1 month at the beginning of the study), and L (male, age 10 years, 9 months at the beginning of the study). All three children were born in the United States, and the family lived in Romania for one year (2016-2017) where the children attended a Hungarian school. The family uses the OPOL approach, where the mother consistently speaks Hungarian with the children and the father uses English with them. It is important to note that both mother and children code-switch with English when they speak to each other. With the exception of the year in Romania, the community language has been English, and the dominant language of all three children has almost always been English. Nevertheless, the family found that the transition from the school year to summer can cause a notable change, enough to affect the family's life rhythm and to affect the children's language use. Another major factor in the family linguistic dynamics is the children's transition to teenage years and increased independence. The intention for this study is the family's desire to maintain Hungarian as a heritage language and maintain the children's proficiency level and comfort with speaking Hungarian.

Instruments

The data collection included keeping a shared online journal, monthly meetings, and regular assessment of language development. Data were collected over a six-month period.

The shared journal. The shared journal was initially a google doc, but as the linguist accountability partners started entering information, the format of the document was perceived to be too restrictive. They switched to Google Sheets. The intention set at the beginning of the data collection period was to start by entering information into the shared document daily. However, both linguist parents found it challenging at first to enter information regularly. It became easier after about three weeks. During the second meeting, they discussed the challenge of remembering and committing to entering information on a regular basis, and they decided to switch to a format that was

better suited for this journaling work. There was no outside time limit for how long they were going to journal. There was also no prescriptive or expected way that the shared journal was going to be used.

Monthly meetings. The monthly meetings took place over Zoom and were scheduled roughly once per month. The meetings served the purpose of discussing the logistics of the accountability system, reporting about the researchers' respective experiences, and giving each other support, feedback, and suggestions for the upcoming weeks.

Reflections. The two linguists took time between meetings and jotted down reflective notes based on patterns noticed in the journal and changes or lack of change in family habits. These reflections were recorded in the shared journal on a weekly basis.

Results

By the end of May, there were 35 reflection entries in the journal. Between January and June, there were twelve Zoom meetings, averaging one hour per meeting. As the journaling progressed and monthly meetings took place, the following system emerged: tracking, reflection, planning, implementation. The initial phase of journaling was dedicated to tracking what was happening in the two families. This tracking exercise served the purpose of mapping language use. While the tracking continued for the duration of the study, after three to four weeks, patterns were becoming noticeable, and the linguists moved into the reflection phase. Once, through these reflections, it became clearer what was occurring, they transitioned to the planning phase. Lastly, they implemented the changes that addressed some of the issues noticed.

Both researchers found that, despite their motivation as mothers and linguists, recording daily was challenging, since they had to maintain their work mindset, or at least take on the role of an observer, while engaged in family interactions. They were also both surprised by how difficult it was to develop the habit of recording in the shared journal. The prospect of an upcoming Zoom meeting, which involved an interaction and also implied a deadline, served as

a useful reminder and motivation for the researchers-mothers to continue their efforts. They switched to Google Sheets after the first three weeks and their first check-in on Zoom, as this tool appeared to allow for more clarity and flexibility in the organization of their notes. In what follows, we present the main realizations, adaptation efforts, challenges, and rewards emerging from the researchers' notes and discussions as they tracked, reflected upon, planned, and implemented changes in their FLP.

Realizations, adaptation efforts, challenges, and rewards in Family 1

The initial tracking of Family 1's language use revealed that the number of interactions in French within the family was quite small, except for moments during the day when the mother was alone with one of the children on their way from/to school and daycare. This confirmed the drift the mother had started to fear during the family's trip the previous summer, upon which, caught up in the business of moving and helping E adapt to schooling in English again, she had not acted. Beyond this realization, what surprised the linguist-mother most was the high frequency of French-Italian code-switching in the family's interactions, and especially how difficult it had become for her to not switch to Italian as soon as the father was present. Lastly, she noticed that E's vocabulary choices in French often involved a homonym to the Italian equivalent, where a different word would have been more contextually appropriate (e.g., E would say "*c'est similaire*" ("it is similar") where "*c'est pareil*" ("it is the same") would be considered a better choice). Because this amount of code-switching appeared to be detrimental to the use of French in the family, the parents decided to become more intentional about creating an opportunity for all of them to speak French, which materialized into the commitment to try to speak only French at the dinner table. While the idea initially came from the mother, the father was very enthusiastic about it, as he saw this "dinner in French" as an opportunity not only to support the children's multilingualism but also as an investment for their long term linguistic, socioeconomic, and general well-being on the long term. Lastly, this was also an opportunity to further improve his fluency in French.

The initiative was explained to the children, who seemed to immediately accept it. In practice, however, the children displayed some forms of resistance to interacting in French with the father over the first three weeks that the “dinner in French” was implemented. Used to the OPOL approach, I would sometimes cover her ears and either show amusement or clear annoyance when addressed in French by her father. E did not have the same reaction to his father’s language switch. However, he disliked having to use French when specifically addressing his father (and not the entire family) to talk about what he appeared to consider a father-and-son topic, and when evoking memories created either with his father exclusively or when in Italy. The mother too, despite her motivation, struggled to consistently use French, especially when addressing the father, or after a longer workday. Staying mindful of which language she was using and refraining from code-switching was quite unnatural to her, and required a considerable effort. Along with this effort came a little bit of frustration when she acknowledged her struggles in speaking her own language. Interestingly, the family member displaying the greatest ease to adapt was the father. He seemed to adjust very well to the new FLP and was often the first to enforce it. The only difficulties he seemed to encounter were when evoking childhood memories in Italy and talking about specific Italian dishes. He was thus somewhat surprised, and occasionally slightly irritated to see the mother struggling more than himself.

Because the family found it particularly unnatural to maintain the entire conversation in French when eating a typically Italian meal, the parents decided to alter their plan: the family could speak Italian when eating the corresponding cuisine. This occurred perhaps once a week. They also decided to not pay particular attention to their language use on one additional weekly occasion: the one weekday when the mother would come home particularly late, and everyone was more tired. Lastly, they decided to allow occasional, brief father-and-son side conversations in Italian when talking about people or events directly related to an Italian context. In other words, the plan was adapted to the needs of the family and what made sense for them according to their lifestyle and life experience, so that French would be the language used five nights per week, about 95% of the time.

With the family’s continuous efforts, the difficulties encountered by

the mother and the children subsided gradually. After about three weeks, I stopped resisting being addressed in French by her father. She also started saying more and more words in French. While we suspect that the “dinner in French” might have contributed to her French development, we acknowledge that her progress could be related to language development alone, considering her age (2 years, 3 months) at the beginning of the study. Interestingly, after about four months, I appeared to start playing with the expectation to speak French, using Italian on purpose to get attention after a request made in French was not immediately fulfilled. E too seemed to not only have accepted the new linguistic expectations, but to also have gained agency. About six weeks after the study started, E would regularly sit at the table, reminding everyone that “we speak French at the table” (even at breakfast or lunch) before starting his meal and when he would catch anyone (it was often the mother) code-switching. He appeared to become more aware of, and intentional in, his occasional code-switching, announcing in French that he wanted to say something in Italian to his dad. He also spontaneously suggested that the family keep using French for the entire evening. Furthermore, while E would occasionally have to ask how to say a specific word in French at the beginning of the implementation, this need seemed to have almost disappeared by the end. In addition, his vocabulary choices became more idiomatic. As for the mother, it gradually became much more natural for her to only speak her native language in this context. From six weeks after the beginning of the study, her notes show that she, her son, and her husband were catching her speaking in Italian less and less frequently, and her language mixing had diminished drastically after another six weeks. Lastly, while the father never obviously struggled to use only French, his speech became notably more fluent and accurate, especially in terms of vocabulary use and pronunciation.

Overall, the experience became more and more enjoyable and natural for the entire family, who unconsciously started to extend it to other mealtimes and after-dinner activities. It was also very rewarding for the parents to see that they succeeded in creating a context for their family to use French and to acknowledge the improvements in I, E and the father’s accuracy and fluency in French.

Realizations, adaptation efforts, challenges, and rewards in Family 2

As mentioned before, the first point of reflection was the struggle with keeping the daily journal. It was clear that the struggle was not one of lack of interest or motivation. It took acknowledging the fact that something was not working and the linguists giving themselves time to develop the habit that helped get over this struggle. Once the researchers changed the format from Google Docs to Google Sheets and several weeks passed by to allow for habit formation, it was much easier to keep up with the journal on a regular basis.

The initial tracking revealed to the mother in Family 2 that, though she never spoke English with her children, she was spending very little time speaking Hungarian to them. Coincidentally, around that time, she had several informal conversations about her family language policy and reported a fairly consistent OPOL approach. What became very obvious to her was that consistency has little meaning if there is not a significant amount of time spent in the heritage language. In their daily routine during the duration of the study, the father and mother took turns driving the children to and from school. As a reminder, the children in this family speak English to each other and only rarely (sometimes spontaneously, other times when encouraged) do they speak Hungarian to each other. If one child addresses a sibling in Hungarian, that sibling usually answers in Hungarian, but the conversation does not tend to last very long. During the drive, they generally spoke to each other and listened to music. The mother's questions inquiring about school did not lead to long conversations. When at home, the children either did homework, read, or played outside with friends. The one-on-one interactions were brief. At the dinner table, the conversations were predominantly in English between children and father. The mother was certainly not excluded from these conversations, since everybody knows that she has a native-like command of English. Therefore, the children did not repeat information in Hungarian for her, knowing that she can follow everything that is being said. When they addressed her directly, it was in Hungarian, and they did respond to her in Hungarian (not without elements of code-switching). The journal and raised

awareness about the family dynamics and language usage uncovered to the mother the reality that, while consistency was there, quantity of input and output were not. The times when a child would spend more time in Hungarian was when occasionally during the week – and more so during the weekend – one or two children would take walks or go grocery shopping with their mother.

This realization led to the mother becoming intentional about creating additional opportunities for Hungarian moments throughout the day. Without making interactions unnatural, she became more purposeful about conversations with the children during drives and dinner time, code-switched less and encouraged the children to do the same, increased the number of walks with two of the children, and created one-on-one times with the youngest. They tried a few other things: listening to Hungarian music in the car, listening/watching short Hungarian nursery rhymes at the dinner table, and introducing regular reading in Hungarian. The first two changes did not stick, but the one change that worked was setting aside time on Saturday mornings for Hungarian reading. The children's initial reaction was one of opposition. To them it felt like one more "chore" that they had to do on the weekend before they were "free to play." Among the three children, the oldest one resisted the least. The book the mother researcher chose to read was short and familiar to the children, so after the initial resistance, they quickly "accepted" the reading time. After one or two weeks of the mother reading, the oldest suggested that they be the ones reading. The family transitioned to having the children take turns reading, and they did that all the way until the data collection period ended. Also, as the family's summer break began, the Saturday reading changed into almost daily reading. The children's reading fluency increased over time, and on several occasions, they praised each other.

As a result of the mother's intentionality surrounding the usage of the heritage language in the family, several positive patterns could be observed. The children started speaking Hungarian more frequently to each other. The older ones sometimes take walks by themselves, and the daughter reported proudly one day "*Mámá, a tegnap mikor sétáltunk végig magyarul beszélünk!*" ("Mommy, yesterday when we walked, we only spoke Hungarian to each other!") They were also overheard saying to each other "*Beszélj magyarul!*" ("Speak Hungarian!"). The youngest child, whose vocabulary is the

smallest of the three and who mixes the most English words in his speech, started paying more attention to keeping the conversation as much as possible in Hungarian. One notable example was regarding his breakfast. For a while, he ate toasted bread with butter, cinnamon, and sugar for breakfast, and when he'd ask his mom to prepare it, he would say "*Mámá, csinálsz kérlek fahélyas kenyeret sugarral?*" ("Mommy, will you make me cinnamon toast with sugar?"). While before this study, the mother would have simply agreed to make the breakfast since there had been a successful communication exchange, with the raised awareness and intentionality from the study she paused and asked "*Mivel?*" ("With what?"). He needed to be reminded that the word for sugar in Hungarian was "*cukor*." The next time, he paused before using the English word. After a few more instances of him hesitating, he was able to ask the entire question without hesitation in Hungarian.

Discussion

Overall, the results of this small-scale case study indicate that pausing to observe one's own family language patterns can be beneficial for multilingual development. The results presented above indicate, first of all, that tracking language use was quite difficult, as it required that a new habit be adopted. This tracking, however, had a crucial consciousness-raising effect, allowing the mothers/researchers to realize that the linguistic input for each family member in a certain language was much smaller than they would have thought. The tracking also helped identify a large amount of code-switching when all family members were together and there were insufficient opportunities to use the minority language. There are many anecdotal reports in FLP studies that indicate that parents started to be more adamant about the use of the minority language when they started to fear that their child might lose this language and the cultural heritage coming with it (e.g., Lanza, 1992; Slakov, 2015). Further research on the effects of families tracking and reflecting upon their language practices could bring useful insights into what can cause a drift or an increase in minority language use.

The realization that the minority language was much less present in the families' interactions than they thought it was, in turn, led

the mothers/researchers to become intentional not only in their consistent use of the minority language, but also in creating new opportunities for the family to use it meaningfully. While they were prompt to think of activities to do in the target language, our results show that implementing changes in their FLP required efforts from each of the family members and necessitated some negotiation (e.g., authorizing the use of the dominant language at dinner time in specific types of interactions in Family 1) and adaptability (e.g., letting go of listening to Hungarian music in Family 2). This finding suggests that sometimes the intention to use a minority language might very well be there, but if the expectations are not realistic for the family members at a given time in their lives, then language maintenance or development attempts may not be met.

Our results also indicate that for the families in our case study, engaging in developing the habit of using the minority language consistently in the context of an existing activity (dinner time in Family 1) or a new activity (reading time in Family 2) soon led to positive outcomes for all in terms of language use, proficiency, attitudes, and agency. Certainly, the amount of time spent in the minority language (French in Family 1 and Hungarian in Family 2) may still be a small proportion of the time they spend speaking the dominant language (English and Italian in Family 1 and English in Family 2). Yet the setting of contexts in which the children use the target language led to increased time spent in that language, and after six months, the children were able to initiate and maintain conversation in the minority language, which is what the parents were aiming for. Consistent with prior FLP research (Blom, 2010; Cheung et al., 2018; De Houwer, 1999; 2007; Hoff et al., 2012; Mishina-Mori, 2011; Paradis, 2011; Place & Hoff, 2011; Quiroz et al., 2010), this increased use of the minority language (and the decrease in language-mixing in Family 1) appears to have allowed the children to develop their proficiency in the respective target languages. They became better able to recall words or use the most appropriate ones, narrate events, articulate their thoughts, and in the case of Family 2, read more fluently. In terms of the children's attitudes towards the minority language, our notes show a trend moving from acceptance to enjoyment over time (interrupted by a few instances of resistance in Family 1). Lastly, throughout the study, and perhaps more clearly

after a few months, the children articulated more and more often the need and desire to use the minority language, demonstrating their enthusiastic engagement in the family language policy. In this way, our findings are consistent with research indicating a link between family cohesion, heritage language maintenance, use and proficiency in the family, and positive emotions towards the minority language and cultural values (Okita, 2002; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 2000).

The results discussed above show that FLPs can be adapted to new situations and needs in order to help maintain and develop the use of a minority language. Our reflections converge to suggest that, even when fully endorsed, creating new habits in terms of FLP takes time and dedication. Yet adopting new habits also appears feasible and rewarding, at least when the FLP is negotiated with the family members, adapted to the needs of the family, and implemented in a way that is enjoyable for all. There is no doubt that, had the children not been willing to go along with the proposed use of the minority language during the selected specific activities, we would not have been able to see the improvements we observed in their minority language use, proficiency, and attitudes towards French/Hungarian.

From a researcher's perspective, conducting this case study was particularly eye-opening as it allowed us to experience first-hand the challenges and rewards that come with analyzing and acting upon our own FLP by attempting to implement changes. While previous FLP research has largely explored factors of multilingual development (Blom, 2010; De Houwer, 1999; 2007, Hoff et al., 2012; Lanza, 1992; 1997; 2001; Paradis, 2011; Place & Hoff, 2011; Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010) as well as links between FLP and attitudes (Cummins, 2001; Kouritzin, 1999; Parks, 2013, Okita, 2002; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 2000) based on an analysis of FLPs through questionnaires and longitudinal observation of family practices (Hollebeke et al., 2020), adopting a more dynamic approach to the study of FLP allowed us to better understand how life changes, both small and large, can negatively or positively affect multilingual development.

Even though this study is limited to two families with unique contexts,

there are several implications for other families. This study was a deep dive into what lies underneath habits, patterns, and behaviors. While the structure of each family's language policy may be unique, the underlying difficulty that is part of this work is common to all families. It may also be encouraging to families where parents are not linguists to know that going through this process was hard for the authors of this study. The work also revealed where more can be done to help maintain the heritage language.

As with all case studies, the limitations of this study lie in the fact that readers can get a glimpse of only two families with their particular stories, languages, personalities, and goals. While other families can find some takeaways from this case study, there needs to be an adaptation to their needs and unique situations. Another limitation is the fact that the authors of this study were simultaneously playing the roles of mothers and researchers. In other words, they were the picture in the frame. To step outside the "frame," they added the role of accountability partner, and that certainly contributed to having both an insider and outsider's view of the situation.

Conclusion

This study focused on parents' reflections in family language policy. The two researchers started out this study from a place of curiosity regarding their own families' multilingualism. They collected data by keeping a daily journal, meeting regularly, and journaling reflections. These three instruments led to the following structure in the study: tracking, reflecting, planning, and implementing. The findings revealed several interesting and unexpected things. Keeping daily track of linguistic patterns is difficult. The difficulty came from initial limitations imposed by the format of the journal and the need to allow for a new habit to form. Consistency of language use alone, even when one parent only uses the heritage language with the children, can give parents a false security in their family language policy. Effective FLP should go beyond this. In the present study, it took paying close attention to the amount of time spent in the minority language to reveal that the time was insufficient. It took intentional changes in the families' habits and routines to introduce new activities in the minority language. The activities that were successfully

introduced were the ones where the children were also on board. This corroborates the importance of children's agency in family language policy. Lastly, the awareness of the importance of intentionality and adaptability can be higher in times of clear disruptions and change but go unnoticed when families simply drift with a prior established family language policy. Significant linguistic changes can occur in these cases that can decrease the children's minority language proficiency. An intentional attitude, heightened awareness, a collaborative approach, and persistence can all positively contribute to minority language maintenance.

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ŠEIMOS KALBŲ POLITIKOS TIKSLINGUMAS IR PRITAIKOMUMAS

Anotacija. Paveldėtosios kalbos išlaikymui įtakos turi daug įvairių veiksnių. Ypač šeimoms, gyvenančioms subtraktyvioje (angl. *subtractive*) dvikalbėje aplinkoje, labai svarbu turėti gerai apibrėžtą šeimos kalbos politiką (ŠKP). Net ir esant nustatytai ŠKP, dideli trikdžiai ir pokyčiai, taip pat ir mažesni pasikeitimai šeimų gyvenime gali smarkiai paveikti vaikų daugiakalbystės raidą ir kelti grėsmę paveldėtosios kalbos išlaikymui. Pokyčiai gali būti staigūs arba laipsniški. Tyrime akcentuojama, kaip svarbu, kad daugiakalbės šeimos įsisavintų poreikį sukurti ŠKP, ir nagrinėjamos problemos, susijusios šios politikos palaikymu. Tiksliau, tyrime remiamasi dviejų tėvų apmąstymais apie jų šeimų kalbos politiką, siekiant išsiaiškinti iššūkius ir pateikti rekomendacijas kitoms šeimoms. Tyrimas grindžiamas šiais klausimais: Ką tėvai žino apie savo šeimos daugiakalbystės įpročius ir politiką? Kaip tėvai gali palaikyti savo vaikų paveldėtosios kalbos raidą, susidūrę su dideliais trikdžiais ar net nežymiais gyvenimo pokyčiais? Du kalbininkai, auginantys daugiakalbius vaikus skirtingomis aplinkybėmis, susitarė būti atsakingais partneriais, kad geriau suprastų savo dinamiškas situacijas ir padėtų vienas kitam tikslingiau plėtoti daugiakalbystę šeimoje. Duomenys buvo renkami šešis mėnesius. Išvados rodo, kad tikslingumas padidėjo dėl atsakomybės partnerystės. Be to, tyrimas paneigė kelias kitų tyrėjų prielaidas, ypač dėl vartojamos paveldėtosios kalbos apimties, dėl to, kaip pereinamieji laikotarpiai veikia šeimą, ko reikia, kad įvyktų kalbiniai pokyčiai, ir dėl to, ar lengva stebėti savo šeimos kalbinius įpročius. Šis tyrimas rodo, kad nepakanka turėti ŠKP, bet reikia periodiškai ją atnaujinti ir įgyvendinti pokyčius, atitinkančius besikeičiantį planą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: trikdžiai; šeimos kalbų politika; paveldėtoji kalba; tikslingumas; mažumų kalba; daugiakalbių tėvų reflektavimas.

**LANGUAGE USE AND
EDUCATION IN MULTILINGUAL
AND MULTICULTURAL
SETTINGS**

**KALBOS VARTOJIMAS IR
MOKYMAS(IS)
DAUGIAKALBĒJE IR
DAUGIAKULTŪRĒJE APLINKOJE**



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POSSIBLE FACTORS INFLUENCING THE WILLINGNESS TO USE ENGLISH IN TEACHING JAPANESE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE BY NON- NATIVE SPEAKERS

Annotation. In recent years, teachers have had students from diverse language and cultural backgrounds in their classrooms due to increasing human migration in many countries. Therefore, multilingual learning and teaching have become a widespread phenomenon. Research on English language teaching and learning in multilingual contexts has gained great importance. However, teaching languages other than English and foreign language teachers' practices in this specific context have received little attention so far. Teaching the highly contextualised Japanese language poses challenges in multilingual classrooms, and teachers more frequently resort to using English as the medium of instruction. To shed light on Japanese non-native teachers' practices, the study explored and analysed two hundred and seventy-four teachers' responses to the questionnaire "Teaching the Japanese language in multilingual classrooms – English medium instruction approach (EMI)". The research attempts a worldwide study on using EMI in teaching Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). It examines a broad geographic scope of JFL teachers' practices from fifty-seven predominantly non-Anglophone countries. The present article focuses on investigating various factors affecting JFL teachers' willingness to use EMI that can be classified into *demographic*, *linguistic*, and *contextual*. The results revealed several factors of significant influence, such as JFL teachers' work experience, the highest education level attained, educational stage, geographic region, native language group, Japanese language proficiency, and knowledge of other languages (multilingualism). The factors that appeared to be of insufficient influence were age, study of teaching methods/linguodidactics and level of Japanese taught. The factor of JFL teachers' language proficiency (both English and Japanese) falls into a separate category of influence, where a significant difference was noted for proficient and near-native levels.

Keywords: English medium instruction (EMI); Japanese as a foreign language (JFL); multilingualism; non-native Japanese teachers; willingness.

Introduction

In today's globalised world, the importance of learning a foreign language cannot be overstated. The ability to communicate with people from

different cultures and backgrounds is becoming increasingly essential not only for personal growth but also for professional success. The rising trend of people migrating to other countries for work and better opportunities has led to an increase in the number of language teachers who are bilingual or multilingual. These teachers may not share the same first language (L1) with their students from different cultures. It can be difficult for teachers of foreign languages other than English to effectively navigate in such multilingual environments (Tang & Calafato, 2021).

With the rise of English as a global language, there has been a growing trend towards the use of EMI in various educational institutions worldwide. In our study, EMI refers to "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where L1 of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2015, p. 4; Macaro et al., 2018, p. 19).

Kojima emphasises the importance of studies on the topic: "It is essential to grasp the reality of EMI classrooms to determine its costs and benefits and to find a way to maximise its benefits from students' perspective" (Kojima, 2021, p. 7). Moreover, Tang and Calafato (2021) suggest that "it will be informative if a comparative approach is employed to analyse teachers' beliefs and practices among larger populations based on their level of multilingualism" (p. 237). This would help to investigate whether multilingual teachers are more likely to use crosslinguistic practices in their classrooms and how their command of other languages impacts their teaching (Tang & Calafato, 2021).

EMI has been extensively practised and researched worldwide, with numerous studies available on the topic. The researchers investigate the influence of EMI on content learning (Aizawa et al., 2023; Lin & Lei, 2021; Peng & Xie, 2021), teachers' experience in online English-medium courses (Sato et al., 2023), English proficiency (Fortanet-Gómez, 2012; Macaro et al., 2018,). However, the studies on the use of English in JFL classroom settings are very limited (Luchenko et al., 2024; Turnbull, 2018).

Various factors can influence JFL teachers' willingness to use English in the classroom. Some of these factors may include teachers' level of English proficiency, their confidence in teaching through English, their beliefs about the

effectiveness of using English in the classroom, their teaching goals and objectives, the availability of resources and support, as well as the expectations and preferences of their students. Other factors may also include teachers' experience and training, their cultural and linguistic background, and the institutional context in which they work. JFL teachers must reflect on these factors and make informed decisions about when and to what extent to use English in their teaching practices. We covered some of these factors of influence, such as the multilingual status of the classroom, teachers' beliefs about EMI and the availability of resources in the previous study on the topic. It also shed light on potential advantages and drawbacks of EMI (Luchenko et al., 2024).

The factors that the present study aims to investigate can be broadly categorised into *demographic*, such as age, work experience, the highest level of education attained, geographic region and L1 language group, and *linguistic*, such as JFL teachers' English and Japanese language proficiency and knowledge of other languages. We also looked into the influence of *contextual* factors of the educational stage and the level of Japanese taught in the classroom on JFL teachers' willingness to use EMI in their teaching practice.

Our study focused on teacher-based linguistic practice as it depended entirely on the teacher's profile rather than on official English-taught programmes provided in different institutions.

Literature Review

Japanese is recognised as a difficult language for native speakers of English because the significant typological distance between these languages makes them incompatible grammatically. Vocabulary and *kanji* learning are substantial concerns among JFL researchers and educators (Mori, 2011). Communication in Japanese is highly contextualised, which is different from English.

In second language (L2) learning settings, the positive role of L1 is empirically supported by the effectiveness of maintaining bilingual education compared to the monolingual teaching of the second language. Scholars

generally support replacing monolingual instruction with approaches that promote multilingual practices, including code-switching. This is evident in translanguaging and translingual approaches (Cvilikaite-Mačiulskiene et al., 2023; Kubota, 2019, p. 20). However, in multilingual classrooms, teaching in L1 becomes problematic. According to Macaro et al. (2018),

EMI in tertiary education is sometimes not an alternative to first language medium of instruction but is imposed by the very fact that student mobility necessitates the use of English as the only international language available to all the students in the class. (p. 39)

Mitarai and Kelava (2021) emphasise that there has been a rise in the number of individuals who are native speakers and teach Japanese in Japanese. However, there is a scarcity of teachers who are capable of teaching Japanese to non-Japanese learners via English while utilising Intercultural Communication as a framework (p. 239).

The studies on the topic include the relationship between EMI implementation and students' motivation or willingness (Chen & Kraklow, 2015; Huang, 2015; Radu, 2015; Vonkova & Moore, 2021; Zheng, 2021). For instance, Kojima conducted a large-scale quantitative analysis to understand what EMI motivation was and to identify factors which influenced EMI motivation (Kojima, 2021). There are several studies regarding students' willingness to communicate through English in Japanese educational settings (Osterman, 2014; Simic, 2020). One of the studies on international students' willingness to speak in English (L2) and Japanese (L3) was a doctoral thesis from Japan. Simic (2010) emphasises the importance of geographic and linguistic factors on students: "Those students who come from cultures distant from Japan, and whose native languages are typologically distant from Japanese, reported lower ability and willingness in Japanese and higher in English, and accordingly, higher usage of English than of Japanese" (p. 167).

It is highly important for EMI lecturers to gain global recognition in the field of education, as they possess the potential to make valuable contributions towards the progress of knowledge on a worldwide scale (Al Hakim, 2021). EMI experience interacts with both students' and teachers' L2 motivation, and there are several research studies considering teachers'

motivation to implement EMI (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018; Yan et al., 2019).

Regarding the difference between the terms “motivation” and “willingness”, the Cambridge Dictionary describes the former as “willingness to do something or something that causes such willingness” (Cambridge University Press & Assessment, n.d.). Nevertheless, we see a particular difference between willingness and motivation in the context of our study. When asked about the topic, generative AI described it as

Willingness refers to a person's readiness or eagerness to do something, while motivation refers to the driving force or reason behind a person's actions or behaviour. Willingness can be seen as a prerequisite for motivation, as a person needs to be willing to engage in behaviour before they can be motivated to do so. However, motivation can also come from external factors such as rewards or consequences, whereas willingness is more internal and based on personal choice. (Grammarly Inc., 2024)

In the educational context, willingness is mentioned as directly related to teachers' commitment to the task of teaching (Adnan, 2015; Kao, 2018). It was emphasised that teachers' willingness had significant implications concerning students' interest in acquiring new knowledge (Arumugham, 2019). Researchers discuss teachers' willingness to use technology (Luik & Taimalu, 2021) or ICT tools (Ayot et al., 2015) in the classroom as well as mobile technology-enhanced teaching platforms (K.-Y. Tang et al., 2021). Some studies contributed to the problem of teachers' willingness to adopt new teaching methods and incorporate new media technologies to enhance the teaching and learning experience (Smith et al., 2016). It was found that some demographic factors (i.e., age, gender, teaching experience) could influence teachers' willingness to integrate computer technology in the classrooms. For instance, Lau and Sim (2008) found that older teachers were more willing to use ICT tools in the classroom than younger teachers.

In our study, we regard factors influencing the willingness for EMI use as prerequisites for teachers to become motivated to use English in JFL classrooms. Numerous studies explore EMI from students' perspectives. However, very few studies investigated the teachers' willingness or motivation to use EMI, not to mention the setting of the JFL classroom.

No research in higher education matched some English language proficiency tests with actual practice to establish a minimum level required to teach (Macaro et al., 2018, p. 54). Discussing the topic of increasing and keeping EMI teachers' motivation level, Yan et al. (2019) emphasize: "To become a qualified EMI instructor is a daunting job. A teacher needs not only to possess enough professional expertise but also, very importantly, to have a good command of English, oral English in particular, plus cross-cultural communication skills" (p. 51). In our study, we tried to answer whether a reasonable level of English proficiency was required to employ EMI in JFL classrooms. We attempted to find a relationship between teachers' self-assessed English language competence and implementing EMI in teaching practice. Thus, the paper aims to contribute towards identifying the level of English proficiency required from a JFL teacher in this setting.

In this article, multilingualism is defined as "the ability to use more than one language, including the cognitive, psychological, and affective experiences that follow this knowledge" (Calafato & Simmonds, 2023, p. 76). Multilingualism may affect various teaching patterns. Some studies were devoted to the relationships between teachers' multilingualism and teaching methods or strategies applied in the classroom. Tang and Calafato (2021) found that language teachers who spoke multiple languages were less likely to encourage self-regulation in their students. Studies indicate that individuals who have learned more than one language possess various skills and abilities at their disposal owing to their learning experiences. Qualitative differences exist between learning L2 and L3, which can be linked to an increased awareness of language structure (Jessner, 2008).

Moreover, this multicompetence can improve the effectiveness of foreign language teaching. However, Tang and Calafato (2021) also suggest that "teachers may not always be aware of or able to use their multicompetence" (p. 236). Several studies have investigated the language teachers' beliefs regarding multilingualism and multilingual pedagogy (De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016). In De Angelis' study (2011), most of the teachers hesitated to introduce foreign languages to the classroom unless they had prior familiarity with them. The same study examines "the need to introduce modules on multilingualism and language learning as a regular feature of teacher training

programs because many teachers expressed beliefs suggesting little awareness of the cognitive benefits of multilingualism" (p. 216). The results of Otwinowska's study (2014) point to greater multilingual awareness of multilingual teachers than that of teachers who had less experience in learning additional languages. Additionally, a correlation between teachers' proficiency in several foreign languages and this level of awareness was observed.

Methods

The data were gathered using an online questionnaire, "Teaching the Japanese language in multilingual classrooms – English medium instruction approach (EMI)", available in Japanese and English via Google Forms and Jotform. The pilot survey was conducted in August 2023 at the Japan Foundation Japanese Language Institute in Urawa (Japan), where 33 representatives from 20 countries tested the questionnaire.

For the central part of the survey process, we identified countries whose population's native language is not English for our study and excluded countries with English as the first language. The questionnaire form was distributed and collected from September 2023 until January 2024. The participants were informed about the research aims and that their participation was voluntary and anonymous. The fifty-seven countries and jurisdictions which participated in the study are as follows: Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Honduras, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyz Republic, Lithuania, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Nepal, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, South Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, and Vietnam.

As a result, the present paper has a sample size of 274 teachers from across the globe. The questionnaire was divided into three focus sections, asking about the teacher's profile, teaching environment, and usage of English as a language of instruction. There were 27 closed and open-ended questions,

eight of which were exclusively used for the analysis in the present study. The questions for the analysis included the teachers' age, native language, Japanese and English language proficiency, command of other languages, levels of Japanese taught, the status of Japanese in the institution, and levels of Japanese that the respondents considered appropriate for EMI use. Other questions from the survey were used to find connections, such as the geographic region of the teachers' origin, the highest level of formal education attained, the study of foreign language teaching methods, work experience, and the frequency of EMI employment.

The quantitative method was primarily used to analyse the gathered data. The following research questions were addressed in the article:

1. What are the possible factors that influence teachers' willingness to use EMI in JFL classrooms?
2. Which factors can be of sufficient/insufficient influence?
3. How does JFL teachers' knowledge of multiple foreign languages (multilingualism) influence their willingness to employ English in their teaching practice?

Results and Discussion

Age and Work Experience

We have considered a few potential factors that might affect the willingness to use the English language in JFL classrooms. Age and work experience are two factors that could play a role in determining the level of familiarity and comfort individuals have with technology and the use of EMI. When considering the use of EMI in JFL classrooms, the employment of English from 30% to 100% of instructional time will be deemed significant and taken into account.

The survey sample comprised 44 respondents (16.06%) aged 20–30, 91 (33.21%) aged 31–40, 91 (33.21%) aged 41–50, and 48 (17.52%) aged over 51. We could claim that the relationship between the use of EMI and the age of the respondents was not substantial. Most of the participants

(58.33%, n=28) in the age category of 51 and older used English between 30%–100% of instructional time, which accounted for a positive deviation of almost 7% from the participants who were 31–40 and 41–50 years old – 51.65% (n=47 and n=47 respectively). A somewhat less significant difference was noticed with the category of 20–30-year-old participants, 52.27% (n=23) of whom implemented EMI to the same extent. Having divided the respondents into larger groups, we observed that the deviation between the participants aged 41 and older (53.96%, n=75) and the group of 20-40-year-old participants (51.85%, n=70) was only 2.11%, which was not considered notable.

Table 1

The Degree to Which Teachers with Different Work Experience Use English in JFL Classrooms (N=274)

Frequency of use	Work experience							
	Less than 5 years		6-10 years		11-15 years		More than 16 years	
	n=68	%	n=72	%	n=50	%	n=84	%
Almost never or seldom (0%–10%)	30	44.12	29	40.28	24	48.00	46	54.76
Occasionally or sometimes (30%–50%)	34	50.00	40	55.56	22	44.00	31	36.90
Frequently or always (80%–100%)	4	5.88	3	4.17	4	8.00	7	8.33

Nonetheless, a significant correlation was found between the respondents' work experience and EMI usage variables (Table 1). Most of the participants (56.32%, n=107) with less than 15 years of work experience employed English between 30%-100% of instructional time. However, less than half (45.24%, n=38) of the "veteran" participants with working experience over 16 years used English to the same extent.

The Highest Level of Education Attained

We have also considered the highest level of education attained and the educational stage of teaching as possible factors that could influence teachers' willingness to employ EMI.

We can state that a connection was found between the use of EMI and the highest education degree attained by JFL teachers (Bachelor's, Master's, or PhD). The highest positive deviation of 11.64% was noticed for those with a bachelor's degree – 60.00% (n=63) compared to the teachers with master's degrees (48.36%, n=59), while 48.94% (n=23) of the JFL teachers with a doctorate employed EMI from 30% to 100% of the instructional time of the lesson. However, no connection was noted between studying “foreign teaching methods” or “linguodidactics” and the employment of EMI by the teachers. Those who had studied “linguodidactics” or “foreign teaching methods” in tertiary education used EMI on average 0.15% more than those who had not learned it, which is insufficient.

Educational Stage

The use of EMI can vary depending on the educational stage. For example, universities may be more international and require English as the only international language available to all students. At the same time, primary and secondary schools may not have the same level of emphasis on EMI. Therefore, understanding the relationship between the educational stage and the use of EMI can provide insights into the factors influencing the use of EMI in different contexts.

In order to understand this relationship, we surveyed the participants (n=274) about the status of Japanese language education in different institutions where they taught (multiple answers were possible). The results were analysed by educational stage and suggested that 43.43% (n=119) of the respondents taught Japanese in non-school education, 27.01% (n=74) taught it as a major at the tertiary educational stage, 26.28% (n=72) – as an elective subject at the initial stage of formal education, 21.90% (n=60) – as an elective subject at tertiary education stage and 18.61% (n=51) – as a compulsory subject at the initial stage of formal education.

In an attempt to find proof of the statement that EMI is more spread at the tertiary level than at the secondary level due to universities becoming more international (Macaro, 2018, p. 47), we tried to find the correlation between the educational stage and the use of EMI. The respondents who gave

multiple answers were excluded from the sample. As a result, 229 unique answers from those who taught at one educational stage (different institutions were possible) were considered appropriate for the analysis. Consequently, we could state that a difference of 7.04% was observed for EMI use in JFL classrooms: the percentage varied from 55.93% (n=33) at the initial stage of formal education (primary/secondary schools) to 48.89% (n=44) in tertiary education (college, vocational school, and university). Institutions of non-school education (private language schools, lifelong educational institutions, cultural clubs, etc.) accounted for 53.75% (n=43) of EMI use between 30% and 100% of instructional time.

English Language Proficiency

By identifying the connection between teachers' English proficiency and their willingness to use EMI, the study can contribute to determining the minimum level of English proficiency required from JFL teachers to employ EMI in their teaching practice. This can help institutions and policymakers in designing language education programmes that meet the needs of both teachers and students. The importance of considering JFL teachers' English level of proficiency in determining the factors that influence their willingness to use EMI lies in the fact that it requires a certain level of English competence from teachers. Teachers whose English language proficiency is insufficient may not feel comfortable using it as a medium of instruction, which can negatively impact their teaching practice. Thus, we analysed the level of language proficiency first.

Considering JFL teachers' English language ability by geographic region, we could draw the following conclusion based on the self-assessed level the teachers provided in the questionnaire (Table 2). Out of 266 respondents who stated English among other foreign languages, 33 could not assess their English proficiency level. The highest level of English language command was observed from the teachers in non-Anglophone countries of Western Europe, where 88.89% (n=32) of the respondents' English language proficiency varies from C1-C2 to native or near-native level.

Table 2

The JFL Teachers' English Language Proficiency by Region (N=233)

Region	Total n	A1-A2		B1-B2		C1-C2		Native or near native	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
East Asia	30	9	30.00	16	53.33	4	13.33	1	3.33
Southeast Asia	50	17	34.00	21	42.00	7	14.00	5	10.00
South Asia	42	6	14.29	17	40.48	8	19.05	11	26.19
Central and South America	28	3	10.71	7	25.00	18	64.29	-	-
Western Europe	36	1	2.78	3	8.33	24	66.67	8	22.22
Eastern Europe	41	1	2.44	18	43.90	17	41.46	5	12.20
Africa and Middle East	6	2	33.33	2	33.33	1	16.67	1	16.67

Subsequent to establishing the level of English language proficiency, we determined whether Japanese language teachers who fully or partially implemented EMI did that based on the necessary linguistic competence in English. Table 3 shows the degree to which JFL teachers used EMI in relation to their English proficiency level.

Table 3

The Degree to Which EMI is Used by Each JFL Teacher at Their English Proficiency Level (N=233)

Frequency of use	English proficiency level							
	A1-A2		B1-B2		C1-C2		Native or near native	
	n=39	%	n=84	%	n=79	%	n=31	%
Almost never or seldom (0%-10%)	22	56.41	45	53.57	38	48.10	8	25.81
Occasionally or sometimes (30%-50%)	15	38.46	36	42.86	38	48.10	18	58.06
Frequently or always (80%-100%)	2	5.13	3	3.57	3	3.80	5	16.13

The results showed that the teachers with A1-B2 English proficiency levels adopted EMI to a larger or smaller extent regardless of their self-

assessed language competence. Out of 233 participants who declared their self-assessed level of English proficiency, 43.59% (n=17) of the beginner and elementary level (A1–A2) respondents claimed that English was used between 30% and 100% of instructional time in their classroom. In the intermediate and upper-intermediate levels category (B1–B2), 46.43% (n=39) of the participants claimed that English was employed between 30% and 100% of class time. This showed a low positive deviation of 2.84%, implying that the benchmark for EMI use did not go between A1–A2 and B1–B2 levels. However, most advanced level (C1–C2) respondents (51.90%, n=41) stated they used English to the same extent. Moreover, the most significant difference could be seen for the participants with native or near-native levels – 74.19% (n=23) of the respondents employed English between 30% and 100% of instructional time.

Our findings showed that there was no definitive standard for the level the teachers needed to be able to teach through the medium of English in a JFL classroom. As Sugimoto explains from the student’s perspective: “The experience of studying abroad in an English-speaking country is different from that attending EMI classes in one’s home country”, and therefore, “the required English proficiency may differ” (Sugimoto, 2022, p. 36). The same can be implied for teachers’ level of proficiency. Teaching in one’s home country to students who, in the majority, share the native language does not impose the exact strict requirements for the English level as it is used occasionally as an additional instrument.

Japanese Language Proficiency

The results of the Japanese language proficiency level estimation for the teachers are provided by region in Table 4. The teachers were asked to state their level in the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) format. The best results were observed from JFL teachers in the East Asia region, where 96.77% (n=30) of respondents had advanced or upper-intermediate levels (N1–N2).

Table 4

The JFL Teachers' Japanese Language Proficiency by Region (N=266)

Region	Total n	Japanese language proficiency level							
		JLPT N1		JLPT N2		JLPT N3		JLPT N4- N5	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
East Asia	31	24	77.42	6	19.35	1	3.23	-	-
Southeast Asia	58	10	17.24	28	48.28	16	27.59	4	6.90
South Asia	57	8	14.04	25	43.86	17	29.82	7	12.28
Central and South America	27	8	29.63	9	33.33	5	18.52	5	18.52
Western Europe	39	16	41.03	15	38.46	8	20.51	-	-
Eastern Europe	43	20	46.51	16	37.21	7	16.28	-	-
Africa and Middle East	11	2	18.18	6	54.55	1	9.09	2	18.18

The results of the relationship between the JFL teachers' level of JLPT and the degree to which they employed EMI are provided in Table 5.

Table 5

The Degree to Which EMI is Used by Each JFL Teacher at Their Japanese Proficiency Level (N=266)

Frequency of use	Japanese language proficiency level							
	JLPT N1		JLPT N2		JLPT N3		JLPT N4-N5	
	n=88	%	n=105	%	n=55	%	n=18	%
Almost never or seldom (0%-10%)	52	59.09	46	43.81	22	40.00	5	40.00
Occasionally or sometimes (30%-50%)	32	36.36	53	50.48	28	50.91	11	50.91
Frequently or always (80%-100%)	4	4.55	6	5.71	5	9.09	2	9.09

Our findings showed a connection between the teachers' level of Japanese proficiency and the degree to which they used EMI in their teaching practice. The majority of the participants (63.01%, n=46) with elementary- and pre-intermediate-level proficiency (JLPT N5, N4, N3) used English between 30% and 100% of instructional time. In comparison, 56.19% (n=59) of the intermediate-level respondents (JLPT N2) used English to the same extent. The most significant difference was noted for the participants with advanced-

level proficiency (JLPT N1), only 40.91% (n=36) of whom used EMI in the same amount of instructional time in JFL classrooms.

Knowledge of Other Languages

It is important to understand whether teachers' knowledge of other foreign languages influences their willingness to employ EMI in their classrooms. This knowledge can help us develop effective language teaching strategies, promote EMI, and prepare students for the globalised world more effectively. In order to gain a deeper insight into the relationships between JFL teachers' linguistic competencies and the use of EMI, we asked the respondents about the command of other languages. For those respondents who indicated the knowledge of two native languages in the respective question, the second one mentioned was counted as L2 and included in the category of "command of other languages". The results are shown in order of frequency in Table 6.

Table 6

JFL Teachers' Command of Other Languages

Language	n	%	Language	n	%	Language	n	%
English	266	97.08	Taiwanese	3	1.09	Czech	1	0.36
French	33	12.04	Urdu	3	1.09	Dutch	1	0.36
Russian	25	9.12	Uzbek	3	1.09	Estonian	1	0.36
Italian	18	6.57	Arabic	2	0.73	Filipino	1	0.36
Hindi	17	6.20	Bengali	2	0.73	Gujarati	1	0.36
Spanish	17	6.20	Greek	2	0.73	Hungarian	1	0.36
Turkish	15	5.47	Javanese	2	0.73	Kikuyu	1	0.36
Chinese	12	4.38	Marathi	2	0.73	Latin	1	0.36
German	9	3.28	Norwegian	2	0.73	Persian	1	0.36
Korean	5	1.82	Sudanese	2	0.73	Polish	1	0.36
Galician	4	1.46	Swedish	2	0.73	Sanskrit	1	0.36
Punjabi	4	1.46	Tadjik	2	0.73	Swahili	1	0.36
Indonesian	3	1.09	Bikol	1	0.36	Tamil	1	0.36
Portuguese	3	1.09	Catalan	1	0.36	Telugu	1	0.36

Next, we tried to determine if knowledge of multiple foreign languages (multilingualism) influenced teachers' willingness to employ EMI in JFL classrooms (Table 7). It was found that the respondents who spoke three or more foreign languages (including Japanese and English) tended to employ EMI

more frequently. Interestingly, the highest positive deviation from those who stated knowledge of English as an additional language was about 7% for the respondents who indicated knowledge of four or more foreign languages.

Table 7

The Degree to Which JFL Teachers With Command of Other Foreign Languages (FL) Use EMI

Frequency of use	Number of FL (including English and Japanese)					
	Two FL		Three FL		Four or more FL	
	n=143	%	n=72	%	n=51	%
Almost never or seldom (0%–10%)	69	48.25	31	43.06	21	41.18
Occasionally or sometimes (30%–50%)	65	45.45	34	47.22	28	54.90
Frequently or always (80%–100%)	9	6.29	7	9.72	2	3.92

Level of Japanese Taught

In his previous study on the topic from students' perspective, Turnbull's (2018) findings coincide with a commonly observed practice whereby the use of English is "more prevalent at the beginner level and becomes less frequent as the learners become more proficient in Japanese" (p. 143). One of the aims of our research was to verify this from teachers' perspective by asking about general preferences and trying to find a relationship between the levels the participants teach at and the degree of employing EMI in their practice.

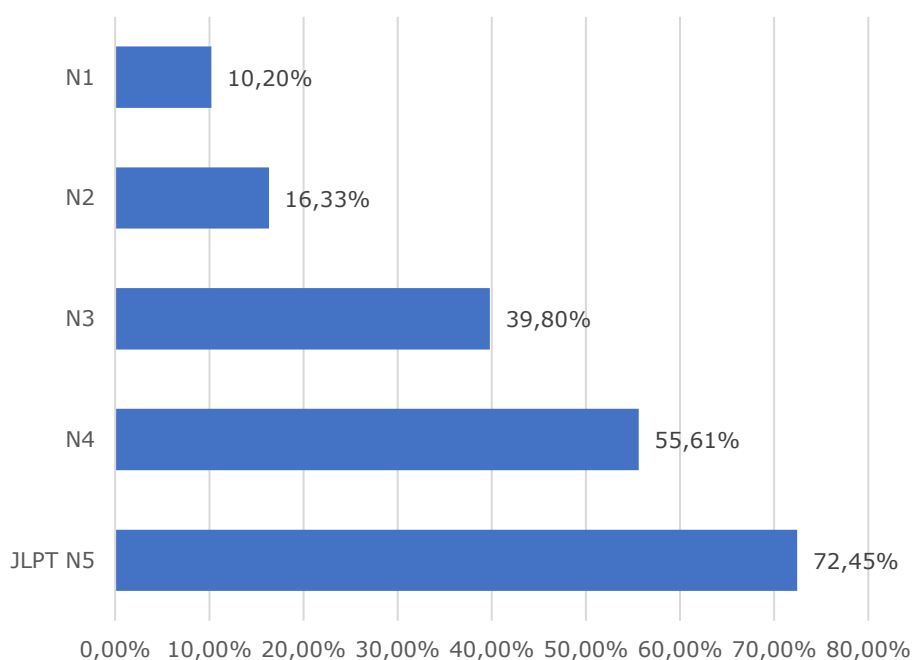
When asked about the levels of Japanese they taught, the respondents could give multiple answers. Out of 274 respondents, 78.83% (n=216) taught at the elementary (*shokyū*) level, 63.50% (n=174) taught at the pre-intermediate (*shochūkyū*) level, 48.54% (n=133) taught at the intermediate (*chūkyū*) level, and 19.34% (n=53) taught at the advanced (*jōkyū*) level. Thus, we received insight into the breakdown of Japanese language teachers based on their level of instruction.

The respondents were asked to express their opinion on which level they would prefer to use EMI for Japanese instruction (multiple answers were

possible). The vast majority (72.45%, n=142) desired JLPT N5, and 55.61% of the respondents (n=109) opted for N4 (beginner and elementary levels) to be taught with some use of English (Figure 1). One participant commented in favour of EMI use for beginners: "Students feel comfortable if initially English is used in the classroom at the beginner level."

Figure 1

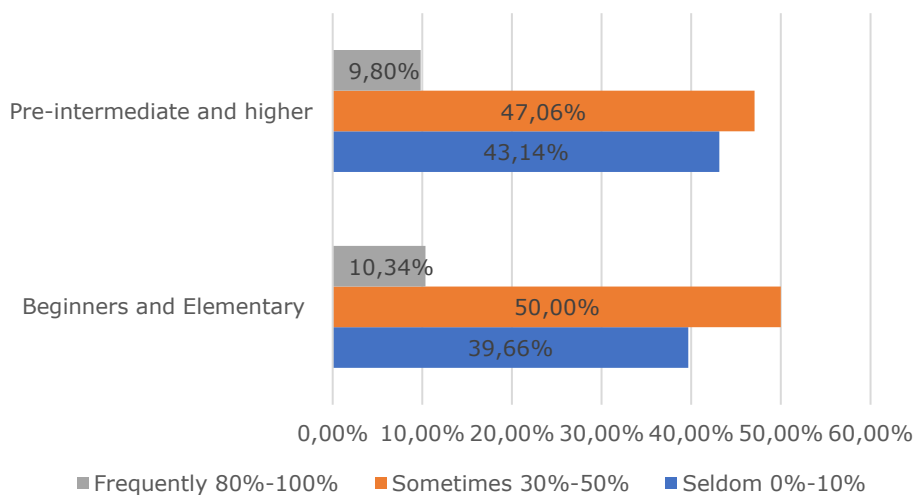
Levels That Non-Native Japanese Teachers Consider Appropriate for EMI Usage (N=196)



However, this benchmark did not reflect the actual state. As it is often the case for one teacher to teach multiple levels, we analysed only two groups: those who taught at the beginner and elementary levels (*shokyū*) and those who taught the pre-intermediate or higher levels (*shochūkyū*, *chūkyū* and *jōkyū*). The responses from the participants who taught at multiple levels (e.g., beginners and intermediate) were not considered, and the sample had to be reduced to 109 responses (Figure 2).

Figure 2

The Degree to Which English is Used at Different Students' Japanese Proficiency Level (N=109)



The results showed that EMI was used almost equally by 60.34% of the participants at the beginner-elementary level (n=35) and by 56.86% of the participants at the pre-intermediate and higher levels (n=29) between 30% and 100% of instructional time. Our findings contrasted with Turnbull's (2018), who studied students' perspectives on the use of English and found that it was employed in JFL classrooms to varying degrees depending on the proficiency level in the target language. A possible interpretation of our findings could be that the participants saw English as a tool in their teaching practice and used it accordingly depending on the situation, not the level.

Geographic Region

A study on international students' willingness to communicate in English and Japanese indicates that students from East Asian countries geographically and culturally closer to Japan use Japanese more frequently than students from other regions. At the same time, they perceive their English ability, willingness to communicate, and practicality of English as the lowest

among all the groups (Simic, 2010). The broad geography of our study allowed us to investigate this situation from teachers' perspectives and establish the extent to which they are willing to include EMI in Japanese language classrooms.

Based on the data presented in Table 8, we can conclude that the use of EMI varies significantly across different geographic regions. The highest rate of EMI use was found in South Asia, where 89.83% (n=53) of the participants indicated using EMI in their teaching practice for 30% to 100% of instructional time. The usage of EMI in non-Anglophone countries in Western and Eastern Europe was 46.15% (n=18) and 44.19% (n=19) respectively. Southeast Asia accounted for 51.61% (n=32), whereas Central and South America constituted 35.71% (n=10) of EMI usage. The lowest rate was found in East Asia – one-fifth of the participants (18.75%, n=6) said they used EMI in class. The response rates from the Middle East (n=3) and Africa (n=8) were insufficient to draw any conclusions based on the region of their use, and for this reason, they were presented in the table together.

Table 8

The Degree to Which English is Used in Different Geographic Areas (N=274)

Region	Total n	Frequency of use					
		Never or seldom (0%-10%)		Occasionally or sometimes (30%-50%)		Frequently or always (80%-100%)	
		n=124	%	n=125	%	n=18	%
East Asia	32	26	81.25	6	18.75	-	-
Southeast Asia	62	30	48.39	26	41.94	6	9.68
South Asia	59	6	10.17	44	74.58	9	15.25
Central and South America	28	18	64.29	10	35.71	-	-
Western Europe	39	21	53.85	18	46.15	-	-
Eastern Europe	43	24	55.81	18	41.86	1	2.33
Middle East and Africa	11	4	36.36	5	45.45	2	18.18

L1 Language Category

Considering language groups, the vast number of the JFL teachers' native tongues were divided into categories according to convenience for further analysis. The five largest groups constituted 69.71% (n=191) of all

native languages. They were as follows: the Sino-Tibetan family, the Balto-Slavic group, the Romance group, the Indo-Aryan subgroup, and the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Table 9). We also included five not-so-numerous categories for the analysis due to possible informativeness. Three respondents (n=3) who stated English as their native language were not considered for the following analysis.

Table 9

The Distribution of JFL Teachers' First Languages Into Language Families, Groups, or Subgroups (N=256)

Language family (f) or group (g)/ subgroup (sg)	n	Languages (n)		
Romance (g)	56	Spanish (27) Catalan (4) Galician (1)	Portuguese (9) Italian (3)	French (9) Romanian (3)
Indo-Aryan (sg)	55	Hindi (23) Nepali (7)	Bengali (11) Sinhala (6)	Marathi (7) Gujarati (1)
Malayo-Polynesian (sg)	37	Indonesian (22) Malagasy (2) Cebuano (1)	Malay (6) Balinese (1)	Filipino (4) Javanese (1)
Sino-Tibetan (f)	22	Chinese (14) Taiwanese (1)	Myanmar (5)	Cantonese (2)
Balto-Slavic (g)	21	Ukrainian (7) Lithuanian (2) Croatian (1)	Polish (4) Slovak (2) Russian (1)	Czech (3) Bulgarian (1)
Turkic (f)	17	Azerbaijani (6) Kyrgyz (2)	Turkmen (3) Turkish (2)	Kazakh (2) Uzbek (2)
Germanic branch	13	German (8) Dutch (1)	Norwegian (3)	Danish (1)
Mongolic (f)	13	Mongolian (13)		
Austroasiatic (f)	11	Vietnamese (11)		
Tai branch	11	Thai (11)		

The native languages that were not included in the analysis due to the insufficient number of respondents are as follows: Arabic (3), Armenian (2), Finnish (1), Georgian (1), Hungarian (1), Korean (2), Swahili (1), Tamil (2), Telugu (2).

The survey received responses from individuals who identified Mandarin (n=1) and Beijing dialect (n=1) as their first language. These responses were included in the Chinese language category. The Indonesian language category included responses from individuals in Indonesia who spoke Bahasa Indonesia. Similarly, the Malay language category included responses

from individuals in Malaysia who spoke Malay, or Bahasa Melayu. For the purposes of our research, some responses were combined as they represented the same language by origin, such as Bengali/Bangla, Swahili/Kiswahili, Portuguese/Brazilian Portuguese, and German/Swiss German.

This division showed the preference even more explicitly than the geographic distribution (Table 10).

Table 10

The Degree to Which JFL Teachers Use English According to the Native Language Category (N=256)

Language family (f) or group (g) / subgroup (sg)	Frequency of use					
	Never or seldom (0%-10%)		Occasionally or sometimes (30%-50%)		Frequently or always (80%- 100%)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Romance (g)	36	64.29	20	35.71	-	-
Indo-Aryan (sg)	6	10.91	41	74.55	8	14.55
Malayo-Polynesian (sg)	17	45.95	15	40.54	5	13.51
Sino-Tibetan (f)	14	63.64	8	36.36	-	-
Balto-Slavic (g)	10	47.62	10	47.62	1	4.76
Turkic (f)	9	52.94	7	47.06	-	-
Germanic branch	5	38.46	8	61.54	-	-
Mongolic (f)	12	92.31	1	7.69	-	-
Austroasiatic (f)	8	72.73	3	27.27	-	-
Tai branch	6	54.55	4	36.36	1	9.09

Considering the most numerous five categories, the greatest extent of EMI use was noted by the teachers whose L1 belonged to the Indo-Aryan group (89.09%, n=49), followed by the Malayo-Polynesian (54.05%, n=20) and the Balto-Slavic 52.38% (n=11). The most minor usage of EMI was noticed for the teachers whose L1 belonged to the Romance (35.71%, n=20) and the Sino-Tibetan groups (36.36%, n=8).

It was possible to analyse three of the most numerous representatives (n=72) of the teachers' L1 separately. Out of the total 274 JFL teachers, 91.30% (n=21) of the Hindi-speaking respondents used EMI between 30% and 100% of instructional time, 40.91% (n=9) of the Indonesian-speaking respondents, and 40.74% (n=11) of the Spanish-speaking respondents used EMI to the same extent.

Limitations

We acknowledge some limitations of this study. First, this research survey was conducted worldwide among predominantly non-Anglophone countries to collect data for the analysis. Considering this, it cannot be a total representation of the JFL teachers' population. Therefore, future researchers should avoid generalising the findings of this study to all JFL teachers.

Second, the factors considered in the study are limited to three perspectives: *demographic*, *linguistic*, and *contextual* factors. Further research is needed to explore other factors that may influence teachers' attitudes towards EMI (e.g., students' preferences, teaching goals and objectives depending on the subject).

Third, the conclusions about the influence of the teachers' English proficiency levels have some limitations because of their self-assessment. Besides, some stated that they had a command of the English language but refrained from assessing their level of proficiency, thus somewhat reducing the sample size to 233 responses.

Fourth, the teachers' evaluation of the extent to which they used EMI was self-assessed and reported approximately. The teachers' beliefs were described in the numerical value but could not accurately reflect what occurred in the classroom.

Fifth, the sample size had to be reduced when investigating the use of EMI in teaching different Japanese proficiency levels, and only 109 unique answers from the participants were further divided into two subgroups: 'elementary', 'pre-intermediate and higher'. Other questions with a more complex structure involving all respondents are suggested to test the findings' generalizability.

Sixth, the challenge of such a global survey conducted remotely online was that the participation was voluntary, and, as a result, the response rate was low. Future surveys, if supported by international organisations, can get a much bigger response rate.

Summing up, our findings offer opportunities for further research despite their limitations. Future research on using English as an instructional language in a multilingual context can shed more light on why some factors appeared to be influential and others did not.

Conclusions

Our study provided insight into the influences of *demographic*, *linguistic*, and *contextual* factors on teachers' willingness to use EMI in JFL classrooms worldwide. The findings suggest that the factors that had *sufficient influence* were JFL teachers' work experience, the highest education level attained, geographic region, native language group, and knowledge of other languages (multilingualism). The factors identified as *insufficient influence* were age, study of teaching methods/linguodidactics, level of Japanese taught and educational stage. The factor of JFL teachers' language proficiency (both English and Japanese) falls into a separate category of influence, where a significant difference was noted for proficient and near-native levels.

It was hypothesized that the use of EMI in JFL classrooms could be influenced by several demographic factors such as age and work experience. According to the survey results, age had no significant impact on EMI usage, with the minor exception of the group of participants aged 51 and older, where a positive deviation of 7% was noted. The factor of work experience had a more significant positive correlation with English usage in class. Most of the participants with less than 15 years of work experience used EMI to a sufficient extent (30%–100% of instructional time). However, the usage of EMI among the "veteran" participants with over 16 years of work experience was found to be less frequent than that of their younger colleagues.

The study found a connection between the highest education degree attained by the JFL teachers and their use of EMI. For instance, those with a bachelor's degree used EMI more frequently (a positive deviation of 12%)

than those with a PhD degree. Other factors, such as studying foreign language teaching methods or linguodidactics, were not statistically significant.

Regarding the importance of geographic and linguistic factors on JFL teachers' willingness to employ EMI, we found that the highest rate of EMI use was noticed in South Asia, with more than 89% of the participants indicating that they used EMI in their teaching practice to a sufficient extent. In contrast, East Asia had the lowest rate of EMI use, with only one-fifth of the participants indicating that they used EMI in their lessons. The usage of EMI in non-Anglophone countries in Western and Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Central and South America also varied, ranging from 35% to 51%. However, given the insufficient response rates from the Middle East and Africa, it was difficult to draw any conclusions about the use of EMI in these regions. Overall, the findings suggest that the use of EMI is not uniform across different regions and may depend on various other factors, such as proficiency in English, local language policies, and educational context.

The analysis of the native languages of the JFL teachers revealed that the five largest language groups constituted a significant portion of all the respondents. The Indo-Aryan subgroup showed the highest usage of EMI among the most numerous five categories, followed by the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup and the Balto-Slavic group. On the other hand, the Romance group and the Sino-Tibetan family showed the most insignificant usage of EMI. Furthermore, the separate analysis of the three most numerous representatives of the teachers' native languages showed that the Hindi-speaking respondents had the highest usage of EMI, followed by the Indonesian-speaking and Spanish-speaking respondents. Overall, the received data provided valuable insights into the relationship between teachers' native languages and their usage of EMI in the JFL classroom.

Our previous study (Luchenko et al., 2024) showed that most of the teachers were convinced that the central negative aspect of implementing EMI was that students or teachers' English language proficiency could be insufficient. The present study attempted to identify the level of English proficiency required of a teacher to use EMI in teaching practice. Although the teachers' English language proficiency was claimed to be one of the main concerns among the Japanese language teachers, our findings showed no

correlation between the level of English proficiency (from A1 to B2) and the actual use of EMI in practice. However, the findings suggested that the teachers who reported higher levels of English proficiency (C1-C2, native or near-native) were more likely to use EMI in their teaching practice.

As we discussed earlier, teaching a foreign language in English (L2) is not a common practice at an institutional level. It appears to be a bottom-up practice applied by enthusiastic individual teachers rather than a top-down policy, as it can be for other academic subjects. Thus, we suggest that the decisive factor for employing EMI is the teachers' willingness to adopt English to some extent, and the methodologies applied lead to their feeling that their English is sufficient for a certain task.

It can be concluded that a relationship was observed between the teachers' level of Japanese proficiency and the degree to which they employed EMI in their teaching practice. The findings indicate that JFL teachers with lower proficiency levels (JLPT N5-N3) tend to use English more frequently in their instruction, while those with higher proficiency levels (JLPT N2-N1) tend to rely less on EMI. Overall, the East Asia region stands out for having the highest proportion of JFL teachers with advanced or upper-intermediate proficiency levels and, as a result, the lowest rate of EMI usage.

The study also aimed to explore Japanese language teachers' perspectives on the use of EMI in relation to a teaching context, namely the level of Japanese taught in the classroom. The findings revealed that most of the respondents preferred using EMI to teach beginners and elementary-level students. However, the actual use of EMI was found to be equal across all the levels of instruction, indicating that the teachers saw English as a tool to be used depending on the situation rather than on their students' language proficiency.

The influence of an educational stage was identified as another possible contextual factor because EMI is believed to be more widespread at the tertiary than the secondary level due to universities becoming more international. Investigating this factor of influence, we established a relationship between the use of English at the initial stage of formal education and the tertiary level, and a positive deviation was noted for the former stage. The questionnaire results also suggested that EMI was widely used in non-school educational

institutions, which may imply a greater demand for English language skills outside formal educational settings.

We aimed to gain insights into how teachers' linguistic competencies affects the use of EMI and whether multilingualism influences their willingness to employ English. The results of our study indicated a positive relationship between the teachers' knowledge of multiple foreign languages and their willingness to employ EMI in JFL classrooms. The study found that the respondents who spoke three or more foreign languages tended to employ EMI to a greater extent. The highest positive deviation was found among those who stated knowledge of four or more foreign languages (including English and Japanese).

Throughout our research, we have observed a positive shift towards the use of multilingual practices in JFL classrooms. Our study underscores the practical benefits of implementing multilingual practices, including the tangible improvement of instruction quality and the smooth integration of multilingual education into Japanese language teaching. Multilingual practices such as translanguaging and code-switching are not just theoretical concepts but proven tools for clarification in multilingual classrooms; such practices can enhance proficiency in all languages being taught, including the target Japanese language and English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, using different languages to teach new concepts is not just a novel approach but a reliable method to reinforce understanding of those concepts while promoting intercultural understanding and improving communication skills across different cultures and backgrounds. Ultimately, the use of multilingual practices in education is not just a theoretical necessity but a practical solution to creating a more inclusive, tolerant, and interconnected world.

In conclusion, the results of the study can be helpful for educational institutions and policymakers who want to promote the use of EMI as a teaching tool. By understanding the factors that influence the use of EMI, they can design more effective training programmes and support systems for teachers. Further research is needed to explore the impact of EMI on language learning outcomes and the implications of EMI for language policy and planning. The results may prove helpful in developing effective language teaching strategies that promote EMI and prepare students for the globalised world.

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**МОЖЛИВІ ЧИННИКИ ВПЛИВУ НА БАЖАННЯ ТА ГОТОВНІСТЬ
ІНОЗЕМНИХ ВЧИТЕЛІВ ЯПОНСЬКОЇ МОВИ
ВИКОРИСТОВУВАТИ АНГЛІЙСЬКУ МОВУ У ВИКЛАДАННІ
ЯПОНСЬКОЇ ЯК ІНОЗЕМНОЇ**

Анотація. В останні роки вчителі навчають студентів різного мовного та культурного походження через зростання міграції людей у багатьох країнах. Завдяки цьому багатомовне навчання та викладання стало поширеним явищем. Дедалі важливішого значення набули дослідження викладання та навчання англійської мови в багатомовному середовищі. Проте досі мало уваги приділено викладанню інших мов, відмінних від англійської, та практиці вчителів іноземних мов у цьому конкретному контексті. Викладання японської мови, якій притаманний високий ступінь контекстуальності, викликає певні складнощі в багатомовних класах, і вчителі дедалі частіше вдаються до використання англійської мови як засобу навчання. Щоб з'ясувати практику вчителів не носіїв японської мови, у цій науковій розвідці було досліджено та проаналізовано відповіді двохсот сімдесяти чотирьох вчителів на опитування «Викладання японської мови в багатомовних класах – англійська як засіб навчання (EMI)». Наше дослідження являє собою спробу провести міжнародну розвідку використання EMI у викладанні японської мови як іноземної (JFL) і розглядає практику вчителів японської мови як іноземної у широкому географічному масштабі з п'ятдесяти семи переважно неангломовних країн. Ця стаття покликана дослідити різні чинники, що впливають на бажання та готовність вчителів японської мови як іноземної використовувати EMI, які можна класифікувати на демографічні, лінгвістичні та контекстуальні. Згідно з результатами виявлено декілька факторів значного впливу, таких як досвід роботи вчителів JFL, найвищий освітній рівень, рівень навчального закладу освіти, географічний регіон, рідна мовна група, рівень володіння японською мовою та знання інших мов (багатомовність). Факторами незначного впливу виявилися вік, вивчення методики викладання/лінгводидактики та рівень викладання японської мови. Чинник володіння вчителями англійською та японською мовами віднесено в окрему категорію впливу, де було виявлено значну різницю у категоріях досконалого володіння мовою та її володіння майже на рівні носіїв.

Ключові слова: англійська як засіб навчання (EMI); багатомовність; бажання та готовність; вчителі не носії японської мови; японська мова як іноземна (JFL).

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**GALIMI VEIKSNIAI, DARANTYS ĮTAKĄ KITAKALBIŲ NORUI
VARTOTI ANGLŲ KALBĄ MOKANT JAPONŲ KAIP UŽSIENIO
KALBOS**

Anotacija. Pastaraisiais metais dėl didėjančios žmonių migracijos daugelio šalių mokyklų klasėse mokosi įvairių kalbų ir kultūrų mokiniai, todėl daugiakalbis mokymasis ir mokymas tapo plačiai paplitusiu reiškiniu. Anglų kalbos mokymo ir mokymosi daugiakalbiame kontekste tyrimai tapo itin reikšmingi. Tačiau kitų kalbų (ne anglų) mokymui ir užsienio kalbų mokytojų praktikai šiame specifiniame kontekste iki šiol skirta nedaug dėmesio. Mokant labai kontekstualizuotos japonų kalbos daugiakalbėse klasėse kyla sunkumų, todėl mokytojai dažniau renkasi anglų kalbą kaip mokymo priemonę. Siekiant apžvelgti japonų kalbos mokytojų, kuriems japonų kalba nėra gimtoji, praktiką, buvo apklausti 274 mokytojai ir išanalizuoti jų atsakymai į klausimyną „Japonų kalbos mokymas daugiakalbėse klasėse per anglų kalbą (EMI)“. Šis klausimynas – dalis pasaulinio tyrimo apie EMI taikymą mokant japonų kaip užsienio kalbos. Jame nagrinėjama plati geografinė japonų kaip užsienio kalbos mokytojų praktika penkiasdešimt septyniose – daugiausia ne anglakalbėse – šalyse. Šiame straipsnyje daugiausia dėmesio skiriama įvairiems veiksniams, darantiems įtaką japonų kaip užsienio kalbos mokytojų norui naudoti EMI; juos galima suskirstyti į demografinius, kalbinius ir kontekstinius. Rezultatai atskleidė kelis reikšmingą įtaką turinčius veiksnius, pavyzdžiui, japonų kaip užsienio kalbos mokytojų darbo patirtis, aukščiausias įgytas išsilavinimas, švietimo pakopa, geografinis regionas, gimtosios kalbos grupė, japonų kalbos mokėjimas ir kitų kalbų mokėjimas (daugiakalbystė). Paaiškėjo, kad nedidelę įtaką darantys veiksniai yra amžius, mokymo metodikos / lingvodidaktikos studijos ir dėstomos japonų kalbos lygis. Japonų kaip užsienio kalbos mokytojų kalbinė kompetencija (ir anglų, ir japonų) patenka į atskirą įtakos kategoriją, kurioje pastebėtas reikšmingas skirtumas tarp kalbos mokėjimo lygio ir EMI vartojimo, itin išsiskiriantis aukščiausią anglų kalbos kompetenciją turinčioje grupėje.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dėstymas per anglų kalbą (angl. EMI); japonų kaip užsienio kalba; daugiakalbystė; negimtakalbiai japonų kalbos dėstytojai; noras.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE MOST COMMON L1 INTERFERENCE GRAMMAR, VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX ERRORS OF LITHUANIAN LEARNERS IN WRITTEN ENGLISH

Annotation. The paper describes a study on the most common English mistakes among Lithuanians in written tasks on the topic of business and finance. The study was conducted with high school students and university students, and the effectiveness of error feedback in reducing the occurrence of errors was also examined by comparing 2 written texts of each participant. Grammatical errors related to the use of articles and punctuation were found to be the most common types of errors, and feedback on errors was found to be an effective tool in increasing learner motivation and understanding, reducing common errors but not reducing the most common types of errors. The research showed that detailed, personalized feedback can help minimize mistakes in writing assignments, especially if it can be accessed during or in between tasks. However, it is uncertain whether this method will have long-lasting benefits or if improvements are dependent on continual feedback reference. Participants were advised to keep their error feedback forms and utilize teachers' feedback as a constant guide for improvement. We plan to utilize data on frequently occurring errors to conduct additional research on tackling and enhancing language errors that have become ingrained, employing various strategies. Based on the findings, directions for future research were identified. In the future we intend to carry out a study, using controlled texts with a pre-determined number of errors in diagnostic testing. This would allow us to more precisely analyse learners' improvements in the use of given structures, through a more extensive research.

Keywords: error analysis; contrastive analysis; L1 interference; university students; writing skills.

Introduction

Many error-analysis-based studies have been carried out in English as second language learner groups, allowing for the identification of commonly-occurring errors to increase learner and teacher awareness, and facilitate addressing the common errors. The aim of this study was to analyse errors resulting from L1 interference among Lithuanian learners of English, and in doing so raise learner awareness of errors, whilst attempting to address these using error feedback.

The research process was carried out based on error analysis focusing on the actual output of learners and contrastive analysis allowing the identification of points of difficulty and interference. The study focused on written English, due to the importance of these skills in an academic and professional setting, and the practical advantages of using written text for analysis, as well as the fact that writing is considered one of the hardest skills to master in a language. The importance of writing in international business careers was a reason for the focus on written English, as the participants were enrolled in business or finance English courses as part of their undergraduate studies.

It was found that article related errors were the most commonly occurring by a significant margin, as well as the error type committed by the largest percentage of participants, followed by word choice errors, punctuation errors, and preposition errors, with other error types mentioned below. In terms of the effectiveness of an error feedback form in reducing errors, it was found that the overall number of errors per student was reduced, though this was not the case with the most commonly occurring error types. There may be several reasons for this, as highlighted in the limitations section, and further research will be carried out in response to this outcome. In terms of learners' perception of the process, feedback was positive, with all participants saying they found the error feedback form useful in improving their motivation and understanding. Given the importance of motivation in language learning, this is a positive outcome.

Theoretical Background

L1 interference in language learning is a well-documented phenomenon, recognised as a substantial influence on the development of language skills. Interference was defined by Janulevicienė and Kavaliauskienė (2000) as the application of linguistic features from one language to another by a bilingual or multilingual speaker. Language transfer may occur from a mature speaker's first language to a second language they are acquiring or from an L2 back to the L1. Interference can be classified as "positive" or "negative", with positive interference aiding learners in acquisition and negative interference hindering acquisition.

L1 Interference has been widely investigated and remains pertinent across many languages, for example, case studies carried out on the writing of English learning Chinese students by Niswa (2022) and speech errors of Chinese learners of English by Krish and May (2020), who both focused on identifying common errors caused by L1 interference, and found articles and preposition errors to be common. Similarly, error analysis-based research on L1 interference was carried out on Italian learners of English and Spanish by Mahnaz (2022), who focused on writing, comparing inter and intra-lingual errors, emphasising the importance of L1 interference errors. Also relevant was the work of Kaspars (2012), investigating false cognates between Lithuanian and English among interpreters, assembling a comprehensive list of commonly occurring negative transfer errors.

Writing skills are among the most challenging aspects of language acquisition and an area of difficulty for students and teachers (Pop & Sim, 2010). This may explain why they are often neglected compared to other skills, despite being an important aspect of careers in many sectors, including the business sector, where error-free emails and reports are expected. As a result, the development of proficiency in writing during a business English or similar course should be prioritized. This has become increasingly important with investment growth in various sectors in Lithuania, particularly the technology sector and international business, where these communicative skills have become invaluable, giving rise to greater demand for interpreters, translators, and workers with strong English skills. This has been affected by such factors

as Lithuania's entry into the European Union. The increasing demand for English language proficiency in a business environment, and other careers, was highlighted by Jucevičienė (2017), who attributed this demand to multiple factors, including globalisation, free migration, etc.

Expected Errors Based on Language Differences

Below, some differences between Lithuanian and English are highlighted to explain and predict L1 interference errors. Though both languages are classified as Indo-European in origin, there are fundamental differences between the two. These include differences in sound systems, pronunciation, rhythm, and stress, though this paper focuses on difficulties in grammar, lexicon and syntax, commonly encountered by learners of English. What follows is a brief description of some of the differences considered relevant, but for a more in-depth analysis of expected errors based on differences between the languages we suggest the work of Janulevičienė & Kavaliauskienė (2000) on grammar differences and language transfer, where descriptions and examples are provided.

Lithuanian is considered a synthetic language – where forms are made through changes in the structure of words (e.g., verb conjugation and adjective / noun declension). There is no fixed word order. There are three main tenses – past, present and future, and neither progressive nor perfect forms of verbs exist. There are no auxiliary verbs like 'be, do, have, shall, will' or articles like 'a, an, or the'. Phrasal verbs are non-existent in Lithuanian (Janulevičienė & Kavaliauskienė (2000)).

Other expected errors involve subject – verb agreement, the use of the future tense in the first conditional (a feature of Lithuanian, not present in English, where the present tense is used). The use of the full infinitive with "to" after modal verbs is commonly observed, as the infinitive form follows modals in Lithuanian, whereas English modal verbs are followed by the bare infinitive (without "to").

Lithuanian learners often make errors involving the gerund in English, which is not present in Lithuanian, mistakenly using the infinitive. Countable and uncountable nouns are also an area of confusion for Lithuanian learners of

English, as these differ between the languages. The use of the non-gendered, 3rd person singular pronoun “they” also appears problematic for Lithuanian learners of English, who almost exclusively use “he” when referring to a generic subject. Another common error is confusion about when to use the demonstrative adjectives, pronouns or articles “this / that / these / those”.

One more area predicted to be problematic is in false cognates between Lithuanian and English, an area covered in detail by Kasparė (2012), who identified many “false-friends” analyzing the work of interpreters. This was relevant as many of the students on the business English course had expressed plans to work as interpreters after graduation, so including word-choice errors caused by L1 interference in the analysis could potentially help to reduce errors at an early stage for prospective interpreters. Kasparė (2012) claims that, despite considerable difference between the languages, several apparently similar words appear, and are either partial false friends (with some connection in meaning), or absolute false friends (with no shared meaning). Without a strong knowledge of the Lithuanian vocabulary, attributing word-choice errors to false-cognates from the L1 is not always possible, however.

Camilleri (2004) identified different forms of L1 interference error, including one described as ‘new category’, referring to the presence of a new area of grammar in L2 which does not appear in L1 (an example of this being articles, which are present in English but not Lithuanian), and it appears that many learner errors identified in this research fit within this category. In this study, categories have been developed based on prior studies of Lithuanian researchers, mentioned above, and our observations in the classroom.

The commonly occurring errors of Lithuanian learners of English have been observed across all levels of learning, including throughout university. This is consistent with the findings of several researchers that L1 interference errors occur even in the later stages of language development among advanced learners (Daukšaitė, 2019; Niswa, 2022).

Discussion on Study Concepts

Below is a brief outline of concepts considered important for understanding the study. For readers who wish for a more detailed explanation

of any of the following concepts, or other information in this paper, we suggest an in-depth reading of the references included in this section and the bibliography.

Several forms of analysis were deployed in the study, including *contrastive analysis* and *error analysis*. Contrastive analysis is defined as the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences (Johansson, 2008), whereas Schachter (1974) defines it as a point-by-point analysis of the phonological, morphological, syntactic, or other subsystem of two languages. The purpose is generally pedagogical, allowing for the creation of effective teaching materials. Contrastive analysis allows for identifying points of difficulty and interference, based on an understanding of similarities and differences between the L1 and the target language.

Error Analysis is a research model that, instead of beginning with a comparison of two languages, focuses on the actual output of learners. Error analysis proposes the study and analysis of errors that occur during the learning process, to discover causes. Proponents of error analysis are concerned with investigating strategies employed by learners during learning, as well as mutual interference of items within the target language.

Several stages of error analysis are suggested by Corder (1967): the collection of a sample, the identification of errors, the description of errors, the explanation of errors, and the evaluation of errors. Corder (1967) explains that while native speakers make unsystematic 'performance' errors (like slips of the tongue) from time to time, second language learners make more errors, and often the ones that no native speaker ever makes. An error analysis should focus on errors that are systematic violations of patterns in the input to which the learners have been exposed. Such errors tell us something about the learner's *interlanguage* or underlying knowledge of the rules of the language being learned.

Interlanguage describes the linguistic system that underlies learner language (Selinker, 1972). This system is visible when a learner attempts to use learned language in an unrehearsed communicative situation. Selinker (1972) defines interlanguage as "the linguistic system of the student that mediates between the native language and the target language, the complexity

of which increases in a creative process that goes through successive stages, marked by new structures and vocabulary that the student acquires”.

Error analysis and interlanguage analysis differ in that an error analysis is likely to demonstrate that errors are occurring in a certain area of language (e.g., the learner is repeatedly incorrectly gendering nouns); whereas an interlanguage analysis might demonstrate the system being utilised by a learner (the learner is applying masculine gender to all nouns and modifiers). In this case an interlanguage analysis provides information on the system leading to errors, as well as correct forms.

Of particular importance in the study was the concept of *language transfer*. Language transfer occurs when features from one language are applied to another by a user. This can occur in any situation in which an individual lacks native-level command of a given language. Language transfer is generally categorised as positive or negative, though negative transfer – viewing interference as a source of errors in the target language – is more widely discussed. Positive transfer occurs when features of a learner’s L1 aid acquisition of an L2, for example, through prior knowledge of cognates, or shared structures in both L1 and L2.

Negative transfer occurs when features that differ between the languages are incorrectly transferred from L1 to a target language. According to Lennon (2008), “the greater the differences between two languages, the more negative transfer can be expected”. Due to the structural differences between Lithuanian and English, in terms of syntax, vocabulary and grammar, it is expected that a fairly large number of L1 interference errors are likely to take place. Brogan and Son (2015) found that negative transfer errors occur at all levels of language learning, findings shared with much prior research.

Finally, *fossilisation* refers to the process of erroneous language becoming a habit, occurring regularly, and being difficult to correct in a lasting way. Fossilised errors occur even at advanced levels of learning and prevent the development of native-like fluency in a target language, regardless of a learner’s motivation to continue. Fossilised errors often seem to be impervious to explicit attempts at correction (Han, 2003; 2004).

Research Motivation

As teachers, our primary objective was to improve the level of the students' English language competence. In demonstrating the effectiveness of an error feedback form, we sought to present students with a tool to use individually for the continual improvement of recurring errors, even without the direct supervision of a teacher, to allow for long-term progress, beneficial in a future professional setting.

To contribute to a greater understanding of the Lithuanian-to-English learning experience was also a motive, as this is an area in which a lack of research is present, and with proficiency in English language so highly sought and prioritised in Lithuania, an area of importance. Due to the role of English as a lingua-franca, widely utilised in international business and professional environments, and when dealing with foreign visitors to Lithuania, the development of students' English is a worthwhile objective. Focusing on improving errors in written English can yield benefits for a setting where participants are required to write emails, reports, and other texts, where errors can be problematic.

The analysis of commonly occurring errors of Lithuanian learners of English can facilitate the development of targeted teaching materials, allowing issues to be addressed pre-emptively for efficient learning. Additionally, the findings of such research could be extrapolated to other learner groups whose languages have structural similarities to Lithuanian, for example, similar errors might be expected among learners from Slavic language backgrounds, which also utilise noun-declension.

The error feedback form in a table format could be an effective way for teachers to organise and analyse errors in writing, which can be a difficult and overwhelming task, particularly when many errors are present, or when the intended meaning of a text is hard to ascertain. We aimed to demonstrate the efficacy of this approach.

Finally, with this work an attempt was made to show that research based on an analysis of student errors and the contrast between their L1 and the target language can take place as a complement to an existing curriculum in an academic setting. The analysed texts came from assignments written by

students during their university term, which facilitated the process for all to be involved, saving time for researchers and students, and reducing workload. The texts were organised through the university's MOODLE system, and this facilitated logistical aspects of the study. With this in consideration, we encourage others to take a similar approach and broaden research into this area.

Research Methodology

The following section includes a description of the context of the study and a step-by-step explanation of processes involved, including the activities in which texts were produced, error analysis and recording, and the distribution and analysis of questionnaires. Also described are materials employed.

All participants were Lithuanian students studying an undergraduate degree in English for Specific purposes and communication at Mykolas Romeris University, where a minimum level of B2 in English is required before the course, ensuring that students were at an upper-intermediate level or above. Non-L1 Lithuanian students were excluded from the study to ensure relevance of results.

Method

The decision was made to focus our error analysis on errors involving the most relevant language areas, selected from those identified by researchers into errors of Lithuanian learners of English (Janulevičienė & Kavaliauskienė, 2000; Daukšaitė, 2019). This was intended to facilitate an efficient comparison between errors occurring in the first and second tasks. This also simplified instructions to students and lessened the cognitive load taken on before the second task.

The errors anticipated were based on the experience of the researchers as lecturers, suggestions and information gathered by consulting Lithuanian teachers of English, and the error analysis of earlier researchers. Prior research had identified expected error types, but not quantified which errors were common nor provided comparisons.

The study took place in stages, involving an investigation into predicted errors based on previous literature, in which error categories were determined, giving an idea of what to be aware of when analysing submissions. The decision was made to note all errors found in the submitted texts, before creating error categories based on them.

Following this, the first writing task was assigned. Learners were given 7 days to complete the task, and then the assignments were marked, with errors transferred to an error feedback form, and consultations given. Upon receiving the first error feedback, learners were assigned the second task, given another week to complete the task. After submitting the second task they were presented with the second error feedback. Upon submission and marking of the second task, the final data analysis stage took place. Below is a description of each stage.

Task assigned (1). At this stage students were assigned the first writing task.

The activity on which the first error analysis was carried out involved writing a short summary based on a business or finance topic, a regular assignment during their university course. Summaries were from 200 to 300 words. The news articles were sourced from the same newspapers and journalists, to ensure similarity in the writing style and complexity of texts.

All texts to be analysed were submitted electronically, feedback and error analysis were carried out remotely, due to logistical complications arising from Covid 19. All texts were taken from British or American newspaper articles on the topic of business or finance, and the students were given a choice of 3 articles to write from in each assignment.

The activity was completed at home, and learners were not prohibited from using dictionaries or thesauruses – though they were instructed not to use reactive grammar correcting software. The detection of recurring L1 interference errors during such tasks had been a primary inspiration for initially undertaking this study.

Correction of written assignments and data analysis (1). After the first written assignments were submitted, they were checked for errors, which were highlighted. Errors were transferred into an error feedback form, where corrections and explanations were written. Grades were given with

comments praising positive aspects of the texts and outlining steps to be taken to improve future submissions. Learners were instructed to pay close attention to the error feedback form before future writing assignments, with the aim of reducing the recurrence of errors. Learners were then given a marked version of their assignment and the first error feedback.

After individual feedback, the first error analysis stage began. **39** sample texts had been attained. Errors were counted and categorised, divided into the primary categories of **vocab** and **grammar**, and then further divided into **18** subcategories (see section *results / discussion* for categories). The most common categories of errors were determined at this point. These categories provided a focus for the rest of the study – as the second task was used to determine whether the common types of errors were reduced through the use of the error feedback form between tasks.

This data was recorded for the entire learner group, and also recorded for each individual student, to allow for a comparison in the second analysis stage.

Task assigned (2). After the correction of the first task and provision of feedback, the second task was assigned. This followed the same format as task 1, a summary of 200 to 300 words of a business or finance article. Students were instructed to refer to error feedback forms from the previous task to attempt to reduce errors.

Correction of written assignments and data analysis (2). Once completed, the second task was gathered and marked, with errors added to an error feedback forms to be compared with prior results. Students were again provided feedback through the second error feedback form, and a comparison was made to determine if any reduction in errors had taken place. To do this, the number of errors from the most common error categories in error feedback form one were compared with the same categories in error feedback form two.

Error feedback form description. The error feedback form was designed to provide learners with feedback in the form of a table involving an explicit description and explanation of their errors, with corrections and the grammatical or lexical reason behind their errors. In this way learners were made aware of the L1 interference affecting their writing, where possible, and given instructions on how to improve. This allowed for observation of whether

an explicit and clearly defined explanation of errors, which learners could refer to between tasks, would reduce errors.

The error feedback form was made up of three columns, the first displaying the original text including errors, the second showing the corrected version of the text, the third explaining the reason behind the error, with corrections.

Questionnaire description. The decision was made to question learners on the effect of the error feedback approach on their motivation. The decision to receive feedback from students was based on the well-established importance of motivation in language teaching, with researchers, such as Seven (2020), stating that "motivation is vital in language learning, and one of the most difficult aspects of teaching is how to motivate a language student." Thus, any tool which improves learner motivation is valuable. The questionnaire was designed to allow learners to reflect on their learning experience, whilst providing qualitative data on the perceived effectiveness of this form of feedback.

Learners were presented with 5 statements about the effectiveness of, and their opinions on, the error database. Learners were asked to indicate whether they agreed, disagreed, or neither agreed nor disagreed with each statement. Space was provided for learners to write comments, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of their experience.

Participants were presented with questionnaires to determine their perceived effectiveness of the use of error feedback forms in reducing errors, after completing both tasks. At this stage participants were questioned about their attitude towards the error feedback approach to consult, and whether they felt that this form of feedback increased their confidence in writing.

Results / Discussion

Several areas of interest were investigated during this research, including identification and analysis of errors, and a comparison of error frequency before and after feedback. The analysis was split into two stages, the first taking place after the completion of the first written assignment, and

the second stage carried out after the second assignment. Below the process and findings of this analysis are outlined.

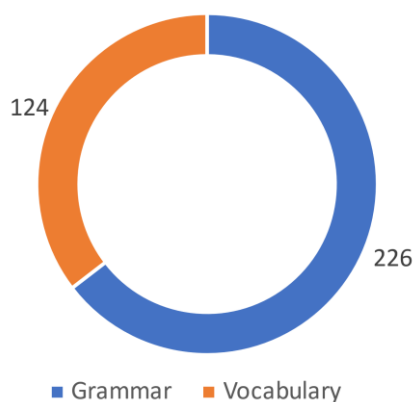
When recording the most commonly-occurring errors, the normal occurrence of each grammatical structure in normal writing should be considered, e.g., the use of the first conditional may be an area of difficulty for most students, but the number of times that a first conditional is used may be low in general writing, when compared to the use of articles or prepositions. For this reason, we have noted not only the most commonly occurring errors, but all errors which occurred repeatedly and seemed of note. Additionally, data has been included on the number and percentage of students who made the most common errors.

After task 1. Firstly, we sought to determine which errors were most commonly occurring, based on several categories.

The total number of errors recorded in the first assignment was **350**, across **39** papers analysed, an average of around **9** errors per paper. As demonstrated in Figure 1 below, a substantial majority of the most commonly occurring errors fell into the category of *grammar errors* (**226**), with the rest classified as *vocabulary errors* (**124**).

Figure 1

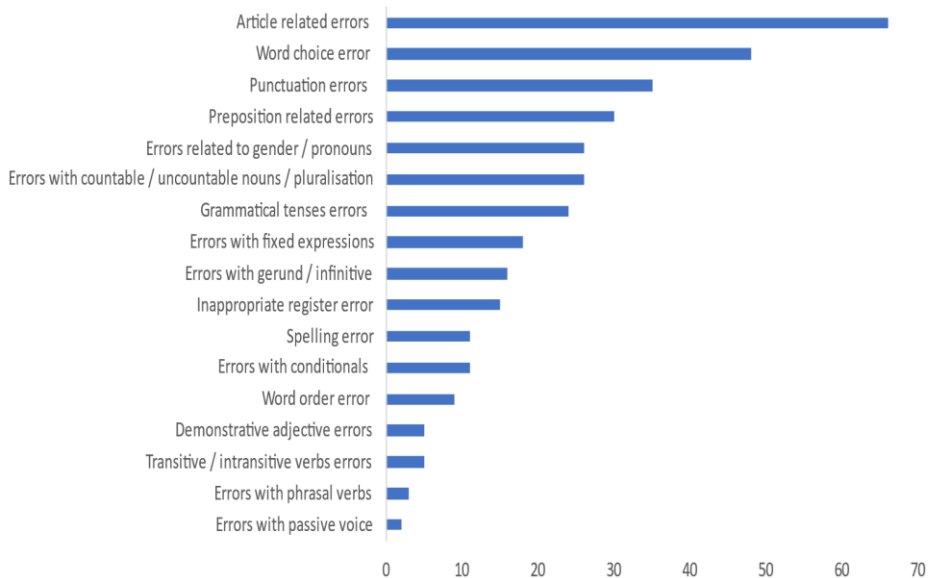
Grammar / Vocabulary Errors



Errors were further divided into the categories below and compared by frequency, as illustrated in Figures 2 and 3.

Figure 2

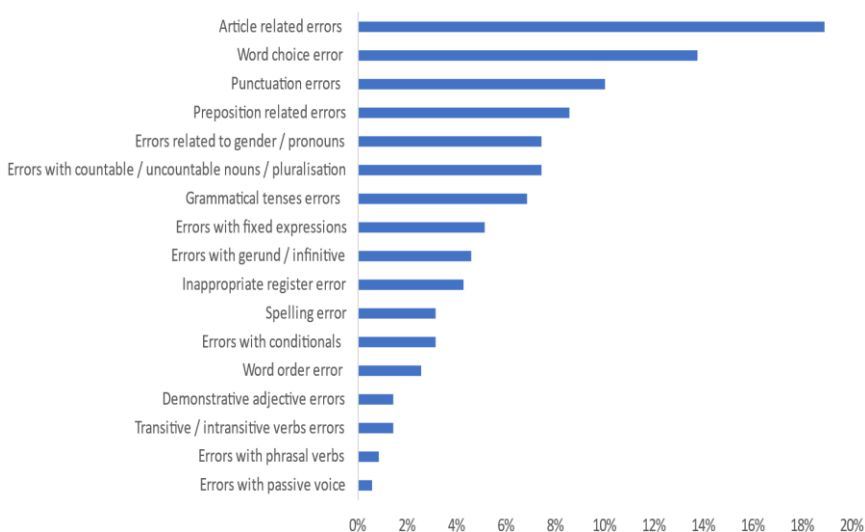
Error Occurrence of Each Category (Task 1)



The above diagram shows the occurrence of each type of error in the first task, with article related errors notably the most common.

Figure 3

Percentage of Total Errors for Each Category (Task1)



As observable in the figures above, the most commonly occurring error type was *article errors (usually the definite article)* (**66**), which accounted for over **19%** of total errors. This error was made by **35/39** participants, roughly **90%** of the total number of participants.

The second most commonly occurring error type was *word choice errors (where the wrong word had been chosen, likely often due to L1 interference)* (**48**). This error type made up **14%** of total errors, and was made by **25/39** participants, **64%** of the total number of participants.

The third most commonly occurring error type was *punctuation errors (almost exclusively involving the use of commas)* (**35**) which made up over **10%** of total errors, and was made by **25/39** participants, making up **64%** of the total number of participants.

The fourth most commonly occurring was *preposition related errors* (**30**) which made up almost **9%** of total errors, and was made by **24/39** participants, constituting around **62%** of the total number of participants.

Following these above, the most commonly occurring error types included *Errors with countable and uncountable nouns / pluralisation* (**26**) and *Errors related to gender / pronouns* (**26**), both of which occurred in around **a third (12/39 participants – 31% and 13/39 participants – 33% respectively)** of papers analysed.

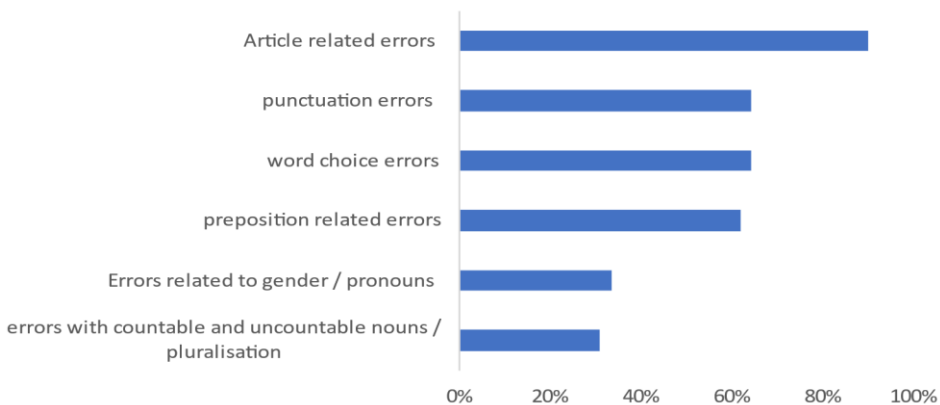
Table 1

Percentage of Participants Who Made Each Error Type

Type of error	Number of participants who made error	Percentage of total participants (39 in total)
Article related errors	35	90%
word choice errors	25	64%
punctuation errors	25	64%
preposition related errors	24	62%
errors with countable and uncountable nouns / pluralisation	12	31%
Errors related to gender / pronouns	13	33%

Figure 4

Percentage of Participants Who Made Each Error (Task 1)



**Note: total percentages add to over 100% as multiple errors can be made by each participant*

Analysis of article-related errors. A more detailed analysis was carried out regarding the most commonly occurring error type, *article-related errors*. **8** of the learners' submitted texts were selected at random, and the number of articles used was counted, and then divided into **2** subcategories: *indefinite articles (a/an)* and *definite articles (the)*. These were then divided into *correct uses of each type of article* and *incorrect uses of each type of article*, in order to provide an idea of the ratio of incorrectly used articles and to determine the extent of this grammar problem among learners.

Table 2

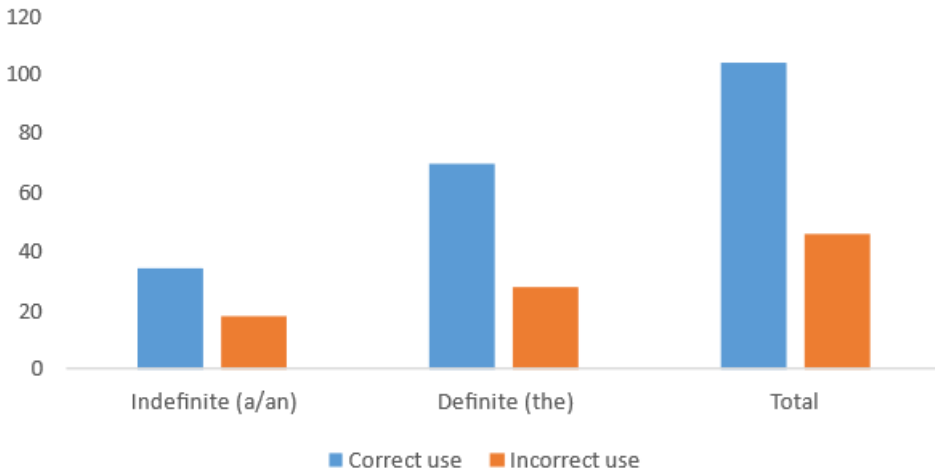
Total Numbers of Errors Calculated After Task 1

Article	Correct use	Incorrect use	Total
Indefinite (a/an)	34	18	52
Definite (the)	70	28	98
Total	104	46	150

Article	Correct use	Incorrect use
Indefinite (a/an)	65%	35%
Definite (the)	71%	29%
Total	69%	31%

Figure 5

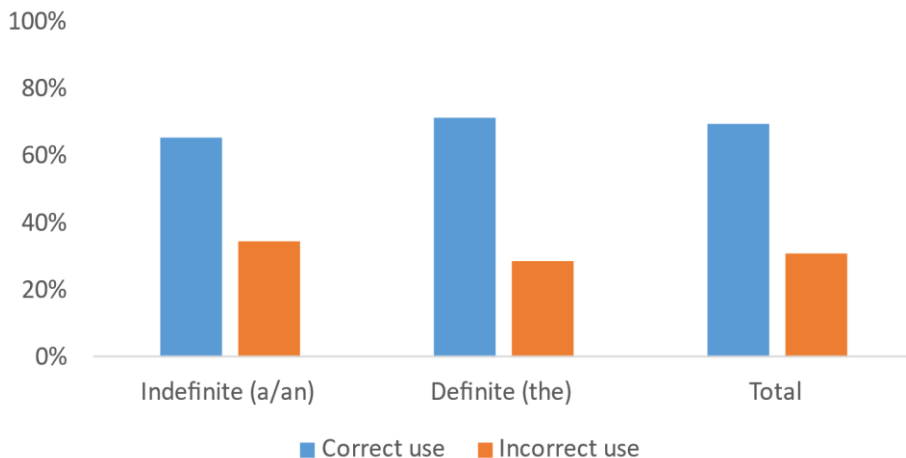
Numbers of Correct and Incorrect Use of Articles



The graphs above (**Figure 5**) and below (**Figure 6**) provide a comparison between the number of correct and incorrect uses of articles, based on the data gained from the previously mentioned random sample. The second graph details the percentage of correct and incorrect uses of articles.

Figure 6

Percentage of Correct / Incorrect Uses of Articles



The above analysis demonstrates that this error is extremely common, with errors accounting for almost a third of all uses of articles. This is unsurprising based on the experience of the researchers, and the fact that the L1 of the learners does not contain articles. This highlights the necessity of an effective way of training learners to use articles more accurately.

Other notable errors. Also of note was the frequency of punctuation errors, specifically with commas. This error occurred in over 60% of the papers analysed, the second highest frequency based on this metric. It was an unexpected area of difficulty for learners, and revision of defining and non-defining relative clauses, among other uses of commas, is advisable. According to Bučienė (2019), this can be a problematic area for Lithuanian students in their own language. Native-Lithuanian teachers of English were consulted regarding this and explained that commas are used with much greater frequency in Lithuanian than in English, and that the incorrect use of commas by learners likely results from a negative transfer. Students were found to tend to overuse or underuse commas. When consulted several students responded, "We were never taught to use commas in English classes", suggesting that this area requires training.

Other notable error types, found to occur frequently but not included in the full analysis, are listed below, along with the number of occurrences in the first task:

Errors involving the incorrect use of grammatical tenses (usually perfect tenses) (24)

Errors involving the use of conditionals (usually the first conditional) (11)

Errors involving incorrectly used fixed expressions (18)

Errors involving the use of the gerund or infinitive form of the verb (16)

Errors involving the use of incorrect register (usually overly informal language) (15)

Errors involving the use of transitive and intransitive verbs (5)

Errors involving the use of phrasal verbs (3)

Some other error types were recorded but were either infrequent or not relevant to this paper.

After task 2. We also sought to investigate the effectiveness of using an error feedback form focused on explicit grammatical and lexical explanations of errors to provide feedback, in reducing errors between tasks. Although an overall decline in errors was observed, this was not the case in the most commonly occurring error types, which were not reduced by the use of an error feedback form. Though several students were able to effectively utilise the feedback to reduce commonly occurring errors, many others were not, and this will prompt an investigation into other methods of improving upon fossilised errors.

Above is a comparison between errors of different types in each task, with details given below. The total number of errors recorded in the first task was **350**; this was reduced to **320** in the second task, a reduction of almost **9%**. As mentioned, in terms of the most commonly occurring errors, there was no reduction observed, and in some cases there was an increase of commonly occurring errors. For example, *errors involving articles* were not reduced at all and increased from **66** to **67**, and *word choice errors* went from **48** to **62** – an increase of almost **23%**.

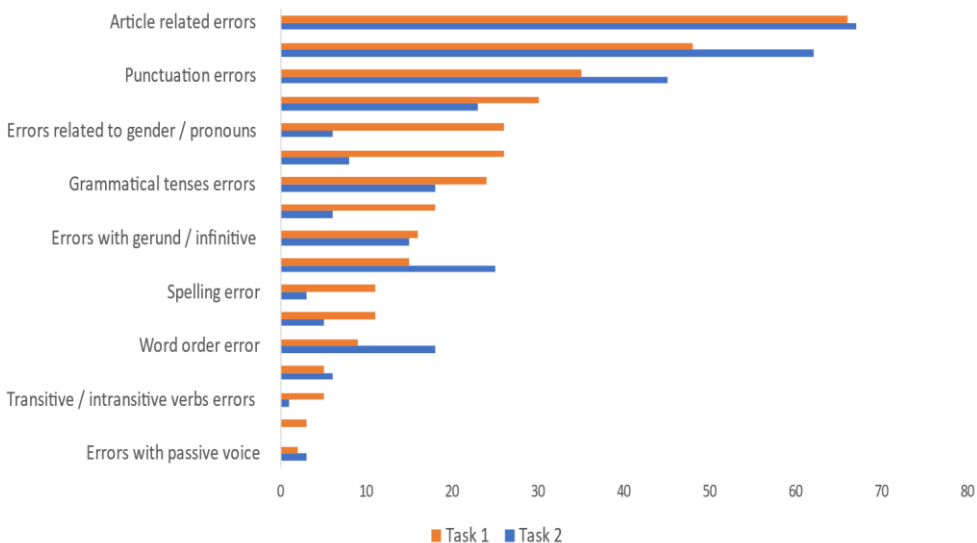
The average number of errors per assignment before the error feedback was around **9** and, after error feedback, this dropped to **8** errors per assignment. The greatest reduction in errors from one learner was from **17** errors (pre-error-feedback) to **5** errors (post-error-feedback), a reduction of **70%**.

Several students had an error reduction rate of **100%**, particularly among the highest-level students, who, after using the error feedback form, were able to eliminate all errors between tasks.

Some students were of a lower-than-expected English level for the class and made a very large number of errors in both tasks, with the highest number of recorded errors at **33** in a **246**-word submission. Some participants made no errors in either task.

Figure 7

Number of Errors Per Type, Per Task



Results of Survey

As mentioned, 39 questionnaires were distributed to determine participants' views on the process.

Table 3

Table of Participant Responses to the 5 statements in the questionnaire

	s1	s2	s3	s4	s5
a1	36	39	38	39	38
a2	3	-	1	-	1
a3	-	-	-	-	-

The statements are explained below, with the meaning of numbered responses provided.

s1: *The error feedback helped to reduce the number of errors I made*

s2: *The error feedback made me feel more confident about the writing task*

s3: *The error feedback was easy to understand*

s4: *The error feedback helped me to understand the reasons behind my errors*

s5: *I would like to use an error feedback form in future assignments*

Responses:

1 – *Agree*

2 – *Neither agree nor disagree*

3 – *Disagree*

As observed above, learners were satisfied with the process, and found the error feedback approach beneficial, with almost every participant stating that they wished to continue using this form of feedback.

Comments included phrases such as, “The error feedback form is a great way to check and understand mistakes”; “I really like this method of correcting mistakes. Conveniently, at any time I can open a Word document and check the explanation of my errors. It helps me avoid them not only in writings but also in conversations”; “The error feedback forms have been really helpful as it not only indicates what is wrong, but also shows how it should be written and clearly explains why this way is better.”

While the improvement of commonly occurring errors was not overwhelmingly successful after the first error feedback, learner perceptions of this approach were positive, and the error feedback form was seen as a useful tool in improving understanding and motivation among learners, giving a focus on areas to improve.

Conclusion

The findings regarding the most commonly occurring error types provided insight into which areas to focus on; namely, article, preposition, and punctuation errors, particularly when giving grammar-focused lessons. Revision and practice of several lower-level grammatical structures could be included alongside more advanced general English or English for specific purposes courses.

We can see that highly detailed, individualised feedback may be a useful tool in reducing errors in written tasks, if feedback can be referred to

between or during tasks, though the effectiveness of this approach in the long term is inconclusive, as it is not yet clear whether these improvements will be lasting, or whether they rely on constant reference to feedback. We encouraged participants to maintain their error feedback forms and continue using feedback provided by teachers, to serve as a continual reminder of areas to focus on. We aim to use the information regarding commonly occurring errors to formulate further research into addressing and improving upon fossilised errors, using a variety of approaches.

Limitations

There were several areas of the study which were limited due to logistical or practical concerns, and which could be improved on.

Firstly, the classification of some errors proved difficult, as it was not always possible to determine reasons behind an error (e.g., do vocabulary / word-choice errors originate from L1 interference or not? A detailed consultation with L1 Lithuanian teachers of English could help to elucidate this matter). In fact, this classification was perhaps the greatest challenge of the research, as some categories could be considered connected, and some errors could fall into several categories (e.g., *article related errors* and *countable / uncountable nouns / pluralisation*); however, we believe that the classification utilised in this paper still has value as a means of identifying areas to be focused on in teaching.

According to Camilleri (2004), "under ideal circumstances the researcher should ask every research participant to explain why mistakes have been made, but they are sometimes unable to explain this, and the researcher does not always have a possibility to discuss the errors soon after they have occurred".

It was not practical to question every student about errors; however, questionnaires were designed to go some way in asking students if the reason behind their errors had been identified and addressed in the error feedback forms. In future a "focus-group" style interview session might help to improve understanding among researchers and participants, as to why errors have occurred.

It was also not always possible to assign an error to one category (e.g., if it is an error using a fixed expression, a mistranslation, or a preposition error). Some errors could fit several categories, making classification complicated.

The English proficiency of learners was not always well-matched, with some learners exhibiting a below-expected skill level. This may have increased the average number of errors recorded. As mentioned earlier, some assignments contained no errors, while others contained as many as 33.

The level of the detailed error-analysis and feedback provision utilised proved time-consuming, which may not be practical for teachers, particularly with larger classes. A faster method of categorising errors and providing feedback could streamline the process.

A larger sample size may produce more conclusive results, and this could be achieved using a larger pool of students, in a collaborative effort between universities with the aid of a greater number of teachers.

Suggestions for continuation of research

In future research, directly consulting students about reasons for their error, or having a native-Lithuanian, well-versed in their L1 grammar at hand to advise, may improve the results and the depth of understanding behind observed results.

In terms of data analysis, an analysis could be made of how often the structures analysed were used correctly, compared to incorrectly, or how many times they were used incorrectly as a percentage of overall use, for each error type. This would allow us to determine which areas were most erroneous in general writing and to formulate a targeted approach to teaching.

In the future we intend to carry out an investigation, using controlled texts with a pre-determined number of errors in diagnostic testing. This would allow us to more precisely analyse learners' improvements in the use of given structures, through longitudinal research.

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**DAŽNIAUSIAI PASITAIKANČIŲ GRAMATINIŲ, ŽODYNO IR
SINTAKSĖS KLAIDŲ, DAROMŲ RAŠY TINĖJE ANGLŲ KALBOJE
IR SĄLYGOJAMŲ GIMTOSIOS LIETUVIŲ KALBOS ĮTAKOS,
ANALIZĖ**

Anotacija. Straipsnyje aprašomas tyrimas, kuriuo buvo analizuotos dažniausiai pasitaikančios anglų kalbos klaidos rašytiniuose lietuvių tekstuose verslo ir finansų tema. Tyrime dalyvavo aukštesniųjų klasių moksleiviai bei universiteto studentai. Taip pat buvo nagrinėjamas grįžtamojo ryšio efektyvumas mažinant klaidų atsiradimą, palyginus du kiekvieno dalyvio rašytinius tekstus. Nustatyti itin dažni klaidų tipai: artikelių vartojimas ir skyrybos ženklai. Grįžtamasis ryšys apie daromas klaidas yra veiksmingas besimokančiųjų motyvacijai ir supratimui, kaip sumažinti bendrą klaidų skaičių, bet nemažina dažniausiai pasitaikančių klaidų rūšių. Tyrimas atskleidė, jog išsami, asmeniškai pritaikyta grįžtamoji informacija gali padėti sumažinti klaidų skaičių, ypač jeigu ją galima gauti atliekant užduotis arba tarp jų. Tačiau neaišku, ar šio metodo nauda bus ilgalaikė, ar patobulinimai priklausys nuo nuolatinės grįžtamojo ryšio nuorodos. Dalyviams buvo patarta saugoti klaidų grįžtamojo ryšio formas ir naudotis mokytojų grįžtamuoju ryšiu kaip nuolatinio vadovu tobulėjant. Duomenis apie dažnai pasitaikančias klaidas planuojama panaudoti papildomiems tyrimams, kaip išgyvendinti įsisenėjusias kalbos klaidas ir patobulinti įgūdžius taikant įvairias strategijas. Remiantis išvadomis, buvo nustatytos būsimų tyrimų kryptys. Ateityje ketiname atlikti tyrimą naudodami tekstus su iš anksto nustatyta diagnostinių klaidų skaičiumi. Atliekant ilgalaikį tyrimą tai leistų tiksliau nustatyti, kaip besimokantieji tobulina tam tikrų struktūrų vartojimą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: klaidų analizė; kontrastinė analizė; L1 trukdžiai; studentai; rašymo įgūdžiai.

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PROMOTING MULTILINGUAL SKILLS IN CHILDREN WITH AUTISM: PARENT AND TEACHER PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHING ESL

Annotation. Research on autistic children who grow up in multilingual environments remains sparse, despite more than half of the global population being multilingual. Autistic spectrum disorder (ASD) is characterized by severe impairments in communication and language skills. Many ASD parents ask specialists for advice about whether their child should study both languages simultaneously in a bilingual environment. The study investigated the challenges faced by teachers and parents in educating children with ASD in learning English as a Second language (ESL). The study sample consisted of nine parents and five teachers of children with ASD who were interviewed using a qualitative approach. According to the findings of the study, teaching English as a Second Language to children with autism spectrum disorders with visual aids, modeling, and repetition has been shown to be an effective method to enhance the language and social abilities of children with autism. While it is difficult to develop teaching strategies that are effective for children with autism spectrum disorders, teachers have found that these children are extremely proficient in acquiring new languages. Additionally, to ensure successful language learning programs for children with ASD, it is essential that educators and parents collaborate in order to make the programs successful. Moreover, this study demonstrates various methods that educators and parents could use in order to assist children in achieving bilingualism. The study recommends that more research is needed to fully comprehend the difficulties that ESL teachers face when they are trying to teach children with ASD how to learn languages.

Keywords: Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD); children; ESL; multilingual abilities; parental perspectives; teaching.

Introduction

Being able to speak, read, and write in numerous languages is referred to as multilingualism, and it is increasingly prevalent in today's global culture. Research has shown that children raised in multilingual households may experience cognitive benefits such as enhanced creativity, problem-solving

skills, and cognitive adaptability. The benefits stem from the unique linguistic and cultural encounters that multilingual youngsters are exposed to, which can enhance their cognitive development (From et al., 2022; Pundziuvienė et al., 2023; Zeng et al., 2022).

Multilingualism has a positive impact on both social communication and intellectual success. Bilingual children excel academically in certain topics, have a deeper understanding of cultural diversity, and engage more effectively with individuals from various backgrounds. Nevertheless, multilingualism can have intricate effects on cognitive development that differ based on various contexts. It can also lead to challenges such as language interference or mixing. Research on multilingualism is an intriguing subject that reveals the relationships between language, culture, and cognition (Aldabas, 2022; Charamba, 2021; Fisher et al., 2022).

Extensive research has been conducted on the topic of multilingualism over the years. Globalization has led to an increase in the popularity of multilingualism. Enhanced academic achievement, more social and cultural understanding, and improved cognitive abilities are some of the benefits of being multilingual. Studying multilingualism is crucial for gaining insights into how the brain encodes and handles language, which can inform the creation of language interventions and educational programs (Festman, 2021; Irgashevich et al., 2022).

Examining multilingualism in children with ASD is crucial due to its potential impact on policies and practical applications. Proficiency in various languages can enhance executive function and social skills in children with ASD. Recognizing these advantages helps shape language education and cultural diversity policy, as well as efficient language learning methods for children with ASD. It is crucial to provide efficient language learning and teaching methods for children with ASD. Research indicates that bilingual children who are developing typically may experience cognitive benefits, including enhanced attentional control and behavioral regulation, as a result of switching between languages (Castro & Prishker, 2019; Goodrich et al., 2022; Kircher et al., 2022; Nolte et al., 2021; Titone & Tiv, 2023). Thus, advocating for multilingualism is essential for both neurotypical children and those with ASD.

This study addresses a research gap by collecting input from parents

and teachers on the most effective ways to assist multilingual children with ASD in developing their language skills. Children with ASD may experience challenges and delays in language development, especially when exposed to many languages. The study's results can guide the creation of successful language therapies for these youngsters, improving their well-being and future opportunities.

RQ.1: What teaching strategies and methods are most effective in supporting language learning for children with ASD in the context of ESL instruction, from the perspective of both teachers and parents?

RQ.2: How do parents of children with ASD navigate the challenges of supporting their child's language learning in the context of ESL instruction, and what strategies do they find to be most effective?

RQ.3: What role can technology play in supporting language learning for children with ASD in the ESL classroom, and how do teachers and parents perceive its effectiveness?

Literature Review

The study of multilingualism is often approached from personal and societal perspectives. Li's 2008 definition of multilingualism describes it as the ability of individuals to use many languages for communication, either actively through speaking and writing or passively through listening and reading. This term highlights the pragmatic use of numerous languages in an individual's life. The European Commission (2007) defined multilingualism as the ability of individuals, groups, institutions, and communities to often use many languages in their everyday activities, emphasizing its importance at the societal level.

Research indicates that multilingualism positively impacts children's cognitive development by improving executive function skills such as memory and attention control, in comparison to monolingual children. Moreover, it has been linked to enhanced creativity and higher academic performance. The relationship between multilingualism and cognitive development in children with ASD is yet unclear. Recent studies suggest that multilingualism could enhance the cognitive development of children with ASD, although more

research is needed to fully understand this connection.

Kriegel et al. (2023) state that ASDs are neurodevelopmental disorders that impact behavioral, social, communication, and sensory processing abilities. Individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder struggle with language acquisition, underscoring the significance of early identification and support (Gernsbacher & Yergeau, 2019). Pliatsikas et al. (2018) suggest that multilingualism can offer cognitive and social advantages, but it necessitates certain diagnostic and therapeutic methods. Lorah et al. (2018) recommend integrating computer-assisted therapy, naturalistic instruction and applied behavior analysis for language intervention in individuals with ASD.

Speech therapy is often necessary for many children with ASD due to their diverse language development capabilities. Research conducted by Chu et al. (2020) and Sánchez Pérez et al. (2020) has shown that children with ASD exhibit a noticeable delay in expressive language development, but it typically aligns with the developmental pattern seen in typically developing (TD) children. For young children to develop language skills optimally, they need to get appropriate treatment.

Children with ASD may struggle with acquiring and using language skills, especially in the areas of social communication, pragmatics, and generalization. Individuals with ASD who are bilingual may face increased challenges when learning a second language. Therefore, children in multilingual households with ASD may need specialized language assessment and intervention strategies. Recognizing and addressing language acquisition challenges is crucial for supporting the language development and social communication abilities of children with ASD (Chu et al., 2020; Cola et al., 2020; Kapranov, & Voloshyna, 2023; Moseley et al., 2020).

Students with Autism Spectrum Disorder who are learning English as a Second Language require specialized teaching methods and approaches that cater to their requirements. Utilizing visual aids, maintaining regular schedules, providing specific instruction, and using tailored materials and tasks are essential for promoting involvement and understanding. Language acquisition can be enhanced by the use of multimodal strategies and breaking down language into smaller segments. Children with ASD need to repeatedly practice and reinforce new language skills. Utilizing these effective teaching

methods and tactics can enhance language learning for children with ASD (Boyer & Lee, 2001; Hsu, 2011; Wilder et al., 2004).

Establishing a regular and expected schedule is advantageous for children with ASD who are learning English as a Second Language. They flourish in environments with clear organization, which helps alleviate stress in new or unfamiliar circumstances. Teachers can start with a warm-up, introduce linguistic topics, engage in practice exercises, and conclude with a review. Visual timetables or checklists aid children in comprehending the order and length of activities. Establishing a well-organized schedule is crucial for implementing successful teaching methods for children with ASD who are learning English as a Second Language, as suggested by Al-khresheh et al. (2022), Burgstahler & Russo-Gleicher (2015), and Mesibov et al. (2004).

Parental participation is essential for the language acquisition of children with ASD in English as a Second Language. Establishing a language-rich household by speaking English, engaging in shared reading, and playing language-learning activities are successful methods. Demonstrating proper English language and working together with the child's ESL teacher is also advantageous. Encouraging behavior and acknowledging achievements boost drive and involvement. Parental involvement is crucial for facilitating language acquisition and guaranteeing achievement for children with ASD in an ESL setting (Tincani et al., 2009; Yan et al., 2022; Saracho & Evans, 2021).

Collaboration between teachers and parents is crucial for facilitating the language acquisition of children with ASD in an English as a Second Language setting. They can collaborate to pinpoint the child's strengths and weaknesses and create personalized learning strategies. Consistent communication can keep everyone updated on the child's development, and teachers can offer recommendations for enhancing language acquisition at home. Parents can provide details about their child's hobbies, which teachers can then utilize to customize language learning tasks. Utilizing collaborative methods can establish a positive and motivating atmosphere that improves language acquisition (Althiabi, 2021; Bakhsh, 2020; Stehle Wallace et al., 2022).

Speech therapy can be advantageous for children with ASD who have delayed language development, as indicated by Chu et al. (2020) and Sánchez

Pérez et al. (2020). Parental views towards bilingualism are a contributing factor to language proficiency maintenance, as indicated by Haq et al. (2021) and Howard et al. (2021a). Educators are dealing with constrained resources because of COVID-19, which is affecting their ability to help neurodiverse children from linguistically diverse families. Online parent education and training programs have proven to be effective in providing a support network in this situation (Howard et al., 2021b). There is a scarcity of research on educating children with ASD in ESL settings, as noted by Howard et al. (2021).

Methodology

Participants

The study took place from March 2023 to June 2023, spanning three months. Participants were allotted a two-week interval to reply to the interview questions over email. Nine multilingual parents of children with ASD and five ESL teachers were chosen for the study using purposive sampling after the process was completed. The demographic statistics of the participants are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Global English has proliferated in the Gulf region, leading to an acceleration of globalization. English is the predominant common language in the Gulf region due to its stable migrant population. English is transitioning from a foreign language to a second language at a fast pace (Al-Issa & Dahan, 2011). Hence, parents of children with ASD aim to develop a wide range of skills for their children, and learning a second language is one of these important skills (Lange et al., 2024).

This method ensured participants' expertise in providing a thorough analysis of the research topic. Instructors with experience in teaching English to children with autism and parents of bilingual children with ASD offered unique perspectives on the challenges and benefits of raising these children. The sample was gathered through online discussion boards and social media groups, and all participants provided informed consent. Purposive sampling is commonly used in qualitative research to ensure participants possess relevant knowledge and experience, and the sample size is determined by data

saturation rather than large numbers (Sandelowski, 1995).

The current study, which concentrated on 3- to 10-year-old ASD children, acknowledged that developmental stages and unique demands may have a significant impact on the selection and effectiveness of instructional strategies. The age range was selected to encompass the formative years of language development, a critical period where intervention can provide meaningful results. However, some age groups could require tailored approaches. While older children may gain more from organized exercises that are appropriate for their cognitive levels, younger children may benefit more from participatory, play-based techniques.

Table 1

Characteristics of ESL Teachers Participating in the Study

ID	Gender	Age	Teaching Experience	Experience with ASD Students
Teacher 1	Female	34	8	4
Teacher 2	Male	40	15	6
Teacher 3	Female	27	3	2
Teacher 4	Male	45	18	8
Teacher 5	Female	32	5	3

The characteristics of the ESL teachers who took part in the study are shown in Table 1. According to the research, the instructors' experiences working with students who have ASD range from two to eight years. The teachers' backgrounds and areas of experience in working with students on the autism spectrum are briefly described in this description.

Table 2

Characteristics of Parents Participating in the Study

ID	Gender	Age	Child's Age	No. of children	Language exposure
Parent 1	Female	38	7	2	Arabic, English
Parent 2	Male	42	4	1	Korean, English
Parent 3	Female	30	6	3	French, English
Parent 4	Male	36	8	2	Chinese, English
Parent 5	Female	40	5	1	Arabic, English
Parent 6	Male	33	9	3	Japanese, English
Parent 7	Female	39	3	1	Spanish, English
Parent 8	Male	37	10	2	Hindi, English
Parent 9	Female	34	6	2	German, English

The characteristics of the parents taking part in the study are compiled in Table 2. Nine parents' worth of data is shown in the table, representing a wide variety of backgrounds. The children are of varying ages, while the parents are of varied genders and age groups. There are one to three children for every parent. The table also shows the variety of languages that the kids are exposed to, such as Hindi, Arabic, English, Korean, French, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, and Hindi. An overview of the varied linguistic and demographic traits of the study's parents is given in this summary.

Instrument

The study aimed to explore effective teaching strategies and methods to support the language learning of children with ASD in an ESL context. Data was collected from 9 parents and 5 teachers experienced in teaching or supporting children with ASD in ESL using email interviews. The collected data was analyzed to identify effective strategies, challenges faced by teachers and parents, and recommendations for supporting the language learning of children with ASD in ESL. Participants were asked 10 open-ended questions to gather qualitative data on their experiences and perspectives on supporting language learning for children with ASD in an ESL context. The questions were designed to gather detailed information from both teachers and parents. Table 3 shows what questions were asked of the ESL teachers during the interview, while Table 4 shows what questions were asked of the parents.

Table 3

Teachers' Interview Questions

No.	Question Item
1	What teaching strategies and methods have you found most effective for teaching English to children with ASD?
2	What can teachers do to create an inclusive and supportive learning environment for children with ASD?
3	In teaching ESL to children with autism, what challenges do teachers typically face and how can they overcome them?
4	In ESL instruction, how can teachers collaborate with parents to support language learning for children with ASD?
5	How can technology support language learning for children with ASD?

Table 4

Parents' Interview Questions

No.	Question Item
1	When it comes to promoting multilingualism in your child with ASD, what challenges have you faced?
2	How have you supported your child with ASD in their language learning journey, especially in the context of ESL?
3	How are parents of children with ASD challenged in teaching ESL differently than parents of neurotypical children?
4	How has language learning benefited your child with ASD, compared to neurotypical children?
5	What advice would you give other parents looking for ways to support their child's language learning?

Procedure

Email interviews were used to gather data, and a semi-structured guide of open-ended questions was used to ask questions about the language learning strategies and difficulties faced by teachers and parents of children with ASD. To make sure everything was clear, a small sample of people tested the instructions. Participants were recruited via email and invited to respond in writing within a two-week timeframe. Participants had the option to decline to answer any questions or to withdraw from the study at any time.

Data Collection

Nine parents and five teachers with expertise in instructing or assisting students with ASD in ESL participated in email interviews to provide data for the study. The survey was conducted from March 2023 to June 2023, lasting for three months. The information was examined to determine the most successful teaching methods and the obstacles facing children with ASD who are learning ESL. The study's goal was to give parents and instructors suggestions for assisting children with ASD in their ESL language acquisition.

Ten open-ended questions about their experiences in assisting language acquisition for children with ASD in an ESL setting were used to gather data from the participants (Table 3 and Table 4). Participants had plenty of time to reply by email, so there was a written record for careful examination.

The use of thematic analysis enabled the identification of both the problems that teachers and parents face and the best instructional strategies. The study aimed to identify effective methods for promoting the language learning of children with ASD in ESL. The findings were based on the responses provided by participants in the email interviews.

Data Analysis

The data collected from the email interviews was analyzed using a thematic analysis approach. The researchers reviewed the responses from each participant and identified key themes and patterns related to the research questions. The researchers then organized the themes into categories and sub-categories and used these to develop a comprehensive understanding of the experiences and perspectives of both parents and teachers regarding teaching ESL to children with ASD.

Results

Teachers' Perspectives

1 - What teaching strategies and methods have you found most effective for teaching English to children with ASD? Some seasoned ESL teachers claim that there are numerous efficient teaching techniques and strategies that can be used to support English language acquisition in children with ASD. "Using visual aids and hands-on exercises has been extremely useful for students with ASD," Teacher 1 said. Teacher 2 stated that when language concepts are divided into smaller, more manageable chunks, children with autism spectrum disorder are better able to comprehend and retain those language concepts." Other teachers emphasized the importance of patience and understanding, as well as tailoring lessons to individual needs and learning styles. Teacher 3 noted that "by using social stories and real-life scenarios, students will be able to get a better understanding of how the language is applied and will be more motivated to learn it." Finally, incorporating

multisensory activities and games that involve movement can also be helpful. As Teacher 5 said, "The more senses they are engaged in and the more physical activity they are involved in, the more likely they are to stay focused and remember what they are taught."

2 - What can teachers do to create an inclusive and supportive learning environment for children with ASD? Teachers need to be cognizant of and sensitive to the special requirements of children with ASD to establish an inclusive and supportive learning environment for them within the framework of ESL instruction. Instructors "need to take into account the sensory sensitivity of children with ASD and modify their teaching approaches accordingly," states Teacher 1. To provide these students with a sense of security and familiarity in the classroom, Teacher 2 emphasized the need to set up routines and define norms. Teachers need to be cognizant of and sensitive to the special requirements of children with ASD in order to establish an inclusive and supportive learning environment for them within the framework of ESL instruction. According to Teacher 3, it is critical to establish a secure, accepting, and nonjudgmental environment where pupils feel valued and accepted. Teacher 4 highlighted the importance of using positive reinforcement and providing many opportunities for pupils to practice new abilities. In order to establish a welcoming and supportive learning environment, Teacher 5 argues that awareness, adaptation, routine, safety, positive reinforcement, and practice are all essential. In general, these findings from different teachers highlight the need for an all-encompassing approach that considers the unique needs of these students to establish an inclusive and encouraging learning environment for children with ASD within the framework of ESL instruction.

3 - In teaching ESL to children with autism, what challenges do teachers typically face, and how can they overcome them? Children with ASD present a great many difficulties in learning ESL, which calls for specialized approaches to address them. Teacher 1 indicated that "children with ASD may have difficulties expressing themselves or grasping new vocabulary and grammar norms," emphasizing that communication can be a major barrier for children with ASD. As Teacher 2 put it, "It's crucial to recognize each student's unique strengths and challenges and alter teaching tactics appropriately." He

emphasized the significance of tailoring classes to match individual needs.

Promoting social interaction and managing behavior can also be challenging. Teacher 3 noted that "Children with ASD may struggle with social skills, which can impact their participation and progress in language learning." However, Teacher 4 emphasized that patience, flexibility, and collaboration are key to navigating these challenges, saying, "We need to be willing to adapt our teaching strategies and use a variety of approaches to engage and support students with ASD."

As Teacher 5 stated, "By working together, we can provide the necessary support and accommodations to help these students succeed in learning ESL," collaboration between parents, educators, and therapists is essential to creating a supportive learning environment for children with ASD. In conclusion, to effectively teach English to children with ASD, teachers must be ready to deal with a variety of obstacles by taking a flexible and cooperative approach and working to suit the individual needs of each student.

4 - In ESL instruction, how can teachers collaborate with parents to support language learning for children with ASD? According to Teacher 1, "Parents are experts on their children, and they can provide valuable insights into their strengths, challenges, and interests," emphasizing the importance of collaboration between teachers and parents in supporting the language learning of children with ASD in the context of ESL instruction. Teacher 2 also emphasized the significance of regular communication between teachers and parents to ensure that students receive consistent support and reinforcement at home and school, stating, "By working together, we can create a cohesive and supportive learning environment for these students."

Teacher 3 proposed that to facilitate language learning at home, educators might offer parents tools and resources, such as "sharing ideas for games, activities, and practice exercises." According to Teacher 4, allowing parents to watch or participate in class activities can help them better comprehend their child's progress and contribute to their learning. This will also make the parents feel more invested and interested in their child's education.

In the context of ESL instruction, Teacher 5 feels that developing a good relationship with parents is essential to assisting the language learning

of children with ASD. Teacher 5 said, "It's crucial to communicate with parents regularly, not just to provide them with information on their child's progress but also to listen to their concerns and suggestions." "Building trust and a good working connection with parents is crucial since they can be invaluable partners in promoting their child's overall growth and language learning."

Teacher 5 also stresses how crucial it is to include parents in helping to set goals for their child's language development. "We can make sure that everyone is committed to the process and that we're all striving towards the same ends by working with parents to develop reasonable and achievable goals," they stated.

The teachers emphasized the need for collaboration between parents and educators to support children with ASD in an ESL context while they learn language, as they concluded. They might establish a calm and supportive learning atmosphere where these children can collaborate and exchange resources and methods to realize their greatest potential. Furthermore, Teacher 5 underlined the need for developing trust, including with parents in goal setting, and maintaining a positive working relationship with parents in order to assist language learning in the context of ESL instruction for children with ASD.

5 - How can technology support language learning for children with ASD? Teacher 1 emphasizes the importance of technology in supporting the language learning of children with ASD in the classroom setting, stating that "technology can help to engage and motivate students with ASD, who may be drawn to visual and interactive materials." Teacher 2 also acknowledges the potential of technology in promoting language learning for these students, noting that "digital games and activities can provide a fun and interactive way to practice language skills, while apps and software programs can provide targeted practice and feedback."

Teacher 3 adds that technology can also promote independence and self-directed learning, stating, "In order to empower students, we need to provide them with access to digital resources and tools in order to empower them to take ownership of their learning and to learn at their own pace." However, Teacher 4 cautions that technology should not replace the role of the teacher in supporting language learning for children with ASD, saying that

"technology should be used as a supplement to classroom instruction, not a replacement for it."

Teacher 5 generally agrees that using technology in the classroom can help children with ASD acquire language more easily. She nonetheless emphasizes the need to use it strategically and in conjunction with other instructional approaches. This would make it possible for educators to design an engaging and immersive learning environment that meets the various needs of all students, including those who have ASD.

Parents' Perspectives

1 - *When it comes to promoting multilingualism in your child with ASD, what challenges have you faced?* Parent 1 observes that it can be challenging to support multilingualism in children with ASD, especially in resource-constrained environments. One of the hardest things to do is to find resources and help for teaching a second language to children with ASD. The resources available that are specifically designed for this group are scarce, they explained. Parent 2 notes that it can be challenging to interest and inspire the child to learn a language. According to them, "Children with ASD may struggle with social contact and may not recognize the usefulness of acquiring a second language for practical purposes." However, Parent 3 argues that persistence and creativity might help navigate the process of promoting multilingualism. "Finding engaging and enjoyable ways to incorporate language learning into daily work might be helpful. For example, we watch TV shows and movies with subtitles, play games that require language learning, and listen to music in the language of our choice," they asserted.

Parent 4 highlights the need of working in tandem with therapists and educators to support children with ASD in becoming bilingual. "We have worked with our child's speech therapist and teacher to create a tailored language learning plan that addresses his unique needs and interests," they stated. As Parent 5 points out, it is critical to look for tools and assistance. "We have joined online communities and support groups where we can connect with other parents and learn from their experiences." Parent 6 also thinks that encouraging multilingualism in kids with ASD requires being adaptable and

flexible to the child's demands. "We have had to adjust our approach over time as we learned what worked best for our child," they stated.

Parents 7 and 8 stress the significance of appreciating any progress, no matter how small. They believe that while life can be challenging at times and discouragement can creep in fast, it is critical to acknowledge achievements. Parent 8 also emphasizes the significance of making language learning enjoyable for the child, since this can enhance everyone's satisfaction with the process. They argue that a child's enjoyment of language learning may increase its engagement and efficacy.

In conclusion, Parent 9 acknowledges that encouraging multilingualism in kids with ASD might be difficult, but they think the work is worthwhile. "It can be a difficult journey, but seeing our child make progress and become more confident in their language skills makes it all worth it," they concluded.

2 - How have you supported your child with ASD in their language learning journey, especially in the context of ESL? Inspiring multilingualism in kids with ASD can be rewarding and challenging, according to parent interviews. Finding resources and help to teach a second language to children with ASD can be difficult, as Parent 1 pointed out. Parent 2 brought out that kids with ASD could struggle in social situations and would not see the value of acquiring a second language for everyday purposes. To successfully navigate the process of fostering multilingualism, Parent 3 recommended being creative and persistent.

Parent 4 highlighted how important it is to work together with teachers and therapists to develop a customized language learning program that considers the child's particular needs and interests. Parent 5 highlighted using internet forums and support groups to find information and assistance. To encourage multilingualism, Parent 6 thought it was important to be adaptable and flexible to the child's requirements.

According to Parents 7 and 8, it is essential to offer positive reinforcement, recognize and celebrate the child's accomplishments, and create a pleasurable language learning environment in order to maintain the child's motivation. In conclusion, Parent 9 stated that although it may be challenging to support multilingualism in children with ASD, it is valuable when the child demonstrates growth and self-assurance in their language skills.

These strategies can be combined by parents to assist their children with ASD in learning a second language.

3 - How are parents of children with ASD challenged in teaching ESL differently than parents of neurotypical children? Parents 1, 2, and 3 face unique challenges when it comes to teaching ESL. "Our child with ASD has trouble with social contact and communication, which might impair their ability to learn and use English in social circumstances," said Parent 1. According to the second parent, "It may be difficult for our child to follow complex directions and understand them, which can make language development activities problematic." Parent 3 highlighted the challenge of balancing the development of their child's English language abilities with their primary language, saying, "We have to strike a balance between supporting our child's primary language while also allowing them to develop their skills."

Parents of neurotypical children may encounter different obstacles than these ones, as Parent 4 clarified when she said, "Neurotypical children may have more ease in learning and using language." Parent 5 and Parent 6 are examples of parents who have children with ASD, but they can still use a range of techniques and tools to help their child on their language learning journey. Parent 6 connects language learning to their child's interests, such as their favorite game or TV show, while Parent 5 employs visual aids like photos and videos. Furthermore, as Parent 9 points out, it can be quite beneficial for kids with ASD to make language learning pleasurable: "When our child is having fun with language learning, it makes the process much more enjoyable for all of us."

4 - How has language learning benefited your child with ASD, compared to neurotypical children? Language learning has proven to be beneficial for children with ASD, according to reports from parents. Parent 1 noted that their child has become more confident in communicating and is more willing to interact with others, while Parent 2 highlighted that their child has become more engaged in the learning process and can express their thoughts and ideas more clearly. Parent 3 added that language learning has helped their child develop better social skills and form stronger connections with peers and adults. However, it is important to note that the benefits may differ from those for neurotypical children, as Parent 4 mentioned. Parent 5 emphasized that

focusing on functional communication skills rather than abstract concepts is necessary, and more visual and hands-on approaches may be needed to support their child's learning. Despite these differences, language learning can still be a valuable tool for children with ASD, as Parent 6 mentioned, supporting their social, emotional, and academic development. Finally, it is clear from the reports of Parent 7, Parent 8, and Parent 9 that language learning can have a positive impact on the lives of children with ASD, enhancing their communication skills, social connections, and overall well-being.

5 - What advice would you give other parents looking for ways to support their child's language learning? Parents of children with ASD offer distinct viewpoints and insights when it comes to assisting their child's language development, as confirmed by Parent 1, Parent 2, and other parents. Parent 1 emphasizes the need for persistence and patience in finding the most suitable strategy for your child and suggests seeking assistance from teachers and therapists. Parent 2 emphasizes the need to establish a favorable and encouraging learning setting that accommodates the specific needs and interests of the child.

Different parents have proposed different methods that parents might use to help their child with language acquisition in addition to these two approaches. Parent 4 suggests dedicating specific reading time, while Parent 3 suggests integrating language acquisition into playtime. Given that Parent 5 emphasizes that parents must prioritize self-care to be the best advocates for their children, we must provide our children with opportunities to practice language in everyday circumstances, such as conversation and reading.

The suggestions from other parents also include using technology and multimedia resources (Parent 7), being flexible with the child's changing needs and skills (Parent 8), breaking down language learning into smaller, more manageable steps (Parent 6), and advocating for the child's language learning needs and rights while collaborating with educators and therapists to develop a comprehensive language development plan (Parent 9). Parents of children with ASD possess valuable insights and tactics that can aid in supporting their child's language learning journey. As such, parents play a vital role in fostering their child's language acquisition and development, and they should have access to the necessary resources and support to assist them in the process.

Discussion

Finding the best teaching methods for teaching English to kids with ASD as a second language is the focus of the research. The study's findings support the recommendation of educators with expertise working with students who have ASD to use a variety of instructional strategies. Effective teaching strategies include the use of visual aids, hands-on activities, linguistic concept analysis, personalized courses, social storytelling, real-world scenarios, multimodal activities, and movement-based games. Previous research by Stehle Wallace et al. (2022) and Wilder et al. (2004) supports these strategies.

The study highlights how crucial it is for educators to comprehend the particular needs of their pupils with ASD. It means understanding the obstacles to social interaction, distinct learning styles, behavioral problems, and communication that students with ASD could face. Teachers can establish a warm and supportive learning environment where all students flourish by paying attention to their students' needs and adapting their teaching tactics accordingly.

These results are corroborated by earlier special education research, which highlights the necessity of recognizing the special requirements of children with disabilities and modifying instructional strategies accordingly. By employing effective teaching strategies customized to the needs of each student, including those with ASD, educators may provide an inclusive learning environment and support the academic success of all students (Dalle, 2023; Shaaban & Mohamed, 2023).

To fully utilize the potential of students with ASD, collaboration between educators and parents is essential. For these students, collaborative projects can assist in creating a more efficient and supportive learning environment. To create a more welcoming and encouraging learning environment for students with ASD who are studying English as a Second Language, teachers must work in tandem with parents and employ a variety of instructional strategies. By doing this, teachers can help these students realize their full potential. The results align with the research carried out by Uljarević et al. (2016) and Boyer and Lee (2001).

When learning English as a Second Language, children with ASD can

benefit from tactile learning, multisensory activities, and visual aids—as long as their sensory needs are met. Working together, parents, therapists, and educators may create a conducive learning environment. According to Yan et al. (2022) and Kircher et al. (2022), technology can help with language learning by offering interactive, personalized exercises that cater to each learner's requirements and interests.

Effective teaching strategies for students with ASD learning ESL involve integrating various methods, addressing their individual needs, and working together with parents and therapists to establish an inclusive learning environment. Teachers can assist these children in achieving success and realizing their full potential by employing technology and other innovative approaches.

The second research question investigated the challenges faced by parents of ASD children in promoting multilingualism. Finding specialized resources and help, motivating their child to learn a language, and developing a language acquisition plan that works for their child are some of these problems. Parents can use strategies such as perseverance, imagination, and flexibility to get past these obstacles. They can collaborate with educators and therapists to create specialized tactics and integrate language acquisition into daily routines. Research by Chu and colleagues (2020) and Althiabi (2021) supports this conclusion.

Parents with children with ASD encounter unique hurdles while trying to encourage multilingualism. These challenges can be overcome by utilizing creativity, adaptability, and tenacity, and by working closely with educators and therapists. Parents can assist their children in achieving success and realizing their full potential by integrating language learning into daily activities and developing customized language learning strategies.

Although acquiring a language can be difficult for kids with ASD, there are many benefits to language acquisition, including greater social skills, increased communication ability, and more clarity in thought and idea expression. It might be necessary for language acquisition by kids with ASD to put more emphasis on real-world communication skills than abstract concepts. Parents of children with ASD advise being persistent and patient in figuring out the best approach, creating a supportive environment that is tailored to

the child's needs and preferences, and actively participating in their language development.

It is suggested that in an ESL context technology can help children with ASD acquire language and enhance their communication skills. Computer-based instruction, instructional software, and interactive multimedia tools can offer customized, multimodal learning experiences that enhance language acquisition. With the use of technology, educators may create a welcoming and encouraging learning environment for kids with ASD by customizing lessons to meet their individual needs.

The findings of this study suggest that including technology in language training for kids with ASD can improve their outcomes and overall learning experience. Technology can improve students' motivation, engagement, and language learning outcomes, according to earlier research (Alenezi et al., 2023; Boyer & Lee, 2001; Desideri et al., 2020; Hsu, 2011; Mohamed, 2023; Wilder et al., 2004). Therefore, in the context of teaching English as a Second Language to children with ASD, it is imperative to view technology as an essential component of language acquisition.

When learning English as a Second Language, children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) benefit from a variety of instructional approaches and close collaboration with parents and therapists. Finding relevant resources and motivating their kids makes teaching ESL to parents of ASD children difficult. It is essential to adapt the strategy to each individual. Learning a language can help youngsters with ASD become more social and communicate more effectively. Working together, schools, parents, and therapists can help children with ASD succeed and make language learning easier.

Pedagogical Implications

The results of this study have consequences for educators and parents who help kids with ASD learn languages during ESL classes. It can be beneficial to use a variety of teaching techniques, such as tailored training, organized routines, and visual aids. To determine each child's unique language needs, early intervention and customized testing are crucial. Parents and teachers must work together and communicate. To provide cognitive and social benefits

that are specific to each child's requirements, educators and parents should think about integrating multilingualism into language learning programs for kids with autism spectrum disorders.

Limitations and Recommendations

The study offered significant perspectives from parents and teachers regarding ESL teaching for children with ASD. The study's shortcomings encompass a restricted sample size, dependence on self-reported information, omission of children's viewpoints, and restricted applicability to other language learning settings. Future research should address these limitations by increasing the sample size, incorporating children's perspectives and direct observations, and looking into different contexts for interventions. More in-depth studies on particular age-related traits may be conducted in the future to improve and tailor instruction. We can improve the efficacy of language acquisition interventions for kids with ASD by comprehending the various needs of various age groups within the autistic spectrum.

Conclusion

This study emphasizes how important it is to apply specialized teaching techniques in the context of ESL training to improve language learning in kids with ASD. Email exchanges with nine parents and five educators who had worked with ESL students having severe autism served as the source of data for the study. Data analysis was conducted to determine the best teaching practices and difficulties faced by children with ASD in ESL classes. The goal of the study was to guide educators and parents on how to help kids with ASD learn English as a Second Language. Numerous studies have demonstrated the benefits of visual aids, modeling, and repetition in supporting the language and social skill development of young children. Despite the difficulties teachers face in putting these tactics into practice, the study shows how excellent the language learning abilities of children with ASD are.

The study recognized that developmental stages and unique needs

could have a significant influence on the choice and efficacy of instructional tactics. The age range was chosen to include the early phases of language development, which is a crucial time when early intervention may have a significant impact. However, certain age groups could need customized strategies. Younger children might benefit more from play-based, participatory approaches, while older kids might get more out of structured activities catered to their cognitive levels. Further investigation may examine age-specific variables to enhance and better customize instructional strategies. To maximize the benefits and effectiveness of language acquisition interventions for kids on the autism spectrum, it is critical to understand the unique needs of different age groups.

The study emphasizes how crucial it is for parents and ESL instructors to collaborate when creating and implementing specialized language learning programs for kids with ASD. In order to fully realize young children's potential for language learning and to acknowledge and make use of their multilingual skills, coordinated efforts are crucial.

It is critical to acknowledge that additional study is required to completely comprehend the difficulties teachers encounter while creating engaging lesson plans for students with ASD. To develop complete language learning programs that address the unique requirements of these kids, more detailed research is necessary. As our knowledge in this field expands, we will be better equipped to enhance and improve the language learning opportunities for kids with ASD, fostering a more inclusive and engaging learning environment.

Competing Interests

The authors have declared no competing interests.

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**AUTIZMU SERGANČIŲ VAIKŲ DAUGIAKALBYSTĖS ĮGŪDŽIŲ
SKATINIMAS: TĖVŲ IR MOKYTOJŲ POŽIŪRIS Į ANGLŲ KAIP
ANTROSIOS KALBOS MOKYMĄ**

Anotacija. Autistiškų vaikų, augančių daugiakalbėje aplinkoje, tyrimų vis dar nedaug, nors daugiau nei pusė pasaulio gyventojų yra daugiakalbiai. Autizmo spektro sutrikimui (ASS) būdingi sunkūs bendravimo ir kalbos įgūdžių sutrikimai. Daugelis tėvų prašo specialistų patarimo, ar jų vaikas turėtų mokytis abiejų kalbų vienu metu dvikalbėje aplinkoje. Tyrime nagrinėti iššūkiai, su kuriais susiduria mokytojai ir tėvai, ugdydami ASS turinčius vaikus, besimokančius anglų kaip antrosios kalbos. Tyrimo imtį sudarė devyni ASS turinčių vaikų tėvai ir penki mokytojai; jie buvo apklausti taikant kokybinį metodą. Iš tyrimo rezultatų paaiškėjo, kad mokant anglų kaip antrosios kalbos ASS turinčius vaikus ir tam naudojant vaizdines priemones, modeliavimą ir kartojimą yra veiksminga jų kalbos ir socialiniams gebėjimams ugdyti. Nors sunku sukurti mokymo strategijas, kurios būtų veiksmingos ASS turintiems vaikams, mokytojai nustatė, kad šie vaikai labai gerai išmoksta naujų kalbų. Be to, labai svarbu, kad kuriant programas pedagogai ir tėvai bendradarbiautų. Šis tyrimas atskleidė metodus, kuriuos pedagogai ir tėvai galėtų taikyti padėdami vaikams siekti dvikalbystės. Rekomenduojama atlikti daugiau tyrimų, siekiant nustatyti sunkumus, su kuriais susiduria mokytojai, mokydami ASS turinčius vaikus užsienio kalbų.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: autizmo spektro sutrikimas; vaikai; anglų kaip antroji kalba; daugiakalbiai gebėjimai; tėvų požiūris; mokymas.

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NON-NATIVE PARENTS RAISING A BILINGUAL CHILD IN TURKEY

Annotation. This case study explores the bilingual upbringing of a 5 year 2 months old child in Turkish and English through “non-native parents (NNP) strategy” within a context where English is neither the first nor the majority language of the community. Drawing on the Parental Discourse Hypothesis (Lanza, 1992) and Modeling Hypothesis (Comeau et al., 2003), the researchers examined not only the development of the child’s English, but also the approach of the father towards the child, and his self-perception as a father seeking opportunities to raise a bilingual child. The data were collected by means of a series of video recordings of the interaction between the child and the father, as well as via two semi-structured interviews with the father. The findings show that even quite limited exposure to a (second) language may lead to the acquisition of that language thanks to strict adherence to NNP strategy, and the parents’ concentrated efforts at refraining from code-mixing in their own speech.

Keywords: non-native parent bilingual upbringing; bilingualism in Turkey; father-led bilingualism.

Introduction

People have learned languages in response to the necessity of communicating across cultural boundaries (Baker & Wright, 2017), but how bilingualism is developed is a complex phenomenon (Bialystok & Luk, 2013). Various research studies have defined it as having acquired varying degree of knowledge of both languages. To start with, according to Weinreich (1974), it is the practice of switching between two languages. Bloomfield (1985) defines it as a native-like control of two languages. For Macnamara (1969), a bilingual individual is someone who can communicate in a second language at least at a minimum degree in the four language domains, such as speaking, listening, reading, and writing, and it was also defined by Grosjean (1989) as ability to use two or more languages in daily encounters. The impact of being bilingual on cognition was also studied by scholars who revealed many the cognitive

advantages of speaking more than one language in the bilingual children's executive functioning skills – the ability to ignore distracting information and to attend to the changing task demands (Bialystok, 2011). Partially motivated by these positive theoretical argumentations, there have been many authentic contextual idiosyncratic practices of raising bilingual children. An increasing number of children have been growing up as being bilingual in our cosmopolitan world or raising a bilingual child have been perceived as a praiseworthy goal. Hence, families struggle to create opportunities for their young children to learn a foreign language (King & Fogle, 2006) for various reasons, such as better opportunities in the future (Akgül et al., 2019) and, in immigrant settings, preserving their own native cultures and language (Lee et al., 2015). More and more non-native parents also attempt to create bilingual environments in the family context where each parent uses one language even though the surrounding societal context is monolingual (Senaydin & Dikilitas, 2019). Especially, parents who can speak English fluently prefer to do so, and they are motivated to continuously communicate with their children in all walks of life since birth. However, once such families have decided to raise their children bilingually, they need to decide on the additional language. Decisions regarding which language to speak to children, namely family language policies (FLPs) are shaped by three components: language beliefs, language practices, and language management decisions of a community (Spolsky, 2004); therefore, the stance that parents take on family language reflects their opinions about the language's status quo. Furthermore, the choice of language in the family is influenced by the parents' opinions of what makes a good or bad parent and public discourses (King & Fogle, 2006). For example, a mother who is trying to raise a bilingual child could have a "good" identity as a mother, or she might be criticized as she is not talking to her child in her heritage language. This dilemma makes it even a harder endeavour to raise a bilingual child and adds to the emotional struggles of the parents in a non-native environment (Kouritzin, 2000) by creating a challenge for them (Smith-Christmas et al., 2019).

Research on the family language policy tends to focus on maintaining the minority language of the family through one parent one language (OPOL) policy. However, in monolingual countries where there is only one official

language, despite not being native speakers of that language, parents may also strive to teach their children foreign languages from a young age (Liu & Lin, 2019). In families where neither parent is a native speaker of the desired foreign language, either of the parents chooses the role of the input provider. When taking on these roles, the parents may embed the target structures in everyday mundane activities as in the case of Fernandes (2019), in which the input provider, the mother, intentionally selected structures, and lexical items to scaffold her daughter. A growing number of studies have examined how parents employ various bilingual child raising strategies; however, bilingual child-raising through non-native parenting remains an underexplored area (Lopez, 2021). Apart from rare studies on paternal input (Döpke, 1992), previous research on non-native bilingualism focused on families where the mother was the primary input provider for the additional language (Fernandes, 2019; Garcia Armayor, 2019; Min, 2011; Senaydin & Dikilitas, 2019). Similarly, in first language acquisition, the associations between parental language input and language development have largely focused on the mother (Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2010) leaving paternal input especially in L2 acquisition an underexplored area (Kim & Starks, 2010). Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the literature on NNP bilingual raising and the success of a family language policy (FLP) from multiple perspectives (Smith-Christmas et al., 2019). To this end, in this case study, we investigate the effects of parental discourse strategies, parental language choice, and the type of oral corrective feedback strategies on a 5 years 3 months old bilingual child raised with limited exposure to the target language in a non-English monolingual society. To address the multifaceted aspect of bilingualism, this study also sheds light on the struggles of the father in a non-native family in his efforts to raise their child bilingually.

Parental Strategies for Language Use to Raise Bilingual Children

Romain (1995) discusses six types of child bilingualism in the context of how children are raised bilingually. The first type she mentions is one-parent-one-language (OPOL) strategy, initially suggested by Ronjat (1913). In

this strategy, each parent in a family speaking different mother languages communicates exclusively in their mother language to their children, with the expectation that children will associate one language with one parent and respond appropriately. The second type is "non-dominant home language", in which both parents speak different mother languages, and one parent's home language is the dominant language in the society. In such a case, both parents speak non-dominant language to their children. A third type involves parents who share the same mother language, yet the language of the community is not that of theirs, and parents speak their mother language to their children. The fourth type Romaine mentions is called "double non-dominant home language without community support". In this type, both parents have a different mother language, and the dominant language is different from the parents' mother language. In such a scenario, both parents speak their own language to the child starting from birth. Another type is a "mixed type", where both parents are bilingual, and various languages are spoken in the society. Parents in this type of family code-mix and code-switch languages. The final type that she mentions is "non-native parents", in which both parents share the same mother language, and the dominant language of the society is the same as the parents' mother language, however, one of the parents opts for addressing the child in a language which is not his or her mother language. In a setting where one language is the majority language, the term "non-native bilingualism" (Jernigan, 2015) or "NNP" strategy, which is used in this paper, is also referred to as additive bilingualism (Kielhöfer & Jonekeit, 1983), elective bilingualism (Baker & Wright, 2017), or elite bilingualism (Piller, 2001).

Raising a bilingual child through a strict language policy in which either of the parents decide to address the child in one language is challenging (Thomas, 2012), and parents may find themselves trapped in the face of their children's resistance to the language other than the native, commonly spoken language, which brings about emotional burden to the parents (Kouritzin, 2000). As consistency is the key element and parents should refrain from shuttling between languages (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011), determined parents may need to insist on addressing their children in a specific language through various strategies. However, Ortega (2020) is critical about the too much coercion from authoritarian parents because of the danger of silencing children,

hence, parents who opt for raising bilingual children are to be aware that their child may cease talking the desired additional language due to parental approaches as can be seen in some cases in Döpke's (1992) study.

Parental Discourse Strategies

Parental discourse strategies (PDS) are those strategies caregivers or parents employ when interacting with bilingual or multilingual children, and it has been suggested that the extent to which a child is able to keep two languages distinct according to the adult interlocutors could be affected by specific discourse features they use (Mishina-Mori, 2011).

PDS are especially important when parents react to the unwanted utterances of children because they are not in the preferred language, or two languages are mixed within one language. The relationship between PDS and a child's code-mixing was initially studied by Lanza (1992), who examined the relationship between parental discourse strategies and children's language patterns (Min, 2011). Grounded in the framework of socialization, Lanza (1992), having studied a 2-year-old Norwegian/English girl, Siri, argued that parents' reaction to child code-mixing has a strong effect on the code preferences of children. In her study, Lanza (1992) found out that Siri displayed relatively less language mixing due to the PDS that her mother employed. This observation was later developed into the *Parental Discourse Hypothesis (PDH)*; Lanza (1992) isolated five PDS which are minimal grasp, expressed guess, adult repetition, move on, and code-switching as displayed in Table 1. On the continuum from the most monolingual to most bilingual practices, Lanza (1992, p. 649) orders PDS as follows:

Table 1

Parental Discourse Strategies by Lanza (1992)

Monolingual Context						Bilingual Context
	Minimal grasp	Expressed guess	Adult repetition	Move on strategy	Code- switching	

Lanza's (1992) hypothesis has been tested by numerous researchers. To name a few, the findings from the studies by Min (2011) and Takeuchi (2006) support PDH, asserting that parents' strictness in the specific language use correlates negatively with the number of children's code-mixing. Also, in Chevalier's (2015) study, the strategies that Lina's aunt utilized contributed to her English production while she was not encouraged to speak in French with his father as he used more bilingual strategies. Earlier studies by Christiansen (1995), Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal (2001) also documented a significant impact of parental discourse strategies on the amount of code-mixing that children did. On the other hand, some other studies in the literature report no significant correlation between PDS and the amount of code-mixing by children; therefore, they do not support PDH (Deuchar & Muntz, 2003; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1998).

The Relationship Between Parental Code-Mixing and Code-Mixing by Children

Children who grow up bilingually usually display language patterns that deviate from monolingual speech (Quick et al., 2019), and alternating between languages is seen as a widespread and significant phenomenon in bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982). Code-switching has been studied from the sociolinguistic (Ludi, 1987), grammatical (Amuzu, 2005; Maschler, 2000), and language use and speaker perspectives. As one of the most dynamic areas in linguistics (Muysken, 2011), ample attention has been paid to the topic. When it comes to the definition of the term, no consensus has been reached. There has been a long debate in the literature regarding the definition of code-switching and constraints it involves (Cantone, 2005). According to Meisel (1994), code-switching is the ability to choose the language depending on the interlocutors, discourse, and the topic of the dialogue. For Numan and Carter (2001), it is "transition from one language to another within the same discourse" (p. 275). In the current study, we use the term code-mixing as the child's and father's use of words from the two languages at lexical or sentential level. Several studies in the literature reported that nearly all children pass through a stage where they mix in both of their languages (Cantone, 2005).

Regarding the possible reasons of code-mixing, even though it was hypothesized by some scholars (Deuchar & Quay, 2000) that the children could not differentiate the two language systems that they have, it has been disconfirmed by other scholars such as Meisel (1989) and Döpke (1992). The expertise of a child in a language system was found to interfere with the other in a positive way by helping solve problems and assist them build a bridge lexically and structurally (Gawlitzeck-Maiwald & Tracy, 1996).

The studies on child code-mixing are not limited to discourse features, but also include statistical features of the input, which are the rates of code-mixing produced by children in relation to the rates of code-mixing heard. Comeau et al. (2003) refer to this correlation between parental and child code-mixing as the *Modeling Hypothesis*. The assumption made by this hypothesis is that young children's processing capacity is sensitive to bilingual code-mixing in the input; hence, they are able to model their language production in line with input (Comeau et al., 2003). Many studies conducted on parental input support the considerable positive effect of parental language use on children's code-mixing (Karanovic, 2003); however, a number of studies testing the modeling hypothesis (Deuchar & Muntz, 2003; Genesee et al., 1995; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1996) reported no significant correlation between the rate of parental and child code-mixing, revealing inconclusive empirical evidence for the modeling hypothesis.

Methodology

This study aims to investigate the effect of PDS, the parents' frequency of code-mixing and the type of oral corrective feedback on the frequency of child's code-mixing in a family which adopts a NNP strategy to make their child bilingual. To this end, a qualitative research design was adopted since it is inductive, with the purpose of describing multiple realities, developing deep understanding, and capturing everyday life and human perspectives (Trumbull, 2005). To be more specific, a single case study was employed to gain in-depth knowledge about the participant in his natural environment, since this method is suitable for analysing unique circumstances (Yin, 2009). In order to explore the effectiveness of the amount of input in this particular context, this study

will examine the daily conversations between a father who learned English as a foreign language, and his child, to whom he, and nobody else, spoke English to from birth, in a monolingual context. The study will address the following research questions:

1. Do reacting to the bilingual children's code-mixing and correcting their errors play a role in children's adherence to the language of the interlocutor?
2. Does the code-mixing frequency of bilingual children depend on the frequency of their parents' code-mixing when addressing their children?
3. How does the father reportedly perceive his role in the process of raising a bilingual child by adopting an English speaker identity in Turkey?

The Context and The Participants

This study was conducted in Istanbul, the most populous and multicultural city in Turkey, where, despite being inhabited by speakers of various languages, English is the most widely taught and spoken language after Turkish (Acar, 2017). In Turkey, there is one official, mainly spoken language (Turkish), and no other languages are spoken frequently by its members. With the latest change in the education system of Turkey in 2013, foreign language education gained more significance, and English education became mandatory from second year of primary school and on (Ministry of National Education, 2018). The value of speaking English in the country encouraged the parents to raise Mete as a bilingual. The case of Mete is of interest from various aspects.

To start with, neither of the parents are native speakers of the target language, but they learned English at school and became teachers of English. As Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) state language policy is the struggle to alter the linguistic activities of other people by authorities. In our case, as a family language policy (FLP), the family wished to talk in English to the child, and they adopted a "non-native parents (NNP)" language policy in which the father was the only input provider in English. As part of their effort to make Mete bilingual

in Turkish and English, the father took on the role of a teacher and made use of repair strategies through which he fixed errors overtly (Hall, 2007). He also utilized certain strategies to formally teach English and to prevent Mete from shuttling between languages when he was interacting with him. The mother did not want to undertake this role, as she reported that she desired to show her affection to her son in her mother language, Turkish. This selection of language roles for mother and father contrasts with the case of Maya in another study in Turkey by Senaydin and Dikilitas (2019). Mete's father has communicated with him solely in English since he was born. However, the time that Mete spent with his father was quite limited, since he was often away for business reasons. Even when in town, the father's commitments meant that they were not able to spend more than about one hour a day together. The interaction between the father and mother was chiefly in Turkish, even in Mete's presence; hence, Mete was quite aware that his father could speak Turkish. This case is similar to that of the sample in the case study by Min (2011), in which Hy was also aware that her mother spoke both languages. Even though no negative consequences of this awareness were mentioned in Min (2011), it is important to acknowledge that it might have hindered Mete's progress in English.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection lasted for three months, starting when Mete was 5 years 2 months old. In this study, collection instruments were interviews and video recordings, with the latter representing the major source of evidence. Since the father was the only English language input provider, all videos except for one case consisted of father-child dyads. The father himself recorded his conversations with the child upon the approval of the family. The researchers never observed the conversations in person, nor did they meet Mete, the data was collected solely by the father. The pseudonym Mete was used for the child in the study.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews, in total, about 100 minutes, were conducted with Mete's father, both at the outset of the study to collect in-depth information about Mete's L2 background until the starting time of the research, and at the end of the study, to clarify the emerging issues. The interview questions had two aims. First, to gain a detailed insight into the endeavour of the family to raise a bilingual child, including the strategies employed, and psychological challenges for parents. The second focus of the interview was to investigate the extent of Mete's language exposure within home as compared to outside settings. The researcher took notes rather than recording the face-to-face interviews.

Video Recordings

Video recordings are excellent tools to observe the behaviours of the participants. In the current study, Mete's authentic utterances were recorded by his father over 3 months (72 minutes in total) on various occasions, including but not limited to inside a toy shop, at the dining table, and in the bedroom. During these recordings the son was always on task, in other words he was always in a kind of conversation with his father. The reason was to ensure the naturalness of the data as the Mete's language production was documented under authentic conditions without manipulating the input or the context. It must be noted here that by the authenticity of the data, we mean that despite its look like a formal teaching bearing some insistence in the dyads, all the interactions are as they occur in the family on a daily basis. During the interview at the outset of the study, it was considered that Mete might be inhibited by having to talk to strangers or to talk while others were recording him, so all the recordings were done by the father, which meant that Mete never met the researchers. The father assured the researchers that since the child was accustomed to being recorded since his birth, his reactions would not be affected by his recordings that we used as data. The recordings were uploaded by the father to a shared folder in Google Drive right after they had been recorded, and the researchers could easily access them.

Data Analysis

We analysed the data set in two ways. To answer the first and second research questions, in order to identify the father's discourse and corrective feedback strategies, we analysed the data deductively with a predetermined categorization of the strategies as mentioned earlier in Lanza's (1992) Parental Discourse Hypothesis and within the Comeau et al.'s (2003) framework of Modeling Hypothesis. To start with, the researchers transcribed all the data verbatim (72 minutes), to avoid missing any possibly important details in the interpretation of the discourse. To establish the inter-rater reliability, having reviewed the transcription, the father and son dyads were grouped by the researchers independently under a total of eight categories: the first three were in response to code-mixing by the child and remaining five were used in case of structural misuse of utterances. Finally, the researchers negotiated the examples for each classification for their congruity under each category. Besides examining the parents' discourse strategies, in order to answer the second research question, i.e. to understand the father's code-mixing frequency during the interaction with the child, we also examined the utterances in the transcribed conversations.

Table 2

Emerging Categories and Themes Regarding the Father's Perceptions

Categories	Themes
Correcting errors Giving feedback Making complete sentences Accelerating learning	I should correct errors immediately
Urging father to speak Turkish Being consistent Avoiding translanguaging Having English speaking father identity Avoiding confusion Adapting the parental language	I do not respond when Mete speaks Turkish
Teaching strategies Expectations from child Retaining Vocabulary Lacking exposure to L2	I am a jug, and he is a vessel
Acting like a teacher Translating Assuring accuracy	I am Mete's teacher

Categories	Themes
Teaching explicitly Wishing to learn more languages Obeying father	
Challenging times Creating bonds	I chose to be the one who would sacrifice

Finally, to answer the third research question, which sought to uncover the father's self-perceptions regarding the bilingual upbringing of his child, we inductively analysed the data from the interviews at the outset and at the end of the study. The two authors open-coded the data independently and initially reached twenty-three open codes that identified the father's feelings and ideas about raising a bilingual child. In the next stage, aiming to identify the emerging themes, the authors used constant comparative analysis and categorized these open codes to induce the main themes (See Table 2). During this categorization and thematization process, the authors negotiated and debriefed the emerging categories and themes to ensure representability of the meanings in the data.

Findings

The data collected by means of the child's dyads with his father and interviews with the father are presented below under the corresponding research questions.

Research question 1: Do reacting to the bilingual children's code-mixing and correcting their errors play a role in the children's adherence to the interlocutor's language?

The transcribed dyads between the father and Mete were investigated to find the parental discourse strategies and the types of corrective feedback that the father utilized (see Table 3). Table 3 involves the instances that the father had to use any kind of discourse and correction strategies while interacting with his son. In only 48 interactions father felt the need to interfere with any of the strategies mentioned in the table, which means the rest of the conversations with Mete did not require any kind of intervention through a discourse strategy or corrective feedback. To evaluate the accuracy or fluency of Mete's utterances is beyond the scope of this study, however, the

fact that the father needed to intervene in such fewer instances can be thought of as a sign of success in achieving bilingualism.

Table 3

Parental Discourse Strategies and Corrective Feedback That Father Utilized

Minimal Grasp (pretending not to understand)	6
Expressed Guess (reformulating utterance in question format)	4
Adult Repetition (repetition of the meaning in the expected language)	6
Move-on (continuation of the interaction in the expected language)	11
Code-Switching (use of words from the two languages at lexical or sentential level)	0
Explicit Error Correction (giving out the correct form of inaccurate structure)	6
Metalinguistic Feedback (asking questions about errors without explicit correction)	2
Elicitation (getting Mete to give information rather than giving it to him)	3
Urging Subject Verb Object Sentences	11

Parental Discourse Strategies and Corrective Feedback Types

The study revealed an uncommon method of father-child interaction, with the father acting more like a teacher than a parent. Among the dearth of research in the field that has explored non-native parents' struggles to make their children bilingual, this current case stands out as a peculiar one. To the best of our knowledge, very few such interactions in bilingual child raising have been reported so far, and the effectiveness of such a kind of interaction will be revealed and discussed in the following parts of the paper. Two key findings emerged from this study. The first is that due to Mete's very limited use of code-mixing, only three strategies mentioned by Lanza (1992) were observed in the father's turns in dialogues, providing support for PDH. The father's strong determination to communicate with his son through only English seems to be justified by the limited number of code-mixing incidents in the data, with the child showing no resistance to speaking English. Another crucial finding of the current study, which we believe provides support for PDH, is the father's oral corrective feedback (CF) strategies. Those strategies together with discourse strategies seem to have been highly influential in minimizing the code-mixing frequency of this particular child. As can be seen in the transcriptions, to the best of our knowledge, results of such

a combination of discourse and error correction strategies have not been reported in child language acquisition studies by NNP strategy. The parents' various discourse and corrective feedback strategies are given below under the aforementioned categories. To start with, the data was coded to identify the father's parental discourse strategies.

PDS Minimal Grasp (MG)

The following excerpts illustrates one of the only three code-mixing cases in the data; the father adopts the minimal grasp (MG) strategy, pretending not to have understood a mixed utterance, and asking Mete to reformulate the vocabulary item.

Excerpt 1

Dad: Which is your favourite? (Pointing at various snacks on the table)

Mete: *Cips* [Crisps]

Dad: In English what we call it?

Mete: Crisps.

Dad: Oh, yes. Crisps.

PDS: Expressed Guess (EG)

Another strategy was expressed guess (EG). In the following example, the father reformulates Mete's utterance in a closed question format in the desired language.

Excerpt 2

Mete: daddy, can I call him *görüntülü* [video calling]

Dad: Oh, do you want to give him a videocall?

Mete: Yes, daddy, I [inaudible voices] videocall.

CF Adult Repetition (AR)

A third strategy which was found in the data was adult repetition (AR) where the parents repeat the children's utterances in the expected language.

Excerpt 3

Mete: I am afraid for me

Dad: Are you afraid of him

We present below some examples of error corrective feedback strategies that the father utilized when he was interacting with Mete.

CF Explicit Error Correction (EEC)

After the presentation of the parental discourse strategies found in the data above, the following section displays the father's reaction to errors in the target language. Also, a careful perusal of dyads revealed the father's use of certain oral corrective feedback strategies in response to erroneous or incomplete utterances. Among those, the most prevalent is the explicit error correction (EEC), seen in two examples below:

Excerpt 4

Dad: I like

Mete: I like watch video

Dad: Watching video!

Mete: Watching video

Dad: What kind of things do you like watching?

Another example of explicit feedback occurred when the father explicitly provided the equivalent target form of a code-mixed lexical item. The following dyad displays the father's approach to code-mixing.

Excerpt 5

Mete: Can you *hazine* [treasure]? (they are in the garden now, and they watched a

cartoon where the character found a treasure)

Dad: It is not *hazine* [treasure] *oğlum* [my son], it is treasure.

Mete: Can you do me treasure and I will find gold.

The following dialogue displays another incident when the father prevents the child from continuing conversation until he makes the correction.

Excerpt 6

Dad: How do we play the game?

Mete: We will run and kick the balloons.

Dad: Ok then?
Mete: When song stop
Dad: [stops]
Mete: When song stops, we will stop.
Dad: Ok, how many balloons will there be?

CF Metalinguistic Feedback (MF)

Another common error correction strategy observed was metalinguistic feedback (MF), in which the interlocutors ask questions about errors without explicit correction, seen in the following dyad:

Excerpt 7

Dad: Ok, does he behave good to his friends?
Mete: No
Dad: No, he

Mete: Don't
Dad: He don't or doesn't, which one?
Mete: He doesn't.

Another example of correction via metalinguistic feedback is shown below:

Excerpt 8

Mete: I wake up eight.
Dad: Your mom?
Mete: I wake up seven, mom wake up 8
Dad: Mom wake up or wakes up, which one?
Mete: Wakes up

CF Elicitation (E)

The analysis revealed an occasion when the father tried unsuccessfully to elicit the correct possessive pronoun, as can be seen below, so eventually, explicitly provided the correct word:

Excerpt 9

Mete: and from here she is hand can go to America. (while watching a cartoon)
Dad: She is hand, or. . (waits for the correct structure) she is hand orrrr??? Her
Mete: look!
Dad: What did he do?

Urging SVO Utterances (U)

Another striking finding was the father's insistence on the full sentence utterance (SVO). The father consistently insisted on full, structurally appropriate utterances, examples of which can be clearly seen in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 10

Dad: What are you wearing?

Mete: Hat

Dad: I'm...

Mete: I'm wearing hat

However, the father was not always successful, as can be seen in the following turn:

Excerpt 11

Dad: What will happen in the end, will he be a good person or a bad person?

Mete: Good person

Dad: He will be ...

Mete: Good person

Dad: Do his friends like him?

PDS Move-On Strategy (In Response to Structural Errors) (MO)

Finally, there are some instances when the father simply moved on. This move-on strategy was suggested by Lanza (1992) to refer to instances when parents ignored code-mixing; however, since there are no such cases in this study, here, a move-on strategy was used to refer to the father's overlooking of erroneous utterances. The following examples display the rare cases of moving on without feedback on utterances with errors:

Excerpt 12

Dad: (they are looking at a page where some kids are playing basketball) Why?

Mete: Because he push him.

Dad: Will he score a basket here? Say, he will

Mete: He will score.

The following excerpt shows the father's insistence on full SVO sentences, but also shows an erroneous structure being allowed to pass without correction.

Excerpt 13

Mete: Cake. For you. Happy birthday cake

Dad: She is

Mete: She is *doing* happy birthday cake

Dad: Ok, thank you. But wasn't it a surprise?

Informed by *Parental Discourse Hypothesis* (Lanza, 1992) framework and corrective feedback strategies of the father, which we believe significant in raising Mete bilingually, this part of the article dwells on the father's discourse and error correction strategies when Mete code-mixes. Aiming to answer our second research question, we are also concerned about the possible effect of the amount of paternal code-mixing on how much the child code-mixes. In this vein, the following data is analysed within the *Modeling Hypothesis* (Comeau et al., 2003) framework.

Research Question 2: Does the code-mixing frequency of bilingual children depend on the frequency of their parents' code-mixing when addressing their children?

The Language Choice of Parents and That of The Child

Within the framework of the modelling hypothesis, the data from the current study were analysed to determine how the father's code-mixing influences the amount of code-mixing the child makes. In this vein, an analysis of the code-mixing rates in the father's and the child's turns was done. It was observed that in the speech directed to the child (220 turns), there were few instances of code-mixing, meaning that the father addressed Mete mainly in English. This finding is in line with father's comments in the interview, in which he repeatedly highlighted the importance of not shuttling between the languages while talking to Mete. The only instances of code-mixing by the father were found at lexical level. The most common Turkish word that he uses is *oğlum* [my son]. The use of this word is really important to the father

as he states in the interviews that it is the only word with which he could show his affection to the child and feel bonded with him, an example of which can be seen in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 14

Mete: Take it (offering some more)

Dad: You eat *oğlum* [son] you eat. Ok, thank you. What do you like while you are eating food?

Mete: Video

Apart from *oğlum* [my son], when Mete utters a Turkish word, father gives the English equivalent of the Turkish words by repeating the Turkish word first. Mete, on the other hand, only code-mixed three times in 72-minute video recording, all which were at lexical level. He code-mixed when he did not know some words in English. The excerpt below displays an example of how Mete code-mixes, and father repeats the mixed word prior to supplying the English equivalent.

Excerpt 15

Mete: Can you *hazine* [treasure]? (they are in the garden now, and they watched a cartoon where the character found a treasure)

Dad: It is not *hazine* [treasure] *oğlum* [my son], it is treasure.

Besides almost no code-mixing incidents, another significant finding of the study is the child's ability to shift quickly between the languages. Although the ability of bilinguals to shuttle between the languages (Canagarajah, 2011) has been reported repeatedly in the literature, the evidence if such an ability is evident in children grown up bilingually by non-native parents is scarce. In our case, despite the limited input in the acquisition process in a non-native environment, Mete could effortlessly adapt his language depending on the interlocutor without mixing between the languages. The following excerpt shows his ability to rapidly express himself in the wanted language when with his mother and father without any code-mixing:

Excerpt 16

Dad: What does drone do?

Mete: *Anne, bana aynısından alır mısın?* [mommy, can you buy

the same one?]
Dad: Ask me?
Mete: Can you buy?
Dad: what?
Mete: that same drone

Mete is also able to shuttle between the languages effortlessly depending on the interlocutor as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 17

Mete: and from here she is hand can go to America.
Dad: She is hand, or she is hand orrrr??
Mete: [look]
Dad: What did he do?
Mete: *Annee eline elektrik aldı adam* [mommy the man held electricity in his hand]
Mete: Daddy I can't tell because we need this chocolate. We need the chocolate.
Dad: Tell me how to play ok?

The final focus of the current study was to find out about challenges that the father has been through and gain more insight into why the father employs certain strategies in an attempt to raise Mete as a bilingual child. To achieve this, two interviews were held, and the results are presented below.

Research question 3: How does the father reportedly perceive his role in the process of raising a bilingual child by adopting an English speaker identity in Turkey?

Father's interaction with Mete in English. In the interview, we aimed to understand how the father interacted with Mete in the family environment and his views on their struggle to raise a bilingual child. To gain a deeper insight into the father's strategies and approaches, two interviews of about 100 minutes each were held with the father at the outset of the study and after the analysis. The interview data were analysed inductively through open-coding, categorization, and selective coding processes. At the open coding stage, the researchers coded the transcriptions separately. In the next stage, linked codes were grouped in categories. Finally, in the selective coding process, reduced and grouped codes were collectively analysed, and five core themes, which are presented below, were identified. Finally, member checking was utilized to increase credibility; the researchers' themes were returned to

the father in order for him to validate their accuracy. These themes are presented below.

I should correct errors immediately. The father believes that he needs to correct errors immediately because he thinks "immediate correction can not only save time but also accelerates the pace of acquisition". While the father tries to speed up his child's learning, he also prioritizes the accuracy for appropriate communication, stating that "Mete needs to produce accurate sentences." To make this possible for Mete, in most cases, he corrects any errors in his speech right away. He also asks Mete to repeat after feedback. Another concern of the father is to be able to speak in complete sentences (SVO), and he tries to induce Mete to communicate through sentences rather than short phrases, guiding Mete to start with "a subject" as soon as he hears a minimal answer. To the father, "in order to be able to communicate freely, he must make proper sentences, and to prolong conversations, he must be able to make negative and interrogative sentences flawlessly." He did, however, think that he might have overlooked certain errors under certain conditions: "If I think that a word is important, I immediately correct it; however, I sometimes only recast his errors when I feel that they are not based on knowledge gap, and I keep the conversation going." As can be understood from the father's statement, the few occasions when he does not provide corrective feedback are when he is sure that the problem is not due to the lack of acquisition.

I do not respond when Mete speaks Turkish. Mete very rarely code-switches with his father, who sees this as a result of his consistency in speaking English to him and not responding to Turkish utterances. About his consistency, the father states, "I have had the English-speaking identity with Mete since he was born; therefore, Mete has always seen me as someone he can speak to solely in English," and he adds, "in order to prevent any confusion that Turkish can lead to, I have never talked to him in Turkish." That is, the father considers that alternating between languages will hinder his son's acquisition process. The interviews revealed that, from time-to-time, Mete tried to make his father switch to Turkish, claiming that "he did not understand his father when his father spoke in English." After several such attempts to make

the father give up, the father is of the opinion that the following incident marked a turning point:

"One day, I came back from a football camp in Antalya, and Mete was about 2.5-year-old. He asked for water from me in Turkish. I said, "what," but he insisted on asking for water in Turkish. Finally, he realized that I did not have mercy and said, "daddy can you give me water."

The father's consistency in approach even manifests itself while Mete is playing alone in his room. Even when playing alone, that is, when there is no interaction with the child, Mete switches language depending on who is present in the room.

"There is an interesting thing I noticed. Let's say; Mete is playing alone with his spiderman toys in his bedroom. If I am in the room with him, even if I am not a participant in the game, he makes the toys speak in English; however, he makes the toys speak in Turkish when his mother is in the room. Even though he is not communicating with us, the language he prefers depends on who is around him."

I am a jug, and he is a bucket. Since, in our case, the father is the major input provider, he aims to teach the majority of the vocabulary items or grammar structures explicitly. To do this, he needs to introduce every single item that he seeks to teach. He starts off by introducing a lexical item and gradually adds new lexical items or structures. In this vein, he stated:

"Think like this, I am a jug, and he is a vessel. He pours me back the amount of water I fill in it. Therefore, I had to teach new words each time I wanted to fill in more water. I wanted to make him talk with the amount of knowledge I provided for him, not more. Since he was instructed with information, which is a little bit above his limit, I did not need to explain anything to him in Turkish."

This way, the father makes sure that whatever he is trying to teach already has a background, and he is building on it; therefore, he is certain about his expectancies from Mete.

I am Mete's teacher. The father adopts an unusual approach to raising a bilingual child, acting more like a teacher than a natural input provider. To start with, he asks Mete to articulate the correct form of an incorrect utterance through various elicitation strategies. The father argues that due to his role as "a teacher", Mete does not react negatively towards his instant error correction, and in this regard, he says, "Mete has always seen me as a teacher; hence, when I ask him to correct something, he does it without being lazy."

Another conspicuous strategy of the father as a teacher is providing the translated versions of mother's utterances to Mete as input in their daily discourse. Also, from the very beginning, the father encouraged Mete to translate Turkish utterances into English or vice versa so that he could develop in English.

"We have had a practice like this since the birth of Mete. Let's say his mother said something to him in Turkish, I said the English translation of it right after his mother, or his mother said what I said in English to him in Turkish."

The father states that they continue this practice in their everyday discourse. For practice purposes, he sometimes asks Mete to communicate a message to his mother, which the son needs to translate first before asking his mother. Then the father asks him to translate back his mother's reply. The interview also revealed that Mete does not need to be prompted to translate all the time because he is used to this teaching strategy. The father recalls the earliest example of this as follows:

"Mete was about two years old; he even had a diaper on him. We were playing with a ball and talking about a goalkeeper. Then his mother said, "if you eat enough food, you can catch the ball" in Turkish, and to our amazement, he translated and uttered the same sentence correctly in English."

I chose to be the one who would sacrifice. Emotional and psychological burden of raising Mete bilingual is also evident in the interviews. Another important finding from the interviews is the father's inability to create

a close bonding with his son due to the difficulty of communicating in the target language. In this regard, the father acknowledged:

"There are things that I have not been able to share with him, such as emotional things or complicated things that we cannot discuss in English. Mete needed to share such issues in Turkish with his mother."

Failing to communicate emotions or complex ideas is not the only challenge for the father of this bilingual child. He was at times so emotionally exhausted that he almost lost his hope.

"There came the point when Mete was about to refuse me as a father. That was when I had to be away from home about one week every month. So, I was about to give up this struggle."

The father states that it has been a very challenging period, and he is rather anxious about its future direction. He is unsure of Mete's continuing enthusiasm, which can be seen from the comment below:

"This has been a very challenging period for us, and it has not finished yet. I am also looking forward to seeing the result. At one time in the future, since he will be older, Mete might want to cease speaking in English. Let's see what time will show."

Discussion

The current case study investigated three factors: the parental discourse strategies, the language choice of parents and the reactions of parents to the structural errors. It also investigated the outcome of these factors on the frequency of code-mixing by a 5;2,3-year-old boy raised by an English teacher couple of Turkish origin by utilizing NNP strategy in Turkey with the aim of raising the child bilingual in Turkish and English.

Parental Discourse Strategies

The qualitative analysis of the natural conversations of the father and child at various domains revealed that the father consciously adopted

a monolingual strategy when interacting with his son. It is evident in the conversations that insisting strategies (Döpke, 1992; Taeschner, 1983) that the father employed led to a monolingual context as stated by Lanza (1992). However, the findings from this case study do not seem to be consistent with the previous findings (Döpke, 1992) given that the case Keith in her case ceased talking the target language despite the insisting strategies by father. On the other hand, it is in accordance with the findings by Taeschner (1983) as the father in her case was consistent in using German to her daughter by using overt corrections in grammar, which eventually helped the daughter improve the target language (German). As can be seen from our data and the ability of Mete to communicate in English despite limited input, the insisting strategies of the father in our case could be said to prove to be successful. The strategies he employed towards Mete's code-mixing were examined under Lanza's (1992) continuum; it is evident that the father employed the strategies at the monolingual pole, namely, minimal grasp (MG) and expressed guess (EG). The father's speech contained no strategies positioned towards the bilingual pole, such as move-on (MO) strategy, and code-switching (CS). This finding from the dyads between Mete and his father are in line with the expressions of the father in the interview, where he highlighted the significance of communication through one language to avoid causing any confusion. The findings from this study, in terms of parental discourse strategies, conflict with the findings from the study by Brooksbank (2017) and Min (2011) in which the parents mostly employed MO strategy after hearing code-mixing in their interactions.

This study, despite limited data, could be regarded as empirical support for the parental discourse hypothesis (PDH) put forward by Lanza (1992). The data from this study also displays that the parents' responses to the child's code-mixing have a clear effect on the child's inclusion of items from the two languages. The data derived from this study confirms the findings in the studies by Brooksbank (2017), Döpke (1992), Lanza (1997), Min (2011), Mishina-Mori (2011), Takeuchi (2006), which all report a positive correlation between parents' responses and the amount of code-mixing by the child. A possible explanation of this result might be the strict adherence of the father to monolingual strategies while addressing the child without using Turkish lexical

or structural items. On the other hand, the findings from this study contradict the studies by Deuchar and Muntz (2003) and Nicoladis and Genesee (1998), which reported no significant relationship between the frequency of child's code-mixing and the parental discourse strategies.

The Relationship between Parental Code-mixing and Code-mixing by Children

The most conspicuous finding of this study is the lack of code-mixing by the child. Even though code-mixing indicates typical behaviours of bilingual people (Nikula & Moore, 2016), the dyads between father and son in this context revealed only three instances of code-mixing in 72 minutes of recordings with a total of 386 turns. Another significant finding of the current study is the lack of parental code-mixing; that is, the careful analysis of the father's turns in the data revealed no incidences of Turkish lexical or structural intervention during interactions held in English. The lack of parental code-mixing by the parent was also observed in the study by Fernandes (2019) in which the mother abstained from using the dominant language while talking to her daughter, which, possibly, encouraged her to speak in Russian. It is unrealistic or at least, very difficult to maintain conversations in a language in which the child has limited knowledge, especially in a discourse where there is disproportionate input in one of the languages (Mishina-Mori, 2011); nevertheless, the father in this particular case seems to have succeeded in refraining from the use of the first language (Turkish) by stringent adherence to NNP strategy while interacting with the child. Unlike Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal (2001), in whose study the father adopted a transitional approach in raising his son, the father in the current study preferred to speak in English from the day his son was born. In one of the few studies on bilingual child raising through NNP strategy, in the case of Keith in Döpke's (1992) study ceased talking in German after a while. The finding from the current study, indicating a strict FLP, also underscores the need to evaluate the success of bilingual upbringing from multiple perspectives resulting from parents' expectations on language use and overt language policies (Smith-Christmas et al., 2019).

The literature revealed that both the quantity (Hart & Risley, 1995) and the quality (Rowe, 2012) of input positively correlate with child outcomes, however, the quality of input was found to predict the language output more strongly than the quantity (Hsu et al., 2017). Nevertheless, the endeavour to raise a bilingual child with limited, disproportionate input in a country where that language is not the societal language, still raised psychological difficulties, as the father himself expressed in the interviews that "he was about to give up this endeavour", which implied the extreme nature of challenge (Thomas, 2012). As the father expressed in the interviews, psychologically he went through rough times when his son did not want to interact with him, however, he persevered as he thought this endeavour would pay back in the future. As he started to be able to communicate with Mete, he realized that strict adherence started to pay off, which as the father states was a driving force for himself. The success of the outcome could also be said to result from the dynamic and supportive interaction between the father and Mete, which could be interpreted high quality input (Anderson et al., 2021). It is also evident in the data that the father never shuttled between languages, despite psychological and societal limitations, which was a clear indicator of the father's determination to persist in the face of the challenge. As the idiosyncratic and local efforts lack documentation (Senaydin & Dikilitas, 2019), this particular case is crucial in addressing the gap in the related literature.

To address the second research question, the correlation between parental code-mixing and children code-mixing was examined within the modelling hypothesis framework. Due to the inadequate data to quantify the findings, no quantitative analysis was conducted. Previous research testing the modelling hypothesis yielded inconclusive results (Mishina-Mori, 2011); therefore, it is important to conduct more research to test the modelling hypothesis.

The data in this study revealed very surprising results, having analysed this 72-minute naturally occurring discourse. We refer to this context as *natural* not because "teaching" a second language to make children bilingual is a common and natural phenomenon, but because this way of interaction was a natural practice within the family. In these 72 minutes, Mete only codemixed three words, and the father not codemix at all. This finding is surprising as

bilingual acquisition studies have shown that almost all children mix between languages (Cantone, 2005). In this case, the child modelled his father and managed to conform to his language choice. Given this, it can be inferred that the amount of code-mixing by the child correlated with the input he received from his father, indicating his sensitivity to code-mixing in the input (Comeau et al., 2003). Therefore, it can be assumed that the finding from this study supports the monitor hypothesis by mirroring the findings by Genesee (2000).

The Effect of Error Correction Techniques on Child Code-mixing

The reaction of the father to the child's lexical or syntactic erroneous language was another key finding. The study revealed that the father hardly ever allows the child to continue after making an ungrammatical utterance; instead, he overtly corrects every such ungrammatical utterance he hears, adopting both the roles of a father and a teacher. This role of the father is evident through error correction strategies such as recasts, elicitation and metalinguistic feedback during everyday mundane conversational exchanges. However, what is peculiar in our study is the almost complete absence of code-switching which was widely observed in the literature (Cantone, 2005; Min, 2011). Additionally, the data from the interviews not only revealed that the father is aware of his role as a teacher, but also that his son regards him as a teacher. This fact could have contributed to a role in minimizing the code-mixing occurrences as the child strived to do his best to avoid disappointing his father in his teacher role. The father's emphasis on accuracy seems to have played an essential role in the child's adaptation to the father's language choices, as Mete became aware of his errors; being aware of one's errors is suggested to foster learning (Schmidt, 1990). Contrary to what Ortega (2020) suggests – that excessive coercion may lead children to cease using the language – and to Döpke's (1992) similar finding in his study, the father's insistence strategies helped Mete persevere and be able to communicate in both languages. This finding could be explained by the father's disciplined approach stemming from his perceived role as a language model, and Mete's learned obedience, as he had no other alternative. The success or the strict obedience of Mete to his father's instructions could also be explained by

the bridge hypothesis by Gleason (1975), in which he suggests that fathers are the bridges to the outside world and children should expand their conversational skills in order to be understood by their fathers, and communication pressure is helpful in developing communication skills. In our case, Mete could have complied with what his father requested, as Gleason (1975) also suggested, father caregivers use more imperative language with children. This is further supported by Tomasello et al. (1990) who found that children tended not to persist when what they said was not acknowledged by their fathers, and conversations did not return to children's original topic. This could also be said to support the bridge hypothesis and the success of the father as the sole language provider for Mete in English.

Another significant finding regarding error correction techniques was that the father insisted on the production of complete Subject Verb Object (SVO) sentences. While earlier studies report parents' insistence on the use of proper grammatical structures (Döpke, 1992; Taeschner, 1983), a special attention on SVO sentences has not been reported. In this vein, the father frequently asked the child to expand one-word answers into a complete sentence, often by providing the subject or sometimes subject auxiliary for guidance. This pedagogical demeanour could be considered to have a demotivating effect on the child due to constant interruption. However, in the interviews, the father argued that Mete was making a sustained effort to repeat the sentences, which, according to the father, results from the fact that Mete sees his father as a teacher. This finding is also significant to display the place of child agency in FLP (Smith-Christmas, 2021) as he preferred to negotiate language use while engaging with different interlocutors, in different social contexts based on his communication needs.

Conclusion

This study was conducted to examine the relationship between parental discourse strategies, parental code-mixing rate, and the child code-mixing rate, along with the intertwined relationship with the adopted FLP. The father's reactions to erroneous sentences were also studied to shed further light on the child's code-mixing behaviour. The findings from the study support both PDH

and the Monitor Hypothesis, indicating that the interlocutors' discourse pattern and the amount of code-mixing both play a crucial role in the children's code-mixing frequency. Furthermore, it can be hypothesized that despite limited and disproportionate input, simultaneous acquisition of a second language is possible in a monolingual community only if the parents adhere to a strict "non-native parents" strategy, accompanied by immediate oral corrective feedback strategies.

However, these findings are limited by the amount of data we collected. Even though we sought to collect data through various dyads between Mete and his father at various natural instances, such as at the dinner table or in a toy shop, it is still limited as we were able to record only 72 hours of interactional exchanges. This shortcoming of the study was discussed with the father, and he assured us verbally that with the longer data, there would not be a significant difference in the amount of codeswitching by the father and Mete, yet more empirical data is needed to justify the findings. Another limitation of the research lies in the nature of the interviews where the participants tend to present their attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, or experiences (Talmy, 2010) rather than facts; therefore, the findings from the interviews may represent the jointly constructed ideas between the researcher and the father. Another arguable weakness of the study could be the fact that all dyads were video recorded by the father with the son being aware of this. Further research should therefore employ only voice recording of the children or video recording without children noticing the camera. Finally, the age of the participant child Mete could have had an impact on the amount of code-mixing or oral corrective feedback by father. Even though father remembers that there has never been a time when they communicated in Turkish or used relatively more Turkish words in their conversations, more data with younger children is needed to see how age affects the types and number of parental discourse strategies, code-mixing and the types and amount of error correction strategies employed.

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**NEGIMTAKALBIAI TĖVAI, AUGINANTYS DVIKALBĮ VAIKĄ
TURKIJOJE**

Anotacija. Šiame atvejo tyrime nagrinėjamas dvikalbio 5 metų ir 2 mėnesių vaiko auginimas šeimoje, kurioje kalbama turkų ir anglų kalbomis; taikoma „negimtakalbių tėvų strategija“ kontekste, kuriame anglų kalba nėra nei pirmoji, nei daugumos bendruomenės kalba. Remdamiesi Tėvų diskurso (Lanza, 1992) ir Modeliavimo (Comeau ir kt., 2003) hipotezėmis, tyrėjai nagrinėjo ne tik vaiko anglų kalbos raidą, bet ir tėvo požiūrį į vaiką, taip pat tėvo, ieškančio galimybių auginti dvikalbį vaiką, savęs suvokimą. Duomenys buvo renkami darant vaiko ir tėvo bendravimo vaizdo įrašus bei du pusiau struktūruotus interviu su tėvu. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad net ir gana ribotas (antrosios) kalbos pažinimas gali paskatinti tos kalbos mokymąsi, jei tėvai griežtai laikosi „negimtakalbių tėvų strategijos“ ir sutelktai stengiasi susilaikyti nuo kodų maišymo savo kalboje.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dvikalbis vaiko auginimas, kai antroji kalba nėra tėvų gimtoji kalba; dvikalbystė Turkijoje; tėvo palaikoma dvikalbystė.

**FOCUS ON ROMANCE
LANGUAGES**

**DĒMESYS ROMANŲ
KALBOMS**



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DINÁMICA DE LA ENSEÑANZA DE IDIOMAS EN EL INSTITUTO DE LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS DE LA UNIVERSIDAD VYTAUTAS MAGNUS: RETOS Y PERSPECTIVAS

Resumen. El objetivo del presente artículo es analizar la situación de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de idiomas extranjeros en el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras de la Universidad Vytautas Magnus (UVM), en el marco de la promoción del multilingüismo en la Unión Europea y la política lingüística de la UVM. El conocimiento de la lengua materna y al menos dos idiomas extranjeros a un nivel suficiente para una comunicación eficaz es una aspiración establecida en los documentos de la Unión Europea. En este trabajo, se examina cómo contribuye la política lingüística de la universidad al objetivo del multilingüismo de la UE y los retos que plantea su implementación. Para ello, se analizan los datos de la enseñanza de idiomas del Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras de la UVM en los últimos diez años. Asimismo, se presenta una encuesta realizada en la primavera de 2022 entre los estudiantes para averiguar qué factores influyen en el aprendizaje de otros idiomas. Los resultados de estas dos investigaciones revelan que, mientras que los estudiantes adquieren el nivel de usuario competente en inglés, se produce un descenso constante del número de estudiantes de otras lenguas. Solo un pequeño porcentaje de ellos alcanza el nivel de usuario competente (B1–B2 en la escala del MCER), mientras que la mayoría de ellos se familiariza con una nueva lengua y finaliza sus estudios en niveles iniciales (A1–A2 en la escala del MCER). Las repuestas de los estudiantes sugieren que hay margen de mejora en el sistema universitario para fomentar el multilingüismo; la falta de concienciación sobre la importancia de las lenguas, el predominio creciente del inglés y la falta de motivación, así como las experiencias negativas asociadas al aprendizaje, influyen notablemente en el descenso del interés por otras lenguas extranjeras, por lo que constituyen una amenaza importante para la aplicación de las políticas de multilingüismo.

Palabras clave: competencia lingüística; enseñanza y aprendizaje de idiomas extranjeros; enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras; multilingüismo.

Introducción

Las últimas décadas han estado marcadas de manera sin precedentes por los procesos de migración y globalización, lo cual ha llevado a un aumento drástico en la necesidad de adquirir habilidades en idiomas extranjeros

(Martinovic, 2011, p. 6). Para una sociedad, las lenguas extranjeras y su aprendizaje pueden ser analizadas desde distintas perspectivas. Según Martinovic (2011), el multilingüismo puede ser considerado como un capital humano, social y cultural. Es un capital humano porque tiene relación con las posibilidades de empleo y el estatus e influye en los ingresos. Es considerado como capital social, ya que permite entablar contactos y amistades con personas procedentes de diferentes culturas. Por último, es un capital cultural porque permite acceder a diferentes contenidos socioculturales en otros idiomas; viajar a otros países por estudios, por trabajo o de vacaciones; comprender a otras personas y fomentar el sentimiento de identidad étnica, nacional o europea (Martinovic, 2011, p. 21).

El Consejo de Europa ha incluido la competencia multilingüe entre las ocho competencias básicas en la actualidad. (Consejo de Europa, 2018). A nivel europeo se presta una considerable atención al fomento del multilingüismo y se llevan a cabo numerosas iniciativas a distintos niveles.

Más allá de su relevancia en el ámbito empresarial, promover el multilingüismo¹ es crucial para fortalecer la democracia, fomentar la comprensión mutua entre individuos de diferentes países y promover la cohesión social.

En el ámbito de la educación superior, esta competencia lingüística se convierte en un requisito fundamental para poder acceder al conocimiento, aprovechar las oportunidades de movilidad y colaborar con representantes de otras instituciones universitarias. La competencia multilingüe es imprescindible para los futuros científicos y profesionales de alta competencia, capaces de desenvolverse y destacar en el entorno globalizado y altamente competitivo.

¹ En la "RECOMENDACIÓN DEL CONSEJO de 22 de mayo de 2019", se hace notar que "aunque el Consejo de Europa utiliza el término "plurilingüismo" para referirse a la competencia de las personas en múltiples lenguas, los documentos oficiales de la Unión Europea utilizan el término "multilingüismo" para designar tanto las competencias individuales como las situaciones sociales. Ello se debe en parte a las dificultades para distinguir entre "plurilingüe" y "multilingüe" en lenguas distintas del inglés y el francés". (Consejo de la Unión Europea, 2019). El diccionario de la Real Academia Española tampoco distingue entre estos dos términos, aunque en el Diccionario de términos clave de ELE del Centro Virtual de Cervantes existe esta distinción. En este artículo se opta por el término "multilingüismo", debido a su mayor presencia en los documentos analizados. Este término se comprende como la competencia de una persona en diferentes lenguas a diversos niveles, y también puede denotar la coexistencia de distintas lenguas en una sociedad u organización específica.

Aunque se han establecido objetivos a nivel europeo que vamos a discutir en este artículo, llevar a cabo su implementación a nivel nacional requerirá tiempo. Además, esta situación tiene un impacto mayor en la educación secundaria, que está regulada a nivel estatal. Por otro lado, el sector de la educación superior goza de mayor autonomía y puede definir su propia política lingüística. En este artículo, abordaremos un caso específico: el de la Universidad Vytautas Magnus. El propósito de este artículo es ofrecer una perspectiva general sobre la enseñanza de idiomas en la UVM, considerando las demandas de la sociedad actual y el marco político para promover el multilingüismo en tres niveles distintos: europeo, nacional y universitario. Para llegar a estos objetivos, el artículo se divide en dos partes principales.

La primera parte proporciona una breve visión general de la política lingüística en Europa, en Lituania y en la Universidad Vytautas Magnus.

En la segunda parte, se llevará a cabo un análisis de dos investigaciones con enfoque empírico. La primera investigación abarca el examen de datos cuantitativos recopilados durante la última década sobre la enseñanza de idiomas en el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras. La segunda investigación se originó a partir de una encuesta realizada en la primavera de 2022, en la cual participaron un total de 257 estudiantes de la universidad en cuestión. En esta sección, presentaremos una parte de dicha encuesta que se dedica específicamente a conocer cuántos idiomas saben los estudiantes y hasta qué nivel, además de indagar en los motivos que los impulsan a seguir estudiando esos idiomas a niveles más avanzados o a interrumpir su aprendizaje.

Marco europeo

La Unión Europea (UE) compuesta por 27 países, es un espacio multilingüe en el que se valoran y protegen todas las lenguas. El derecho a expresarse en su propio idioma está consagrado en el artículo 22 de la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea (Parlamento Europeo, 2000). Todos los ciudadanos de los países miembros tienen el derecho de comunicarse con las instituciones y recibir respuestas en su lengua materna. Actualmente, la UE cuenta con 24 idiomas oficiales y, además, en muchos países existen otras lenguas o dialectos que, aunque no figuren en la lista de

idiomas oficiales de la UE, se utilizan a diario en mayor o menor medida. El dominio de lenguas adicionales a la materna se considera un pilar fundamental para la construcción de una sociedad democrática. Esto permite fomentar el diálogo intercultural, fortalecer el sentido de ciudadanía europea y promover el sentimiento de pertenencia a Europa. Por otra parte, además de favorecer el diálogo entre diferentes culturas, saber idiomas es muy útil a nivel profesional, las lenguas abren puertas, permiten a los jóvenes estudiar o trabajar en otros países, aumentan posibilidades de encontrar trabajo; a las empresas les permite acceder a nuevos mercados, por consiguiente, añade valor a las empresas europeas y permite competir a nivel mundial.

Ya en el año 1995, en el "Libro blanco sobre educación y formación", la Comisión Europea resalta la importancia de promover el aprendizaje de idiomas extranjeros y establece como objetivo general que todos los ciudadanos sean capaces de comunicarse en tres lenguas comunitarias. Hace hincapié en que el dominio de idiomas de otros países de la UE es esencial y que su aprendizaje debería ser accesible para todas las personas, independientemente de sus recursos económicos o posición social.

En 2002, el Consejo de Europa llama la atención a la necesidad de fomentar el aprendizaje de idiomas y fija el objetivo de promocionar el multilingüismo con el propósito de mejorar la competencia lingüística de los ciudadanos europeos, y lograr que estos, además de su lengua materna, adquieran habilidades en al menos dos idiomas extranjeros. Asimismo, se les recomienda a las instituciones educativas ampliar la oferta de lenguas (Consejo de la Unión Europea, 2002(1), 2002(2)).

En la Resolución del Consejo datada el 21 de noviembre de 2008, relativa a la estrategia europea en favor del multilingüismo, se reitera nuevamente la importancia de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras. Se subraya especialmente la relevancia del sector educativo en todos sus niveles para promover el multilingüismo. Se insta a los estados miembros y a la Comisión Europea a "proporcionar a los jóvenes, desde su más temprana edad y continuando más allá de la educación general durante la formación profesional y la educación superior, una oferta variada, y de calidad, de enseñanza de lenguas y de culturas, de forma que les permita adquirir el dominio de, al menos, dos lenguas extranjeras, lo que constituye un factor de

integración en la sociedad del conocimiento” (Consejo de Europa, 2008, C 320/2).

“Las Conclusiones del Consejo sobre las competencias lingüísticas como motor de la movilidad” (2011) resaltan que “La enseñanza y el aprendizaje de idiomas de alta calidad — por ejemplo, de lenguajes especializados y relacionados con el empleo— son esenciales para la internacionalización de las instituciones de enseñanza superior y para mejorar la empleabilidad de los titulados universitarios.” (Consejo de la Unión Europea, 2011, C 372/29).

En el año 2019, ve la luz la “Recomendación del Consejo relativa a un enfoque global de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de idiomas”. En ella, se reitera que una competencia multilingüe limitada supone un obstáculo para aprovechar plenamente las diversas oportunidades que la Unión Europea presenta a los jóvenes. El objetivo de fomentar la adquisición de competencia en dos lenguas extranjeras se precisa aún más, estableciéndose una meta más ambiciosa: que los jóvenes adquieran aptitudes en lenguas extranjeras antes de concluir la educación secundaria.

La Recomendación insta a buscar “modos de ayudar a todos los jóvenes a adquirir, antes de terminar la educación y la formación secundaria postobligatoria —además de las lenguas de escolarización—, cuando sea posible, un nivel de competencia en al menos otra lengua europea que les permita utilizarla de manera eficaz con fines sociales, de aprendizaje y profesionales, y promover la adquisición de una tercera lengua en un nivel que les permita interactuar con suficiente fluidez” (Consejo de la Unión Europea, 2019, C 189/17). Es relevante recalcar que solo el nivel de usuario competente (es decir, C1–C2) habilita al individuo a trabajar o estudiar en la lengua en cuestión. En contraste, para la tercera lengua, se hace referencia a la competencia de nivel de usuario independiente (B1–B2).

Para poder evaluar la competencia lingüística, se recomienda utilizar el mismo instrumento- el sistema de niveles descrito en el Marco común europeo para las lenguas (la última actualización de 2018) en el que se describen los niveles de usuario básico (A1–A2), de usuario independiente (B1–B2) y de usuario competente (C1–C2). (Consejo de la Unión Europea, 2019)

Esta Recomendación adquiere una relevancia significativa al acentuar la importancia del nivel de competencia lingüística y al destacar que, con el fin de aprovechar plenamente las ventajas que conlleva la competencia en lenguas, y para desenvolverse con eficacia tanto en las circunstancias de la vida diaria como en el ámbito profesional, es imperativo alcanzar un nivel de competencia lo suficientemente alto.

En la educación superior se han llevado a cabo muchas iniciativas que influyen en el desarrollo del multilingüismo. Se ha creado el Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior (EEES) que favorece la movilidad de estudiantes, profesores, investigadores de las universidades europeas. El programa Erasmus+, distintos programas de formación conjuntos, las iniciativas de las alianzas universitarias favorecen el intercambio de conocimiento y permiten adquirir y mejorar competencias lingüísticas.

Marco nacional

A nivel nacional, cada país establece su propia política lingüística. Conforme a la legislación lituana que rige la enseñanza de idiomas extranjeros en la educación secundaria, se determina que todos los estudiantes están obligados a aprender dos idiomas. El primer idioma extranjero (ya sea inglés, francés o alemán) se comienza a estudiar desde el primer o segundo grado y, al concluir la educación obligatoria (es decir, al finalizar el décimo grado), se espera que se alcance un nivel de competencia B1 / B1+. Al terminar la segunda etapa de la escuela secundaria, o sea en 12º grado, se espera que los estudiantes hayan alcanzado un nivel de competencia B2 / B2+ (Pirmosios užsienio kalbos bendroji programa, 2022).

En el quinto o sexto grado, se comienza a estudiar un segundo idioma extranjero, que puede ser inglés, francés, alemán, ruso, polaco, ucraniano, español u otro, en función de las opciones disponibles en cada centro escolar. Para el décimo grado, cuando el estudio de este segundo idioma deja de ser obligatorio, se espera que se haya alcanzado el nivel A2+. Sin embargo, si se opta por continuar con el estudio de este idioma, se proyecta que para el duodécimo grado se logre un nivel B1/B1+ (Antrosios užsienio kalbos bendroji programa, 2022).

En la segunda etapa de la educación secundaria (correspondiente a los grados 11 y 12, que ya no es obligatoria), los estudiantes ya no tienen la exigencia de estudiar el segundo idioma extranjero.

El informe de Eurydice, "Cifras clave de la enseñanza de lenguas en los centros escolares de Europa Edición 2023", nos brinda datos relativos a la situación de la enseñanza de idiomas extranjeros correspondientes al año 2020. A través de este informe, se evidencia que, en la segunda fase de la educación secundaria, únicamente el 38,3 por ciento de los alumnos se involucran en el estudio de dos o más idiomas, mientras que el 60,4 por ciento se dedica a un único idioma, el cual es de carácter obligatorio. De estos últimos, el 97 por ciento opta por estudiar inglés. Asimismo, el promedio de lenguas extranjeras estudiadas por cada estudiante en la segunda etapa de la educación secundaria durante el año 2020 se sitúa en 1,2 (Eurydice, 2023). Estos datos resaltan que el inglés es, indudablemente, el idioma preponderante, y subrayan que el número de estudiantes que alcanzan el nivel B1 en su segundo idioma extranjero al concluir la escuela secundaria es sumamente reducido.

Si examinamos las lenguas que se estudian en Lituania, observamos que el inglés ocupa la primera posición. En la primera etapa de la educación secundaria, lo aprenden un 97,8 por ciento de los estudiantes, mientras que en la segunda etapa lo estudia un 86,8 por ciento de los estudiantes. En cuanto a otros idiomas, hasta el momento, el ruso ha sido el más popular. En la primera etapa de secundaria, lo estudian el 59,3 por ciento de los estudiantes, y en la segunda etapa, el 24,8 por ciento de los estudiantes opta por aprender este idioma. El porcentaje de alumnos que eligen estudiar francés en la educación secundaria es del 4,6 por ciento en la primera etapa y del 2,7 por ciento en la segunda etapa. Respecto al alemán, el porcentaje es del 13,8 por ciento en la primera etapa y del 6,7 por ciento en la segunda etapa. Existen casos muy escasos de enseñanza de otros idiomas, siendo el español uno de ellos (aunque este es uno de los idiomas más populares en Europa y en el mundo en general). Sin embargo, el número de estudiantes de español es insignificante con un 0,2 por ciento en la primera etapa y un 0,9 por ciento en la segunda etapa. ²

² El año 2023 marca un período de transformación, dado que el Gobierno de Lituania ha

Estos datos relevan que los estudiantes que ingresan en la universidad deberían haber desarrollado, al menos, una competencia lingüística en el primer idioma extranjero (usualmente el inglés) a un nivel de usuario independiente (B2). Además, algunos de ellos podrían tener un nivel que oscile entre A2 y B1 en un segundo idioma extranjero.

Marco universitario

Si contrastamos los objetivos de la UE que buscan que cada joven adquiera habilidades en al menos dos idiomas extranjeros (y, para que este conocimiento sea efectivo, es necesario poseer un nivel superior al básico), con la realidad presente en las escuelas secundarias, se constata un desajuste. Esta disparidad podría enmendarse en otras etapas de la educación. El papel de la universidad en este ámbito resulta de suma importancia.

La Ley de Ciencia y Estudios de la República de Lituania (2009) establece que uno de los propósitos primordiales de la universidad es ofrecer estudios que proporcionen a las personas una educación superior de nivel universitario basada en la investigación, que se corresponda con el estado actual de la cognición y la tecnología, las cualificaciones de educación superior y el desarrollo de una personalidad íntegra, éticamente responsable, creativa y emprendedora.

De acuerdo con este objetivo, el Estatuto de la Universidad Vytautas Magnus (2018) declara que "la Universidad Vytautas Magnus es una institución de enseñanza superior clásica de artes liberales (artes liberales, Liberal Arts and Sciences), que realiza estudios basados en la investigación científica y artística interdisciplinaria, educando a pensadores independientes y críticos, capaces de cooperar en un entorno intercultural y de convertirse en miembros responsables de la comunidad lituana y mundial" (Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Statutas, 2018).

Promover la tradición del multilingüismo está entre los objetivos

introducido una iniciativa destinada a modificar la situación actual, reducir la predominancia del ruso y fomentar la educación y el dominio de otros idiomas. Entre las medidas propuestas se encuentra un proyecto de reciclaje para profesores de idiomas, el cual posibilitará que los docentes de ruso adquieran competencias en alemán o francés, con el fin de estar capacitados para enseñar dichos idiomas en el futuro.

estratégicos del Plan Estratégico de Actividades de la Universidad Vytautas Magnus 2021–2027” (2020).

Este propósito resuena con los principios presentes en documentos de la UE y del Consejo Europeo, donde la habilidad de comunicarse en idiomas extranjeros y desenvolverse en ambientes multilingües y multiculturales se considera una de las competencias fundamentales.

La política lingüística de la universidad, como se detalla en un documento independiente titulado “Directrices de la Política Lingüística” (cuya última revisión se realizó en 2018), se desarrolla y se ajusta conforme a la Ley de la Lengua Estatal, el Estatuto de la VMU, el Reglamento de Estudios, las Órdenes del Rector y los actos jurídicos internos de la Universidad. Además, se consideran las recomendaciones del Consejo Europeo de las Lenguas. Se resalta la relevancia del dominio de los idiomas tanto para el crecimiento personal y la trayectoria profesional de cada individuo, como para la colaboración internacional que se vuelve cada vez más intensa.

En dicho documento se establece el papel del idioma oficial, que es el lituano; se delinear las pautas para la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras a los estudiantes, el apoyo lingüístico para el personal académico y no académico, así como para los investigadores de la universidad. También aborda el aprendizaje informal de idiomas, la determinación, evaluación y valoración de la competencia lingüística, así como su reconocimiento y acreditación.

Los cursos de idiomas impartidos en la universidad no solo están disponibles para los estudiantes de la UVM, sino también para estudiantes de otras instituciones educativas, estudiantes de secundaria y, en general, para cualquier persona interesada en aprender un nuevo idioma.

El Reglamento de Estudios y las Directrices de la Política Lingüística proporcionan una descripción minuciosa del sistema de enseñanza de idiomas. El Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras desempeña un rol central en esta función, ya que es el departamento encargado de la enseñanza de idiomas y coordina tanto los cursos de inglés como de otras lenguas (cada semestre, se enseñan aproximadamente 20 idiomas distintos).

Los documentos establecen que el aprendizaje de idiomas es un requisito para todos los estudiantes de la universidad. El inglés siempre ha sido obligatorio; hasta 2017, se requería alcanzar un nivel de conocimiento de inglés

de B2. No obstante, en 2017 se implementó un cambio que elevó el nivel obligatorio a C1 académico (salvo para aquellos estudiantes que comienzan a estudiar inglés desde el nivel A1, quienes deben llegar al nivel B2). Esta modificación se realizó en concordancia con las recomendaciones del Consejo Europeo, que indican que todos los estudiantes deberían poseer un nivel de usuario competente en el primer idioma extranjero.

Todos los cursos de idiomas forman parte del conjunto de asignaturas obligatorias, dentro del cual se debe cursar entre 12 y 24 ECTS. Al ingresar en la universidad, se evalúa el nivel de inglés de cada estudiante. Si el estudiante ya ha alcanzado el nivel C1, puede emplear todos los créditos restantes para el aprendizaje de otros idiomas. En caso de que no haya llegado aún al nivel C1 en inglés, continuará su estudio hasta lograrlo. Si le quedan créditos libres, los puede dedicar al aprendizaje de otros idiomas. No obstante, si el estudiante ha agotado todos sus créditos destinados al estudio de idiomas, pero desea continuar el aprendizaje de idiomas, puede hacerlo abonando una tarifa específica por cada crédito o de forma gratuita, dependiendo del idioma elegido. Cada año académico se publica una lista de idiomas que se pueden estudiar sin coste alguno, la cual es aprobada por el Rector de la UVM. Esta lista especifica los idiomas exentos de pago y generalmente incluye toda la oferta, con la excepción de los niveles iniciales (A1 y A2) de los idiomas más populares, como español, francés, ruso, italiano y alemán. Esta iniciativa tiene como objetivo fomentar el aprendizaje de idiomas menos hablados en el mundo, así como el estudio de idiomas en niveles avanzados.

Este sistema asegura que todos los estudiantes alcancen el nivel de inglés necesario para poder desenvolverse con fluidez tanto en el ámbito profesional como en el académico. Esto les permite aprovechar todas las oportunidades de cooperación internacional brindadas por la universidad, tanto en el ámbito personal como profesional. Además, este sistema brinda a los estudiantes la posibilidad de mejorar la competencia lingüística en otros idiomas que hayan estudiado en la escuela secundaria, así como también de aprender nuevas lenguas.

En teoría, un estudiante promedio que ingresa en la universidad con un nivel B2 solo necesitaría cursar un semestre de inglés, y podría utilizar el resto de los créditos para el aprendizaje de otro idioma. En la próxima sección,

analizaremos los datos de los últimos 10 años para comprender la situación real. ¿Cuál es el nivel de inglés de la mayoría de los estudiantes que ingresan en la universidad? ¿Estudian otros idiomas y hasta qué niveles llegan en su dominio?

Metodología

En la siguiente sección se exponen dos investigaciones, relacionadas con el aprendizaje de idiomas en el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras de la Universidad Vytautas Magnus.

La primera investigación presenta un análisis de datos cuantitativos sobre la enseñanza de idiomas, abarcando el periodo de 2012–2022. Los datos analizados son el número de estudiantes que aprenden idiomas, los idiomas que eligen y los niveles que alcanzan.

La segunda investigación consiste en una encuesta realizada en la primavera de 2022. En este artículo, se presenta una parte de dicha encuesta, específicamente centrada en revelar cuántos idiomas saben los estudiantes y hasta qué nivel, además de indagar en los motivos que los impulsan a seguir estudiando esos idiomas a niveles más avanzados o a interrumpir su aprendizaje. La encuesta se distribuyó entre todos los estudiantes de grado y se llevó a cabo en línea de manera anónima, obteniendo 257 respuestas (aproximadamente el 5% del total de estudiantes de grado de la universidad)³. El número de encuestados no permite sacar conclusiones generalizadas, pero al comparar los datos obtenidos con el análisis cuantitativo realizado, revela ciertas tendencias en el aprendizaje de idiomas.

Casi la mitad de los encuestados eran estudiantes de primer año, y aproximadamente un tercio de ellos eran estudiantes de segundo año. Este grupo de estudiantes aún tiene la oportunidad de continuar el estudio de idiomas, ya que se recomienda alcanzar el nivel C1 de inglés durante los dos primeros años. Un 11 por ciento de los encuestados estaban en el tercer año de estudios, mientras que los estudiantes de último año constituían un 8 por

³ En el "Informe sobre las actividades de la universidad 2022" accesible en la página web de la universidad, se indica que 5087 estudiantes cursaron estudios de grado en la universidad.

ciento. Se han representado todas las facultades, siendo los estudiantes de la facultad de Humanidades y de la Academia de Educación los más numerosos.

Se les formularon tanto preguntas abiertas como cerradas, siempre brindando la posibilidad de dejar comentarios adicionales. Las preguntas acerca de la motivación para aprender nuevos idiomas o continuar estudiándolos tenían respuesta abierta u opción de comentarios. Las respuestas recibidas se agruparon en categorías más amplias.

La enseñanza de las lenguas en la UVM durante los últimos 10 años

Como se ha mencionado anteriormente, todos los estudiantes de la UVM deben alcanzar el nivel C1 en inglés (a partir del año 2017; y B2 hasta esta fecha). Para asegurar esto, el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras debe evaluar el nivel de inglés de cada estudiante. Para este propósito, se ha desarrollado un algoritmo que está descrito en el Reglamento de Estudios.

Como se evidencia en el informe sobre la enseñanza de idiomas en Lituania, en el año 2020 más del 97 por ciento de los estudiantes tenían inglés como primer idioma extranjero y deberían haber alcanzado el nivel B1+ o B2 en la mayoría de los casos. Los estudiantes que al comienzo de su etapa universitaria demuestran poseer un nivel C1 de inglés, tienen la libertad de elegir cualquier idioma de entre los ofrecidos. Esto puede ser el idioma que hayan estudiado previamente o uno completamente nuevo. El mínimo de créditos ECTS requeridos para el estudio de idiomas es de 12, mientras que el máximo permitido es de 24.

En el gráfico número 1 se pueden observar los cambios ocurridos en la enseñanza de inglés durante el período de 2012–2022. Se puede apreciar que, durante todo el período analizado, el mayor número de estudiantes están en los grupos de nivel B1–B2. El número de estudiantes que comenzaron a estudiar inglés desde los niveles A1–A2 forma la minoría y fue disminuyendo hasta los años 2018–2019 y posteriormente empezó a aumentar. Esta disminución de los estudiantes en este grupo era lógica ya que el inglés en la absoluta mayoría de casos es el primer idioma extranjero de las escuelas

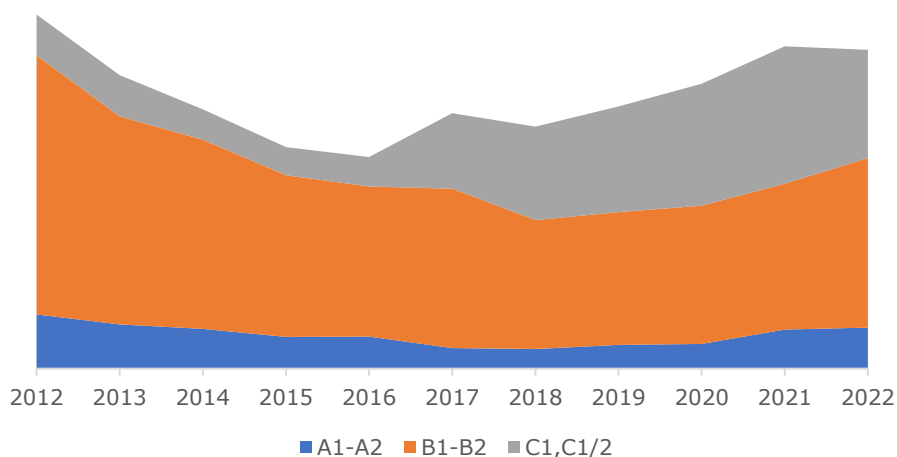
secundarias. La pequeña alza a partir de los años 2018–2019 puede explicarse por dos factores. En 2018 tuvo lugar la integración de tres universidades, a la Universidad Vytautas Magnus se le unieron la Universidad Aleksandras Stulginskis y la Universidad Pedagógica de Vilna. En los programas a tiempo parcial que se impartían en estas universidades generalmente estudiaban personas que ya ejercían actividad profesional, y que, algunas veces, no habían estudiado inglés o tenían niveles más bajos. Otro factor es político- en el año 2022 empezó la guerra entre Ucrania y Rusia y la Universidad Vytautas Magnus acogió a muchos estudiantes ucranianos, cuyo nivel de inglés era generalmente más bajo. Este último factor puede haber influido en la subida de los números en los grupos de niveles B1–B2 y una ligera bajada en los grupos de C1.

Cuando en el año 2017 se hizo vigente el cambio en la política lingüística y se empezó a exigir el nivel C1 de inglés, los números en estos grupos crecieron de forma exponente hasta el año 2021.

En general, alrededor del 70 por ciento de los estudiantes de inglés están en los niveles A1–B2, lo que significa que tendrán que dedicar más créditos al aprendizaje de este idioma y, por consiguiente, les quedarán menos o no quedarán en absoluto créditos para otros idiomas.

Gráfico 1

Distribución de los estudiantes según los niveles de inglés

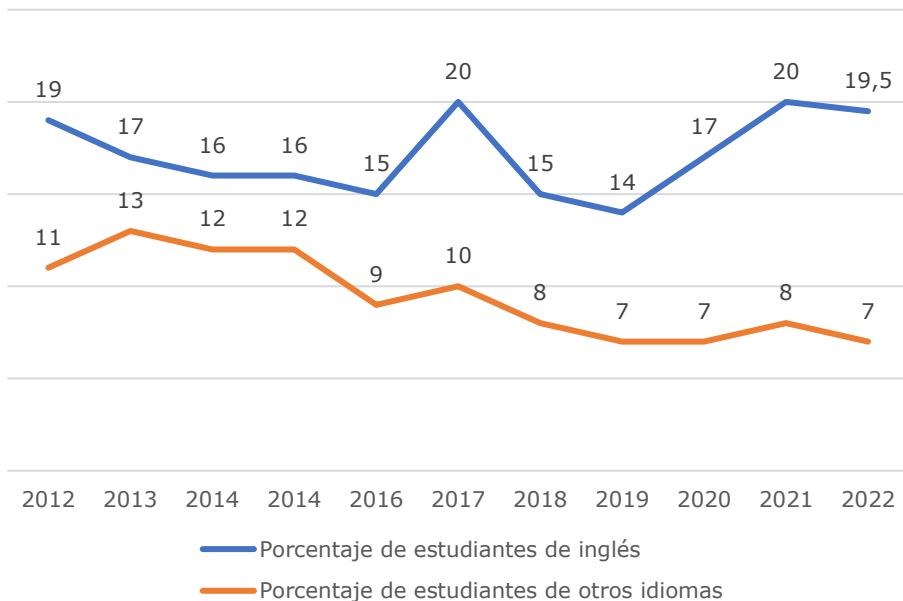


Si examinamos el total de estudiantes y el porcentaje de aquellos que estudian inglés (véase el gráfico 2), observamos que hasta el año 2017, cuando se estableció la obligación de alcanzar el nivel C1, el número de estudiantes de inglés experimentaba una disminución gradual. En 2017 se aprecia un aumento significativo. Posteriormente, después de haber disminuido durante los años 2018–2019, el porcentaje de estudiantes de inglés continuó creciendo, con una ligera caída en 2022. Como se ha mencionado previamente, es posible que este aumento sea resultado de la integración institucional y las condiciones políticas.

No obstante, en lo que respecta al número de estudiantes de otros idiomas, se observa una clara tendencia a la disminución. Al inicio del período analizado, su número superaba el 10 por ciento; sin embargo, a partir del año en que se implementó el cambio relacionado con el nivel C1 de inglés, ha ido decreciendo de manera progresiva.

Gráfico 2

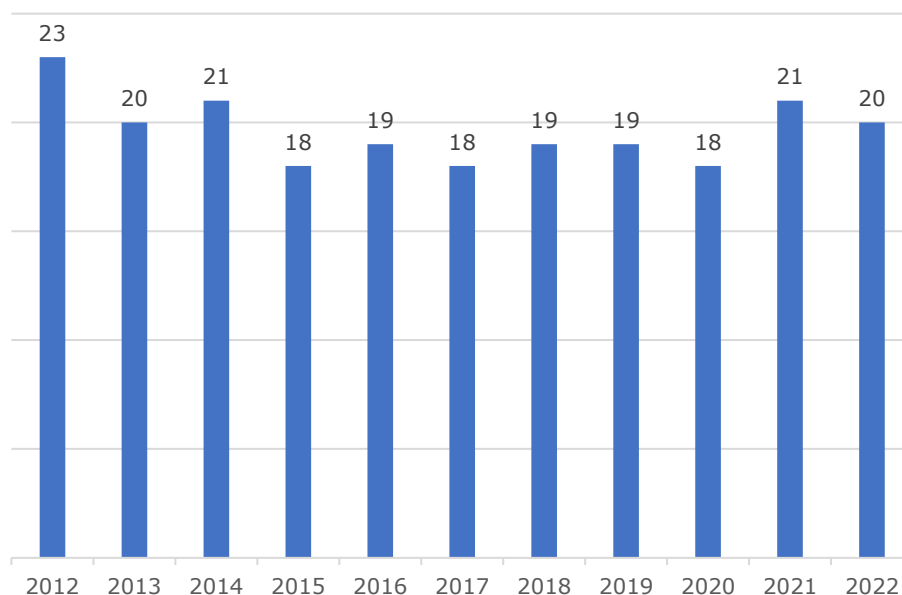
Porcentaje de estudiantes de idiomas sobre el total de estudiantes universitarios



Las cifras son preocupantes, ya que significan que el inglés se impone cada vez más, y hay menos estudiantes que aprenden otros idiomas.

Gráfico 3

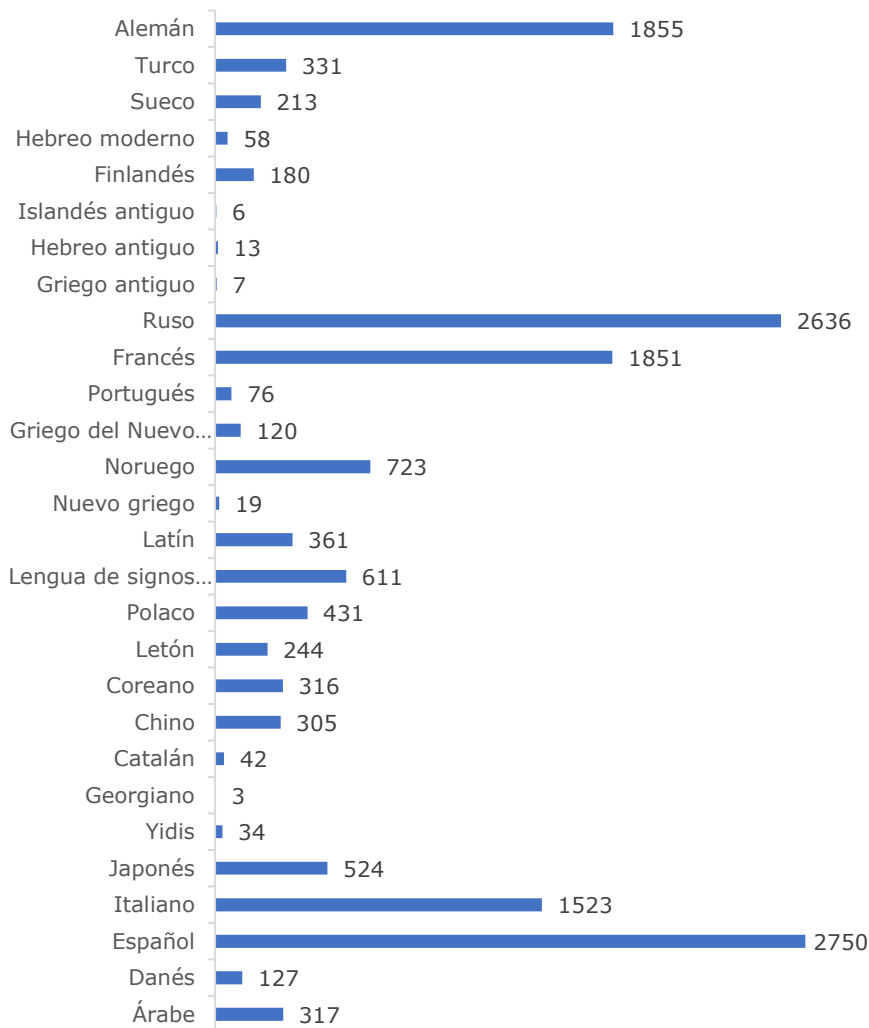
Número de idiomas enseñados en el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras (excepto inglés) entre los años 2012–2022



Al analizar la oferta de cursos de idiomas impartidos en el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras (gráfico 3), observamos que el número de lenguas enseñadas varía anualmente, oscilando entre 23 y 18, principalmente según las elecciones de los estudiantes. En cada semestre, se ofrece una amplia gama de idiomas, aunque en ocasiones no se logran formar grupos de lenguas menos habladas y populares entre los estudiantes. Además, hay períodos en los que ciertos cursos no están disponibles debido a la falta de profesores. No obstante, la oferta es bastante variada (véase el gráfico 4). En esta oferta no solamente se incluyen los idiomas más hablados o estudiados en todo el mundo, como el español, árabe, francés o alemán, sino que también se brinda a los estudiantes la oportunidad de aprender lenguas de países vecinos o idiomas menos conocidos.

Gráfico 4

Número de estudiantes de lenguas durante los años 2012–2022



Dentro de las cinco lenguas más populares, siempre encontramos español, ruso, alemán, francés e italiano. A lo largo del período analizado, no se presentaron cambios en las cinco primeras posiciones, aunque estos idiomas compiten en popularidad entre sí. En las posiciones 1 y 2, siempre se mantienen el español y el ruso, con el ruso llegando a ser en algunos años el

idioma más popular. No obstante, durante este período, dos acontecimientos políticos tuvieron un fuerte impacto en la popularidad del ruso: la ocupación de Crimea en 2014 y la guerra contra Ucrania en 2022. Durante estos períodos, la popularidad del ruso experimentó una caída brusca.

El alemán, el francés y el italiano constantemente compiten por las tres siguientes posiciones, y ocasionalmente cambian de posición, aunque no se observan cambios significativos en el número total de estudiantes.

Es interesante notar que en las escuelas secundarias rara vez se imparten clases de español o italiano como segundo idioma extranjero (según las estadísticas disponibles, el número de estudiantes que las eligen no supera el uno por ciento (Eurydice, 2023)). Sin embargo, en la universidad, estos idiomas se encuentran entre los más populares. En el caso del español, no resulta complicado explicar su popularidad, dado que es el cuarto idioma más hablado del mundo, después del inglés, el chino mandarín y el hindi (Instituto Cervantes, 2022).

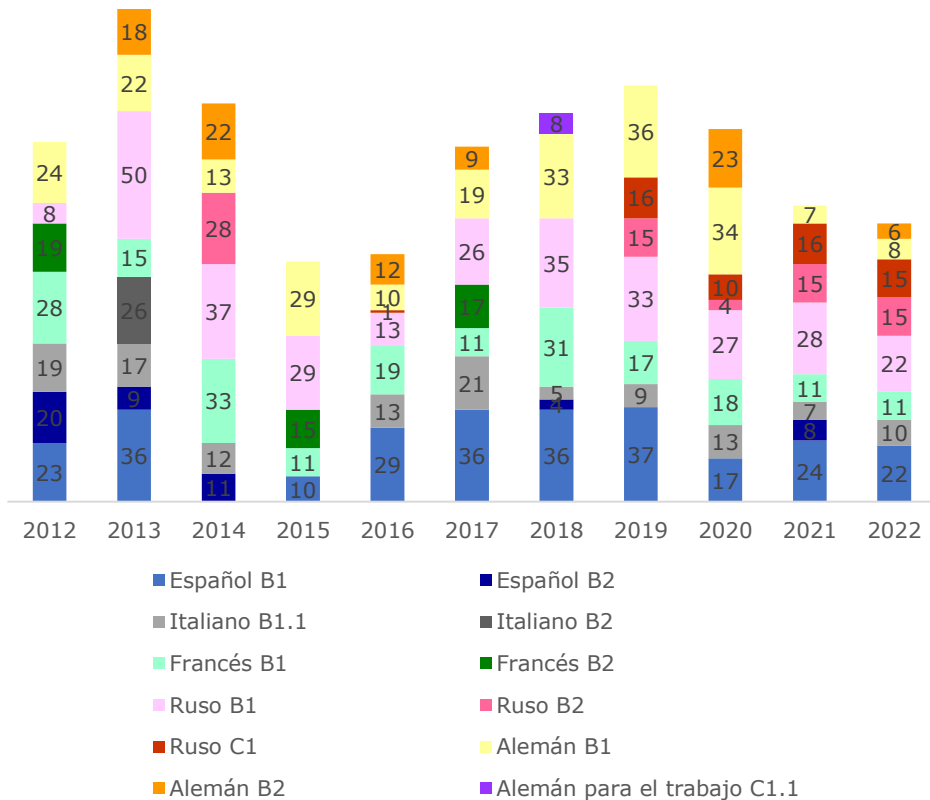
El italiano también proporciona acceso a una cultura sumamente rica y relevante para el mundo occidental. La popularidad de los otros tres idiomas no solo se debe a su importancia y extensión, sino también a que se enseñan en las escuelas secundarias, permitiendo a los estudiantes aprovechar estos cursos para profundizar sus conocimientos.

Entre otros idiomas que se estudian en todos los semestres, cabe destacar el noruego, la lengua de signos lituana, el japonés, el coreano, el latín y el polaco entre otros. Sin embargo, a pesar de la amplia diversidad de cursos, nos enfrentamos al desafío principal de la formación de grupos en niveles más avanzados. En el gráfico 5 se puede observar una disminución en el número de estudiantes en los niveles B1-B2 de los idiomas más populares. Durante este período, solo se han formado grupos de nivel C1 en dos idiomas: ruso y alemán, si bien este último solo se impartió una vez en los 10 años analizados. El curso de Ruso C1 se ha enseñado durante 5 años en total.

Los grupos de nivel B2 tampoco se forman todos los años. El grupo de español se ha enseñado en 5 años, el de italiano en 1 año, el de francés en 3 años, y los de alemán y ruso en 6 años. Además, el número de estudiantes en estos grupos es reducido; como máximo, se forma un grupo de un nivel en un semestre, nunca llegando a haber dos o más grupos del mismo nivel.

Gráfico 5

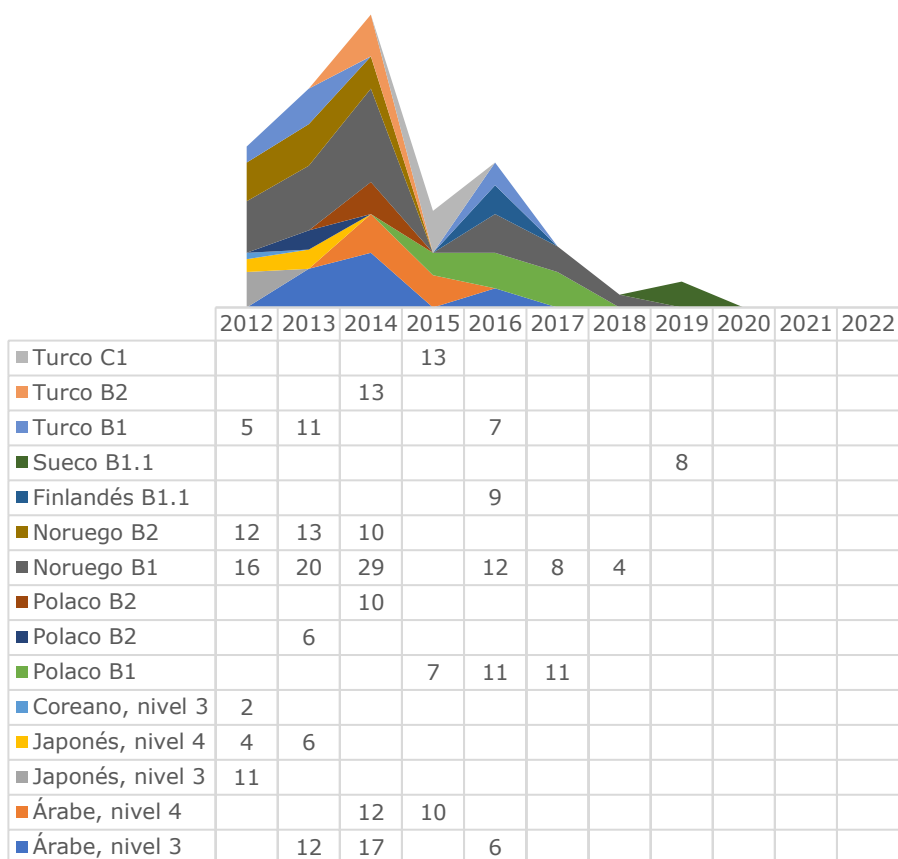
Número de estudiantes en los niveles avanzados de los 5 idiomas más populares.



Si la situación de los idiomas más populares parece preocupante, la de los idiomas menos populares es aún más alarmante. Al principio del período analizado, se formaron grupos de niveles avanzados en 6 idiomas. En 2015, hubo solo 3 grupos, y tras un pequeño repunte en 2016, el número descendió drásticamente en 2017 (cuando se estableció la obligatoriedad de estudiar inglés hasta el nivel C1). En los últimos tres años, no se ha formado ni un solo grupo de niveles avanzados de este grupo de idiomas. (véase el gráfico 6)

Gráfico 6

Número de estudiantes en los niveles avanzados de otros idiomas



Todos estos números muestran una situación preocupante. A pesar de que todos los estudiantes dominan el inglés, parece que este idioma está prevaleciendo y el multilingüismo está perdiendo terreno. Al principio del período estudiado, un gran número de estudiantes solía aprender idiomas y los estudiaba hasta niveles avanzados. Sin embargo, en los últimos años, cada vez menos estudiantes están optando por aprender otros idiomas, y muchos de ellos apenas alcanzan los niveles A1-A2, que no son suficientes para mantener una comunicación fluida en otro idioma ni mucho menos desenvolverse en situaciones laborales.

Notando estas últimas tendencias, en la primavera de 2022, el Instituto de Lenguas Extranjeras realizó una encuesta sobre el aprendizaje de idiomas. Uno de los propósitos de esta encuesta era identificar las principales razones detrás del creciente desinterés por los idiomas extranjeros.

Gráfico 7

Porcentaje en función si han estudiado otros idiomas (aparte del inglés) en la universidad (N=257)

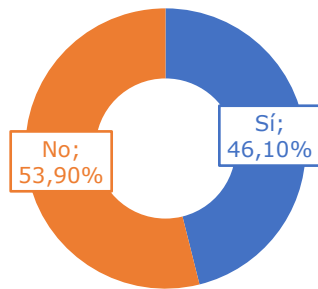
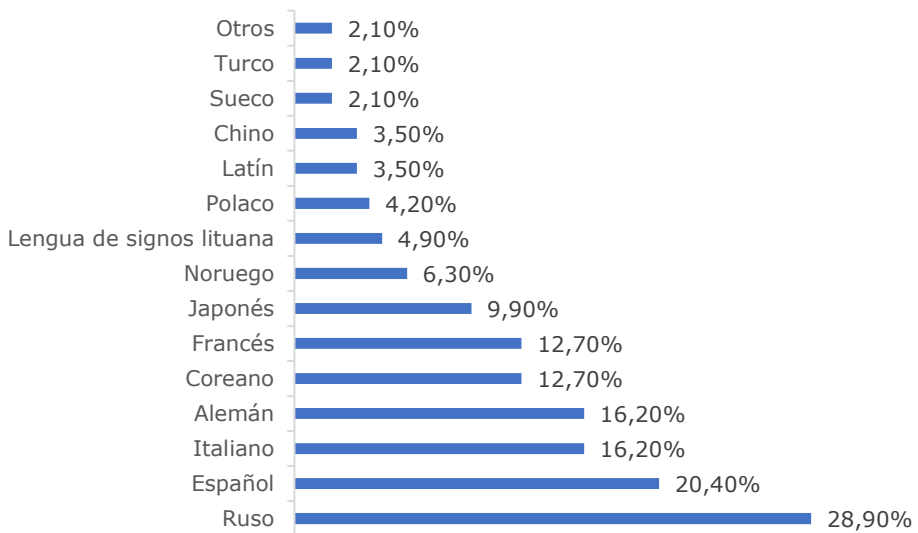


Gráfico 8

Los idiomas estudiados en la universidad (N=142)

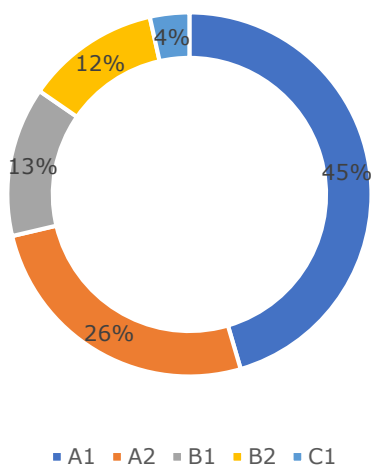


De entre aproximadamente el 54 por ciento de estudiantes que indicaron haber estudiado o estar estudiando otros idiomas (véase el gráfico 7), la mayoría señaló el ruso como el idioma más comúnmente elegido, seguido por el español, el italiano, el alemán, el francés y el coreano (véase el gráfico 8). Estos resultados coinciden en gran medida con las tendencias ya observadas en el análisis de las cifras de los últimos diez años: los cinco idiomas más populares se mantienen en la misma posición aquí también.

Al examinar los niveles que los estudiantes han alcanzado en estos idiomas, nuevamente confirmamos los datos del análisis previo: solamente un 25 por ciento de ellos estudiaron estos idiomas en los niveles más avanzados (B1-B2), y apenas un 4 por ciento ha llegado al nivel C1. Mientras tanto, la mayoría, un 71 por ciento, los estudió en los niveles básicos (A1-A2) (véase el gráfico 9).

Gráfico 9

Qué niveles de los idiomas estudiados han alcanzado (N=136)

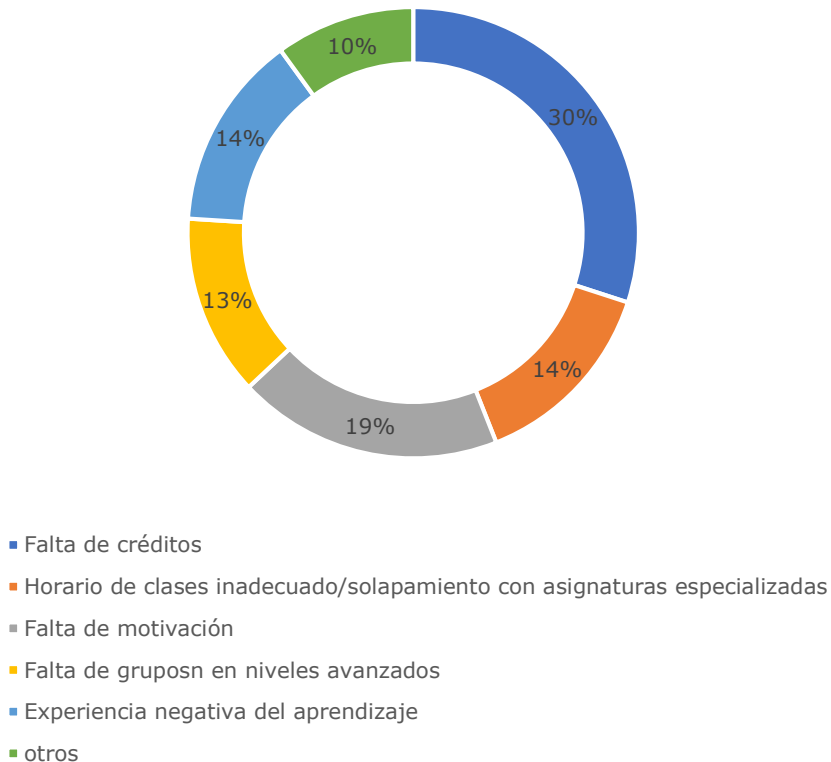


Más de la mitad (59 por ciento) de los encuestados tenían planes de continuar estudiando idiomas; sin embargo, un número considerable de ellos (30 por ciento) no tenía esa intención en sus planes y un 11 por ciento estaba indeciso en cuanto al estudio futuro de lenguas.

Las principales razones detrás del abandono de los estudios son causas externas, tales como la falta de créditos, horarios incompatibles o la ausencia de grupos en niveles avanzados (en total un 57 por ciento). Un 33 por ciento de las razones son de naturaleza interna: falta la motivación o desaliento debido a experiencias previas (por ejemplo, no les gustó el estilo de enseñanza o sienten no ser buenos para los idiomas, entre otros) (véase el gráfico 10).

Gráfico 10

Motivos por los que no continúan con el estudio de idiomas o no aprenden un idioma nuevo

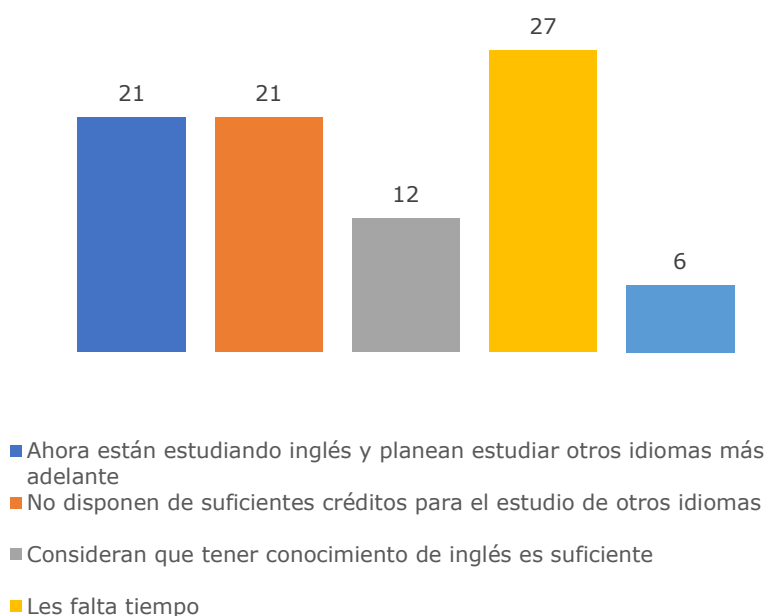


De entre los estudiantes que no han estudiado otros idiomas (aparte del inglés) en la universidad, solamente un 21 por ciento tiene la intención de estudiar otros idiomas en el futuro. Las tres principales razones por las que no

optan por otros idiomas son las mismas que entre los estudiantes que han estudiado otros idiomas, pero han decidido no continuar: la falta de tiempo, la carencia de créditos (que son destinados a los cursos obligatorios de inglés), y un 12 por ciento considera que tener conocimiento del inglés es suficiente (véase el gráfico 11).

Gráfico 11

Razones por las que no estudian otros idiomas (%)

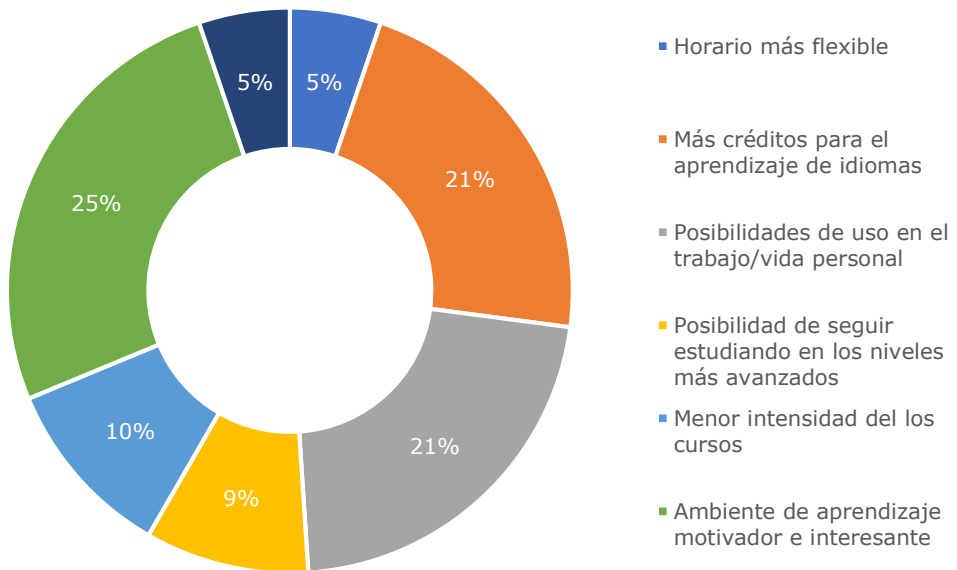


En el gráfico 12 podemos observar lo que motivaría a los estudiantes a aprender nuevos idiomas o a seguir estudiando los idiomas que ya saben. Un 21 por ciento indicó que les motivaría la posibilidad de usar estos idiomas en situaciones de la vida real, es decir, percibir su utilidad y aplicabilidad inmediata. Esto guarda relación con la respuesta de que consideran suficiente el inglés y no ven la utilidad de aprender otros idiomas. A un 15 por ciento de ellos les parece necesario ajustar los horarios o reducir la intensidad de los cursos. Una quinta parte de los encuestados se siente limitada por la falta de créditos.

Además de los aspectos formales, como el horario, el número de créditos, la intensidad o la oferta limitada de cursos, también existen otros factores. Un 25 por ciento de los encuestados opina que un ambiente motivador e interesante les motivaría a seguir estudiando idiomas. Esta respuesta tiene una correlación evidente con las respuestas a la pregunta anterior, que mencionaban lo que les desmotivaba en el aprendizaje de idiomas.

Gráfico 12

Qué motivaría a los estudiantes a continuar aprendiendo idiomas



Consideraciones finales y conclusiones

La universidad Vytautas Magnus tiene un fuerte compromiso con la promoción del multilingüismo. Su política lingüística garantiza que los estudiantes alcancen el nivel de usuario competente (C1-C2) de inglés, un requisito fundamental para desenvolverse con confianza en entornos académicos y profesionales. Asimismo, el sistema de créditos dedicados al estudio de idiomas y el compromiso con la promoción de multilingüismo crea

condiciones favorables para el aprendizaje de otros idiomas y su estudio hasta un nivel suficientemente alto, requerido en el mercado laboral. Sin embargo, el análisis de los datos pone de manifiesto que este sistema no da resultados esperados. En realidad, muchos estudiantes, debido a un nivel de inglés demasiado bajo, utilizan los créditos dedicados al aprendizaje de idiomas para mejorar la competencia en esta lengua. Esta tendencia del predominio del inglés se intensificó aún más con la implantación del cambio de la política lingüística universitaria en 2017, cuando se hizo obligatorio alcanzar el nivel C1 de inglés.

Entre aquellos que alcanzan niveles más avanzados en otros idiomas, generalmente son los que empezaron a estudiar estos idiomas en la escuela. Si se empieza a aprender un idioma en la universidad, en la mayoría de los casos no se llega ni siquiera al nivel B1. Si bien el sistema parece favorecer la adquisición de la competencia lingüística de un segundo, tercer o cuarto idioma extranjero, la realidad demanda que la mayoría dedique todo el esfuerzo al aprendizaje del primer idioma extranjero. El aprendizaje de otros idiomas se sitúa en un plano secundario.

El análisis de la encuesta realizada entre 257 estudiantes universitarios confirma las mismas tendencias: la política lingüística universitaria no garantiza que todos los estudiantes adquieran esta competencia básica de comunicarse en varios idiomas extranjeros. A pesar de las condiciones favorables, un alto porcentaje de las respuestas que indican la falta de créditos sugiere que el sistema implementado en la UVM (específicamente, la opción de continuar el estudio de idiomas de forma gratuita) no es ampliamente conocido entre los estudiantes. Además, existen otros factores que influyen en las decisiones de los estudiantes, tales como el solapamiento de horarios con las asignaturas de especialidad.

Sin embargo, también se observa otra tendencia preocupante: a muchos estudiantes les falta motivación porque no perciben la utilidad de saber otros idiomas; consideran que el inglés es suficiente. No obstante, esta perspectiva les cierra las puertas a futuras oportunidades. Mientras a nivel europeo se habla cada vez más alto de la importancia de saber más idiomas, las tendencias que se han identificado van en sentido contrario. Aprender idiomas requiere mucho tiempo y esfuerzo y si no se ve su utilidad en el

momento actual, no se les da importancia.

La tercera razón del desinterés que se ha podido identificar señala que la enseñanza de idiomas debería ser renovada, considerando las necesidades de la nueva generación y adaptándose de manera más flexible a las demandas de los jóvenes actuales. En los últimos años, ha habido una serie de cambios, no solo en la forma en que los jóvenes aprenden, sino también en cómo las nuevas tecnologías han alterado los patrones de comunicación y acceso a contenido. Además, la pandemia de coronavirus también ha tenido sus propias repercusiones. Es imprescindible adaptar la enseñanza, innovar, invertir en la formación de los docentes.

Si seguimos la recomendación del Consejo de Europa, nuestro objetivo debería ser fomentar el desarrollo de todas las competencias clave, incluida la competencia multilingüe. Es necesario favorecer e impulsar el estudio no solo del inglés, sino también de un segundo idioma extranjero, alcanzando al menos un nivel de usuario independiente (B1-B2).

Recientemente, se han llevado a cabo numerosas iniciativas que favorecen la internacionalización y brindan a los estudiantes muchas oportunidades para poner en práctica los conocimientos adquiridos. Además de las oportunidades de estudiar en otros países a través del programa Erasmus+, también existen posibilidades de realizar prácticas en el extranjero. La universidad (UVM) forma parte de la alianza universitaria europea Transform4Europe, que ofrece aún más posibilidades de intercambio con 9 universidades asociadas.

En lo que respecta a la innovación y el cambio en la enseñanza, en los últimos años la universidad ha invertido considerablemente en el desarrollo profesional y el aprendizaje continuo de sus empleados. Se ha creado un centro para el desarrollo de competencias profesionales que ofrece numerosos cursos y seminarios. El programa Erasmus+ brinda a los docentes la oportunidad de realizar visitas de aprendizaje o de enseñanza en varios países de todo el mundo. Además, se llevan a cabo diversas iniciativas en el marco de la alianza universitaria Transform4EUrope.

Es de esperar que las buenas prácticas se trasladen al aula y permitan renovar la enseñanza, así como responder a las necesidades cambiantes de los estudiantes.

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**VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO UNIVERSITETO UŽSIENIO KALBŲ
INSTITUTO KALBŲ MOKYMO DINAMIKA: IŠŠŪKIAI IR
PERSPEKTYVOS**

Anotacija. Šio straipsnio tikslas – išanalizuoti užsienio kalbų mokymo ir mokymosi situaciją Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto (VDU) Užsienio kalbų institute, atsižvelgiant į daugiakalbystės skatinimą Europos Sąjungoje ir VDU kalbų politiką. Gimtosios kalbos ir bent dviejų užsienio kalbų mokėjimas pakankamu lygiu, kad būtų galima veiksmingai bendrauti, yra Europos Sąjungos dokumentuose įtvirtintas siekis. Straipsnyje nagrinėjama, kaip universiteto kalbų politika padeda įgyvendinti ES daugiakalbystės siekį ir kokie iššūkiai kyla jį įgyvendinant. Šiuo tikslu analizuojami duomenys apie kalbų mokymą VDU Užsienio kalbų institute per pastaruosius dešimt metų. Taip pat pristatoma 2022 m. pavasarį atlikta studentų apklausa, kuria siekta išsiaiškinti, kokie veiksniai daro įtaką kitų kalbų mokymuisi. Šių dviejų tyrimų rezultatai atskleidė: nors besimokantieji įgyja gero anglų kalbos vartotojo gebėjimų (C1 ir C1/C2 lygiai pagal BEKM skalę), nuolat mažėja besimokančiųjų kitų kalbų. Tik nedidelė dalis pasiekia įgudusio vartotojo lygį (B1–B2), o dauguma susipažįsta su nauja kalba ir baigia studijas pradinio lygiu (A1–A2). Studentų atsakymai rodo, kad universitetų sistemoje yra galimybių tobulinti daugiakalbystės skatinimą; nepakankamas kalbų svarbos suvokimas, didėjantis anglų kalbos dominavimas, motyvacijos stoka ir su mokymusi susijusi neigiama patirtis daro didelę įtaką mažėjančiam susidomėjimui kitomis užsienio kalbomis, todėl kelia grėsmę daugiakalbystės politikos įgyvendinimui.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kalbinė kompetencija; užsienio kalbų mokymas ir mokymasis; daugiakalbystė.

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**DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AT THE INSTITUTE OF
FOREIGN LANGUAGES OF VYTAUTAS MAGNUS UNIVERSITY:
CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES**

Annotation. The aim of this article is to analyze the situation of foreign language teaching and learning at the Institute of Foreign Languages of Vytautas Magnus University (VMU), within the framework of the promotion of multilingualism in the European Union and the language policy of VMU. Knowledge of the mother tongue and at least two foreign languages at a sufficient level for effective communication is an aspiration set out in the European Union documents. In this study, we examine how the university's language policy contributes to the goal of EU multilingualism and the challenges posed by its implementation. For this purpose, data on language teaching at VMU Institute of Foreign Languages over the last ten years are analyzed. In addition, a survey conducted in spring 2022 is presented which aimed at finding out which factors influence the students' learning of other languages. The results of these two investigations reveal that, while students acquire the proficient user level in English, there is a steady decline in the interest to study other languages apart English, and the number of students who choose other languages has been decreasing. Only a small percentage of them reach the proficient user level (B1–B2 on the CEFR scale), whereas the majority of them become familiar with a new language and end their studies at initial levels (A1–A2 on the CEFR scale). The students' responses suggest that there is room for improvement in the university system to promote multilingualism; the lack of awareness of the importance of languages, the increasing predominance of English and the lack of motivation, as well as the negative experiences associated with learning, have a significant influence on the decline of interest in other foreign languages, thus constituting a major threat to the implementation of multilingualism policies.

Keywords: Linguistic competence; teaching and learning foreign languages; multilingualism.

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ISPANŲ KALBOS LEKSINIŲ ANALITINIŲ KONSTRUKCIJŲ VARTOJIMAS EUROPOS SAJUNGOS TEISINGUMO TEISMO GENERALINIO ADVOKATO IŠVADOSE

Anotacija. Per pastaruosius dešimtmečius tiek Lietuvoje, tiek už jos ribų vis daugiau dėmesio skiriama kalbos fraziškumo tyrimams. Vyrauja nuomonė, kad kalbėjimo ir vertimo proceso metu pasirenkami ne pavieniai žodžiai, o stabilieji žodžių junginiai, todėl jų tyrimai tampa vis aktualesni. Fraziškumo principą kalboje puikiai atspindi leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos kaip vienos iš kolokacijos rūšių, todėl šiame straipsnyje aprašomas būtent šių konstrukcijų vartojimas analitinėje ispanų kalboje. Straipsnyje teoriškai aptariamos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, jų atpažinimas naudojant kompiuterinę programinę įrangą *Sketch Engine* ir ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimas reprezentatyvios apimties tekstyne, sudarytame iš EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų originalių tekstų ispanų kalba. Ištyrus analizuojamo teksto ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimą, gautas didelis kiekis objektyvių ispanų kalbos konstrukcijų vartojimo duomenų, kurie atskleidė tiriamojo žanro administracinei ispanų kalbai būdingas leksines analitines konstrukcijas ir jų vartojimo dėsningumus. Nustatyta, kad gramatinę šių analitinių konstrukcijų reikšmę dažniausiai perteikia šie pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai: *tener, poner, dar, tomar* ir *hacer*. Junginiuose su daiktavardžiais jie žymi konstrukcijos gramatinės nuosakos, laiko, asmens ir skaičiaus reikšmes. Dažnas leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pasikartojimas tekstyne rodo standartizuotą ispanų administracinės kalbos leksiką. Apskritai didelis leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų kiekis tiriamajame tekstyne atskleidžia šių konstrukcijų svarbą analitinėje ispanų kalboje, ypač administracinės teisės kalbos Generalinio advokato išvados.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos; tekstynas; ispanų kalba; „Sketch Engine“.

Įvadas

Per pastaruosius dešimtmečius lingvistikos tyrimuose vis labiau linkstama analizuoti kalbos fraziškumą, rodantį, kad kalbėjimo, rašymo ir vertimo procesų metu vartojami ne pavieniai žodžiai, o jų junginiai (Volungevičienė, 2018). Fraziškumo principo taikymo aktualumas verčia atsigręžti į daugiau ar mažiau sustabarėjusius žodžių junginius, kurių ypač gausu analitinėse kalbose, pavyzdžiui, ispanų kalboje. Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, kaip vienos iš kolokacijos rūšių, puikiai atspindi fraziškumo

principą, todėl šiame straipsnyje aprašomas šių konstrukcijų vartojimas analitinės ispanų kalbos vienoje iš stilistinių atmainų – administracinės kalbos tekstuose. Šios konstrukcijos yra aprašomo tyrimo objektas.

Straipsnyje siekiama išnagrinėti ispanų administracinės teisės kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo stilistinius ir žanrinius ypatumus. Tikslui įgyvendinti keliami šie uždaviniai: 1) aptarti leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų sampratą mokslo darbuose, 2) sudaryti tiriamąjį tekstyną iš EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų ispanų kalba, 3) iširti ispanų kalbos leksines analitines konstrukcijas bei jų stilistinio ir žanrinio vartojimo ypatumus. Tyrimui atlikti taikyti tekstynų lingvistikos, kiekybinės ir aprašomosios analizės metodai. Taikant tekstynų lingvistikos metodus parengtas tyrimui atlikti reikalingas tekstynas, sudarytas iš EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų, kurių originali versija yra ispanų kalba. Empirinėje straipsnio dalyje kiekybiniu metodu analizuotas ir nustatytas leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų dažnis tiriamajame tekстыne. Gauti leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo duomenys aptarti taikant aprašomosios lingvistinės analizės metodą.

Nagrinėjant analitinėms kalboms būdingas leksines analitines konstrukcijas pastebėta, kad jas yra tyrinėjęs ne vienas Lietuvos ir kitų šalių lingvistas ir vertimo tyrėjas: lingvistai Igoris Mel'čukas (1990, 1998); Margarita Alonso Ramos (2004); Skaistė Volungevičienė (2013), kuri analizavo kiek platesnę grupę – vokiečių kalbos verbonominalines konstrukcijas ir jų vertimą į lietuvių kalbą; Aurelija Leonavičienė, tyrusi meninių ir dalykinių tekstų prancūzų kalbos leksines analitines konstrukcijas ir jų vertimą į lietuvių kalbą (2009, 2010; Leonavičienė, Liepuoniūtė, 2013); Paulina Ulozienė (2020), aprašiusi italų meninių tekstų tas pačias konstrukcijas; Ulozienė kartu su Leonavičiene (2020), lyginusios dviejų romanų kalbų – italų ir prancūzų – meninių tekstų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimą ir vertimo tendencijas. Minėtinas ir Jolantos Kovalevskaitės, Erikos Rimkutės, Lauros Vilkaitės-Lozdienės mokslo straipsnis (2020), kuriame autorės nagrinėja leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų nustatymą tekstynų lingvistikos metodais ir jų klasifikavimą anglų–lietuvių kalbų tekstynuose. Kaip matyti, pastaraisiais metais anglų, prancūzų, italų ir lietuvių kalbas tyrinėjantys lingvistai vis

dažniau domisi stabiliųjų junginių rūšimi – leksinėmis analitinėmis konstrukcijomis, tačiau šių konstrukcijų tyrimų ispanų kalboje stinga. Todėl šiame straipsnyje aprašytas lingvistikos ir vertimo srities požiūriu naujas ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų tyrimas gali prisidėti prie romanų kalbų analitinių konstrukcijų analizės ir atskleisti naudingos informacijos apie ispanų administracinės kalbos vieną stabiliųjų žodžių junginių grupių.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos kitų stabiliųjų žodžių junginių kontekste

Prieš pradėdant analizuoti tiriamojo tekstyno leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimą, svarbu aptarti, kas yra leksinė analitinė konstrukcija ir koks jos santykis su įvairiais žodžių junginiais. Pasak Rūtos Marcinkevičienės (2010), žodžių junginiai pirmiausia skirstomi į laisvuosius ir stabiliuosius, tarp jų tarpinę padėtį užima kolokacijos. Jei lygintume kolokacijas su laisvaisiais žodžių junginiais, matytume, kad laisvuosius junginius sudarančios dalys gali sudaryti prasmingą junginį, bet nėra viena su kita susijusios nei leksiškai, nei semantiškai, tačiau stabilūs junginiai, dažniausiai sudaryti iš dviejų žodžių, kalboje yra įprasti ir turi stabilų semantinį ryšį. „Stabilieji junginiai egzistuoja kalboje kaip vienas vienetas ir yra atkuriami iš atminties. Stabiliųjų kalbos junginių spektras labai platus ir siekia nuo tiesiog įprastų, dažnai kartu vartojamų, bet reikšmės požiūriu skaidrių žodžių kombinacijų, dar vadinamų kolokacijomis, iki idiomų – stabilios formos ir perkeltinės reikšmės frazių“ (Plaušinaitytė ir Volungevičienė, 2016, p. 4). Gilinantis į kolokacijos terminą, būtų galima pacituoti Marcinkevičienės (2010) žodžius, kad nuo „garsiojo J. Firtho posakio „you can know the word by the company it keeps“ („pasakyk, su kuo esi vartojamas, žodi, ir aš pasakysiu, kas tu“) atsiradimo ir pirmąkart jo pavartoto kolokacijos termino, kolokacijos sąvoka niekada nebuvo griežtai apibrėžta“ (p. 88). Svarbiausiu jos požymiu lingvistai laikė įprastą žodžių vartojimą drauge. Minėta autorė teigia, kad „vakarietiškoji kolokacijos samprata apima didesnę ir įvairesnę žodžių junginių būrį: konkrečius ir abstrakčius, tiesioginių ir perkeltinių reikšmių, savarankiškus ir tarnybinius žodžius, – jei tik jie tenkina vieną sąlygą – yra nuolat vartojami drauge“ (2010, p. 87). Panašios nuomonės laikosi ir tekstynų lingvistas Rudy Loockas (2016),

teigiantis, kad kolokacijas galima nusakyti itin plačiai, bet galima pateikti ir siauresnį jų apibrėžimą ir akcentuoti pačią svarbiausią šių junginių ypatybę – juos sudarančių leksinių dėmenų dažną polinkį eiti kartu (p. 116).

Jei svarbiausias kolokacijų požymis yra leksemų vartojimas drauge, kyla klausimas, kuo jos skiriasi nuo idiomos, kognityvinės metaforos ar frazės? Lyginant kolokaciją ir idiomą, galima prisiminti „Frazeologijos žodyne“ (2001) esantį frazeologizmo arba idiomos apibrėžimą, kurį nusako trys svarbiausi bruožai: žodžių junginio pastovumas, reikšmės vientisumas ir vaizdingumas (Ermanytė et al.). Kolokacijai taip pat būdingas žodžių junginio pastovumas ir dažnas dėmenų ėjimas drauge, bet kiekvienas jos dėmuo yra išsaugojęs savo reikšmę, semantinį savarankiškumą, ir pati kolokacija dažniausiai nėra vaizdinga. Pasak Marcinkevičienės (2010), „vartodamas kolokacijas, žmogus dar turi tam tikrą galimybę rinktis, keisti žodžių junginio struktūrą, vartodamas idiomos – jau ne“ (p. 79). Kolokacija gali būti įvairiai modifikuojama, keičiama jos narių tvarka, įterpiami kiti žodžiai ir panašiai. O idiomos, kaip rašo Plaušinaitytė ir Volungevičienė (2016), turi nekintamą formą, kurią galima modifikuoti gramatiškai, bet leksinės modifikacijos galimybės yra labai siauros (p. 5). Lyginant kolokacijų ir idiomų skirtumus, pravartu pridurti, kad tarpinę padėtį tarp jų užima metaforinės kolokacijos, kuriose vienas iš narių „vartojamas perkeltine reikšme (*užkietėjęs senbernis*)“, tačiau griežtų ribų tarp šių žodžių junginių ir kolokacijų nustatyti neįmanoma (Volungevičienė, 2008, p. 290–297). Žinoma, kolokaciją derėtų skirti nuo kognityvinės metaforos. „Kognityvinė metafora siejasi su kolokacija, nes pastaroji yra ne kas kita kaip tik konkreti kalbinė pirmosios raiška“ (Marcinkevičienė, 2010, p. 95). Kaip matome, kolokacijos turi nemažai panašumų su įvairiais stabiliais junginiais, ir tai lemia kolokacijų apibrėžimo sudėtingumą.

Kolokacijoms priklauso nevienodo stabilumo junginiai. Jos skirstomos į dvinares ir trinaras. Šį skirstymą, kaip teigia Volungevičienė (2013), lemia tai, kaip suvokiame frazeologizmus. Jeigu juos suvokiame plačiąja prasme, tarp jų patenka ir kolokacijos, todėl tokia klasifikacija būtų vadinama dvinare. Tačiau jeigu kolokacijas suvokiame kaip tam tikrą atskirą kategoriją tarp laisvųjų žodžių junginių ir frazeologizmų, laikomės trinario klasifikacijos modelio (p. 26). Lingvistės Volungevičienė ir Marcinkevičienė savo darbuose vadovaujasi būtent šiuo – trinariu klasifikacijų skirstymu.

Kaip buvo minėta, pirmą kartą terminą „kolokacija“, apibrėžiantį nusistovėjusius leksinių vienetų derinius, 1957 m. pavartojo britų lingvistas Johnas Rupertas Firthas. „Jo pateiktas kolokacijos terminas ir samprata padėjo pamatus anglų leksinės sintagmatikos mokyklai. Skiriamasis šios mokyklos bruožas – bandymas atskirti leksiką, t. y. žodžių vartojimo ypatumus, nuo gramatikos ir semantikos“ (Marcinkevičienė, 2010, p. 74). Žinoma, nuo Firtho tyrimų iki šių dienų praėjo daug laiko, todėl keitėsi kolokacijos apibrėžties aiškinimas atsižvelgiant į skirtingas teorines prieigas. Kaip teigia Mihajlovskaja (2017), šiuo metu labiau akcentuojami du požiūriai į kolokacijas – kontekstinis, arba statistinis, ir leksikografinis, arba semantinis. Kontekstiniu požiūriu, kuris remiasi Firtho ir statistikos duomenimis, kolokacija laikomi du žodžiai, kurie tekste yra arti vienas kito ir dažnai vartojami kartu. Semantinio požiūrio šalininkai, Mihajlovskajos manymu, pabrėžia leksinės semantikos aspektą. Jų nuomone, kolokacija yra dviejų žodžių kombinacija, ir šie žodžiai yra semantiškai priklausomi vienas nuo kito (p. 10).

Tiesa, buvęs Firtho studentas ir vienas iš tekstynų lingvistikos pradininkų Johnas McHardy Sinclairis (1991), taikydamas tekstynų lingvistikos metodus toliau gilinosi į kolokacijos konceptą ir apibrėžė ją kaip dviejų ar daugiau žodžių su nedideliu tarpu tekste junginį (p. 170). Įprastai tarp kolokacijos dėmenų, kaip rašė Sinclairis (1991), gali būti įsiterpę daugiausia iki keturių papildomų žodžių (p. 170). Kolokacijos gali būti stebinančios ir įdomios, nes vartojamos netikėtai, arba gali būti svarbios kalbos leksinėje struktūroje, nes dažnai kartojasi (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170).¹ Kiek kitokį požiūrį į kolokacijas pateikė vokiečių mokslininkas Franzas Josefas Hausmannas, kuris tyrė ne statistiškai tikėtinus ar dažniausiai pasitaikančius junginius, kaip iki šiol darė Firthas ir Sinclairis, bet junginius, kurių komponentai turi aiškų semantinį ryšį (Volungevičienė, 2013, p. 20). Mokslininkas žodžių junginius skirstė į dvi grupes: fiksuotus, kuriems priskyrė vokiečių kalbos sudurtinius žodžius ir idiomias, bei nefiksuotus, kuriems priskyrė laisvuosius junginius, kolokacijas ir metaforinius junginius (Hausmann, 1984, p. 398f). Kolokaciją Hausmannas

¹ <...> „the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text. The usual measure of proximity is a maximum of four words intervening. Collocations can be dramatic and interesting because unexpected, or they can be important in the lexical structure of the language because of being frequently repeated“ (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170).

priskyrė nefiksuotiems žodžių junginiams, tačiau laikė ją tam tikromis semantinėmis taisyklėmis paremtu riboto junglumo žodžių junginiu, kurį sudaro bazė ir kolokatorius (Volungevičienė, 2013, p. 21). Bazė yra laisvasis ir pagrindinis junginio elementas, o kolokatorius – priklausomas žodis, be to, junginio baze gali būti daiktavardis, veiksmažodis arba būdvardis, jeigu jo kolokatorius yrarieveiksmis (Volungevičienė, 2013, p. 21). Matyti, kad Hausmannas, priešingai nei Sinclairis, kolokaciją sudarančių vienetų nelaikė lygiaverčiais. Šios minties laikėsi ir lingvistas Igoris Mel'čukas (1998), teigęs, kad kolokacijų dėmenys turi nevienodą semantinę vertę: pirmasis dėmuo beveik nesuteikia jokios informacijos, o visas semantinis krūvis tenka antrajam leksinio junginio vienetui. Nustatęs kolokacijos dalių, t. y. bazės ir kolokatoriaus, ryšį Hausmannas (1989) pasiūlė šiuos kolokacijų tipus:

1. daiktavardis (objektas) + veiksmažodis;
2. daiktavardis (subjektas) + veiksmažodis;
3. būdvardis + daiktavardis;
4. daiktavardis (+ prielinksnis) + daiktavardis;
- 5.rieveiksmis + būdvardis;
- 6.rieveiksmis + veiksmažodis.

Žinoma, tipologijų yra įvairių, nes ir kolokacijos labai skirtingos, tačiau lingvistės Jolanta Kovalevskaitė, Erika Rimkutė ir Jurgita Vaičėnienė (2022) teigia, kad dažniausiai pasitaiko šie anglų kalbos kolokacijų junginiai: būdvardis + daiktavardis, daiktavardis + daiktavardis arba veiksmažodis + daiktavardis. Nors minėti junginiai laikytini dažniausiais, „struktūrinė kolokacijų raiška yra žymiai įvairesnė: gali skirtis dėmenų išsidėstymas, prasminiai žodžiai papildomi tarnybiniais, kadangi to reikalauja analitinė anglų kalbos sandara“ (p. 102). Neretai pasitaiko kolokacijų, kurios nėra pakankamai stabilios, kad būtų laikomos kolokacijomis. Tačiau Corpas Pastor (2001) teigia, kad yra ir priešingų atvejų, kai kolokacijų kolokatai yra retai kartu pasitaikantys žodžiai, aptinkami specializuotoje dalykinėje kalboje ar tekstynuose.

Kolokacijos terminas vartojamas itin dažnai tiek tekstynų lingvistikoje, tiek kituose su kalbotyra susijusiuose moksluose. Kaip teigia Heid (1998), „kolokaciją sudaro bent du nominatyviniai ir neribotas skaičius

nenominatyvinių žodžių" (p. 302). Marcinkevičienė (2010) kolokaciją taip pat apibūdina kaip prasmingą ir gramatišką žodžių junginį, kurio leksemos žodžių junginyje įprastai eina kartu. 2022 m. išleistoje mokomojoje priemonėje „Lietuvių kalbos kolokacijos: vartojimas, mokymas(is) ir vertimas“ Kovalevskaitė, Rimkutė ir Vaičėnienė papildo Marcinkevičienės teiginius ir išskiria papildomus anglų kalbos kolokacijų požymius: intuityviai nenuspėjama ryšį tarp žodžių (pvz., angl. *strong* vs. *powerful tea*); platų veiksmažodžių junglumą, arba kitaip, išblukusią reikšmę (pvz., angl. *make, take, have*); būdingą semantinę daugiareikšmiškumą „(pvz., angl. *to pay a visit / to pay debt*); metaforinę raišką su abstrakčiaisiais daiktavardžiais (pvz., angl. *time flies*)" (p. 103). Minėtina ir tai, kad tekstynų lingvistikoje neretai laikomasi požiūrio, jog dėl kolokacijos junginių vartojimo dažnumo ir riboto leksinio junglumo tarp kolokacijos dėmenų gali būti įsiterpę iki keturių kitų žodžių (Kovalevskaitė et al., 2022, p. 22). Minėtų trijų autorių leidinyje atkreipiamas dėmesys, kad: „1) kuo bendresnis žodis, tuo platesnis jo kolokatų laukas (pvz., angl. *run – bėgti*) ir atvirkščiai (pvz., angl. *shrug – gūžčioti*); 2) kiekviena žodžio reikšmė turi jai būdingų kolokatų (pvz., angl. *run – bėgti, valdyti, vykdyti* ir kitomis reikšmėmis vartojamas šis žodis jungiasi su skirtingais daiktavardžiais); 3) kolokacijos reikšmė išryškėja junginyje, kontekste, o ne pavieniuose žodžiuose (pvz., angl. *dry voice – šaltas tonas*); 4) specializuotoje kalboje įprastos kolokacijos gali turėti tik toje srityje vartojamą reikšmę ar kolokatų lauką (pvz., angl. *tolerable error – toleruotina klaida statistikoje*)" (Kovalevskaitė et al., 2022, p. 103).

Šiame straipsnyje analizuojamos ispanų kalbos kolokacijos – leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, tad verta paminėti, kad Ispanijoje, palyginti su anglų kalbos tyrimais, kolokacijos buvo pradėtos tirti gerokai vėliau. Pirmą kartą, įkvėptas Firtho idėju, savo darbe 1978 m. kolokacijas paminėjo Manuelis Seco Reymundo, tačiau taip ir nepateikė aiškaus kolokacijos apibrėžimo. Ši sąvoka Ispanijoje pradėta plačiau vartoti tik dešimtojo dešimtmečio pirmoje pusėje (Hui Wen, 2019). Kolokacijas Ispanijoje daugiausiai tyrė La Korunjos universiteto mokslininkė Margarita Alonso Ramos, 2004 m. sukūrusi internetinį kolokacijų žodyną „Dicesp“ (isp. *Diccionario de Colocaciones del Español*).

Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų įsigalėjimas kalbose, kaip teigia filosofas Erichas Frommas (1990), sietinas su „veiksmažodžių pakeitimo

daiktavardžiais tendencija" (p. 38). Rašydamas apie šias konstrukcijas Frommas teigia: „Prieš keletą dešimtmečių pacientas, užuot sakęs „aš turiu problemą“, būtų pasakęs „aš susirūpinęs“, užuot sakęs „aš turiu nemigą“, būtų pasakęs „aš negaliu užmigti“; užuot sakęs „aš turiu laimingą santuoką“, būtų pasakęs „aš esu laimingai vedęs“ (1990, p. 38–39). Kaip matyti, cituotose konstrukcijose eliminuojamas subjektyvus patyrimas: „patyrimo „aš“ pakeičiamas beasmeniu nuosavybės objektu“ (Fromm, 1990, p. 39). Ši sudaiktinimo tendencija pastebima leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose, kuriose pagrindinę semantinę informaciją perteikia daiktavardis, o veiksmožodis jose atlieka pagalbinį vaidmenį. Be to, kaip ir Frommo pateiktuose pavyzdžiuose, leksinę analitinę konstrukciją toje pačioje kalboje dažnai gali pakeisti vienažodis veiksmožodis.

XX a. pabaigoje į leksines analitines konstrukcijas dėmesį atkreipė ir jas išsamiau aprašė Monrealio universiteto lingvistas Mel'čukas (1990). Jis teigė, kad žodžių junginys, sudarytas iš kelių leksų, vadinamas leksemos L analitine forma, jei jis yra leksemos L leksų sintagma. Išsamiau aptardamas leksines analitines formas Mel'čukas (1990) teigė, kad šie žodžių junginiai turi atitikti pagrindinę sąlygą: prie pagrindinės ir svarbiausios leksemos kitu žodžiu turi būti pridėta papildoma leksema, perteikianti fleksinę, t. y. gramatinę reikšmę (p. 131–132). „Skirtingai nuo gramatinės analitinės formos, leksinę analitinę formą, arba kitaip vadinamą leksinę analitinę konstrukciją, sudaro veiksmožodžio (*verbe support*) ir daiktavardžio (kai kada būdvardžio arba prielinksninio junginio) junginys, kurį toje pačioje kalboje atitinka vienas žodis – veiksmožodis: *faire une demande – demander, remporter une victoire – vaincre* ir kt.“ (Leonavičienė, 2010, p. 137). Vadinas, kai kuriais atvejais leksinė analitinė konstrukcija ir jos vienažodis sinonimas gali vienas kitą keisti tam tikruose kontekstuose. Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos yra „pastovieji žodžių junginiai, kuriuose, nors sintaksiškai daiktavardį valdo veiksmožodis, bet didžiausią reikšminį krūvį perteikia daiktavardis, o veiksmožodis yra išblukusios reikšmės (desemantizuotas), pvz., *priimti sprendimą, atlikti analizę, vykdyti patikrinimus, daryti spaudimą*“ (Kovalevskaitė, Rimkutė ir Vilkaitė-Lozdienė, 2020, p. 16).

Įvairių šalių lingvistų darbuose galima pastebėti, kad leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, sudarytos iš išblukusios reikšmės veiksmožodžio ir

daiktavardžio, dažnai vadinamos skirtingais terminais. Kadangi leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos būdingesnės analitinėms kalboms, tad daugiausia jas aprašo analitinių kalbų tyrėjai. Pasak Volungevičienės (2013), prancūzai šias konstrukcijas vadina „locutions verbales“ (veiksmažodiniais junginiais) ir „constructions à verbe support“ (konstrukcijomis su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu), anglai – „light verb constructions“ („lengvųjų“ veiksmažodžių konstrukcijomis), „complex predicate constructions“ (sudėtinių predikatų konstrukcijomis) arba „support verb constructions“ (pagalbinio veiksmažodžių konstrukcijomis), vokiečiai taip pat neturi vieno bendro termino ir šiems junginiams nusakyti vartoja terminus „Funktionsverbgefüge“ (funkciniai veiksmažodžio junginiai), „Stützverbkonstruktion“ (pagalbinio veiksmažodžio konstrukcijos) (p. 36), o ispanų kalboje vartojami terminai „construcciones con verbo soporte“ (konstrukcijos su atraminiu veiksmažodžiu), „construcciones con verbo de apoyo“ (konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu) ir „construcciones con verbo liviano“ (konstrukcijos su „lengvuju veiksmažodžiu“) (Laporte, Ranchhod ir Yannacopoulou, 2008, p. 174). Lyginant germanų ir romanų kalbotyros tradicijas aiškiai matyti, kad, tarkime, vokiečių kalbotyroje analizuojamoms konstrukcijoms pavadinti vartojamas terminas „verbonominalinės konstrukcijos“, kurį savo daktaro disertacijoje vartoja Volungevičienė (2013). Nors vokiečių kalbotyroje išblukusios reikšmės veiksmažodžių ir daiktavardžių junginiai neturi bendro pavadinimo, daugelis lingvistų, kaip rašo Volungevičienė, sutaria dėl „formaliosios junginio struktūros (veiksmažodis + (prielinksnis) + daiktavardis)“ (p. 39). Romanų kalbotyroje dažniau vartojami terminai „konstrukcija su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu“ (pranc. *construction à verbe support* (Ben Arbia, 2015), it. *costruzioni a verbo supporto* (Nurminen, 2021), isp. *construcciones con verbo soporte* (Baños, 2014) arba *construcciones con verbo de apoyo* (Alonso Ramos, 2004), port. *construções com verbo-suporte* (Athayde, 2001). Tiesa, siekiant atskirti leksines ir gramatines konstrukcijas, romanų kalbotyroje vartojamas ir kitas terminas – *leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos* (Riegel, Pellat ir Rioul, 2006, p. 232–233; Mel’čuk, 1990, p. 111–137), referuojančios į sudėtinę leksinę konstrukciją – vieną kolokacijų rūšių. Šis terminas neapima sudėtinių gramatinių formų ir yra tikslesnis, todėl bus vartojamas šiame straipsnyje aptariant ispanų kalbos leksines analitines konstrukcijas.

Alonso Ramos (2004) darbuose teigiama, kad leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos yra tam tikros fiksuotos žodžių grupės, kuriose svarbų funkcinių vaidmenį atlieka veiksmažodis (p. 33). Šie veiksmažodžiai mokslinėje literatūroje skirstomi į bendruosius ir specialiuosius pagalbinus veiksmažodžius. Dėl didelio semantinio neapibrėžtumo vieni dažniausiai vartojamų pagalbinių ispanų kalbos veiksmažodžių yra *hacer*, *dar* ir *tener* (Cano, 1981). Kaip ir kitose analitinėse kalbose, ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų daiktavardis sakinyje dažniausia eina papildiniu, pavyzdžiui, *dar un paseo*, *tener hambre* ir kt. (Ramos, 2004).

Aptarus leksines analitines konstrukcijas platesniame kolokacijų ir kitų žodžių junginių kontekste, tikslinga toliau nagrinėti kiekybinius ir kokybinius ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo ypatumus tiriamajame administracinės kalbos tekстыne.

Ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimas tiriamajame tekстыne

Kalbotyros mokslo darbuose ne kartą rašyta, kad kalbos priemonių vartojimo ypatumai ir dažnis priklauso nuo teksto stiliaus, tipo ir žanro. Kuriam nors stiliui ar žanrui būdingų diferencinių kalbos priemonių pasiskirstymą objektyviai leidžia nustatyti statistinės analizės (Knabikaitė, 2006; Bitinienė, 1983; ir kt.) ir tekstynų lingvistikos metodai. Jie atskleidžia tai, kas neretai lieka nepastebėta tiriant tradiciniais lingvistiniais metodais, todėl analizuodama šio darbo tyrimo objektą – ispanų kalbos leksines analitines konstrukcijas, jų vartojimą Generalinio advokato išvadose – straipsnio autorė taiko tekstynų lingvistikos metodus.

Tekstyno parengimas ir tyrimo eiga

Kaip minėta įvade, šiame tyrime naudojamas straipsnio autorės specialiai sukurtas ispanų kalbos tekstynas, sudarytas iš 2018–2021 m. laikotarpio vieno žanro tekstų, t. y. EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų. Bendra

tekstyno apimtis – 1 005 408 žodžiai tiriamosios medžiagos ispanų kalba. Tekstyną sudaro originalūs ispanų kalbos tekstai, kurių kiekvieno pirmojoje išnašoje nurodyta *Lengua original: español*. Informacija, patvirtinanti, kad tekstai buvo rašyti ispanų kalba, o ne versti iš kitos kalbos, lėmė Generalinio advokato išvadų pasirinkimą tiriamajam tekstynui sudaryti. Šio žanro administracinės ispanų kalbos tekstynas laikytinas reprezentatyviu ir pakankamos apimties išskeltam tyrimo tikslui ir uždaviniams įgyvendinti.

Rengiant tiriamąją medžiagą buvo atsižvelgta į tai, kad atviros prieigos EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazė, į kurią keliami įvairių administracinės kalbos žanrų originalūs ir versti skaitmeniniai tekstai, gali būti laikoma tinkama medžiaga reprezentatyviems tekstynams rengti. Iš šios bazės tekstų parengti tekstynai teikia daug naudingos ir objektyvios informacijos apie dabartinį leksinių, sintaksinių, stilistinių ir kitų kalbos raiškos priemonių vartojimą teisės kalboje.











Ispanų kalbos leksinėms analitinėms konstrukcijoms tirti specialiai sukurtas tekstynas parengtas pagal tekstynų lingvistikos atstovų, tokių kaip Looockas (2016), aptartus individualiai sudaromų tekstynų kriterijus. Iš jų sudarant tekstyną vadovautasi stilistinio, žanrinio vienodumo ir teminio panašumo kriterijais. Parengtas reprezentatyvios apimties, t. y. apie 1 milijono žodžių, Generalinio advokato išvadų rinkinys ispanų kalba buvo apdorotas programine įranga *Sketch Engine*. Ši 2003 m. sukurta programa leidžia naudoti ir analizuoti individualiai sukaupčius tekstus bei suteikia prieigą prie 700 jau paruoštų ir reprezentatyvių tekstynų daugiau nei 90 kalbų.² *Sketch Engine* programa galima atlikti įvairias funkcijas, pavyzdžiui, nustatyti žodžio aprašą (angl. *word sketch*), t. y. vieno puslapio apimties gramatinę ir leksinę santrauką, žodžio aprašo skirtumus (angl. *word sketch difference*), žodžio sinonimus, panašius žodžius, raktažodžius, kolokacijas ir konkordansą. Pasirinkus *Sketch Engine*, kaip teigia tekstynų lingvistikos tyrėja Jonė Grigaliūnienė (2019), galima naudotis automatiniais kolokacijų žodynais, lygiagrečiais tekstynais, dvikalbiais žodžių aprašais ir terminų ieškikliu. Toliau pateiktas šios programos veikimo pavyzdys (žr. 1 pav.), kurio nuotraukos kairėje galima matyti skirtingas minėtąsias *Sketch Engine*

² *Sketch Engine* prieiga per internetą: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

funkcijas, o dešiniame stulpelyje pateiktus teksto ištraukų rezultatus su rastomis leksinėmis analitinėmis konstrukcijomis.

1 pav.

„Sketch Engine“ programa identifikuotos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos

	<p><S> A tal fin, la evaluación de los acuerdos y prácticas comerciales debe, entre otras cosas, tener en cuenta las posiciones de mercado respectivas de estos proveedores de servicios de acceso a internet interesados, así como los proveedores de contenidos, aplicaciones y servicios involucrados. </S></p>
	<p>① doc#0</p>
	<p><S> Para afrontar estas cuestiones, es preciso tener en cuenta los objetivos del Reglamento 2015/2120 y, en particular, atender a la estructura de su artículo 3. </S></p>
	<p>① doc#0</p>
	<p><S> La residencia habitual así determinada debería revelar un vínculo estrecho y estable con el Estado de que se trate teniendo en cuenta los objetivos específicos del presente Reglamento. </S></p>
	<p>① doc#0</p>
	<p><S> En caso de controversia, el tribunal determinará el lugar de apertura de la sucesión a solicitud de los interesados, teniendo en cuenta todas las circunstancias>>. </S></p>
	<p>① doc#0</p>
	
	

Tyrimo metu naudojantis *Sketch Engine* kompiuterine programa, pagal pagalbinių veiksmažodžių (isp. *verbo de apoyo*) gramatinių formų šaknis, pavyzdžiui, ten-, tom-, est- ir kt., buvo identifikuotos ispanų kalbos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos. Iš gautos pavyzdžių imties išbraukti leksinėms analitinėms konstrukcijoms nepriskirtini junginiai, atsižvelgus į 2004 m. Alonso Ramos mokslo darbe aptartus ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skiriamuosius požymius. Atliekant šių konstrukcijų nustatymo ir vartojimo originaliuose ispanų administracinės kalbos tekstuose tyrimą, taikytas kiekybinės analizės ir analitinis aprašomasis metodai.

Tekstyno leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo ypatumai

Išanalizavus 1 005 408 žodžių apimties tekstyną, buvo rasti 1 379 ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo atvejai, iš kurių 105 konstrukcijos buvo skirtingos. Pastebėta, kad nagrinėtose Europos

Sajungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadose daugiausia leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų rasta su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *tener*. Su šiuo veiksmažodžiu sudarytos konstrukcijos sudarė 39,8 proc. visų surinktų pavyzdžių. Taip pat nustatyta, kad 23,9 proc. visų analizuotų pavyzdžių sudaro leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *poner*. Kiekybiškai panašus tiriamųjų konstrukcijų skaičius rastas su veiksmažodžiais *dar* (13,2 proc.) ir *tomar* (11,7 proc.). Kiek mažiau, t. y. 9,5 proc., leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų aptikta su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *hacer* ir 1,6 proc. visų tirtų pavyzdžių sudarė konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *estar* bei 0,3 proc. konstrukcijų – su *sacar*. Svarbu paminėti, kad atliekant tyrimą taip pat buvo ieškoma leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais *coger* ir *echar*, tačiau nerastas nė vienas jų vartojimo atvejis, todėl junginiai su šiais veiksmažodžiais į tyrimą nebuvo įtraukti. Šioje pastraipoje aptarti kiekybiniai leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais duomenys pateikti 1 lentelėje.

1 lentelė

Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pagalbinių veiksmažodžių pasiskirstymas tekstyne

Pagalbinis veiksmažodis	<i>tener</i> (turėti)	<i>poner</i> (dėti)	<i>dar</i> (suteikti)	<i>tomar</i> (imtis)	<i>hacer</i> (daryti)	<i>estar</i> (būti)	<i>sacar</i> (igyti)
Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	549	329	182	161	131	23	4
Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimas procentais	39,8 proc.	23,9 proc.	13,2 proc.	11,7 proc.	9,5 proc.	1,6 proc.	0,3 proc.
Iš viso	1 379 konstrukcijos, t. y. 100 proc.						

Moksliniuose darbuose apie ispanų kalbos leksines analitines konstrukcijas teigiama, kad jas sudarantys pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai *tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar*, *hacer*, *estar*, *sacar*, *coger* ir *echar* vadinami bendraisiais pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais dėl gebėjimo jungtis su tam tikrais daiktavardžiais ir reikšti predikatumą (D'Andrea, 2022). Mokslinėje literatūroje taip pat išskiriami specialieji pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai (Gross, 1996), turintys didesnę semantinę krūvį nei bendrieji (Lozano Zahonero, 2011). Pastarieji pagalbiniai

veiksmažodžiai vartojami kiek rečiau leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose, nes jų semantinis krūvis riboja jungimosi su daiktavardžiais galimybes. Priešingai, bendrųjų pagalbinių veiksmažodžių vartoseną dėl menkesnio jų semantinio krūvio bendresnės reikšmės yra kur kas dažnesnė. Bendrinėje ispanų kalboje, kaip rašo tyrėjai (D'Andrea, 2022), dažniausiai vartojami būtent *dar*, *hacer* ir *tener* pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai, kurių dažnas vartojimas pastebėtas analizuojant tiriamąjį tekstyną (žr. 1 lentelę). Gauti analizės duomenys atitinka ispanų lingvistų aprašomus leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pagalbinių veiksmažodžių vartojimo duomenis. Paminėtina ir tai, kad teisiniuose tekstuose neretai pasitaiko leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų su pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu *poner* (Castillo Peña, 2013). Šių vartojimo atvejų tiriamajame tekстыne buvo rasta 329 kartus. Gauti kiekybiniai leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo tekstų duomenys leidžia teigti, kad konstrukcijos, sudarytos iš aptartų pagalbinių veiksmažodžių ir daiktavardžių, būdingos tiriamiesiems teisiniams tekstams, nors, pasak Estrellos Montolío Durán (2011), be didesnės semantinės transformacijos jas būtų galima pakeisti vienu veiksmažodžiu.

Kaip minėta teorinėje dalyje, tiriamajame tekстыne rastų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai perteikė gramatinę konstrukcijų reikšmę, o daiktavardis – leksinę. Skiriant kurio nors kalbos vieneto leksinę ir gramatinę reikšmes [prastai krepiamas dėmesys į „reguliarumo, arba [sitvirtinimo kalboje, laipsnį]“, kaip rašo lingvistas Aloyzas Gudavičius (2007, p. 24). Vadinas, nuolat pasikartojantys aprašomų konstrukcijų pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai (*tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar*, *hacer* ir kt.) tarsi organizuoja konstrukcijos gramatinę struktūrą ir žymi reguliariai reiškiamas gramatinės kategorijas: nuosaką, laiką, asmenį ir skaičių. Konkrečių pagalbinių veiksmažodžių vartojimas ir su jais sudaromų ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo ypatumai trumpai aptariami tolesniuose skyreliuose.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu *tener*

1 lentelėje matyti, kad iš tirtų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų daugiausia pasitaikė junginių su pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu *tener*, t. y.

549 leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo atvejai. Didelį konstrukcijų su *tener* dažnį lėmė gausus leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos *tener en cuenta*³ vartojimas (žr. 2 lentelę).

2 lentelė

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais *tener*

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>tener en cuenta</i> (atsižvelgti)	311	11.	<i>tener incidencia</i> (turėti poveikį)	8
2.	<i>tener lugar</i> (įvykti)	64	12.	<i>tener control</i> (kontroliuoti)	6
3.	<i>tener conocimiento</i> (žinoti)	26	13.	<i>tener constancia</i> (nustatyti)	6
4.	<i>tener acceso</i> (turėti prieigą)	22	14.	<i>tener peso</i> (turėti įtaką)	6
5.	<i>tener interés</i> (turėti interesą)	21	15.	<i>tener influencia</i> (daryti įtaką)	5
6.	<i>tener obligación</i> (privalėti)	15	16.	<i>tener razón</i> (turėti pagrindą)	5
7.	<i>tener intención</i> (ketinti)	14	17.	<i>tener deber</i> (turėti pareigą)	2
8.	<i>tener finalidad</i> (siekti)	12	18.	<i>tener certeza</i> (žinoti)	2
9.	<i>tener relación</i> (būti susijusiam)	11	19.	<i>tener contacto</i> (disponuoti)	2
10.	<i>tener consideración</i> (atsižvelgti)	10	20.	<i>tener reputación</i> (turėti reputaciją)	1

Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija *tener en cuenta* įvairiomis gramatinėmis formomis ir laikais rasta 311 kartų. Konstrukciją sudarantis veiksmažodis *tener* dažniausiai aptinkamas tęstine *gerundio* forma. Šią tendenciją iliustruoja toliau pateiktas pavyzdys:

- 1) Las medidas adoptadas por los operadores económicos se evaluarán **teniendo en cuenta** la gravedad y las circunstancias particulares de la infracción penal o la falta. (Asunto C-387/19)

³ Visų analizuojamų ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vertimai į lietuvių kalbą pateikti 2–7 lentelėse.

Priemonės, kurių ėmėsi ekonominės veiklos vykdytojai, vertinamos **atsižvelgiant** į nusikalstamos veikos arba nusižengimo sunkumą ir konkrečias aplinkybes. (Byla C-387/19)

Kiekybinė leksinių konstrukcijų pasiskirstymo analizė rodo, kad pati dažniausia su veiksmažodžiu *tener* rasta konstrukcija *tener en cuenta* vartota įvairiomis gramatinėmis formomis: *tendrá(n) en cuenta*, *tenga(n) en cuenta*, *habría tenido en cuenta*, *ha(n) tenido cuenta*, *tiene(n) en cuenta*, *tuvo en cuenta*, *tuviera(n) en cuenta*, *tuviese en cuenta* ir kt. Pagalbinis veiksmažodis *tener* leksinėje konstrukcijoje *tener lugar* (pavartota 64 kartus), *tener conocimiento* (pavartota 26 kartus), *tener acceso* (pavartota 22 kartus), *tener interés* (pavartota 21 kartą) ir kt., pasitaikė skirtingomis gramatinėmis formomis. Šis pagalbinis veiksmažodis, reiškęs gramatinę reikšmę, ėjo kartu su semantiniu konstrukcijos dėmeniu – daiktavardžiu. Kaip rodo visų veiksmažodžio *tener* junginių su daiktavardžiais analizė, daiktavardžiai pasižymėjo didesne įvairove nei veiksmažodžiai, pavyzdžiui, su *tener* buvo vartoti: *cuenta*, *lugar*, *conocimiento*, *acceso*, *interés*, *finalidad*, *intención*, *consideración*, *relación*, *control*, *influencia*, *obligación*, *contacto*, *reputación* ir kt. Įvertinus šiuos daiktavardžius matyti, kad jie yra stilistiškai neutralūs ir gali būti vartojami bet kuriame stiliuje, juo labiau administracinėje ispanų teisės kalboje.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *poner*

Antras pagal dažnį leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose vartotas veiksmažodis – *poner*. Iš viso su juo rastos 329 leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos. Pastebėta, kad tekstyno leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose šis veiksmažodis daugiausia vartojamas su prielinksniais: *poner a disposición*, *poner a la venta*, *poner de manifiesto*, *poner de acuerdo*, *poner en peligro*, *poner en entredicho*, *poner en práctica* ir kt. Šią veiksmažodžio *poner* ypatybę patvirtina Carmen Castillo Peña (2013) publikuotas straipsnis, kuriame aprašomi ir lyginami ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai teisinių tekstų tekstynuose ir pastebima, kad veiksmažodis

poner tokiose konstrukcijose dažniausiai vartojamas su prielinksniu (p. 96). Prielinksninį veiksmažodžio *poner* valdymą analizuojamose leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose rodo 3 lentelėje pateikti tiriamojo tekstyno pavyzdžiai ir kiekybinis jų pasiskirstymas: 13 konstrukcijų iš 21 eina su prielinksniais *a, de* ir *en*. Be to, prielinksninį veiksmažodžio *poner* valdymą rodo 3 lentelės pirmos trys dažniausios leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, kurios kartu sudaro 53 proc. visų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų, einančių su veiksmažodžiu *poner*.

3 lentelė

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinu veiksmažodžiu poner

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>poner a disposición</i> (padaryti)	66	12.	<i>poner en marcha</i> (pradėti)	9
2.	<i>poner de relieve</i> (rodyti)	58	13.	<i>poner énfasis</i> (akcentuoti)	5
3.	<i>poner de manifiesto</i> (nurodyti)	49	14.	<i>poner en contacto</i> (susisiekti)	3
4.	<i>poner fin</i> (nutraukti)	26	15.	<i>poner a la venta</i> (parduoti)	3
5.	<i>poner en peligro</i> (kelti pavojų)	23	16.	<i>poner término</i> (baigti)	2
6.	<i>poner en duda</i> (abejoti)	20	17.	<i>poner remedio</i> (imtis priemonių)	1
7.	<i>poner en entredicho</i> (abejoti)	20	18.	<i>poner objeciones</i> (prieštarauti)	1
8.	<i>poner en práctica</i> (igyvendinti)	11	19.	<i>poner atención</i> (skirti dėmesį)	1
9.	<i>poner acento</i> (akcentuoti)	10	20.	<i>poner límite</i> (riboti)	1
10.	<i>poner en conocimiento</i> (pranešti)	10	21.	<i>poner de acuerdo</i> (susitarti)	1
11.	<i>poner en riesgo</i> (kelti pavojų)	9			

Lyginant rastus pavyzdžius su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais *tener* ir *poner* matyti, kad su pastaruoju sudarytų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pasiskirstymas vienosdesnis. Daugiausia, t. y. 66 kartus, vartota konstrukcija *poner a disposición*. Tekstyne ji dažniausiai vartojama bendraties forma:

- 2) La razón fue la negativa a detener y **poner a disposición** de la Corte Penal Internacional al presidente sudanés Al Bashir durante su asistencia a la cumbre de la Unión Africana celebrada en Sudáfrica en junio de 2015. (Asunto C-621/18)

Priežastis buvo atsisakymas suimti ir **perduoti** Tarptautiniam baudžiamajam teismui Sudano prezidentą O. H. A. al-Bashir, kai jis dalyvavo Afrikos Sąjungos viršūnių susitikime Pietų Afrikoje 2015 m. birželio mėn. (Byla C-621/18)

Kiekybiškai dažniausia leksinė analitinė konstrukcija su veiksmažodžiu *poner* pasitaikė ne tik bendraties, bet ir kitomis gramatinėmis formomis: *ponga(n) a disposición*, *pone(n) a disposición*, *poniendo a disposición*, *pondrá(n) a disposición*, *ponía a disposición*, *puso a disposición*, *pusieron a disposición*, *ha puesto a disposición*, *haber puesto a disposición*, *fue puesto a disposición*, *serán puestos a disposición* ir kt. Dėl dažno vartojimo, tiriamųjų ispanų teisės kalbos tekstų žanriniu požymiu būtų galima laikyti šias su *poner* sudarytas leksines analitines konstrukcijas: *poner a disposición* (66 kartai), *poner de relieve* (58 kartai), *poner de manifiesto* (49 kartai), *poner fin* (26 kartai), *poner en peligro* (23 kartai), *poner en duda* (20 kartų), *poner en entredicho* (20 kartų) ir kt.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiu *dar*

Trečias pagal dažnumą leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pagalbinis veiksmažodis yra *dar*. Žemiau pateiktoje 4 lentelėje matyti visi su šiuo pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiu rasti 182 leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pavyzdžiai.

4 lentelė

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinu veiksmažodžiu *dar*

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>dar lugar</i> (kilti)	88	14.	<i>dar carácter</i> (suteikti savybę)	3
2.	<i>dar respuesta</i> (atsakyti)	16	15.	<i>dar paso</i> (suteikti galimybę)	2
3.	<i>dar acceso</i> (suteikti prieigą)	10	16.	<i>dar aprobación</i> (patvirtinti)	2
4.	<i>dar por supuesto</i> (daryti prielaidą)	10	17.	<i>dar posibilidad</i> (suteikti galimybę)	2
5.	<i>dar muestras</i> (pasirodyti)	9	18.	<i>dar derecho</i> (suteikti teisę)	2
6.	<i>dar cumplimiento</i> (igyvendinti)	7	19.	<i>dar explicación</i> (pateikti paaiškinimą)	1
7.	<i>dar consentimiento</i> (duoti sutikimą)	5	20.	<i>dar soporte</i> (palaikyti)	1
8.	<i>dar curso</i> (padaryti)	4	21.	<i>dar impulso</i> (paskatinti)	1
9.	<i>dar cuenta</i> (paaiškinti)	3	22.	<i>dar tratamiento</i> (elgtis)	1
10.	<i>dar impresión</i> (sukurti įspūdį)	3	23.	<i>dar protección</i> (suteikti apsaugą)	1
11.	<i>dar publicidad</i> (paviešinti)	3	24.	<i>dar cobertura</i> (apimti)	1
12.	<i>dar trato</i> (taikyti sąlygas)	3	25.	<i>dar audiencia</i> (išklausti)	1
13.	<i>dar prioridad</i> (teikti pirmenybę)	3			

Lyginant leksines analitines konstrukcijas su veiksmažodžiu *dar*, išryškėjo labai dažnai vartota konstrukcija *dar lugar*, o kitos konstrukcijos su šiuo veiksmažodžiu buvo kur kas retesnės. Minėta konstrukcija *dar lugar*, pasikartojusi 88 kartus, tiriamajame tekстыne daugiausiai rasta bendraties forma:

- 3) Por otro lado, a su juicio, los procedimientos anteriores ya cerrados, relativos a infracciones similares, no podrían **dar lugar** a aquel procedimiento para el caso de una nueva infracción. (Asunto C-52/17)

Kita vertus, jos nuomone, tokios procedūros negalima **pradėti** dėl ankstesnių jau baigtų procedūrų, susijusių su panašiais pažeidimais, jeigu padaromas naujas pažeidimas. (Byla C-52/17)

Cituota leksinė analitinė konstrukcija, kaip ir kitos konstrukcijos su veiksmažodžiu *dar*, tekstyne vartotos įvairiomis gramatinės raiškos formomis: *dando lugar, haya dado lugar, dará lugar, ha(n) dado lugar, daba lugar, daría lugar, habría dado lugar, dieron lugar, dio lugar* ir kt. Pagalbinis veiksmažodis *dar* laikytinas vienu produktyvesnių veiksmažodžių sudarant leksines analitines konstrukcijas, nes be dažnai pasitaikiusios konstrukcijos *dar lugar*, buvo rasta ir kitų dažnesnių tiriamojo žanro tekstų konstrukcijų: *dar repuesta* (16 pavyzdžių), *dar acceso* (10 pavyzdžių), *dar por supuesto* (10 pavyzdžių) ir kt. Šio pagalbinio veiksmažodžio dažnumą leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose lemia tai, kad, kaip ir kiti jau aptarti veiksmažodžiai *tener, poner* ir kt., jis yra stilistiškai neutralus, nublukusios reikšmės, todėl linkęs su kitais žodžiais sudaryti kolokacijas, kuriose eina kaip viso junginio gramatinės reikšmės reiškimo priemonė.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *tomar*

Kiek rečiau nei leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su veiksmažodžiu *dar* vartojamas pagalbinis veiksmažodis *tomar*. Su juo buvo rasta 161 leksinė analitinė konstrukcija. Kaip matyti 5 lentelėje, veiksmažodis *tomar* konstrukcijose kiekybiškai dažniau vartotas su prielinksniu *en*, nors vertinant konstrukcijų įvairovę jis dažnai pasitaikė neprielinksninėse leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose.

5 lentelė

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinu veiksmažodžiu *tomar*

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>tomar en consideración</i> (atsižvelgti)	50	7.	<i>tomar iniciativa</i> (imtis iniciatyvos)	3
2.	<i>tomar decisión</i> (priimti sprendimą)	34	8.	<i>tomar posesión</i> (įsigyti)	2
3.	<i>tomar medida</i> (imtis priemonių)	33	9.	<i>tomar control</i> (kontroliuoti)	1
4.	<i>tomar en cuenta</i> (atsižvelgti)	24	10.	<i>tomar partido</i> (remtis)	1
5.	<i>tomar nota</i> (atkreipti dėmesį)	8	11.	<i>tomar posición</i> (išreikšti poziciją)	1
6.	<i>tomar conocimiento</i> (sužinoti)	3	12.	<i>tomar acuerdo</i> (susitarti)	1

Iš visų tekstyno leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų su veiksmažodžiu *tomar* dažniausiai vartota *tomar en consideración* (50 atveju). Ši leksinė analitinė konstrukcija minima ir Castillo Peña (2013) tyrime kaip dažnas teisinių tekstų tekstynų požymis (p. 95). Skaičiuojant ir lyginant skirtingas šios leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos formas, dažniausiai pastebėta *tomar* bendraties forma. Pateikiamas teiginį iliustruojantis pavyzdys:

- 4) Para **tomar en consideración** las características especiales y las limitaciones de las regiones ultraperiféricas, en particular, su gran lejanía geográfica, su insularidad o su pequeño tamaño, y la obligación de establecer enlaces adecuados con las regiones centrales de la Comunidad, procede adoptar medidas especiales sobre las obligaciones de servicio público en relación con las rutas a dichas regiones. (Asunto C-563/17)

Siekiant **atsižvelgti** į atokiausių regionų ypatybes ir suvaržymus, ypač – kad jie nutolę, izoliuoti ir maži, bei į poreikį tinkamai juos susieti su Bendrijos centriniais regionais, gali būti pateisinami specialūs susitarimai dėl taisyklių,

reglamentuojančių sutarčių dėl pareigų teikti viešąsias paslaugas, apimančių maršrutus į tokius regionus, galiojimo trukmę. (Byla C-563/17)

Nors dažniau vartojama bendraties forma, leksinė analitinė konstrukcija *tomar en consideración* pasitaikė ir kitomis gramatinėmis formomis: *tome en consideración*, *tomado en consideración*, *tomará(n) en consideración*, *toman en consideración*, *tomaba en consideración*, *tomando en consideración* ir kt. Kitos 5 lentelėje pateiktos konstrukcijos taip pat buvo vartotos įvairiomis gramatinėmis formomis. Iš jų tekstyne dažniau pasitaikė *tomar decisión* (34 atvejai), *tomar medida* (33 atvejai) ir *tomar en cuenta* (24 atvejai). Kitos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, kurių vartojimo dažnis nesiekia 10 vartojimo atvejų, laikytinos retesnėmis tiriamojo žanro ispanų kalbos teisės tekstuose.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *hacer*

Penktas pagal dažnumą šiame tyrime nustatytas pagalbinis veiksmažodis – *hacer*. Su šiuo veiksmažodžiu buvo rasta 131 ispanų kalbos leksinė analitinė konstrukcija (žr. 6 lentelę).

6 lentelė

*Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *hacer**

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>hacer referencia</i> (nurodyti)	52	9.	<i>hacer recomendación</i> (rekomenduoti)	1
2.	<i>hacer uso</i> (naudotis)	33	10.	<i>hacer competencia</i> (konkuruoti)	1
3.	<i>hacer frente</i> (įveikti)	20	11.	<i>hacer oferta</i> (pasiūlyti)	1
4.	<i>hacer falta</i> (reikėti)	7	12.	<i>hacer pago</i> (apmokėti)	1
5.	<i>hacer descripción</i>	3	13.	<i>hacer pregunta</i> (klausti)	1

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
(apibūdinti)					
6.	<i>hacer mención</i> (minėti)	3	14.	<i>hacer juicio</i> (priimti sprendimą)	1
7.	<i>hacer declaración</i> (pareikšti)	3	15.	<i>hacer en favor</i> (padaryti)	1
8.	<i>hacer publicidad</i> (reklamuoti)	2	16.	<i>hacer donación</i> (paremti)	1

Pačia dažniausia *hacer* veiksmažodžio konstrukcija laikytina *hacer referencia* (52 vartojimo atvejai), sudaranti 40 proc. visų tiriamųjų konstrukcijų su *hacer* pavyzdžių. Minėtoje *hacer referencia* konstrukcijoje pagalbinis veiksmažodis dažniausia eina esamojo laiko vienaskaitos trečiojo asmens forma. Toliau esančiame pavyzdyje pateikiama sangražinė šio laiko ir asmens forma:

- 5) La aprobación tácita a que se **hace referencia** en el párrafo tercero del presente apartado no se aplicará a dichas solicitudes. (Asunto C-785/18)

Tokioms paraiškoms netaikomas šios dalies trečioje pastraipoje **nurodytas** nebylaus patvirtinimo principas. (Byla C-785/18)

Tiriant tekstyną rasta ir kitomis gramatinėmis formomis vartotų *hacer referencia* pavyzdžių: *hacer referencia*, *hacían referencia*, *haya hecho referencia*, *ha hecho referencia*, *he hecho referencia*, *hicieron referencia*, *hice referencia*, *hizo referencia*, *haría referencia*, *haré referencia* ir kt. Dažnesnis šios ir kitų konstrukcijų vartojimas esamojo laiko vienaskaitos trečiojo asmens forma atskleidžia tiriamųjų teisės tekstų specifiką – stilistiškai neutralaus trečiojo asmens vartojimą ir nagrinėjamos informacijos apibendrinamąjį pobūdį vartojant esamąjį laiką. Panašiomis gramatinėmis formomis buvo vartotos ir kitos su veiksmažodžiu *hacer* tekстыne rastos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos, iš kurių dažnesnėmis galima laikyti *hacer uso* (33 pavyzdžiai) ir *hacer frente* (20 pavyzdžių). Nors tiriamojoje tekstyno dalyje pasitaikė ir kitų leksinių

analitinių konstrukcijų su veiksmažodžiu *hacer*, pavyzdžiui, *hacer falta* (7 pavyzdžiai), *hacer descripción* (3 pavyzdžiai), *hacer mención* (3 pavyzdžiai), *hacer declaración* (3 pavyzdžiai), *hacer publicidad* (2 pavyzdžiai), *hacer recomendación* (1 pavyzdys) ir kt., tačiau nedidelis jų vartojimo dažnis neleidžia šių konkrečių konstrukcijų laikyti skiriamuoju tiriamojo žanro bruožu.

Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais *estar* ir *sacar*

Tiriamosios straipsnio dalies pradžioje jau buvo minėta, kad palyginti nedidelį skaičių leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų sudaro konstrukcijos su *estar* (1,6 proc. visų tekstyne surinktų pavyzdžių) ir *sacar* (0,3 proc. visų tekstyne surinktų pavyzdžių) pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais (žr. 7 lentelę).

7 lentelė

*Leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais *estar* ir *sacar**

Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais	Eil. Nr.	Leksinė analitinė konstrukcija	Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų skaičius vienetais
1.	<i>estar en vigor</i> (galioti)	8	1.	<i>sacar conclusión</i> (padaryti išvadas)	1
2.	<i>estar en función</i> (priklausyti)	5	2.	<i>sacar ventaja</i> (pasinaudoti galimybe)	1
3.	<i>estar en manos</i> (suteikti)	4	3.	<i>sacar consecuencia</i> (daryti išvadas)	1
4.	<i>estar en entredicho</i> (kelti abejonių)	2	4.	<i>sacar provecho</i> (gauti naudą)	1
5.	<i>estar en disposición</i> (turėti galimybę)	2			
6.	<i>estar en posesión</i> (turėti)	1			
7.	<i>estar en uso</i> (naudotis)	1			

Kaip matyti, su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *estar* rastos šios leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos: *estar en vigor* (8 pavyzdžiai), *estar en función* (5 pavyzdžiai), *estar en manos* (4 pavyzdžiai), *estar en entredicho* (2 pavyzdžiai), *estar en disposición* (2 pavyzdžiai), *estar en posesión* (1 pavyzdys), *estar en uso* (1 pavyzdys). Matyti, kad dažniausiai, t. y. 8 kartus, vartota konstrukcija yra *estar en vigor*. Toliau pateiktas jos vartojimo esamojo laiko vienaskaitos trečiojo asmens forma atvejis:

- 6) El tribunal de reenvío se refiere a ambos, poniendo de relieve que, dada la naturaleza de la acción procesal entablada, ha de aplicarse el que ahora **está en vigor**. (Asunto C-567/18)

Prašymą priimti prejudicinį sprendimą pateikęs teismas remiasi abiem reglamentais ir pažymi, kad, atsižvelgiant į pradėtų procesinių veiksmų pobūdį, turi būti taikomas tuo metu **galiojęs** reglamentas. (Byla C-567/18)

Tyrimo metu taip pat rastos 4 skirtingos leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos su pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu *sacar*. Kiekviena jų tekстыne pasitaikė tik po vieną kartą: *sacar conclusión*, *sacar ventaja*, *sacar consecuencia* ir *sacar provecho*. Tiesa, mokslinėje literatūroje teigiama, kad konstrukcijos su šiuo pagalbinio veiksmažodžiu dažnai sudaromos su abstrakčiais daiktavardžiais (Tsutahara, 2019). Šį teiginį patvirtina ir tekstyno analizės duomenys. Toliau pateiktas vienas iš konstrukcijų vartojimo atvejų:

- 7) En segundo lugar, desde el punto de vista literal, entre las diversas acepciones del término «explotación» se cuenta la que lo identifica con la acción de **sacar provecho** de una cosa, operando con ella. (Asunto C-388/17)

Antra, aiškinant pažodžiui, viena iš įvairių termino „eksplotavimas“ reikšmių yra **naudų gavimas** iš tam tikro daikto, kai veikla vykdoma naudojantis juo. (Byla C-388/17)

Cituotasis ir kiti trys rasti leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų pavyzdžiai su veiksmažodžiu *sacar* leidžia teigti, kad šis veiksmažodis yra linkęs sudaryti konstrukcijas su abstrakčiais ir stilistiškai neutraliais daiktavardžiais, kurie laikytini administracinės ispanų teisės kalbos požymiu. Galima paminėti ir tai,

kad kai kurie stilistiškai neutralūs daiktavardžiai pasikartojo net keliose skirtingose konstrukcijose, pavyzdžiui, *tener control* ir *tomar control*; *poner a disposición* ir *estar en disposición*; *poner en entredicho* ir *estar en entredicho*; *tomar en cuenta*, *tener en cuenta* ir *dar cuenta*; *tener contacto* ir *poner en contacto*. Tų pačių stilistiškai neutralių daiktavardžių pasikartojimas leksinėse analitinėse konstrukcijose su skirtingais pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais laikytinas tiriamojo Generalinio advokato išvadų žanriniu leksiniu požymiu. Ši ypatybė rodo, kad teisės tekstams ispanų kalba būdingas ne individualus kalbos priemonių vartojimas, o kaip tik standartizuota ir visų vienodai interpretuojama neutrali ir abstrakti leksika.

Aptariant administracinę kalbą ir joje vartojamas kalbos raiškos priemones verta prisiminti lietuvių stilistikos tyrėjo Kazimiero Župerkos (2001) teiginį, kad šio stiliaus kalba „pasižymi tradiciškumu, jai būdingi šablonai, standartinės, griežtai nustatytos formos“ (p. 85). Šios ypatybės tinka ir kitų šalių administracinei, taip pat ir ispanų teisės srities kalbai, kuriai būdingas oficialumas, dalykinis tikslumas, kalbos priemonių šabloniškumas ir standartiškumas. „Tikslūs įprastiniai formulavimai neleidžia kitaip suprasti dokumento, jie palengvina tos sferos bendravimą“ (2001, p. 85). Atlikus Generalinio advokato išvadų ispanų kalbos tekstyno lingvistinį tyrimą, galima pastebėti itin dažną šabloninių leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimą, standartizuotus pagalbinus veiksmažodžius ir stilistiškai neutralius daiktavardžius. Kaip žinoma, žanrinius požymius perteikia leksinės, morfologinės ir sintaksinės ypatybės bei jų vartojimo dažnis, apie kurį nemažai yra rašęs Douglas Biberis (1988). Tekstynų lingvistikos metodais ištyręs anglų kalbos tekstynus, jis nustatė apie šešiasdešimt kalbinių požymių, kuriais galima apibūdinti įvairius registrus ir žanrus. Vienas šių požymių – prielinksninės ir neprielinksninės sintagmos, kurių didelis vartojimo dažnis leidžia jas laikyti žanro požymiu.

Straipsnyje aprašytas tiriamojo tekstyno leksinės analitinės konstrukcijas, kaip žanro požymį, būtų sunku identifikuoti nenaudojant tekstynų analizei skirtos programinės įrangos, kuria gaunami patikimi ir objektyvūs lingvistiniai duomenys. Tai dar kartą įrodo tekstynų lingvistikos svarbą. Tekstynų lingvistikos metodų taikymas leidžia nustatyti naujus tiriamųjų žanrų požymius ir ypatumus.

Išvados

Teoriškai aptarus leksines analitines konstrukcijas ir atlikus šių konstrukcijų vartojimo lingvistinę analizę tiriamajame tekстыne, sudarytame iš EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų ispanų kalba, galima daryti šias išvadas.

Dabartiniuose lingvistikos darbuose leksinės analitinės konstrukcijos traktuojamos kaip kolokacijų rūšis, t. y. stabilūs žodžių junginiai, sudaryti iš gramatinę reikšmę reiškiančio pagalbinio veiksmažodžio ir leksinės reikšmės pagrindinio dėmens – daiktavardžio arba veiksmažodžio ir daiktavardžio prielinksninio junginio, kurio dėmenys įprastai eina kartu, – yra vienijami semantinio ryšio, būdingi analitinėms kalboms ir atspindi kalbos fraziškumo principą.

Leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų tyrimo tikslais parengtas reprezentatyvios apimties apie 1 milijoną žodžių EUR-Lex dokumentų duomenų bazės Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato išvadų tekstynas, sudarytas iš originalių ispanų kalbos tekstų, buvo tirtas *Sketch Engine* programa, kuri leido gauti didelį kiekį objektyvių originalo kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo duomenų, svarbių nustatant tiriamosios medžiagos žanrinius ypatumus.

Atlikus ispanų kalbos leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo tekстыne tyrimą galima teigti, kad gramatinę šių konstrukcijų reikšmę dažniausiai perteikia šie pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai: *tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar* ir *hacer*. Sudarę junginius su daiktavardžiais, jie žymi konstrukcijos gramatinės nuosakos, laiko, asmens ir skaičiaus reikšmes. Iš tekстыne rastų leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų dažniausiomis laikytinos *tener en cuenta*, *tener lugar*, *dar lugar*, *poner a disposición*, *poner relieve*, *tomar en consideración*, *hacer referencia*, kurių gausa ir pasikartojimas rodo standartizuotą ispanų administracinės kalbos leksiką. Apskritai didelis leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų kiekis ispanų kalboje atskleidžia šių konstrukcijų svarbą dabartinėje ispanų administracinėje kalboje ir tiriamosiose Generalinio advokato išvadose. Gauti tyrimo rezultatai yra svarbūs studijuojant ispanų kaip svetimąją kalbą ir rašant tekstus administracine ispanų kalba.

Atlikus Europos Sąjungos Teisingumo Teismo Generalinio advokato

išvadų 1 379 leksinių analitinių konstrukcijų vartojimo tyrimą ispanų kalbos tekstyne, būtų tikslinga parengti lyginamąjį ispanų–lietuvių to paties žanro tekstų tekstyną ir ištirti straipsnyje nagrinėtų konstrukcijų vertimą į sintetinę lietuvių kalbą. Tyrimo rezultatai galėtų turėti praktinę naudą ir atskleisti teisės tekstų vertėjams ir vertimo studijų studentams svarbių vertimo duomenų.

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**THE USE OF SPANISH LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN
THE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S OPINIONS OF THE COURT OF
JUSTICE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Annotation. Over the past few decades, increasing attention has been devoted towards the study of formulaic language, both in Lithuania and abroad. It is assumed that stable word combinations, rather than single words, are preferred in speaking and translating processes, which makes this study increasingly relevant. The idea of formulaic language is well reflected by light verb constructions as one of the collocation types, therefore this article aims to describe the use of these constructions in the analytic Spanish language. The article provides a theoretical overview of light verb constructions, their identification using the *Sketch Engine* computer program, and their usage in a representative-size corpus, compiled from the EUR-Lex database of documents from the original Spanish texts of the Advocate General's Opinions of the Court of Justice of the European Union. The analysis of the use of Spanish light verb constructions in the analyzed text provided large objective data on their use, revealing the light verb constructions and their patterns typical to administrative Spanish. It has been found that the grammatical meaning of these light verb constructions is mostly represented by the following support verbs: *tener*, *poner*, *dar*, *tomar* and *hacer*. In combinations with nouns, these support verbs mark grammatical aspects such as mood, tense, person, and number. The frequent repetition of light verb constructions in the corpus indicates a standardized lexicon within the Spanish administrative language. In general, the high number of light verb constructions in the corpus reveals their importance in analytic Spanish, especially in the administrative legal language of the Advocate General's opinions.

Keywords: light verb constructions; corpus; Spanish; „Sketch Engine“.

ISSUES IN TRANSLATION

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NEED FOR TRANSLATION SERVICES IN THE GLOBALIZED WORLD: A PERIPHERY- INFORMED EXPLANATION

Annotation. The relationship between globalization and translation is one of the new areas of research in Translation Studies. Globalization has led to unstoppable spread of the English language across the globe. Yet, contrary to expectations, not only has the need for translation services not diminished, but it also has increased. This, according to Pym (2003), sounds paradoxical since as the global use of English is on the increase, the need for translation should be waning. In other words, in spite of the fact that the use of English is triumphant and English is already considered the language of the global village, not only has the number of translations not decreased, but the demand for them is increasing. The present study was an attempt to investigate Iranian translators' views on this paradox. In other words, the study sought the perspectives of translators in the periphery on the paradox to see how the paradox proposed by Pym can be explained from the point of view of Iranian translators. Using snowball sampling, twenty-two translators (all holding an MA or a PhD in Translation Studies) were selected. To collect data, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Interpretive analysis of the data revealed that there are numerous reasons that raise the status and role of translation and translators in the Iranian context, which were categorized under three broad categories, namely the limited target language (English), a preference for Persian over English and ideological issues. As regards the limited English language knowledge, the in-depth interviews showed that the younger generation's proficiency is mostly confined to oral skills and cannot cover all aspects of the English language. In other cases, technical differences between the two languages were pointed out, which was taken as a barrier for feeling at ease with using English. Additionally, the pervasiveness of English words and phrases in society, and especially technological tools, makes people with little English proficiency feel the need for the translation of these foreign words and phrases. Another broad category concerns the preference of Iranians for Persian over English. Throughout the interviews, even PhD holders pointed out that they were not that much at ease with English, and some mentioned in the interviews that if they had both the English and the Persian version of a text, they would probably prefer the Persian version. Another reason for such preference was shown to be their lack of confidence in their knowledge of English even though they had an advanced level of understanding English texts/talks. The final category dealt with ideological issues at both macro- and micro-level. At the macro-level, some participants referred to the government policy that prioritizes the Persian language over foreign languages in society. At the micro-level, one participant believed that some individuals intentionally use Persian words and phrases to prevent the marginalization of the Persian language.

Keywords: Globalization; translation; the English language; Pym's Diversity Paradox; Iran.

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Introduction

Globalization is a rapidly ongoing and apparently unstoppable phenomenon that "...shatters, deconstructs and transforms modern and pre-modern dimensions and levels of our lives" (Gur-Ze'ev & Roth, 2007, p. 1). The sweeping effects of globalization are increasingly felt everywhere. The economic, political, social, educational, and cultural systems of almost all countries have been affected by globalization. As Menon (2007, p. 24) argues, "countries have little choice whether to globalize or not"; therefore, a deeper understanding of globalization, its effects, essential characteristics, and the driving forces behind it seem to be both a worthy effort as well as a necessity.

One of the major manifestations of globalization is the advent of highly advanced and rapid communication systems that allow easier and faster information exchange. Satellites, the Internet, wireless communications, and new technologies in general have the power to connect people more efficiently and over greater stretches of time and space. While technology is seen as one side of the globalization coin, the other side is argued to be the English language and its role (Bottery, 2000; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Chang (2006, p. 515) takes the argument further, pointing to the function of globalization "as a driving force to strengthen the position of English as a global language. Nowadays, many scholars regard English as the international taken-for-granted lingua franca of the globalized world (e.g., Taylor & Baldry, 2001; Maurais, 2003).

With such a high profile developed for English in the new era, it is quite natural to expect globalization to exert profound effects on the translation business in general. This is because as English is becoming more widespread, the need for translation from and into English is also changing. As a matter of fact, the effects of globalization on translation are so profound that several scholars (e.g., Crystal, 1997; Venuti, 1998; Pym, 2000) have discussed the issue from different perspectives. Such discussions differ depending on how scholars approach and define translation, on the one hand, and globalization, on the other.

Recently, the issue of globalization and its links with Iran's foreign

policies have been considered in several studies. In some of them, the marginalization of globalization has been discussed from a general perspective. For example, Mohammadian and Hajiyousefi (2022) addressed the issue of Iran's foreign policies in the Qajar, Pahlavi, and Islamic Republic periods and presented a new theoretical model for examining Iran's foreign policies that did not exist before. In another study, Azad (2022) examined the foreign policies of Iran as one of the first countries to adopt an East-oriented attitude. The results of the research show that although this policy was not so deeply rooted in the past, it will continue to exist in the future. The author introduces the orientation as the main pillar of Iran's foreign policies and believes that East-orientation will prevail as long as Iran does not want to put aside its fundamental differences with the West and especially with the United States of America. From this point of view, the results of these studies can shed light on the current paper, which may be an explanation for the lack of interest in English at the macro level in the country, a subject that will be further discussed in detail.

Rooted in professional literature on translation studies, the present study aims to explore one of such discussions. More specifically, this study intends to examine Iranian translators' views on Pym's 'diversity paradox'. To this end, a brief literature review of the relationship between globalization and translation is provided first. This is followed by a theoretical underpinning of the study in terms of participants, instrumentation, and data analysis. Finally, the research findings are contextualized within the existing literature.

Globalization and Translation: Review of Literature

Space does not allow for a thorough and substantial review of the studies that have examined the relationship between globalization and translation or the effects of the former on the latter (or vice versa). What follows is a brief review of the arguments made and studies conducted by Crystal (2003), Venuti (1998), Pym (2000, 2003), Snell-Hornby (1999), Austerlühl (2001), and Ho (2004).

Crystal (2003) believes that globalization began primarily in the early twentieth century. English gained its international status not only because of

the increasing number of its users, but more importantly because of the political, economic, military, and cultural dominance of the US. English is becoming the language of “netizens”, i.e., the ordinary citizens of the Internet, in the virtual community of the global village (Crystal, 2001). As for the effects of globalization on translation, Crystal (2003) argues that with the strength that English has already gained and the impregnable status it has, translation activities will become more and more limited. The researcher discusses the high cost of translation services and the shortcomings of computer-aided translation to explain his support for English as “the global lingua franca” (Crystal, 2003, p. x).

For Venuti (1998), the relationship between globalization and translation should be viewed through the lens of ideology. He argues that translation has played a key role in the colonization of the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Venuti (1998, p. 158) maintains that through the translation of “commercial contracts, institution manuals, and advertising copy to popular novels, children’s books, and film soundtracks”, colonialists and neocolonialists have exploited people in the developing countries. In other words, translation practices establish a “hierarchical relationship between the major and the minor languages, between the hegemonic and subordinate cultures. The translations enact a process of identity formation in which colonizer and colonized ... are positioned unequally” (Venuti, 1998, p. 165).

Pym’s (2000) arguments about the effects of globalization on translation are based on economic rationales. Pym (2000) believes that globalization is causing fundamental changes in the translation business and in the training of translators and interpreters. Globalization, in his view, has led to a clear separation of strata or segments based on financial terms. Thus, the labor market for translators—under the impact of globalization—has been segmented similarly, so that translators today belong to three groups of language professionals: poorly paid translators (e.g., students, inexperienced translators); professional translators and translation teachers who live a decent life; and, well-paid language professionals working for multinational corporations, marketing companies, and in the IT industry.

In another study, Pym (2003) proposes the notion of “diversity paradox” to raise an intriguing question. He notes that as globalization is

washing away borders, the need for common languages for intercultural communication is becoming more and more tangible. English, according to Pym (2003), has already become *the* common language. With the growing use of English at an extensively large and global scale, one might assume that the need for translation will decline. However, statistics show that this is not the case and that the number of translations has markedly increased. Pym (2003) asks, "How is it that the number of translations might increase at the same time as the use of English triumphs and many languages are forced into twilight?" (p. 4). To explain such a paradox, Pym (2003) discusses the differences between the economic categories of production and distribution and the different roles that languages come to play at each level. In other words, the prolonged vitality of translation can be explained by distinguishing between the global role of English as the lingua franca in the production of goods and the marketing role of translation in the distribution of goods.

McLanguage (the third element of McWorld; the others being McDonald and Macintosh) is the metaphor that Snell-Hornby (1999) uses to describe the perspectives and functions of "world English" in the age of globalization. For Snell-Hornby (1999), in today's heterogeneous global village, where distances have been overcome, the "International English" "functions as a basic common denominator for supra-cultural communication" (pp. 104–105). Such a phenomenon is accompanied by the birth and growth of different varieties of English, as well as the emergence of "hybrid texts" characterized by their unique lexical and syntactic features. With regard to the relationship between globalization and translation, Snell-Hornby (1999) argues that it is necessary to redefine the role of translators and to create a revised profile for modern translators in the new millennium. In their new roles, translators have a greater responsibility for intercultural communication. They need first to be equipped with modern technology and equipment, professional expertise, and linguistic, cultural and subject matter competence, and then to use their multiple skills instantly and simultaneously to meet the challenges of the market. Snell-Hornby (1999) also maintains that with the technological advances, the potentiality of Machine Translation will increase considerably. Today, and especially with the introduction of AI (Artificial Intelligence), we are witnessing significant progress in machine translation, and perhaps it can be said that

human beings are no longer the sole agents of translation. Statistical machine translation, which heavily relies on count-based models and was the dominant approach in machine translation research for many years, has largely been replaced by neural machine translation (NMT), which utilizes a single neural network to handle translation tasks (Stahlberg, 2020). Moreover, owing to the rapid development of artificial intelligence, NMT has now improved a lot, helping with the accuracy of machine translation in recent years (Chen, 2023; Klimova, et al, 2023).

Contrary to some scholars who argue that with globalization translation is doomed to extinction, Austermühl (2001) asserts that, in the near future, not only will there not be such a sad ending, but that there will be a growing demand for translation services. To back up his argument, Austermühl (2001) points to the increase in linguistic diversity in the EU, which entails a huge number of translation activities. Furthermore, the rapid growth of multilingual websites on the Internet and the greater need for language services in the business and marketing world help to ensure the survival and promotion of translation. Austermühl (2001) believes that in a globalized world, translators and interpreters need special training to acquire the skills to communicate with experts in different specialized fields such as those of nano- and bio-sciences, IT, etc.

Ho (2004) argues that the relationship between translation and globalization is interactive, i.e., "globalization has changed the environment of translation and ... translators' contribution to the development of globalization have further facilitated the process of globalization" (p. 255). Ho (2004) also makes a distinction between canonical and professional (or non-canonical) translators: "the former are mainly driven by the spiritual/cultural value of translation and the latter largely by the material/economic value" (p. 256). Ho's (2004) next important argument is that, after the wave of globalization, professional, or non-canonical, translations are done on a much larger scale than before. Ho (2004) argues that it is the material or economic value of translation that drives professional translators to produce quality translations. Therefore, he argues for a paradigm shift in Translation Studies because neither linguistics nor comparative literary studies can explain or account for professional translators' mentality and behavior in the era of globalization.

Ho (2004) also emphasizes the need for professional translators to have specialized knowledge and to be aware of the limitations of computer-assisted translation, among which there is the problem with syntactical and referential ambiguity, metaphors, and collocations (Alzeebaree, 2020; Awadh & Shafiull, 2020)

Putting the above arguments together, it becomes evident that a number of themes clusters around globalization–translation relationship. It seems that the battle between English as the international lingua franca, promoting linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the demand for translation will continue for many years to come. The capability and potential of computer-assisted translation (Machine Translation) will also be debated by those who expect a more promising future for technological achievements and those who believe that the inherent limitations of such activities will remain. Additionally, given that the issue of “ideology” is considered an indispensable part of today’s discussions on education, ideological and critical views on the role of translation, and particularly that of translators in the age of globalization, are likely to draw more and more attention. It also appears safe to argue that modern translators are being ascribed a more demanding and at the same time, more complicated role by various scholars mentioned above. Finally, with the rise of ideologies that prioritize economic and material values over cultural ones in today’s translation activities, the classical views seem to fall short of fully accounting for modern translators’ behavior and hence need to be reconsidered.

The Present Study

This section will explain the research purpose, participants, data collection, and data analysis.

Research Purpose

This study draws on Pym’s (2003) notion of the “diversity paradox”. The paper seeks to explore the participants’ explanations and views on Pym’s radical question about the relationship between globalization and translation:

“How is it that the number of translations might increase at the same time as the use of English triumphs and many languages are forced into twilight?” (p. 4).

Participants

Twenty-two subjects (11 male and 11 female MA and PhD holders in Translation Studies) took part in this study. Most of them (16) teach courses of their specialty fields in different universities in Iran, and the others are either certified translators or worked professionally for translation institutes in Tabriz—a big city in the north-west of Iran—and Tehran, the capital.

Instrumentation and Data Collection Procedures

Pym’s question above was used in semi-structured interviews. This research method employs in-depth interviews to gather qualitative perspectives on the topic under discussion from a selected group of participants. As described by Fylan (2005), semi-structured interviews involve guided discussions, where the interviewer has a specific focus but allows for flexibility in the conversation with each participant. Data collection in these studies continues until no new data are obtained, ensuring thorough exploration of the subject matter. In the present study, the participants were asked to comment on and explain the paradox of the global rise and the increasing use of English, which should naturally reduce the need for translations, juxtaposed with the growing demand for translation services. The interviews were conducted in Farsi and Azerbaijani Turkish in 2022. With the participants’ consent, all interviews were audio-recorded and promptly transcribed. On average, each interview lasted approximately ten minutes.

Data Analysis

The particular feature of this part is that there was only one question for the interviewees. This makes data analysis relatively simple and

straightforward. The interview transcriptions were read and reread several times to find the most frequent theme(s) in the data. To ensure interpretive validity (Dörnyei, 2007), “member checking” was carried out with five of the subjects. This involved sharing the responses with the participants and then discussing these responses with them. We also asked a colleague to carry out the same analysis on five transcriptions—independently of our analysis—to ensure the “descriptive validity” at this stage.

Findings and Discussion

The qualitative analysis of the data revealed the following insights. Firstly, the participants recognized the premise of Pym’s (2003) notion of the “diversity paradox”. In other words, like Pym, they believed that with the increasing spread of English globally, it might seem natural to anticipate a gradual decline in the prominence and significance of translation. Nonetheless, the participants argued that this is not the case in practice, asserting that the demand for translation services and translators will continue to grow.

Overall, three main themes emerged from the interviews, each of which consists of a number of sub-themes.

Limited Knowledge of English

One of the main themes that emerged in almost all the interviews was not having sufficient competency of the English language. There was a consensus among the interviewees as to the reason and explanation for the above paradox. The participants unanimously maintained that although English is burgeoning worldwide, the level of English proficiency gained by citizens of the global village is too limited to free them from the need for translation services. In essence, the global spread of the international lingua franca, namely English, does not mean that a high level of English competence is achieved by non-English speakers. Consequently, there will persist a demand for translation and translators to help non-English speakers by translating *from* or *into* English—the target language.

Mere Oral Knowledge. One of the main themes that was mentioned by more than two-thirds of the participants was that the young generation's knowledge of English is confined to what they acquire in English institutions. More specifically, it is argued that in the era of globalization, the English proficiency learners is mainly encompasses oral skills. English learners are generally equipped with some functional and survival knowledge of listening and speaking skills in the target language to meet their specific limited needs. The interviewee argued that:

...I mean language knowledge at speaking level does not mean that one knows that particular language. That's why I feel that those going to private English schools and ...eh.. finish some terms there... read some "Interchange" ... or "Headway" series... they learn some particular kind of English in a particular context... they learn some conversations.... they cannot meet their own needs in ... say... agriculture or civil engineering. (P9, 2022, translated from Azerbaijani Turkish)²

Similar arguments are made by another participant. Participant Three (P3), for example, holds that:

...Right... English spreads... no doubt about it... but the English we learn is restricted and mostly oral, and ... and not enough.... I mean we learn some basics of English only and ... this is not enough. Limited knowledge of English means that the individual will need the help of translators. Yes... even in Iran, we are witnessing the spread of English at a high and unbelievable level but ... you know... we do not learn the totality of English so ... we will need translation services. (P3, 2022, translated from Persian)

Interestingly, those interviewees who work for translation institutes explain the paradox from a perspective more related to their professional services. For example, one of the participants argues that:

Yes... the number of translators is increasing.... because the English that people learn is kind of ... um... general English. This cannot fulfill all their needs. For example, if they

² All the translations of the responses were done by authors, two of whom speak Azerbaijani Turkish as their mother tongue.

want to translate a kind of certificate ... or document... for example, marriage, heritage.... they will need translators' help because this can be done with technical English and not with general English ... so I can say that ... these two are separate things... I mean, in the new era, yes, it is quite right... The popularity of English is growing, but this does not mean that those who know English can fulfill all their needs. (P10, 2022, translated from Persian)

The above views suggest that the limited oral skills Iranian netizens learn in fee-paying private schools are insufficient to fulfill the various needs associated with English translation. One might even argue that with the tendency of Iranian young generation to open up to the international community and embrace globalization (Mazlum, 2022), their demand for English translation services increases, as membership in a globalized world entails a more diversified spectrum of needs in different domains and at different levels (Reynolds & Viterek, 2013). To meet such needs, the participants content that limited proficiency in oral English is of little assistance, thereby increasing the necessity for translation services.

Technical Differences between Persian and English.

Limited proficiency in the target language, specifically English, is highlighted in another way to explain the "diversity paradox". Two participants emphasized the technical differences existing between the source and target languages to argue that the "netizens" are generally unaware of such technical points and therefore need translation services even if they possess basic survival English skills. This is evident in the following excerpt:

You know what? There is the issue of linguistic variation... Although my mother tongue is Turkish ...eh... and I know Persian well, but they [scholars in Persian] ... give examples ... they ask which one is right? "Gaman" or "Goman" [two common pronunciations of the same word meaning "guess" in Persian]. You see... I know Persian myself and I do translation activities in this language, but I do not know the answer... so to what extent people in general learn these linguistic variations is important. Language experts learn these variations and they are the right people who can do translation ... yes... you are right ... everybody learns English but not the whole English... they cannot master the linguistic variations. (P5, 2022, translated from Azerbaijani Turkish)

The aforementioned argument suggests that translation is a highly technical and professional undertaking, and the spread of English is not accompanied by the requisite expertise necessary to carry it out effectively; therefore, similar to the previous argument, it can be said that members of the global community possess restricted English proficiency, and their needs for translation services will persist.

Exposure to the English Language in all Segments of Society. In Iranian society, the use of English words in everyday conversation and mass media is steadily increasing. Additionally, the use of smartphones and tablets, even among middle-aged and elderly people, where English words are prevalent, is another illustration of the exposure to the English language across all segments of society. Although these people have a very limited knowledge of the English language or no knowledge at all, as they strive not to fall behind by the societal expectations, they demand that everything be localized in English. This close association with words, which are seen as an integral part of the language, makes us localize all modes of communication more than ever before. Indeed, the more English is used in our daily lives, the more pronounced the need for translation becomes.

Although the use of English has increased in Iran—especially on smartphones and tablets—there is a contradiction: the need for translation has not decreased. Older generations, who have been exposed to the language used in digital devices, seem to be unfamiliar with the social media jargon (e.g., Like, Follow, Block, among others), which necessitates translation. This everyday use of digital devices with English menus has made them more dependent on translation. The older generation wants to use these devices to communicate, but English is a barrier. In other words, the more the older generation is exposed to advanced technology, the greater the need for translation. As one interviewee put it:

I've seen it myself. Say my mom wants to see if she has a relative on her friends' list on Instagram. She asks if she should check the "Followers" or the "Following". I think if we weren't so engaged with technology, our use of English would be more limited. The older generation wants to be on social media, to know what is going on. But this generation has little or no knowledge of the English language. What should be

done? Translation and localization. In fact, our need for translation increases as we advance in technology. (P18, 2012, translated from Persian)

Such technology adoption behavior observed among the Iranian elderly aligns with Freeman et al.'s (2020) argument that new technologies have become integrated into older adults' daily lives as well. Consequently, their demand for translation services might be even greater in view of their more limited proficiency in English.

Preference for Persian vs. English

One of the other themes that emerged in this study was the prevailing inclination towards Persian over English or other foreign languages. This preference can be attributed to both the issue of nativism, feeling comfortable with one's native language, as well as technical issues of language and a lack of confidence in one's proficiency in a foreign language. Five of the participants explained the preference for Persian over English for various reasons.

Feeling More at Ease with Persian. Considering the fact that in Iranian society, children's initial exposure to language often occurs in a language other than English, and taking into account the significance of one's mother tongue, no matter how broad and comprehensive one's knowledge of English is, there is still a sense of comfort derived from reading in one's mother tongue or the official language during one's school years, which obviously is not experienced when reading in a foreign language. As one participant said:

Well, to be honest, even though all my studies were in English and ... actually I don't have any problem understanding texts at least in general English, maybe in situations where both English and Persian versions of a text are available, I prefer to read the text in Persian. This way I go faster... I spend less understanding the material and of course ... I can communicate much more easily with the Persian writing. I have been in contact with Persian since I started speaking. For example, when I read a novel, if both the English and Persian translations are available... if the novel is well translated, if I want to read the novel for the pleasure of literature..., I would prefer to read the translation of the book... I remember reading the translation of Najaf Daryabandari of "As I Lay Dying", and

I really enjoyed it. But a few years after reading the translation, I read the English text. I expected the same pleasure, but ... to tell the truth, the pleasure I got from the translation was never the same as the pleasure I got from reading the original text. It seems that my affinity with these simple and lovely characters was greater when I read the Persian text. (P 17, 2022, translated from Persian)

This indicates that individuals possessing a sufficient level of English proficiency, who capable of comprehending English materials might still turn to translation services since they facilitate communication efficiency. In other words, when a text is available in both English and Persian, they are likely to choose the latter. Consequently, this choice further increases the need for translation services.

Having Greater Confidence in Understanding Persian.

Having greater confidence in one's knowledge when encountering English material, whether written or oral, was another issue that emerged from the interviewees' responses. In some cases, even if the individuals possess extensive knowledge of the English language, they prefer to read or listen to the equivalent text in Persian to ensure a correct and logical understanding of the text or conversation he/she has heard, rather than reading or listening to it in English.

Yes... We can say that English is somehow becoming a global language and we see more translations these days. To talk about my own point of view, honestly, even though I hold an MA in English translation, I have more confidence in my understanding when I read a Persian text. I always think that when I read or listen to news in English, I am not so sure that I have fully understood the details of the news. But when I read the same news in Persian, I am completely sure that I have understood everything ... but you know what? That's not the case, at least most of the time. I don't trust my understanding although I can grasp the whole idea... I spend all my time in English institutes and I've seen the lack of confidence even among advanced students, especially when it comes to "listening" to news in English. I've seen that students completely understand the topic, but they lack the confidence to talk very well about the details and events that are said in the news, especially when listening to British English. (P22, 2022, translated from Persian)

Such statements can be viewed as an indication of the lack of confidence among Iranian natives in their proficiency in English. As evident in the example, the participant herself admits that even though her knowledge of the English language is advanced, and she has no difficulty in understanding the material in English, she still prefers Persian texts over English ones, even if they are translated.

Ideological Issues

Five participants explained the paradox from an ideological point of view. They referred to recent critical arguments about the spread of English and discussed the resistance to such a phenomenon. The rise of English as the world's international language has been accompanied by the arguments that many non-English languages are under threat and that English learners' mother tongues need to be protected.

Resistance at Macro Level. Although Iran's foreign policy has long been "neither East nor West", yet a tendency towards the East has certainly been a powerful framework for grasping some critical elements of Iran's interactions with the outside world for several decades (Mohammadian, 2022). This point of view may show the failure of English as a full-fledged representative of the West in Iran, in a broad dimension and reflects the country's foreign policy.

Such critical views are discussed in the first part of P2's views:

I am not sure... but monolingualism is coming back again... Translation survives because ... maybe ... many countries don't want English to overtake students' mother tongues.... so they focus on L1 and don't care whether translation is needed or not. (P2, 2012, translated from Azerbaijani Turkish)

Apart from individual issues, another reason mentioned by the participants was foreign policies at higher levels. Efforts to keep the Persian language alive and to prevent the exclusivity of the English language are macro-level efforts that were mentioned by some participants.

Resistance at Micro Level. Apart from the macro issues, there are some cases of resistance to the foreign language, although this is not so common at the individual level. Only one of the participants mentioned this issue on an individual level. The idea that the more English language is used, the more Persian will be marginalized is one of the reasons for using translations of materials that are easily understood in English.

... Apart from what I have mentioned, I, myself, would like to read more Persian texts. I would like people to mix more with Persian... Can you believe that I really feel sick when I see that five out of ten words of our teenage generation are in English? I don't care where it comes from and how much our officials think about solving this problem... I'm afraid there is no determination to reduce this disaster... I think now that no one is thinking about the impending catastrophe, you and I, who deal with language, should start from our surroundings. Let's not let Persian literature go backwards. Let's not let this rich language lose a piece of its existence day by day... (P19, 2022, translated from Persian)

In addition to macro-level concerns, one participant mentioned personal reasons for his concerns. According to the results obtained from the interviews, the people themselves are worried about the spread of English, the marginalization of Persian, and probably the alienation of the next generations.

Concluding Remarks

The apparent contradiction between the growth of English in the age of globalization, on the one hand, and the growth of translation, on the other hand, has been described by Pym (2003) as the "diversity paradox" because "the lingua franca would appear to be reducing linguistic diversity, translation should ideally be increasing linguistic diversity, and both are happening at the same time" (Pym, 2008, p. 2). This study aimed at investigating Iranian translators' views on this paradox.

To summarize all the above, the dominant theme of the participants' arguments is that although English has already become the taken-for-granted lingua franca of the globalized world, the knowledge and skills acquired in

English—our target language—are not advanced, multidimensional, and multifunctional enough to meet the translation needs of the “netizens”. The acquired knowledge is limited in one way or another: it is only a small part of a big whole, it is a kind of general English, and it is limited to certain skills. As a result, the linguistic gap between the source language and the target language (English) is wide and cannot be bridged independently of translation services. Therefore, the bridge between the source and target languages needs to be built by translators who have a much broader and deeper proficiency in both languages.

Apart from the first theme that emerged from our study (i.e., limited knowledge of the English language, which is more suited to speaking), the participants also highlighted the preference for using the Persian language for different reasons: feeling more at ease with Persian and having more confidence in their understanding of material articulated in Persian, among others. The same tendencies seem to be behind the preference for Persian even at more advanced levels of fluency. Furthermore, some participants also mentioned ideological tendencies. That is, the ease of using Persian cannot be the only reason as some worry that Persian will be marginalized if English becomes dominant, culminating in a loss of identity. This view seems to be going beyond the individual level and becoming an issue on a large scale. Being aware of these ideas can shed useful light on how globalization will contribute to the advancement of ideas. Translation and translators can therefore pave the way for globalization.

Iranian translators believe that the limited and imperfect knowledge of English as a target language explains the survival and growth of the translation market. However, Pym provides counter-arguments to demonstrate the need for an alternative rationale to explain the “diversity paradox”. For Pym, the source—target approach is flawed since it fails to fully account for the “diversity paradox”. Instead, he proposes a one-to-many geometry and puts forward a more explanatory rationale. Such a scenario draws on both the economic realities of production in the “center” and distribution/consumption in the “periphery”, and the nature of cross-cultural communication between intercultures and monocultures (client cultures).

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**VERTIMO PASLAUGŲ POREIKIS GLOBALIAME PASAULYJE:
PERIFERIJOS INFORMACIJA PAGRĮSTAS PAAIŠKINIMAS**

Anotacija. Globalizacijos ir vertimo santykis yra viena iš naujų vertimo studijų tyrimų sričių. Globalizaciją lydi nesustabdomas anglų kalbos plitimas visame pasaulyje. Tačiau, priešingai nei tikėtasi, vertimo paslaugų poreikis ne tik nesumažėjo, bet net ir padidėjo. Tai, pasak Pym (2003), skamba paradoksaliai, nes, plintant anglų kalbos vartojimui pasaulyje, vertimo paslaugų poreikis turėtų mažėti. Taigi tyrimu bandyta išsiaiškinti Irano vertėjų požiūrį į šį paradoksą. Naudojant sniego gniūžtės metodą buvo atrinkti dvidešimt du vertėjai (visi turintys vertimo studijų magistro arba daktaro laipsnį). Duomenims rinkti buvo atlikti pusiau struktūruoti interviu. Interpretacinė duomenų analizė atskleidė, kad vertimo ir vertėjų statusą ir vaidmenį Irano kontekste sąlygoja daugybė priežasčių, kurios buvo suskirstytos į tris dideles kategorijas: 1) ribota tikslinės (anglų) kalbos kompetencija, 2) pirmenybės teikimas persų, o ne anglų kalbai, 3) ideologiniai klausimai. Kalbant apie ribotas anglų kalbos kompetencijas, išsamūs interviu parodė, kad jaunosios kartos žinios dažniausiai apsiriboja šnekamosios kalbos gebėjimais ir negali apimti visų anglų kalbos aspektų. Kitais atvejais buvo atkreiptas dėmesys į techninius abiejų kalbų skirtumus ir į anglų kalbos žodžių bei frazių paplitimą visuomenėje, ypač vartojant technologines priemones, dėl ko menkai kalbą mokantys žmonės jaučia šių svetimžodžių ir frazių vertimo poreikį. Kita kategorija atskleidė, kad iranėčiai pirmenybę teikia persų kalbai, palyginti su anglų kalba. Per interviu net daktaro laipsnį turintis asmenys pripažino, kad jiems ne taip lengvai sekasi kalbėti angliškai; taip pat pažymėjo, kad turėdami ir anglišką, ir persišką teksto versijas, pirmenybę veikiausiai teiktų persiškajai. Dar viena tokios pirmenybės teikimo priežastimi buvo nurodytas nepasitikėjimas savo anglų kalbos žiniomis, nors tiriamųjų kompetencija suprasti angliškus tekstus ir (arba) pasisakymus yra aukščiausio lygmens. Paskutinė kategorija buvo susijusi su ideologiniais makro- ir mikrolygmens klausimais. Kalbėdami apie makrolygmenį, kai kurie dalyviai minėjo vyriausybės politiką, pagal kurią visuomenėje nepriimamos užsienio kalbos ir didžiausias dėmesys skiriamas persų kalbai. Mikrolygmeniu vienas dalyvis manė, kad kai kurie asmenys tyčia vartoja persiškus žodžius ir frazes, siekdami užkirsti kelią persų kalbos marginalizacijai.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: globalizacija; vertimas; anglų kalba; Pym įvairovės paradoksas; Iranas.

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DVISKAITOS VERTIMO YPATUMAI: LYGINAMASIS TEKSTYNAIS GRĮSTAS TYRIMAS

Anotacija. Šiame straipsnyje siekiama išsiaiškinti, koks dviskaitos pasiskirstymas originaliuose lietuviškuose ir verstuose į lietuvių kalbą grožinės literatūros tekstuose; kada verčiant iš anglų kalbos vartojami dviskaitos įvardžiai ir kokiomis gramatinėmis formomis ar struktūromis dviskaita verčiama į anglų kalbą. Laikantis unikalių vertimo vienetų hipotezės spėjama, kad dviskaitos, kaip lietuvių kalbai būdingos ypatybės, vertimuose turėtų būti mažiau, nes angliški tekstai neturi akivaizdaus vertimo stimulo. Straipsnyje taikomi tekstynais grįsti tyrimo metodai, kiekybinė ir kokybinė duomenų analizė. Visų pirma, iš morfologiškai anotuotos ORVELIT tekstyno versijos nustatyti visi įvardžių pavartojimo atvejai originalios ir verstos grožinės literatūros patekstyniuose ir pasirinktos visos dviskaitos formos. Iš lietuvių–anglų kalbų prozos vertimų tekstyno LECOP ir lygiagrečiojo tekstyno (anglų–lietuvių kalbų vertimo kryptis), naudojant programinę įrangą *ParaConc* (Barlow, 2009), gauti lygiagretūs dviskaitos vertimo konkordansai. Tolesnei analizei pasirinkta po vieną dažniausią asmeninių įvardžių formą: *mu*, *ju* ir *jiedu*. Tyrimas parodė, kad vertimuose dviskaitos yra panašiai kaip lietuviškuose tekstuose arba daugiau, bet ne žymiai mažiau negu originaliuose lietuviškuose tekstuose, pastebima tokia pati formų įvairovė. Vertimų iš anglų kalbos duomenys parodė kelias struktūras, kurios gali paskatinti vertėją pavartoti lietuvišką dviskaitą, pavyzdžiui, kai asmeniniai daugiskaitos įvardžiai apibūdina du referentus arba kai vartojamas asmeninio įvardžio ir kito referento junginys su jungtuku *and* (liet. *ir*). Vertimai iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą parodė, kad nustatytos struktūros galioja abiem vertimo kryptims: versdami iš lietuvių kalbos, vertėjai renkasi angliškas įvardžių daugiskaitos formas arba naudoja jau anksčiau minėtą formulę *įvardis ir referentas / referentas ir įvardis*. Kompensuodami prarandamą informaciją apie referentų skaičių ar jų artumą, vertėjai vartojo skaitvardį *two* (liet. *du*), nurodantį veikėjų skaičių ir taip išversdami lietuvių kalbos dviskaitos įvardžiais perteikiamą informaciją. Originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose, skirtingai nuo verstų anglų kalbos tekstų, tokia struktūra nebuvo dažna ar įprasta.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dviskaita; įvardžiai; lietuvių kalba; lyginamieji ir lygiagretieji tekstynai; unikalių kalbos vienetų hipotezė.

Įvadas

Tiriant kalbą tekstynų lingvistikos metodais, didelės apimties duomenims apdoroti būtina tam tikra programinė įranga, tačiau dažnai įrankių ar metodų, tinkančių anglų ar kitų analitinių kalbų analizei (jų yra gausu), lietuviškiems tekstams tiesiogiai taikyti nepavyksta. Todėl ypač aktualu kurti ir adaptuoti įvairius lietuvių kalbos išteklius, jų analizės įrankius ar programinę

įrangą bei metodologines priemones siekiant įtvirtinti kalbą skaitmeninėje erdvėje, didinti tarptautinį lietuvių kalbos matomumą ir skatinti jos tyrimus. Ypač trūksta vertimo sričiai reikalingų lygiagrečiųjų ir lyginamųjų tekstynų: parengti lygiagretieji tekstynai dažnai neprieinami viešai, yra mažos apimties, turi įvairių apribojimų, nėra gramatiškai anotuoti, todėl tekstynais grįstų vertimo studijų tyrimų galimybės išlieka gana ribotos. Tokia situacija davė postūmį sukurti vertimo studijų poreikiams pritaikytą kalbos išteklių – ORVELIT. Tai 4 milijonų žodžių lyginamasis originalios ir verstos lietuvių kalbos grožinės ir mokslo populiarinimo literatūros tekstynas, laisvai prieinamas CLARIN-LT saugykloje. Ankstesniuose tyrimuose aprašėme tekstyno sudėtį, subalansuotumą ir reprezentatyvumą (Vaičėnienė ir kt., 2017); pristatėme kiekybinę anotuotų duomenų leksinių ir morfologinių ypatybių analizę (Vaičėnienė ir Kovalevskaitė, 2019). Tyrime aptikti statistiškai reikšmingi kai kurių gramatinių kategorijų dažnumo skirtumai originalioje ir vertimų lietuvių kalboje. Pavyzdžiui, nustatyta, kad tiek grožinės literatūros, tiek mokslo populiarinimo vertimuose iš anglų kalbos yra gerokai daugiau įvardžių nei originaliuose lietuviškuose tekstuose. Tačiau, be pastebėjimų apie automatišką anglų kalbos vartojimo modelių perkėlimą, taip ir liko neaišku, kurios konkrečios įvardžių kategorijos yra perteklinės ar nepakankamos ir kokiose konkrečiose situacijose. Šiuo tyrimu siekiama parodyti net tik kiekybines, bet ir kokybines tekstynų, skirtų vertimo studijoms, galimybes tiriant lietuvių kalbą ir jos vertimus. Keliami šie klausimai:

1. Koks dviskaitos pasiskirstymas originaliuose lietuviškuose ir verstuose į lietuvių kalbą grožinės literatūros tekstuose?
2. Kada vertėjai renkasi dviskaitą versdami iš anglų kalbos?
3. Kuo keičiamos dviskaitos formos verčiant iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą?

Tyrime taikomi tekstynų lingvistikos metodai, kiekybinė ir kokybinė lyginamoji duomenų analizė. Visų pirma, iš morfologiškai anuotos ORVELIT tekstyno versijos, naudojant *GNU Grep* įrankį, gauti visi įvardžių pavartojimo atvejai originalios ir verstos grožinės literatūros patekstyniuose. Iš duomenų atsirinktos visos įvardžių dviskaitos formos. Siekiant palyginti dviskaitos

dažnius kituose tekstynuose ir gauti lygiagrečius įvardžių konkordansus kokybinei analizei, su programine įranga *ParaConc* (Barlow, 2009) gauti įvardžių dviskaitos vertimo duomenys iš lietuvių–anglų kalbų prozos vertimų tekstyno LECOP¹ ir lygiagrečiojo tekstyno² (anglų–lietuvių kalbų vertimo kryptis). Toliau apžvelgsime vertimo studijose keliamus klausimus, lietuvių kalbos dviskaitos ypatumus, plačiau pristatysime duomenų gavimo bei apdorojimo metodologines procedūras ir aptarsime gautus rezultatus.

Unikalių kalbos vienetų hipotezė

Bene vienas svarbiausių darbų, paskatinusių vertimo studijų tyrėjus diskutuoti apie unikalių kalbos vienetų hipotezę, buvo Sonjos Trikkonen-Condit (2004) tyrimas. Trikkonen-Condit (2004, p. 177) apibrėžė unikalios kalbos vienetus kaip lingvistinius elementus, neturinčius ekvivalentų kalboje, iš kurios verčiama. Tyrėja teigia, kad kiekvienoje kalboje galima rasti tam tikrų leksinių, frazinių, sintaksinių ar tekstinių vienetų, kurie, nors ir gali būti suprantami, neturi tiesioginio atitikmens kitoje kalboje. Toliau ypač svarbi mintis: kadangi tokių lingvistinių elementų originalo kalboje nepasitaiko arba jie turi visai kitokią raišką, vertėjas neturi akivaizdaus stimulo juos perteikti vertime (Trikkonen-Condit, 2004, p. 178). Taigi keliama hipotezė, kad unikalūs kalbos vienetai vertimuose bus retesni negu originaliuose tos pačios kalbos tekstuose. Hipotezei apie per dažną ar per retą tokių vienetų vartoseną vertimų kalboje pagrįsti tyrėja pasirinko suomių kalbai būdingus pakankamumo veiksmažodžius (angl. *verbs of sufficiency*) ir klitines pragmatines dalelytes (angl. *clitic pragmatic particles*). Tyrimo objektų vartoseną buvo analizuojama 10 mln. žodžių (Trikkonen-Condit, 2004, p. 179) suomių vertimų kalbos tekстыne, originalios ir vertimų kalbos patekstyniuose, akademinės ir grožinės literatūros žanruose. Tyrimo rezultatai parodė, kad vertėjai rečiau vartoja suomių kalbai būdingus unikalios kalbos vienetus, nors pagal kontekstą jie labai tikti, kadangi jų nepasitaiko originalo kalboje. Išvadose tyrėja teigia, kad

¹ Detalus tekstyno aprašymas: Vaičėnienė, J. 2011. *Lithuanian Literature in English. A Corpus-Based Approach to the Translation of Author-Specific Neologisms*. Daktaro disertacija. Kaunas: VDU.

² Lygiagretusis tekstynas. <https://sitti.vdu.lt/lygiagretus-tekstynas/>

retesnė unikalijų kalbos vienetų sklaida verstuose tekstuose potencialiai galėtų būti laikoma vertimo universalija (Trikkonen-Condit, 2004, p. 183).

Sari Eskolos (2004) tyrimas taip pat papildė Trikkonen-Condit (2004) idėjas. Specialiai sukurtame dviejų milijonų žodžių vertimų (iš anglų ir rusų kalbų) ir originalios suomių kalbos prozos tekстыne Eskola (2004) nagrinėjo nefinitinių (angl. *non-finite*) sintaksinių struktūrų vartoseną, kuriose gausu informaciją glaudinančių predikatų. Kaip teigia tyrėja (2004, p. 88), palyginti su kitomis indoeuropiečių kalbomis, sintetinei suomių kalbai tokio pobūdžio raiška ypač būdinga, nors sinonimiškai vietoj nefinitinių sintaksinių struktūrų galima būtų vartoti šalutinius sakinius. Iš tekstynais grįsto vertimų ir originalios suomių kalbos tyrimo duomenų matyti retesnis vertimo kalbai būdingų kalbos bruožų pasiskirstymas vertimuose ir, atvirkščiai, dažnesnė originalo kalbai būdingų elementų raiška, jeigu jie turėjo akivaizdžius ekvivalentus vertimo kalboje (Eskola, 2004, p. 83). Tyrimo išvadose teigiama, kad „vertimuose konkrečiai vertimo kalbai būdingos unikalios kalbinės savybės nepakankamai atsiskleidžia, o savybės, kurios turi tiesioginius ir dažnai vartojamus vertimo atitikmenis, originalo kalboje atspindimos per dažnai (nes jos veikia kaip tam tikras stimulus originalo tekste)“ (Eskola, 2004, p. 96)³. Šių išvadų universalumą tyrėja vertina atsargiai; ji teigia, kad būtini tolesni įvairių kalbų porų ir vertimo krypčių tyrimai (Eskola, 2004, p. 97).

Unikalijų kalbos vienetų hipotezė sulaukė ir palaikymo, ir kritikos. Pavyzdžiui, Kirstena Malmkjaer (2008), kalbėdama apie Monos Baker (1993) suformuluotas vertimo universalijas, teigia, kad vadinamąjį paprastinimą, normalizaciją, eksplacitškumą, pasikartojimų vengimą ar perteklinį vertimo kalbos bruožų vartojimą galima suprasti ir interpretuoti kaip vertimo normas, veikiamas įvairių socialinių, kultūrinių, istorinių veiksnių (Malmkjaer, 2008, p. 9–10). O Trikkonen-Condit (2004) siūlomą unikalijų kalbos vienetų hipotezę Malmkjaer (2008, p. 10–11) laiko patrauklia idėja tiriant kognityvinių veiksnių lemiamas, t. y. tikrąsias, vertimo universalijas. Kitais žodžiais tariant, retesnis unikalijų kalbos vienetų atspindys vertimo kalboje gali būti aiškinamas vertimo

³ Originali citata: „Translations tend to over-represent target language-specific, unique linguistic features and over-represent features that have straightforward translation equivalents which are frequently used in the source language (functioning as some kind of stimuli in the source text)“ (Eskola 2004, p. 96).

metu vertėjo sąmonėje vykstančiais procesais, o ne veiksniais, priklausančiais nuo vertimo kalbų porų statuso ar kitų sociokultūrinių ypatumų įtakos (ibid.). Kita vertus, Andrew Chestermanas (2007, p. 3–13) kritikuoja unikalau vertimo vieneto terminą ir siūlo formuluoti konkretesnę apibrėžimą. Chestermano (2007, p. 9) manymu, unikalumo sąvoka yra per abstrakti ir per plati, nes tiriami kalbos vienetai unikalūs ne visų kalbų atžvilgiu, o tik konkrečios vertimo kalbų poros atveju. Taip pat toks unikalumas būdingas ne tik vertimams, bet apskritai antros kalbos vartosenai (ibid.). Chestermanas kūrybiškai siūlo į unikalius kalbos vienetus žiūrėti kaip į atvirkštinę lakūną. Tai yra įprastai vertimo studijose lakūna suprantama kaip tam tikra leksinė ar semantinė spraga vertimo kalboje, neleidžianti perteikti originalo kalbos sąvokos. Kalbant apie unikalius vertimo vienetus, spraga yra originalo kalboje ir ji yra daugiau formali / sintaksinė negu semantinė (Chesterman 2007, p. 9). Apibendrinamas Chestermanas (2009, p. 10) siūlo koreguoti unikalų vertimo vienetų tyrimo metodologiją taikant kontrastinį tekstynais grindžiamą originalios ir vertimų kalbos palyginimą.

Palyginti su kitomis vertimų kalbos normomis ar universalijomis, pavyzdžiui, normalizacija, standartizacija, eksplacitiškumu, paprastinimu ir kt., unikalų kalbos vienetų hipotezė nėra taip plačiai ištyrinėta. Pavyzdžiui, be jau minėtų Trikonnen-Kondit (2004) ir Eskolos (2004) suomių vertimų kalbos tyrimų, Barbara Martinez Vilinsky (2012) analizavo originalius ir verstus ispanų kalbos tekstus specialiai sudarytame tekстыne. Tyrimo objektu laikytos veiksmažodinės perifrastinės konstrukcijos, t. y. kelių veiksmažodžių grupė, atliekanti predikato branduolio funkciją, būdinga ispanų, bet ne anglų kalbai (Vilinsky, 2012, p. 5). Tyrimo rezultatai parodė, kad originalioje kalboje perifrastinių konstrukcijų daugiau negu vertimuose. Michaela Martynkova ir Marketa Janebova (2019) analizavo daugiafunkcės čekų kalbos dalelytės *prý / prej* dažnius ir vertimus ispanų–čekų kalbų poroje. Nustatyta, kad dalelytė retesnė vertimuose palyginti su originaliais čekiškais grožinės literatūros tekstais, be to, verčiant iš ispanų kalbos, dalelytė dažniau buvo praleidžiama negu pridedama. Bertas Capelle (2012) tyrinėjo judėjimo veiksmažodžius angliškose tekstuose, verstuose iš prancūzų ir vokiečių kalbų; tyrimo rezultatai parodė skirtingą veiksmažodžių vartoseną priklausomai nuo originalo kalbos (platesnę tyrimo apžvalgą ir kritiką galima rasti, pavyzdžiui, Frederiko

Zanettino (2013) arba Davido Špetlos (2018) darbuose). Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad sisteminių, didelės apimties unikalių kalbos vienetų hipotezės tyrimų nėra, darbai apima daugiausiai dvi–tris kalbų poras, pasirenkama nagrinėti konkreti leksinė, sintaksinė ar semantinė lakūna originalo kalboje, ypač trūksta mažiau vartojamų kalbų tyrimų. Taigi lietuvių kalbos įvardžių dviskaitos formų pasiskirstymas vertimų kalboje ir jų vertimas gali būti tiriamas unikalių vertimo vienetų hipotezės kontekste, nes anglų kalboje tokios raiškos nėra išlikę ir vertėjui nėra akivaizdaus stimulo vartoti dviskaitą vertimo proceso metu.

Lietuvių kalbos įvardžių dviskaita

Lietuvių kalbai būdingi tam tikri archajiški bruožai, neišlikę kitose indoeuropiečių kalbose. Pavyzdžiui, be vienaskaitos ir daugiskaitos, kai kurie įvardžiai gali būti vartojami dviskaitos forma (pvz., *muđu, juđu, katriedu*), ji laikoma daugiskaitos porūšiu (Ambrasas et al., 2006, p. 184). Remiantis tyrimais, galima teigti, kad šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kalboje daiktavardžių, būdvardžių ir veiksmažodžių dviskaita iš esmės nebevartojama, o įvardžių dviskaita taip pat vertinama kaip nykstantis bruožas, ją keičia daugiskaitos formos (žr. Ambrasas et al., 2006, Valeckienė, 1998). Pavyzdžiui, Albertas Rosinas (1996, p. 52) teigia, kad dviskaita pasitaiko tik grožinėje literatūroje, publicistiniame stiliuje ir šnekamojoje kalboje. Sakytinėje kalboje, pasak Rosino (1994, p. 121) „dviskaitos paradigmas, kaip rodo raštų ir tarmių duomenys, geriau yra išlaikę įvardžiai net ir tose tarmėse, kur daiktavardžių dviskaita yra išnykusi“. Krikštaponytės (2013) ir Bruno (2015) tyrimai, kuriuose nagrinėta įvardžių dviskaita „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstyne“, rodo gana produktyvią jų vartoseną ir formų variantiškumą įvairių funkcinių stilių tekstuose.

1 lentelėje pateikiamos skirtingų semantinių grupių lietuvių kalbos įvardžių dviskaitos formos. Išvardytų dviskaitos formų sąrašas nėra baigtinis, įvairių formų nustatyta skirtingose tarmėse, kai kurios formos atsiranda / ar nunyksta žvelgiant diachroniškai. Rosinas (1994, p. 121) pateikia diachroninės raidos pavyzdį: „<...> pagal naująjį daiktavardžių paradigmos modelį, kai kuriose šnektose persiformavo ir kai kurių gimininių įvardžių dviskaitos paradigmos <...> atsirado vard. *jiedu, josdvi* ir gal. *juosdu, jasdvi*“. Taip pat

Krikštaponytė (2013, p. 189) pastebi, kad „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstyne“ randama dviskaitos formų, nepateikiamų nei „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatikoje“, nei kituose leidiniuose (pvz., *aniedu*, *šiodvi*, *šiuodvi*, *jodvi*, *juodvi*, etc.), o tai liudija dviskaitos produktyvumą, nors ji ir nėra laikoma normine vartoseną (Griškaitė, 2016, p. 15).

1 lentelė

Lietuvių kalbos dviskaita (pagal Ambrazą et al., 2006)

Įvardžių semantinė grupė	Vienaskaita	Daugiskaita	
		Daugiau nei du	Du
Asmeniniai	Aš Tu Jis, ji	Mes Jūs Jie, jos	Mudu, mudvi Judu judvi Juodu, jiedvi
Parodomieji	Tas, ta Šis, ši	Tie, tos Šie, šios Anie, anos Šitie, šitos	Tuodu, tiedvi Šiedu, šiedvi Anuodu, aniedvi Šituodu, šitiedvi
Klausiamieji	Kuris, kuri	Kurie, kurios	Kuriuodu, kuriedvi Katruodu, katriedvi

Funkciniu požiūriu dviskaitos, o ne daugiskaitos forma pasirenkama siekiant pabrėžti du konkrečius dalyvius arba parodyti glaudų dviejų referentų ryšį (Roduner ir Čižik, 2006, p. 75–78; Sirtautas, 1968, p. 157). Dviskaitos įvardžių vartojimas nėra privalomas gramatinis pasirinkimas, veikiau semantinio ar stilistinio, o ne gramatinio pobūdžio ir priklauso nuo to, kaip kalbėtojas / rašytojas supranta ar nori pabrėžti referentų artumo / atstumo ir pan. santykius (Roduner ir Čižik, 2006, p. 75–78).

Dviskaitos įvardžių vartosenos ypatybės yra gana produktyvios ir greta gali egzistuoti kelios formos, paprastai rodančios tarminius skirtumus. Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos nepateikia išsamaus dviskaitos įvardžių formų sąrašo, o šiuolaikinės lietuvių kalbos dviskaitos tyrimai tekstynuose liudija apie anksčiau nedokumentuotas *ad hoc* dviskaitos formas, pavyzdžiui, *pačiuodu*, *kituodu*, *anie(m)dviem*, *šitiedu*, *vienidvi* ir kt. (Krištaponytė, 2013, p. 186). Tai rodo, kad dviskaitos įvardžiai gal ir nėra paplitę, bet vartojami kaip raiškos priemonė tiek šnekamojoje, tiek rašytinėje lietuvių kalboje.

Anglų kalboje dviskaitos įvardžių raiška buvo būdinga senajai anglų kalbai, tačiau šiuolaikinėje anglų kalboje, be įvardžių *both*, *either* (liet. *abu*) ir *neither* (liet. *nė vienas*), asmeninių įvardžių dviskaitos forma yra nunykusi, nebevartojama (Quirk ir Greenbaum, 2012, p. 81). Kadangi šiuolaikinė anglų

kalba nėra išsaugojusi šios indoeuropietiškos gramatikos ypatybės, įdomu pasižiūrėti, ar vertimuose iš anglų į lietuvių kalbą dviskaitos skaičius ir variantiškumas yra mažesni, palyginti su originaliais tekstais.

Kiekybinis duomenų apibūdinimas

Tyrimė naudoti trys duomenų šaltiniai. Pirmąjį sudaro maždaug dviejų milijonų žodžių originalūs ir versti grožinės literatūros tekstai iš originalios ir vertimų lietuvių kalbos tekstyne ORVELIT v3⁴ (kiekviename patekstyneje 18 visateksčių kūrinų, 18 skirtingų autorių, o vertimų patekstyneje 15 skirtingų vertėjų). Iš šių duomenų, panaudojus *GNU Grep* įrankį, išrinktos visos tekstyne esančios įvardžių formos. Iš jų rankiniu būdu atrinktos visos dviskaitos formos, suskaičiuoti jų dažniai (žr. 2 lentelę). Galima teigti, kad duomenys yra pakankamai tikslūs ir atspindi realią analizuojamuose patekstyniuose dviskaitos vartojimo ir įvairovės situaciją. Iš šių duomenų matyti kiekybiniai įvardžių vartosenos skirtumai originalioje ir verstoje grožinėje literatūroje.

Antra duomenų grupė – vertimai iš anglų į lietuvių kalbą, nustatyti iš lygiagrečiojo tekstyne (31 kūrinys, 16 autorių). Į *ParaConc* (Barlow, 2009) įrankio paieškos laukelį suvestos dviskaitos formos, rastos ORVELIT tekstyne, kad duomenys būtų palyginami, ir taip gauti lygiagretūs dviskaitos vertimo konkordansai. Žinoma, nors kai kurios nepagrindinės dviskaitos formos tekstyne galėjo būti ir nepastebėtos, manoma, kad jos šiame tekstyne sudaro tik nedidelę dviskaitos vartosenos dalį ir neiškreipia duomenų (žr. 3 lentelę).

Tokiu pačiu principu duomenys kokybiniam tyrimui apie dviskaitos vertimus iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą išrinkti iš trečiojo duomenų šaltinio – lygiagrečiojo lietuvių ir anglų kalbų literatūros vertimų tekstyne LECOP, atspindinčio lietuviškos prozos vertimus nuo 1990 iki 2009 metų. Tekstyne imtis – 1,7 mln. žodžių; 759 841 lygiagretus sakiny. Tekstyne sudaro 95 tekstai, parašyti 43 autorių ir versti 39 vertėjų (daugiau žr. Vaičėnienė, 2011). Atkreiptinas dėmesys, kad tekstyne imties rezultatai gali varijuoti priklausomai nuo to, kokia programinė įranga taikoma imčiai skaičiuoti.

⁴ <https://clarin.vdu.lt/xmlui/handle/20.500.11821/40>

Tekstynų dydžiams palyginti taikyta *WordSmith Tools 7.0* programinė įranga:

- ORVELIT:
 - originalios grožinės literatūros patekstynis: 1 304 699 žodžiai;
 - verstos grožinės literatūros patekstynis: 1 315 783 žodžiai;
- lygiagretusis tekstynas, verstų lietuviškų tekstų patekstynis: 1 200 302 žodžiai;
- LECOP tekstynas, originalių lietuviškų tekstų patekstynis: 682 936 žodžiai.

Kadangi tekstynų imtys varijuoja, kiekybiniam duomenų palyginimui šalia realaus dviskaitos dažnio pateiksime ir santykinius dažnius – dviskaitos lemu pasiskirstymas bus skaičiuojamas 1 000-iui žodžių. Pirmas skaičius nurodo realų, o antras santykinį lemos dažnį.

2 lentelė

Dviskaita lyginamajame tekстыne ORVELIT

Originali grožinė literatūra (426/0,32)					
Asmeniniai įvardžiai			Parodomieji įvardžiai		
Aš (209/0,16)	Tu (16/0,01)	Jis, ji (171/0,13)	Anas, -a (6/0,004)	Šis, -i (7/0,005)	Tas, -a (17/0,01)
Mudu (150)	Judviejų (6)	Jiedu (118)	Aniedu (5)	Šiuodu (4)	Tuodu (8)
Mudviejų (24)	Judu (5)	Jūdviejų (27)	Aniedviem (1)	Šiedu (3)	Tiedu (7)
Mudvi (20)	Judvi (3)	Jiedvi (8)			Tiedviem (2)
Mudviem (15)	Judviem (2)	Juodu (7)			
		Jodvi (6)			
		Jiedviem (3)			
		Juodvi (2)			
Versta grožinė literatūra (724/0,55)					
Aš (505/0,38)	Tu (32/0,02)	Jis, ji (122/0,09)	Anas, -a (3/0,002)	Šis, -i (4/0,003)	Tas, -a (18/0,01)
Mudu (359)	Judu (17)	Jiedu (93)	Anuodu (3)	Šiedu (4)	Tiedu (10)
Mudvi (76)	Judvi (7)	Jūdviejų (29)			Tuodu (6)
Mudviejų (41)	Judviejų (5)	Jiedvi (24)			Tiedvi (1)
	Judviem (3)	Juodu (10)			Tuodvi (1)
Mudviem (26)		Jiedviem (5)			
Mudviems (3)		Juodvi (2)			

Iš duomenų matyti, kad ORVELIT tekstyno grožinės literatūros vertimų patekstynyje dviskaitos yra daugiau. Tokie rezultatai gali reikšti, kad universalių vertimo vienetų hipotezė nėra absoliuti arba kad vidiniai tekstynų struktūros ypatumai, pirmojo ar trečiojo asmens naratyvų skaičius,

atpasakojamosios bei dialoginės tekstų proporcijos ir įvairūs kiti patekstynių sandaros faktoriai gali lemti dviskaitos dažnį. Kita vertus, galima neabejoti, kad vertėjai renkasi dviskaitą vietoj tam tikrų anglišku struktūrų, nors ekvivalentinės raidės pačiame angliškame tekste ir nėra. Taigi net jei apskritai tekстыne dviskaitos įvardžių yra nedaug, abiejuose patekstyniuose dažniausios yra asmeninių įvardžių formos, ypač pirmojo ir trečiojo asmens dviskaita, o parodomieji įvardžiai sudaro tik labai nedidelę duomenų dalį. Įdomu tai, kad tiek originaliuose, tiek verstuose tekstuose šalia pagrindinių normos variantų (pagal Ambrazas et al., 2006), vartojami ir šalutiniai normos variantai (pvz., *judvi, juodvi*). Lygindami abu patekstynius matome, kad vertimų patekstynyje gerokai daugiau pirmojo asmens daugiskaitos formų, bet kiek mažiau trečiojo asmens dviskaitos. Klausiamųjų įvardžių dviskaitos formų ORVELIT tekстыne nepasitaikė. Bandant įsitikinti, ar rezultatai būdingi tikrai konkrečiam tekstynui, ar jie aktualūs grožinės literatūros vertimams apskritai, būtina lyginti su kitų duomenynų rezultatais (žr. 3 lentelę).

3 lentelė

Dviskaita lygiagrečiuosiuose tekstynuose

Asmeniniai įvardžiai			Parodomieji įvardžiai		
Originali grožinė literatūra (LECOP) (445/0,65)					
Aš (232/0,33)	Tu (11/0,01)	Jis, ji (176/0,25)	Anas, -a (3/0,004)	Šis, -i (3/0,004)	Tas, -a (20/0,03)
Mudu (186)	Judu (8)	Juodu (80)	Aniedu (2)	Šiedu (2)	Tuodu (14)
Mudviem (21)	Judviem (2)	Jiedu (78)	Aniedviem (1)	Šiuodu (1)	Tiedu (6)
Mudviejų (19)		Jūdviejų (7)			
Mudvi (4)		Jiedvi (5)			
Mudviems (2)		Jodvi (3)			
		Jiedviem (3)			
Versta grožinė literatūra (lygiagretusis tekstynas) (732/0,61)					
Aš (343/0,28)	Tu (38/0,03)	Jis, ji (327/0,27)	Anas, -a (0/0)	Šis, -i (4/0,003)	Tas, -a (22/0,01)
Mudu (276)	Judu (26)	Jiedu (189)	-	Šiedu (4)	Tiedu (12)
Mudviejų (30)	Judviejų (9)	Juodu (102)			Tuodu (10)
Mudviem (20)	Judvi (2)	Jūdviejų (26)			
Mudvi (17)	Judviem (1)	Jiedviem (5)			
		Juodvi (3)			
		Jiedvi (2)			

Lygindami originalios grožinės literatūros tekstynų duomenis matome, kad antrajame, LECOP, tekстыne, dviskaitos dvigubai daugiau (plg., 0,32 ORVELIT tekстыne ir 0,65 LECOP tekстыne) – vėlgi tai tik patvirtina spėjimą, kad žodžių proporcijai įtakos gali turėti tekstynų sandara. Konkrečių įvardžių kategorijų ir atitinkamai lemų pasiskirstymas gana panašus: dominuoja asmeniniai daugiskaitos formos įvardžiai, o parodomųjų įvardžių reta. Dviskaitos vartoseną vertimų tekstynuose, ORVELIT (0,55) ir lygiagrečiajame tekстыne (0,61) gana panaši ir nedaug skiriasi nuo dviskaitos skaičių originalioje literatūroje LECOP tekстыne (0,65). Dviskaitos lemų pasiskirstymo amplitudė LECOP ir lygiagrečiajame tekstynuose, kaip ir ORVELIT atveju, panaši. Kaip ir lyginamajame ORVELIT tekстыne, lygiagrečiuosiuose tekstynuose taip pat matome, kad šalia pagrindinių normos variantų pasitaiko ir šalutinių vartosenos variantų (pvz., *jodvi, juodvi, tuodvi*).

Apibendrinant tokį duomenų lyginimą ir atsakant į pirmą tyrimo klausimą, galima teigti: laikantis unikalių vertimo vienetų hipotezės, dviskaitos vertimuose turėtų būti gerokai mažiau, tačiau net dviejų tekstynų duomenys rodo, kad taip nėra – dviskaitos gali būti daugiau (ORVELIT duomenys) arba panašiai (lygiagrečiųjų tekstynų duomenys) kaip ir originalioje literatūroje; ir originalioje, ir verstoje literatūroje dviskaitos formų įvairovė panaši. Kadangi, kaip teigia universalių vertimo vienetų hipotezė, originalo kalboje vertėjui nėra stimulo parinkti tam tikrą unikalų vienetą, įdomu pasižiūrėti, kokios angliškos gramatinės ir leksinės struktūros verčiamos į lietuvių kalbą dviskaitos formomis.

Dviskaitos vertimas iš anglų į lietuvių kalbą

Siekiant išsiaiškinti, kokie leksiniai ir gramatiniai vienetai iš anglų į lietuvių kalbą verčiami dviskaita, bus remiamasi lygiagrečiojo tekstyno duomenimis. Iš asmeninių įvardžių kategorijos tolesnei analizei pasirinkta po vieną dažniausią formą: *mudu* (276), *judu* (26) ir *jiedu* (189). Manoma, kad šių formų vertimo ypatumai atspindės ir kitų formų vertimo būdus. Pagal originalo kalboje esantį vertimo stimulą vartosenos atvejai suskirstyti į tokias kategorijas (žr. 4 lentelę):

4 lentelė

Leksinės, gramatinės ir sintaksinės angliškos struktūros verčiamos dviskaita

Struktūra	Mudu (276)	Judu (26)	Jiedu (189)
1. Daugiskaitos įvardžiai	<i>We / us</i> (103)	<i>You / yours</i> (12)	<i>They</i> (161)
2. Referentas + įvardis / įvardis + referentas	Vardas / daikt., frazė / įvardis + <i>and I / me / myself</i> ; <i>I and</i> + vardas / daikt., frazė (134)	<i>You and</i> + vardas / įvardis / daikt. (8)	<i>He / she and</i> + vardas (11)
3. Perfrazavimas	(28)	-	(8)
4. Struktūros su anglų kalbos dviskaitos įvardžiais	<i>We both; both of us; both she/he/me and I / name; neither of us</i> (11)	<i>Both of you; you both</i> (2)	<i>Both</i> (6)
5. Struktūros su skaitvardžiu <i>two</i> (liet. <i>du</i>)	<i>The two of us</i> (1)	<i>You two</i> (4)	<i>Two of them; between the two; these two</i> (3)

Iš lygiagrečių konkordansų analizės matyti, kad ypač dažnai dviskaita verčiami pirmojo, antrojo ir trečiojo asmens daugiskaitos įvardžiai *we, you, they* (liet. *mes, jūs, jie*), kai iš konteksto aišku, kad kalbama apie du veikėjus. Toks papildomos informacijos pridėjimas nėra vienintelė vertimo pasirinkimo galimybė – šiuos įvardžius galima būtų versti lietuviškais atitikmenimis, t. y. vertimas dviskaita yra daugiau stilistikos negu gramatikos lemiamas sprendimas. Pavyzdžiui:

- (1) <...> then she took my hand and **we** walked away.
Tada paėmė mane už rankos, ir **mu** išėjome.

Let **us** never see each other again.
– O dabar lik sveikas. **Mudu** niekada nebespasimatysim.

I'd no idea **you** knew him.
<...> – aš nė nepaminau, kad **judu** pažįstami.

Now, Peter, she said, when **they** were calm again, we've got to get action at once.
O dabar, Piteri, – pasakė ji, kai **jiedu** nusiramino, – reikia tuoj pat griebtis <...>

Kita dominuojanti sintaksinė konstrukcija, ypač dažnai verčiama dviskaita – įvairūs vardo / įvardžio / daiktavardinės frazės ir asmeninio įvardžio deriniai:

- (2) What tricks **Theodore and I** used to play on our Miss Wilsons, and Mrs. Greys, and Madame Jouberts!

O, kiek šunybių **muđu** su Teodoru iškrėsdavome mis Wilson <...>

I and Diamelen pushed the canoe afloat.

Nežinau, gal jis buvo nebegyvas. **Mudu** su Dajamelena įstūmėm kanoją į vandenį.

Ernest's father and I sometimes worry about him, she said.

Mudu su Ernesto tėvu labai juo rūpinamės <...>

You and John are not going to live here?

Ar **judu** su Džonu nusipirkote kitus namus?

She and Peter had earned, and they would demand, the sweetest flowers <...>

Jiedu su Piteriu juos pilnai užsitarnavo <...>

Šioje kategorijoje gausu variacijų – dėmenų išdėstymas gali skirtis, tarp jų gali būti įsiterpusi kita informacija (pvz., „Then **the old lady** that was around a hundred years old **and I** shot the breeze for a while / Paskui **muđu** su ta šimtamete senute <...>“), tačiau visais atvejais išlieka jungtukas *and* (liet. *ir*), jungiantis referentą ir kitą įvardijamą asmenį. Į lietuvių kalbą tokie atvejai įprastai verčiami dviskaita ir prielinksniu *su* (pvz., *muđu (su)*, *jiedu (su)*, *judu (su)*).

Perfrazavimu laikėme laisvo vertimo atvejus, kai dėl stilistinių priežasčių nutolta nuo originalaus sakinio sintaksinės, gramatinės ar leksinės raiškos. Tokiais atvejais sunkiau daryti prielaidą, kas originaliame sakinyje galėtų būti dviskaitos vertimo stimulu, ar išžvelgti kokią nors atskirą kategoriją. Tokie sakiniai turi įvardžių arba juose matomi / numanomi du referentai:

- (3) **I** shall keep out of **your** way all day <...>

Mudu nesimatysime visą dieną <...>

I didn't have none, so **he** left.

Tabokos aš neturėjau, ir **muđu** išsiskyrėme.

The evening was just cool enough to make it worth while to pull up the counterpane.

Vakaras buvo gana vėsus, ir **jiedu** turėjo užsikloti antklode.

Atvejų, kurie gali būti laikomi akivaizdžiu dviskaitos vertimo stimulu – kai sakinyje pavartotas įvardis *both* (liet. *abu*), *neither* (liet. *nė vienas*) ar skaitvardis *two* (liet. *du*), nebuvo gausu. Toliau pateikiame kelis pavyzdžius tokių atvejų, kuriuos galima būtų laikyti tikrąja dviskaitos raiška anglų kalboje ir vertimu lietuvišku ekvivalentu:

(4) Yes, sir, **both me and Willum**, she called.

– Taip, sere. Šeimininkė vėl pašaukė **muđu** su Viljamu.

We are **both** punished.

Jūs per daug savimi žavėjotės. **Mudu** abu nubausti.

We did get the thing up at last, **the two of us** together.

Sutelkę jėgas, **muđu** pagaliau iškėlėme burę.

And besides, **neither of us** have any money, Comrade Peter.

Na, o, be to, **muđu** neturime pinigų, draugas Piteri.

When they moved their faces apart again **both of them** sighed deeply.

Kai **jiedu** atšlijo, abu giliai atsiduso.

Taigi, atsakant į antrąjį tyrimo klausimą, tekstyno duomenys rodo, kad ypač dažnai vertėjai renkasi versti asmeninius daugiskaitos įvardžius dviskaita dėl stilistinių priežasčių, kai kalbama apie du veikėjus. Kita ryški tendencija – dviejų referentų paminėjimas su jungtuku *and* (liet. *ir*), tokie atvejai verčiami dviskaitos įvardžio ir prielinksnio *su* junginiais. Dviskaita lietuviškame sakinyje gali atsirasti, nors angliškame akivaizdaus stimulo gali ir nebūti, kai minimi ar numanomi du veikėjai. Galiausiai angliškame sakinyje gali būti vartojama dviskaitos raiška ir ji perteikiama artimiausiu lietuvišku ekvivalentu – dviskaitos įvardžiais. Reikėtų atkreipti dėmesį, kad nežinoma minėtų struktūrų dispersija, t. y. galima tik numanyti, kiek kokių vertimo atvejų pavartota konkrečiame romane, todėl lieka neaišku, ar / kiek dažnesnis dviskaitos pasirinkimas priklauso nuo konkretaus vertėjo ar redaktoriaus.

Dviskaitos vertimas iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą

Šiai vertimo kryptčiai tirti naudosime lygiagrečius dviskaitos vertimo konkordansus iš LECOP tekstyno. Kad duomenys būtų palyginami,

pasiziūrėsime, kaip dviskaitos įvardžiai *muđu* (186), *judu* (8) ir *jiedu* (78) išversti į anglų kalbą; ar anksčiau nustatytos struktūros būdingos originaliai anglų kalbai išlieka ir anglų kalbos vertimuose.

5 lentelė

Dviskaitos vertimas iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą

Struktūra	<i>Mudu</i> (186)	<i>Judu</i> (8)	<i>Jiedu</i> (78)
1. Daugiskaitos įvardžiai	<i>We / us</i> (129)	<i>You</i> (6)	<i>They</i> (40)
2. Referentas + įvardis / įvardis + referentas	Vardas / daikt., frazė / įvardis + <i>and I / me / myself; I and + vardas / daikt., frazė</i> (28)	–	<i>He and + vardas; daikt., frazė</i> (6)
3. Perfrazavimas	(7)	–	(10)
4. Struktūros su anglų kalbos dviskaitos įvardžiais	<i>Both</i> (3)	–	<i>Both</i> (5)
5. Struktūros su skaitvardžiu <i>two</i> (liet. <i>du</i>)	<i>The two of us</i> (22)	<i>You two</i> (2)	<i>Two of them; the two</i> (17)

Iš esmės dominuoja vertimo būdas, kai lietuviški dviskaitos įvardžiai į anglų kalbą verčiami daugiskaitos įvardžiais niekaip nekompensuojant prarastos informacijos, kadangi ji matoma iš aplinkinių sakinių ar numanoma kontekste – aišku, kad kalbama apie du veikėjus. Galima sakyti, kad vertimai atspindi įprastą anglų kalbai vartoseną: verčiant iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą, dviskaita dažniausiai bus perteikiama daugiskaitos įvardžiu:

(5) Vaikštom **muđu** po Gdanską, apžiūrinėjam visas miesto <...>

So **we** walked through Gdansk, touring all the town's landmarks.

– Po daugelio metų **muđu** susitiksime, – šaukė jis <...>
We'll meet many years later, exclaimed he <...>

Pagal jų apskaičiavimus **judu** privalėjote pradėti. Todėl jie labai...

According to their calculations, **you** should have started.

Ir **jiedu** išvažiavo.
So **they** left.

Kur **jiedu** dabar?
Where were **they** now?

Nors kiti dviskaitos vertimo būdai nėra dažni, įdomu tai, kad, verčiant į anglų kalbą, vartojamos tokios pačios struktūros, kurios nustatytos originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose, o kokių nors naujų, neįprastų vertimo variacijų neaptikta. Kadangi duomenų nedaug, be to, negalima pasižiūrėti į jų dispersiją skirtinguose tekstuose, sunku spręsti, kuri iš likusių struktūrų įprastesnė verčiant dviskaitą. Lygindami su vertimais iš anglų kalbos, matome, kad vertimas vardo / įvardžio / daiktavardinės frazės ir asmeninio įvardžio deriniu daug retesnis; galbūt dėl to, kad ir lietuviškame tekste tokių darinių su dviskaitos įvardžiais nėra daug. Kita vertus, ir vertimuose į anglų kalbą, struktūra išlieka tokia pati:

- (6) <...> o **muđu** su pačia eisim pavakarius paruošti.
My wife and I will go and prepare supper.

Sykį **muđu** su Arijumi vaikštinėjome po užmiesčio <...>
 Once **Arius and I went** walking in the meadows outside of the city.

Kol **jiedu** su vaiku prausdavosi kieme, virtuvėj <...>
 As **he and the child** would bathe in the yard <...>

Kartą **jiedu** pasislėpė brūzgynuose netoli lapės olos <...>
He and Kernius had hid in a thicket near a fox's den one night <...>

Pasitaikė perfrazavimo atvejų, kai vertimas per daug nutolęs nuo originalo ir įvardinės raiškos nelieka arba ji kitokia nei originaliame sakinyje (7 pvz.). Kaip ir originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose, verčiant į anglų kalbą, dviskaitos raiškai kompensuoti gali būti naudojamas įvardis *both* (liet. *abu*) (8 pvz.):

- (7) Na, aš važiuoju. Tai **muđu** susitarėm?
 So it's a deal?

- (8) **Muđu** susėdome virtuvėje už stalo.
We both sat down at the kitchen table.

Ji matė **muđu** išeinančius pro šventoriaus vartus <...>
 She saw **us both** exit from the Church courtyard—she saw everything!

Jiedu abu buvo vedę.

At the time of their arrests, **both** men were married.

Dabar **jiedu** abu drebėjo iš baimės.

Now **they both** shook with fear.

Vienas įdomesnių atvejų – vertimas pasitelkus skaitvardį *two* (liet. *du*), kurio nėra lietuviškame tekste, o angliškame tekste jis nėra gramatiškai privalomas – dviskaitą galima būtų versti įprastu anglų kalbai daugiskaitos įvardžiu. Toks vertimo sprendimas rodo vertėjo pasirinkimą perteikti dviskaita koduojamą informaciją. Įdomu tai, kad, lyginant su originaliais angliškais tekstais, tokios raiškos atvejų vertimuose iš lietuvių kalbos pasitaikė daugiau, nors pats tekstynas ir žymiai mažesnis. Žinoma, reikėtų daugiau tyrimų norint išsiaiškinti, ar ši struktūra gali rodyti lietuvių kalbos interferenciją anglų kalbai:

(9) Ir **mu**du ją rasim!

And **the two of us** shall find her!

<...> artyn neprisileido: nereikia, nereikia, **mu**du, pačiu.

<...> wouldn't let anyone near them to help: No, no, just **the two of them**.

– **Ju**du berods broliai?

You two are brothers if I am not mistaken?

Jiedu išgyveno lageryje skaudžią tragediją <...>

These two lived through a tragedy in camp <...>

Jiedu tylom išgėrė po kaušą alaus <...>

The two silently drink a swig of beer <...>

Atsakant į trečiąjį tyrimo klausimą galima teigti, kad angliškuose vertimuose iš lietuvių kalbos struktūros labai panašios kaip ir originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose: lietuviška dviskaita keičiama pirmojo, antrojo ar trečiojo asmens daugiskaitos įvardžiais arba verčiama anglų raiškai būdinga formule referentas + įvardis / įvardis + referentas. Didžiausias skirtumas matyti, kai lietuvių kalbos dviskaita verčiama skaitvardžiu *two* (liet. *du*), taip tarsi bandant kompensuoti prarandamą informaciją apie referentų skaičių – tokia raiška lygiagrečiajame tekстыne tesurado tik labai mažą originalių angliškų pavyzdžių kiekį. Naujų struktūrų nenustatyta, jos tokios pačios kaip ir

originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose, tačiau proporciškai pasiskirsto šiek tiek kitoks. Ar taip yra dėl mažesnės LECOP duomenų imties, ar tai rodo lietuvių kalbos interferenciją angliškuose tekstuose – ne visai aišku ir reikėtų tolesnių tyrimų.

Apibendrinimas

Tyrimu siekėme atsakyti į kelis klausimus: ar dviskaitos kiekis vertimuose skiriasi palyginti su originaliais lietuviškos grožinės literatūros tekstais; kada vartojama dviskaita verčiant iš anglų kalbos, jeigu originalo kalboje akivaizdus stimulo nėra; kuo dviskaita verčiama į anglų kalbą. Buvo spėjama, kad, laikantis unikalių vertimo vienetų hipotezės, dviskaitos, kaip unikalios, lietuvių kalbai būdingos ypatybės, vertimuose turėtų būti mažiau, tačiau, skirtingai nei kitų autorių tyrimuose (pvz., Trikonnen-Kondit 2004, Eskola 2004, etc.), šis spėjimas nepasitvirtino. Vertimuose dviskaitos aptinkama panašiai arba daugiau, bet ne gerokai mažiau; pastebima formų įvairovė kaip ir originalioje lietuviškoje literatūroje. Žinoma, įdomu būtų analizuoti dviskaitos pasiskirstymą ir vertimus skirtinguose žanruose, kalbų porose, palyginti daugiau duomenynų.

Anglų–lietuvių kalbų vertimo duomenys parodė kelias svarbias struktūras, kurios į lietuvių kalbą gali būti verčiamos dviskaita: kai asmeniniai daugiskaitos įvardžiai implikuoja du referentus arba kai vartojamas asmeninio įvardžio ir kito referento junginys su jungtuku *and* (liet. *ir*). Trečia duomenų grupė – vertimai iš lietuvių į anglų kalbą parodė, kad originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose nustatytos struktūros galioja abiem vertimo kryptims: versdami iš lietuvių kalbos, vertėjai keičia dviskaitą angliškais įvardžių daugiskaitos formomis arba naudoja jau anksčiau minėtą formulę įvardis ir referentas / referentas ir įvardis. Norėdami kompensuoti prarandamą informaciją apie referentų skaičių ar jų artumą, vertėjai vartojo skaitvardį *two* (liet. *du*), nurodantį veikėjų skaičių, ir taip išversdavo lietuviškos dviskaitos įvardžiais perteikiamą informaciją. Originaliuose angliškuose tekstuose, skirtingai nuo verstų anglų kalbos tekstų, tokia struktūra nebuvo dažna ar įprasta.

Gali būti, kad ne visos dviskaitos formos buvo rastos lygiagrečiuosiuose tekstynuose, tačiau manoma, kad tokių formų nedaug ir didelės įtakos

rezultatams jos neturėtų. Tyrimą būtų galima praturtinti duomenų dispersijos analize – pasižiūrėti, kiek tam tikrų vertimo struktūrų pasirinkimas priklauso nuo konkretaus vertėjo ar (ir) redaktoriaus. Chronologiškai būtų įdomu pasižiūrėti, ar senesniuose kūriniuose dviskaita dažnesnė palyginti su šiuolaikiniais kūrinių vertimais. Kalbant apie praktinį šio tyrimo aspektą ir svarbą daugiakalbystei, manytina, kad skirtingų kalbų kryptių profesionalių vertimų duomenų tyrimai gali padėti besimokantiems vertėjams pasitikrinti savo sprendimus, vertimo dėstytojams kurti pratimus ar iliustracinę medžiagą, o tyrėjus skatinti sudaryti daugiau tekstynų ir duomenynų, skirtų atvirosios prieigos vertimo studijų tikslams. Straipsnio duomenys taip pat gali būti svarbūs ir lietuviams gimtakalbiams, ir į lietuvių ar iš lietuvių kalbos verčiantiems kitų kalbų specialistams.

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A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF DUAL PRONOUN TRANSLATION

Annotation. This article aims to answer the following questions: what is the distribution of dual pronouns in original and translated Lithuanian fiction texts; what English language patterns are rendered by Lithuanian dual pronouns; and how Lithuanian dual pronouns are translated into English. In line with the unique items hypothesis, it is hypothesized that dual pronouns, as a characteristic feature of the Lithuanian language, should be less frequent in translations, as English texts do not have an obvious translation stimulus. Corpus based methods were used for data extraction and analysis. Firstly, from the morphologically annotated ORVELIT corpus, all occurrences of pronouns in original and translated fiction were identified, and all dual forms were extracted. Parallel concordances of dual pronoun translations were obtained from the Lithuanian-English Corpus of Prose LECOP and the Parallel Corpus (English-Lithuanian translation direction) using the ParaConc software (Barlow, 2009). The most frequent forms of personal pronouns were chosen for further analysis: *mudu*, *judu* and *jiedu*. It has been found that differently from initial prediction, Lithuanian translations have similar or slightly higher numbers of dual pronouns in comparison to original Lithuanian texts. The data from English-to-Lithuanian translations shows several patterns rendered by dual pronouns, for example, when English plural personal pronouns describe two referents or when a combination of a personal pronoun and another referent is used with the conjunction *and*. When translating duals from Lithuanian into English, translators choose English plural forms of pronouns or use the formula 'pronoun + referent/referent + pronoun'. To compensate for the loss of information about the number of referents or their proximity, translators use the number *two*. In original English texts, unlike in translated English texts, this usage was not frequent or common.

Keywords: dual pronouns; Lithuanian language; parallel and comparable corpora; unique items hypothesis.

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