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EDITORIAL

The 25th volume of "Sustainable Multilingualism" enters the world when Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) is celebrating the 35th anniversary of its reestablishment in 1989 – the reestablishment that brought the fresh air in the Lithuanian HE through the Liberal Arts model of US Universities. This makes it a worthy occasion to revisit how the historical pathways of VMU and its present-day life are intertwined with a rich multicultural and multilingual tradition and potential.

The spirit of VMU multilingualism can be traced back to the year 1922, when established as the University of Lithuania in Kaunas, then the temporary capital of the young Lithuanian state, it was the first university where studies started to be delivered through the medium of the Lithuanian language. It was the major hub where the seminal scholars of the Lithuanian language such as Kazimieras Būga, Jonas Jablonskis, Juozas Balčikonis, Balys Sruoga, etc., elaborated and entrenched the Lithuanian academic discourse, coined academic terminology and contributed to deep-rooting the modern Lithuanian identity. At the same time the plurilingual and pluricultural profile of the university community thrived through the contributions of numerous international polymaths such as the Swiss linguist Alfred Senn and philosopher Joseph Ehret who exemplified their true cosmopolitan disposition infused with Lithuanian identity until it all was disrupted by the soviet occupation.

Since its reestablishment after the soviet closure, the openness to the international community and plurilingual aspirations have been cherished at VMU model of Liberal arts. Starting with the strong focus on English as the indispensable *lingua academica* and the philology studies, the university has gradually developed an ecosystem for language learning and pluricultural awareness by offering over 30 languages to all university community and the general public.

Since 2019 attention to multi- and plurilingualism in Europe has gained additional momentum with the introduction of the European University Alliances. This EU initiative and its focus on promoting multilingual campuses has its roots in the President of France Emmanuel Macron's speech of 2017 where the French President among other visionary ideas for the competitiveness of the European Universities reiterated the long-living aim of the European linguistic hygiene, the 2+1 language formula: "I believe we should create European Universities – a network of universities across Europe with programs that have all their students study abroad and take classes in at least two languages"¹.

This rapidly growing initiative currently counts 64 alliances, involving 560 European institutions, which has three times surpassed the French President's initial projection. All of the alliances have to a greater or lesser extent languages in their foreground either as strategic policy goals, study offers or other initiatives. In 2020 VMU together with other 6 partners from Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain created Transform4Europe Alliance², which grew to embrace new partners from Slovenia, France, Portugal and an associated partner Mariupol University from Ukraine in 2023. Its Multilingual Campus Strategy has been agreed among the Alliance partners as a token of appreciation of its rich multilingual and multicultural potential and above all as a strong commitment to its fulfilment. As an example of its practical implementation and a motivational act, a trilingual slow reading essay Practicing Utopia by the Polish practitioner of ideas Krzysztof Czyzewski has been offered to the alliance community and can be of interest to the reader of Sustainable Multilingualism as well.

The 25th volume of Sustainable Multilingualism features three of our traditional sections, namely the issues in Society, Identity and Language Maintenance, the focus on the Multilingual Practices in Language Policy Implementation, and the issues in Language Use and Education in Multilingual and Multicultural Settings.

In the first section, the articles of Gribauskienė and Fliih analyse the maintenance of the heritage languages among the children of the Lithuanian and the Arab diasporas vis-à-vis the major languages of their residence countries such as English, Norwegian or French. The article of Awal

dwells into the preservation of endangered languages by examining the relevant risk factors, socio-cultural effects and complexities. The manifestations and functions of multilingualism in Lithuanian children's folklore are analysed by Anglickienė and Macijauskaitė-Bonda, while the article by Lazer-Pankiv and Korolova brings the societal bilingualism through the use of Latin in the Renaissance period into our attention. The second section features two articles on linguistic landscapes with the one by Váradi, Hires-László, and Máté focusing on a schoolscape of Transcarpathian Hungarian College, and the other one by Mishra analysing the dynamics of shop signs in India. The third section presents the article by López-Medina and Pérez Agustín who look for the solutions in preprimary education in the context of the increasingly linguistically diverse students and students with special educational needs. The two final coauthored articles bring the reader to the Turkish context. Aksakallı et al. analyse doctoral students challenges in writing literature reviews, while Özçelik et al. carry out an investigation into the advantages and issues encountered by Turkish universities in the implementation of EMI studies.

¹ President Macron's speech on new initiative for Europe, posted on 26 September 2017. <https://www.elysee.fr/en/emmanuel-macron/2017/09/26/president-macron-gives-speech-on-new-initiative-for-europe>

² Saarland University, University of Alicante, Estonian Academy of Arts, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, University of Primorska, University of Trieste, Jean Monnet University, University of Silesia in Katowice, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", Vytautas Magnus University, Mariupol State University . More on Transform4Europe Alliance: <https://transform4europe.eu/>

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REDAKTORIAUS ŽODIS

„Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ 25-asis numeris pasirodo Vytauto Didžiojo universitetui (VDU) švenčiant 35-ąsias savo atkūrimo metines – atkūrimo, kuris 1989 m. į Lietuvos aukštąjį mokslą įnešė gaivaus oro su JAV universitetų liberaliųjų menų modeliu. Todėl verta dar kartą pažvelgti, kaip VDU istoriniai keliai ir dabartinis gyvenimas susipina su turtinga daugiakultūre ir daugiakalbe tradicija bei potencialu.

VDU daugiakalbystės dvasią galima atsekti nuo 1922 m., kada Kaune, tuometėje laikinojoje jaunos Lietuvos valstybės sostinėje, įkurtas Lietuvos universitetas. Pirmasis universitetas, kuriame studijos pradėtos vykdyti lietuvių kalba! Tai buvo pagrindinis centras, kuriame tokie iškilūs lietuvių kalbos tyrinėtojai kaip Kazimieras Būga, Jonas Jablonskis, Juozas Balčikonis, Balys Sruoga ir kiti kūrė ir įtvirtino lietuvių kalbos akademinį diskursą, kūrė akademinę terminiją ir prisidėjo prie moderniosios lietuvių kalbos iššaknijimo. Tuo pat metu klestėjo universiteto bendruomenės daugiakalbystė ir daugiakultūriškumas, nes prie to prisidėjo daugybė tarptautinio masto eruditų, pavyzdžiui, šveicarų kalbininkas Alfredas Sennas ir filosofas Juozapas Ehretas. Jie rodė tikrąjį kosmopolitinį polėkį, persmelktą lietuviškosios tapatybės, kol šio proceso nenutraukė sovietinė okupacija.

VDU laisvųjų menų modelyje visą laiką puoselėjami atvirumas tarptautinei bendruomenei ir daugiakalbystės siekiai. Pradėjus nuo didelio dėmesio anglų kalbai kaip nepakeičiamajai *lingua academica* ir filologijos studijoms, universitete palapsniui sukurta kalbų mokymosi ir daugiakultūriškumo suvokimo ekosistema. Dabar visai universiteto bendruomenei ir plačiajai visuomenei siūloma rinktis mokytis daugiau nei iš 30 kalbų.

Nuo 2019 m. dėmesys visuotinei ir individualiai daugiakalbystei (angl. *multi-* ir *pluri-lingualism*) Europoje įgavo papildomą pagreitį pradėjus

veikti Europos universitetų aljansams. Šios ES iniciatyvos ir jos dėmesio daugiakalbių universitetų skatinimui šaknys glūdi 2017 m. Prancūzijos prezidento Emmanuelio Macrono kalboje, kurioje jis, be kitų vizionieriškų idėjų dėl Europos universitetų konkurencingumo, pakartojo ilgai gyvavusį Europos kalbų higienos tikslą – 2+1 kalbos formulę: „Manau, kad turėtume sukurti Europos universitetus – universitetų tinklą visoje Europoje su programomis, pagal kurias visi jų studentai studijuotų užsienyje ir mokytųsi bent dviejų kalbų.“¹

Ši sparčiai auganti iniciatyva šiuo metu apima 64 aljansus, kuriuose dalyvauja 560 Europos institucijų – ir tai tris kartus viršija pradinį Prancūzijos prezidento planą. Visuose aljansuose kalbos daugiau ar mažiau svarbios kaip strateginiai politikos tikslai, studijų pasiūlymai ar kitos iniciatyvos. 2020 m. VDU kartu su kitais 6 partneriais iš Bulgarijos, Estijos, Vokietijos, Italijos, Lenkijos ir Ispanijos sukūrė aljansą „Transform4Europe“², kuris 2023 m. pasipildė naujais partneriais iš Slovėnijos, Prancūzijos, Portugalijos ir asocijuotu partneriu Mariupolio universitetu iš Ukrainos. Aljanso partneriai susitarė dėl aljanso Daugiakalbio miestelio strategijos (angl. *Multilingual Campus Strategy*), taip įvertinę turtingą daugiakalbį ir daugiakultūrį potencialą ir, svarbiausia, tvirtai įsipareigoję šią strategiją įgyvendinti. Kaip praktinio įgyvendinimo pavyzdys ir motyvacinis veiksmas Aljanso bendruomenei buvo pasiūlyta lenkų idėjų praktiko Krzysztofo Czyzewskio trikalbė lėtojo skaitymo esė „Praktikuojant utopiją“ (*Practicing Utopia*), kuri gali būti įdomi ir „Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ skaitytojams.

25-ajame „Darniosios daugiakalbystės“ numeryje straipsniai pateikti trijuose tradiciniuose skyriuose: „Visuomenė, tapatybė ir kalbos priežiūra“, „Daugiakalbystės praktika įgyvendinant kalbos politiką“ ir „Kalbos vartojimas ir mokymas(is) daugiakalbėse ir daugiakultūre aplinkose“.

Pirmajame skyriuje Gribauskienės ir Fliho straipsniuose analizuojamas lietuvių ir arabų diasporos vaikų paveldo kalbų išlaikymas pagrindinių jų gyvenamųjų šalių kalbų, tokių kaip anglų, norvegų ar prancūzų, kontekste. Awal straipsnyje gilinamasi į nykstančių kalbų išsaugojimą bei nagrinėjami atitinkami rizikos veiksniai, sociokultūrinis poveikis ir sudėtingumas. Daugiakalbystės apraiškas ir funkcijas lietuvių vaikų folklore analizuoja Anglickienė ir Macijauskaitė-Bonda, o Lazer-Pankiv ir Korolovos straipsnyje

atkreipiamas dėmesys į visuomeninę dvikalbystę vartojant lotynų kalbą Renesanso laikotarpiu. Antrajame skyriuje pateikti du straipsniai apie kalbinius kraštovaizdžius: Váradi, Hires-László, and Máté nagrinėja Užkarpatės vengrų kolegijos mokyklos kalbinį kraštovaizdį, o Mishra analizuoja parduotuvių ženklų dinamiką Indijoje. Trečiajame skyriuje López-Medina ir Pérez Agustín straipsnyje ieškoma sprendimų, kaip atsižvelgti į vis augančią kalbinę mokinių įvairovę ir specialiųjų ugdymosi poreikių turinčius mokinius dirbant ikimokyklinėse klasėse. Paskutiniai du bendraautorių straipsniai skaitytoją supažindina su Turkijos kontekstu. Aksakalli su kolegomis analizuoja doktorantų iššūkius rašant literatūros apžvalgas, o Özçelik su kolegomis pristato Turkijos universitetų privalumų ir problemų, su kuriomis jie susiduria įgyvendinant EMI studijas, tyrimą.

¹ Prezidento E. Macrono kalba apie naują iniciatyvą Europai, paskelbta 2017 m. rugsėjo 26 d. <https://www.elysee.fr/en/emmanuel-macron/2017/09/26/president-macron-gives-speech-on-new-initiative-for-europe>

² Saarlando universitetas, Alikantės universitetas, Estijos menų akademija, Portugalijos katalikų universitetas, Primorsko universitetas, Triesto universitetas, Žano Monė universitetas, Silezijos universitetas Katovicuose, Sofijos universitetas „Šv. Klimentas Ohridskis“, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Mariupolio valstybinis universitetas. Daugiau apie aljansą „Transform4Europe“: <https://transform4europe.eu/>

**SOCIETY. IDENTITY.
LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE**

**VISUOMENĖ. TAPATYBĖ.
KALBOS IŠLAIKYMAS**



Skirmantė Gribauskienė

Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva

MIGRANTIŠKOJI TAPATYBĖ: LIETUVIŠKUMO RAIŠKA IŠEIVIJOJE, KALBINĖS NUOSTATOS IR KALBŲ POLITIKA

Santrauka. Etniškumo, kalbinio tapatumo, paveldėtosios kalbos perdavimo temos tebeišlieka svarbios šiuolaikiniame globalėjančiame pasaulyje. Šio darbo tikslas – aparti kolektyvinės lietuviškosios kalbinės, etninės tapatybės formavimosi tendencijas bei lietuviškumo išsaugojimo praktikas diasporoje. Straipsnyje plačiau analizuojamos Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuvių diasporos ir jose gyvenančių lietuvių emigrantų kalbinės nuostatos, kalbos ir kultūros perdavimo jaunajai kartai niuansai bei kiti diasporos bendruomenei aktualūs veiksniai. Šiam tyrimui sukurta speciali sociolingvistinė anketa. Iš viso apklausoje dalyvavo 74 respondentai, penkerius ir daugiau metų gyvenantys Airijoje (n=18) ir Norvegijoje (n=56) bei auginantys 4–17 metų vaikus. Anketų duomenys iliustruoti pavyzdžiais iš pusiau struktūruotų interviu su penkiais Airijoje ir Norvegijoje gyvenančiais lietuviais. Pirmieji tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė, kokios lietuviškumo ir lietuvių kalbos išlaikymo praktikos būdingos Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuviams. Visi apklaustieji teigė, kad jiems svarbu perduoti ir išsaugoti lietuviškumą. Abiejų šalių emigrantai aktyviai palaiko ryšį su kilmės šalimi, dažnai lankosi Lietuvoje, domisi aktualijomis. Beveik pusė apklaustųjų teigė, kad jų vaikai (kartu su tėvais ar be tėvų) bent kartą per metus lankosi Lietuvoje; daugiau nei trečdalis respondentų vaikai Lietuvoje lankosi du kartus per metus ir dažniau. Didžioji dalis apklaustųjų leidžia savo vaikus į lituanistinio ugdymo mokyklas. Vis dėlto, jaunosios kartos lietuviams būdingi saviti kalbų vartojimo, vertinimo ir saviidentifikacijos procesai. Tiek Airijoje, tiek Norvegijoje išryškėjo stipri anglų kalbos įtaka. Airijoje jaunoji karta, skirtingai nei jų tėvai, mažiau linkusi tapatintis su lietuvių kalba, jų antrosios (anglų) kalbos įgūdžiai geresni, ji dažniau vartojama. Norvegijoje stebimos daugiakalbystės tendencijos: čia gyvenantys lietuvių vaikai kasdien aktyviai vartoja daugiau nei dvi kalbas. Apibendrinant, šis apžvalginis tyrimas pateikė įdomių išvalgų apie Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuvių kalbines praktikas, saviidentifikacijos procesus, lietuviškumo suvokimą ir puoselėjimą, taip pat išryškino pirmosios ir antrosios emigrantų kartų skirtumus. Tyrimo rezultatai įsilieja į platų diasporos tyrimų lauką ir pateikia įdomių išvalgų būsimoms sociologijos, sociolingvistikos, psichologijos srities studijoms.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: diaspora; lituanistinis ugdymas; kalbinė tapatybė; migracija; paveldėtoji kalba.

Įvadas

Tarptautinė migracija, itin suaktyvėjusi XX a. pabaigoje, yra neatsiejama modernios visuomenės dalis. Vykstant aktyviems globalizacijos, migracijos procesams, augant žmonių judumui, nuolat plečiantis socialiniams tinklams, formuojasi daugiakalbės ir daugiakultūrės bendruomenės. Skirtingų

mokslo krypčių specialistai analizuoja šių (ir kitų) grupių socialinius, psichologinius saviidentifikacijos procesus, tyrinėja įvairias identiteto¹ raiškos formas, rūšis, diskutuoja apie individo saviidentifikaciją ir kultūrinę savivoką (Vignoles et al., 2011). Moksliniuose tyrimuose analizuojama, kokios gali būti migracijos patirtį turinčio individo integracijos strategijos, santykis su kilmės šalimi, savo etnine grupe bei emigracijos šalies kultūra, kalba, visuomenės normomis ir t. t.

Įprastai mokslinėje literatūroje skiriami du identiteto tipai: asmeninis ir kolektyvinis (socialinis) (Castells, 2006). Viena vertus, identitetas yra tai, kas unikalų kiekvienam individui, t. y., kas išskiria jį iš kitų. Kita vertus, identitetas apibrėžia individo ryšį su tam tikra bendruomene, grupe, atskleidžia žmogaus panašumą su kitais. Asmeninės patirtys, vertybės ir istorija kartu su socialinėmis patirtimis, vertybėmis, kuriomis dalijamasi su tam tikromis socialinėmis, etninėmis, biologinėmis, kultūrinėmis grupėmis, formuoja individo savęs suvokimą per ryšį su kitais (Buckingham, 2008, p. 1). Iš esmės, kolektyvinis identitetas nusako asmens tapatinimąsi su tam tikromis kolektyvinėmis mąstysenos ir elgsenos formomis.

Noras priklausyti tam tikroms grupėms, tapti visaverčiu jų nariu bei jose realizuoti save yra užkodotas žmogaus psichologijoje. Kolektyvinės tapatybės kuriamos, palaikomos ir formuojamos per tikėjimą bendrais protėviais, bendra istorija ir naratyvais, tai pat per bendrą kolektyvinę sąmonę, nuostatas ir solidarumą (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Tai, kokioms socialinėms grupėms save priskirs ar kokių grupių nariu jausis individas, veikia socializacija šeimoje (auklėjimas, diegiamos vertybės), socialinis ratas arba socialiniai tinklai (tėvai, bendruomenės nariai, draugai, mokymosi ir darbo aplinka), valstybės, kurioje gyvenama, politika. Kitaip tariant, visa tai, kas neva yra įgimtas ar paveldėtas socialinis bei kultūrinis paveldas, iš tikrųjų yra suformuota individo santykio su kitais (siauresne bendruomene, plačiąja visuomene, šeima) (Lee, 1998, p. 4).

Šio straipsnio tikslas – pasitelkus sociolingvistinės anketos ir pusiau struktūruoto interviu duomenis, aparti kolektyvinio identiteto formavimosi migracijoje reiškinį išanalizavus Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuvių diasporą, jos

¹ Šiame straipsnyje identiteto ir tapatybės terminai vartojami sinonimiškai.

lietuviškąjį identitetą, lietuviškumo išsaugojimo praktikas, plačiau apžvelgus saviidentifikacijos procesus per lietuvių kalbos vartojimą ir jos išsaugojimą. Nauji išsamūs lietuvių diasporos tyrimai šiose šalyse yra aktualūs, nes situacija nuolat kinta – dalis emigrantų asimiliuoja, dalis išlaiko ir propaguoja lietuviškumą, kiti priskirtini transmigrantų grupei, aktyviai dalyvaujančiai tiek Lietuvos, tiek emigracijos šalies gyvenime. Vis dažniau stebimi re-emigracijos atvejai, kai emigravę lietuviai pasirenka grįžti į tėvynę. Svarbu paminėti, kad svetur auga ir formuojasi nauja, jau antroji (K2) emigrantų karta (pirmoji gimusi emigracijos šalyje), kuriai būdingos savitos saviidentifikacijos tendencijos, „tėvynės“ suvokimas, hibridinis etninis, kultūrinis ir kalbinis identitetai, kalbinės nuostatos bei praktikos.

Migracija ir migrantiškasis (diasporinis) identitetas

Galima teigti, kad homogeniškos visuomenės šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje neegzistuoja – visuomenė yra daugiakultūrė, daugiasluoksnė (Kamada, 2009). Plačiąja prasme, migracijos reiškinys gali būti apibūdinamas kaip žmonių judėjimas iš vienos teritorijos į kitą. Esama įvairių migracijos tipų ir formų bei jų klasifikacijų: pagal išvykimo trukmę, kryptį, migracijos tikslą, priežastis ir t. t. Migracijos reiškinys yra kompleksiškas, todėl esama įvairių jį aiškinančių prieigų bei teorijų (pvz.: *pasaulio sistemų teorija, akumuliacinio priežastingumo teorija, migracijos tinklo teorija* ir kt. (žr. Žibas, 2011), nagrinėjančių ekonominius, socialinius, psichologinius migracijos veiksmus, migracijos tęstinumą, integracijos aspektus ir kt. Migracijos samprata nuolat kinta, taigi į migracijos reiškinį derėtų žvelgti kompleksškai ir vertinti jį kaip tęstinį socialinį reiškinį. Migracija galėtų būti suvokiama kaip ekonominių bei individualių migracijos motyvų ir integracijos procesų (postimigracinės situacijos) sąveika. Analizuojant šiuolaikinės migracijos procesus ir jų priežastis, galima išskirti tris pagrindinius aspektus – *makroanalizės, mezoanalizės ir mikroanalizės* (Faist, 2000, p. 31). *Makroanalizės* aspektais laikytinos politinės, kultūrinės, ekonominės, demografinės migracijos aplinkybės, *mikroanalizės* – individualios vertybės bei asmeniniai siekiai, o *mezoanalizės* aspektais laikomi socialiniai ryšiai (tinklai), sudaryti iš migrantų šeimų, giminių, draugų. Kaip teigia migracijos teorijų modelius aptaręs Žibas

(2011, p. 17), kiekvienas iš šių analizės lygmenų yra vienodai svarbus: imigracijos politikos, integracijos priemonių, makroekonominių migracijos veiksnių, migracijos motyvų ir socialinių ryšių formų tarp migrantų sąveika skatina internacionalinės migracijos procesus bei konstruoja naujus migracijos modelius.

Šiuolaikinės migracijos procesai apima ne tik fizinį judėjimą iš vienos vietos į kitą: migracijos reiškinys yra glaudžiai susijęs su (pastaruoju metu – vis didėjančiu) socialinių santykių internalizavimu arba skirtingų požiūrių, vertybių integravimu į savo tapatybę. Būtent taip formuojasi daugialypės tapatybės, jungiančios savyje skirtingas kultūras, vertybes, gyvensenos normas ir t. t. Ima rasti ir *kosmopolitiškas* tapatybės tipas, atsiribojantis nuo tautiškumo ir nesivaržantis įteritorinimo saitais (Wagner, 2016).

Migrantiškojo identiteto sąvoka dažnai keičiama diasporinio identiteto terminu, kadangi ne visi diasporai priklausantys nariai yra patyrę fizinę migraciją (antrosios, trečiosios ir vėlesnių kartų migrantai). Diasporinės tapatybės formuojasi per tam tikrą ryšio su kilmės šalimi, protėvių istorijos ir gyvenamosios šalies realijų sąveiką (Hall, 1990). Diasporos sąvoka yra viena pagrindinių analizuojant tarptautinės migracijos formuojamus hibridinius, daugiasluoksnius identitetus (Čiubrinskas, 2008). Diasporinio identiteto sąvoka yra glaudžiai susijusi su transnacionalizmu, apibūdinamu kaip tam tikru, migracijos suformuotu, ryšių tinklu, jungiančiu ne tik kelių valstybių piliečius, bet ir pačias valstybes (jų migracijos politiką, įvairias institucijas) (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Liubinienė, 2009). Transnacionalizmas glaudžiai siejasi su transmigracijos ir transmigranto sąvokomis. Transmigrantas – individas, kuris palaiko ryšį daugiau nei su viena valstybe ir dalyvauja kelių šalių gyvenime (Glick-Schiller, 2005). Transnacionaliniai migrantai geba susikurti gyvenimą naujoje šalyje, kartu suformuodami savitas socialines, politines, kultūrinės erdves. Tiriant transnacionalizmą ir diasporas, svarbus ir „išvietinimo“ reiškinys: transmigrantai, peržengdami tradicines valstybių sienas, dalyvaudami kelių šalių politiniame, kultūriniame gyvenime, iš esmės keičia suvokimą apie erdvę ir meta iššūkį griežtam nacionaliniam teritoriškumui (Basch et al., 1994). Kitaip tariant, nepaisydami migracijos ar ilgalaikio gyvenimo užsienyje, šių dienų migrantai geba sėkmingai prisitaikyti naujose bendruomenėse, o kartu aktyviai dalyvauti savo etninės grupės gyvenime,

puoselėti gimtąją kalbą, kultūrą, tradicijas. Taigi formuojasi unikalios etninės, kalbinės, kultūrinės transmigrantų tapatybės.

Etninė tapatybė

Etninė tapatybė sietina su tam tikromis prigimtinėmis, istoriškai suformuotomis pamatinėmis vertybėmis, kurios perduodamos iš kartos į kartą. Esminiais etninės tapatybės požymiais gali būti laikoma istorinė teritorija (tėvynė), bendra istorinė atmintis, bendra kultūra, kalba, bendrosios grupės narių pareigos bei teisės (Smith, 1991). Anot Gellner (1996), priklausymas tam tikrai etninei grupei nėra nulemtas biologiškai ar genetiškai, tai, veikiau, socialinis konstruktas, kai individas save priskiria tam tikrai grupei bei save suvokia kaip jos narį, laikosi šiai grupei būdingų kultūrinių praktikų ir pan.

Įdomu, kad, nepaisant besiplečiančių socialinių tinklų ir besiformuojančių postmodernių visuomenių, „dauguma šiandieninių vėlyvos modernybės tautinių (nacionalinių) valstybių gyventojų identifikuoja save su savo tautiškumu, kaip dauguma Lietuvos gyventojų su lietuviškumu, t. y., etniškai ir (arba) nacionaliai save priskiria lietuviams. Vadinasi, „jaučiame tam tikrą kolektyvinę priklausomybę, kurią pripažindami atskiri individai *tampa* arba tiesiog *yra* lietuviai“ (Čiubrinskas, 2008, p. 13). Norvilo (2012) teigimu, lietuvių tapatybė emigracijoje susideda iš išorinių (kilmė, kalba, gyvenimo būdas) ir vidinių bruožų (lietuvių tautybės, kaip vertybės, suvokimas, artumas kitiems lietuviams, bendruomeniškumas, bendri tikslai). Tyrimai rodo, kad lietuviškasis etniškumas pačių lietuvių dažniausiai suvokiamas per tam tikrus fundamentalius konstruktus, kaip bendra kalba, kraujas, šaknys, prigimtis. Svarbiausiais lietuviškumo bruožais laikoma lietuvių kalba, lietuviškos šaknys, katalikybė, emocinis ryšys su Lietuva, patriotizmas (Kuznecovienė, 2008). Meilė savo tėvynei, domėjimasis jos aktualijomis, nostalgija, kultūrinio paveldo, kalbos išlaikymas ir perdavimas, taip pat ir lietuviškojo etniškumo praktikavimas *tampa* esminiais lietuviškumo elementais emigravusiems lietuviams (Čiubrinskas, 2008; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2015; Ramonienė, 2019).

Taigi net kosmopolitiškame ir globaliame pasaulyje etniškumo temos išlieka aktualios. Vis dėlto, tiriant lietuviškumo raišką, nereikėtų pamiršti etninės saviidentifikacijos problematiškumo. Dauguma šių laikų mokslininkų,

vertindami globalizacijos, transmigracijos, transnacionalizmo, europeizacijos tendencijas, traktuoja etninę identitetą kaip procesą, o ne pastovią, nekintančią būseną, tad etninė, kalbinė saviidentifikacija gali kisti priklausomai nuo įvairių aplinkybių.

Kalbinė tapatybė, kalbinės nuostatos ir kalbų politika

Kalbinės tapatybės formavimasis bei raida yra svarbios temos tiek migracijos, tiek tapatybės, tiek sociolingvistiniuose tyrimuose. Ne viena dešimtmetį analizuojamos įvairių amžiaus grupių, socialinių bei etninių grupių tapatybės raiška ir jos sąsajos su kalba, nagrinėjamos daugiakalbystės, kalbos pasikeitimo, kalbos politikos ir planavimo, lingvistinės ir etninės tapatybės temos.

Žvelgiant iš sociolingvistinės perspektyvos, kalba gali būti apibrėžiama kaip „tai, kaip šnekasi tam tikros bendruomenės nariai“ (Wardhough, 2006, p. 1). Kalba ir bendruomenė yra neatskiriamos viena nuo kitos. Kaip savo darbe teigė Pavlenko ir Blackledge (2004), kalba gali būti ne tik tapatybės dalis ar faktorius, bet ir galios, rezistencijos, solidarumo, diskriminacijos priemonė, politinių organizacijų įrankis ir pan. Norvilas (2012) akcentavo, kad kalba nėra tik žodžių ryšiai ar komunikacijos priemonė: kalba išreiškia gyvenimą, apimdama žmonių interesus, lūkesčius ir jausmus. Kalbinis tapatumas yra kalbos ir individo ir (arba) bendruomenės sankirtos rezultatas.

Identifikavimasis su tam tikra kalba, jos vartojimas, perdavimas jaunesniajai kartai, diasporoje tampa svarbia kolektyvinio identiteto dalimi. Remiantis teorinėmis išvalgomis ir ankstesnių tyrimų empiriniais duomenimis (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2014, 2015; Hilbig, 2019; Ramonienė, 2019), galima teigti, kad kalba yra vienas svarbiausių individo tapatybės bruožų, tapatybės „vardiklis“ ir tik vartodami gimtąją protėvių kalbą mes tampame lietuviais (Balčius, 2005). Kaip pabrėžia Norvilas (2013, p. 51), „tarp užsienio lietuvių gimtosios kalbos vartojimas įgauna labai ryškų sąmoningumo pobūdį“.

Sociologiniai ir sociolingvistiniai tyrimai rodo, kad kalbinės nuostatos ir kalbos vartotojų požiūris į save bei kitus tiesiogiai veikia etninės tapatybės formavimąsi (Lytra, 2016, p. 134). Šios nuostatos „gali nuspėti socialinės grupės lingvistinį elgesį: kalbos pasirinkimą daugiakalbėje bendruomenėje,

lojalumą tam tikrai kalbai, kalbos prestižą (Obiols, 2002, p. 1). Brazauskienė (2013, p. 175) teigia, kad kalbinės nuostatos grindžiamos tuo, „kokią kalbą etninių bendruomenių nariai laiko savo gimtąja, ar moka lietuvių kalbą, kokių kalbų moka ir vartoja privačiojoje ir viešojoje erdvėje, kaip vertina kalbas ir kokių kalbų mokosi“. Kalbinės nuostatos ir individo tapatinimasi su tam tikra kalba(-omis) lemia tam tikri vidiniai ir išoriniai faktoriai, kurie gali būti tiriami iš įvairių perspektyvų, pavyzdžiui, analizuojant makro- ir mikrolygio procesus. Makrolygiui priskiriama valstybė, jos institucijos ir visuomenė bei jų įtaka individo gyvenimui, o mikrolygiui priklauso tik individas arba mikrobendruomenė (šeima) (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013, p. 4).

Valstybės(-ių) kalbos politika formuoja požiūrį į tam tikrą kalbą ar kalbas ir yra svarbus aspektas migruojančio ar migravusio individo savivokai. Politiniai sprendimai daro didelę įtaką nuostatoms, kalbų vartosenai, paveikia požiūrį į etniškumą, pilietiškumą. Veikiant valstybės kalbų politikai, migrantai, diasporos nariai patiria institucinio-normatyvinio identiteto formavimąsi (Čiubrinskas, 2008, p. 4). Tokį institucinį identitetą diegia įvairios dominuojančios šalies institucijos (Castells, 2006). Politiniai sprendimai bei įstatymai, susiję su šalies etninių ir kitų mažumų apsauga, laisve ir lygybe, yra svarbūs veiksniai nagrinėjant tapatybės temą. Vienos valstybės tiesiogiai ar netiesiogiai siekia etninių mažumų asimiliacijos, daugumos kalbos ir kultūros dominavimo, kitos šalys stengiasi harmoningai suderinti daugumos ir mažumų interesus, sukurti lygias teises užtikrinančią daugiakultūrę aplinką. Įdomu, kad atsižvelgiant į transnacionalizmo tendencijas, transmigrantų gyvenimo būdą, vis daugiau svarbos ir galios įgauna kilmės valstybės migracijos, integracijos ir kalbų politika. Daugybė modernių valstybių stengiasi sukurti palankias sąlygas migrantams lengviau judėti tarp valstybių, dalyvauti abiejų (kelių) šalių politiniame, kultūriniame gyvenime, imamasi priemonių užtikrinti re-emigracijos galimybes, mokytis paveldėtosios kalbos, gauti dvigubą pilietybę, skiriamas finansavimas įvairioms užsienyje veikiančioms organizacijoms.

Kelis dešimtmečius sparčiai didėjant lietuvių migracijai, Lietuvos valdžios institucijos taip pat siekia „stiprinti galimybes užsienyje gyvenantiems lietuviams išlaikyti lietuvių tautinį tapatumą“; „skatinti užsienio lietuvių įsitraukimą ir jų indėlį į Lietuvos politinį, ekonominį, mokslo, kultūros ir sporto

gyvenimą“; „teikti pagalbą dėl nepakankamo imigrantų teisių užtikrinimo užsienyje nukentėjusiems Lietuvos piliečiams ir lietuvių kilmės asmenims“ (Demografijos, migracijos ir integracijos politikos 2018–2030 m. strategijos santrauka iš e-seimas.lrs.lt). Štai Lietuvoje priimta *Demografijos, migracijos ir integracijos politikos 2018–2030 m. strategija* aiškiai, kaip vieną pagrindinių uždavinių, numato veiksmingos diasporos politikos vykdymą. Daug dėmesio strategijoje skiriama ir lituanistinėms mokykloms, kurios emigracijoje yra pagrindinis traukos centras lietuviams, siekiantiems išsaugoti lietuviškumą ir perduoti jį ateities kartoms (Kripienė, 2011). Tokios mokyklos jau daugiau nei šimtmetį visame pasaulyje padeda suburti lietuviškas bendruomenes, perduoti ir saugoti lietuvių kalbą bei kultūrą. Lituanistinės mokyklos prisideda prie kalbinių nuostatų, mikro- ir makrolygio kalbų politikos formavimosi bei iki šių dienų išlieka itin svarbiomis institucijomis, per kurias palaikomi tiek migrantų bendruomenių ryšiai, tiek santykiai su Lietuvos institucijomis, visuomene, mokslininkais ir kt. Veiksmingai bendradarbiaujant įvairioms skirtingų valstybių institucijoms, užtikrinama migrantų teisė išlaikyti paveldėtąją kalbą, kultūrą, socialinius ryšius su kilmės valstybėje gyvenančiais artimaisiais, perduoti paveldą ateities kartoms, taip skatinama ir sėkminga integracija.

Mikrobendruomenės (šėimos) požiūris į etniškumą, etninę tapatybę, kalbų vartoseną, susitarimai dėl kalbų vartojimo taip pat veikia ne tik individo kalbų vartojimo įpročius, bet ir savęs suvokimą (turint omenyje tai, kad kalba yra vienas esminių etninės tapatybės komponentų). Svarbiausi šėimos kalbų politikos kūrėjai yra tėvai. Būtent jų pasirinkimai lemia, kokios kalbos bus vartojamos namuose, kokias kalbas įsisavins ir mokysis jų vaikai (Spolsky, 2007). Visame pasaulyje atlikta nemažai tyrimų, siekusių užfiksuoti, kaip skiriasi šėimos kalbų politikos principai skirtingose šėimose, kaip tėvų kalbos pasirinkimai veikia jaunąją kartą bei visos etninės grupės gyvavimą. Štai gana griežtos šėimos kalbų politikos atvejis jau daugybę metų stebimas JAV, Australijos lietuvių bendruomenėse. Šiose diasporose lietuvių kalba suvokiama kaip itin svarbus lietuviškosios tapatybės elementas, yra perduodama iš kartos į kartą, kalbos išlaikymas yra „nepajudinama vertybė ir tėvų įdiegta pareiga“ (Ramonienė, 2019, p. 246). Dauguma pirmosios emigracijos lietuvių ir jų palikuonių iki šių dienų laikosi nuomonės, kad lietuvis ir lietuvių kilmės asmuo privalo išmokyti savo atžalas lietuviškai. Ankstesnių kartų tyrimai (ypač JAV)

atskleidė labai aiškias neigiamas nuostatas apie „nutautėjusius“ lietuvius, nepriklausančius bendruomenei (Čiubrinskas, 2004; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2015). Nutautėjusiu lietuviu laikomas lietuvių kalbos nevartojantis, pilietybės atsisakęs, nelietuviškai vaikus auklėjantis tautietis, taip pat nepagarbiai kalbantis apie Lietuvą bei abejingas įvykiams Lietuvoje (Kuznecovienė, 2008). Tie, kurie sąmoningai vengia mokyti vaikus lietuviškai, laikomi nutautėjusiais ir net gali prarasti bendruomenės narių pagarbą (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2014, 2015; Ramonienė, 2019).

Svarbus aspektas ir kelionės į kilmės valstybę. Ankstesniuose diasporos tyrimuose antrosios kartos (jau gimę emigracijoje) atstovai teigė, kad fizinės kelionės į Lietuvą vaikystėje, paauglystėje ar net suaugus paskatino išsaugoti lietuviškąjį identitetą, sukūrė aiškesnį Lietuvos paveikslą, paskatino daugiau domėtis paveldėtąja lietuvių kalba ir kultūra, kalbėti lietuviškai (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2015; Hilbig, 2019). Kiti tyrimai taip pat rodo, kad viešnagės savo, tėvų ir (ar) senelių kilmės šalyse vaikams padeda visokeriopai: tiek gerinti paveldėtosios kalbos įgūdžius, tiek formuoti teigiamas kalbines nuostatas apie paveldėtąją kalbą – susidūrus su paveldėtąja kaip dominuojančia visuomenės kalba, ji imama vertinti kaip prestižiškesnė, reikalingesnė (Bourgogne, 2013). Galima teigti, kad kalbinė tapatybė, kalbos perdavimas bei išlaikymas yra tiesiogiai susiję su požiūriu į kilmės šalį, migracijos priežastimis, saitais su etnine grupe, įsitraukimu į diasporos bendruomenę ir t. t.

Tyrimo metodai ir dalyviai

Šiame tyrime buvo taikyta kiekybinė sociolingvistinė apklausa, vykdyta 2023–2024 metais. Kiekybiniai sociolingvistinės apklausos rezultatai papildyti pavyzdžiais iš atvirųjų klausimų ir ištraukomis iš 5 nestruktūruotų pokalbių su lietuvių šeimomis. Ši apklausa yra platesnio tyrimo, analizuojančio emigrantų vaikų lietuvių paveldėtosios kalbos įsisavinimą, raidą ir (ne)išlaikymą diasporoje, dalis. Tyrimui pasirinktos dvi valstybės, turinčios gausias lietuvių bendruomenes – Airija (Kavano, Monahano, Mulingaro, Trimo miestai) ir Norvegija (Sandefjordo ir Lilehamerio miestai). Šiose valstybėse įsikūrę lietuviai priklauso naujausiai emigracijos bangai, daugiausia jų – ekonominiai

migrantai. Paminėtina, kad šis tyrimas orientuotas į antrosios kartos (K2) emigrantus (vaikus), jau gimusius emigracijos šalyse. Lietuvių diasporos sociolingvistinės savybės ir kontekstas nagrinėtas anksčiau (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, 2014, 2015; Blažienė, 2016; Hilbig, 2019; Ramonienė, 2013, 2019; Andzijauskienė, 2020; ir kiti), tačiau dėl nuolat kintančių sociolingvistinių kontekstų reikalingi nauji įvairių tipų ir formų tyrimai. Ši tema yra gana aktuali ir verta tyrinėti, o tyrimo rezultatai gali pateikti svarbių įžvalgų lituanistinio ugdymo organizatoriams, diasporų nariams, tarptautinio bendradarbiavimo specialistams.

Tyrimė dalyvavo 18 suaugusių respondentų iš Airijos ir 56 respondentai iš Norvegijos; iš viso – 74 asmenys. Visi tyrimo dalyviai buvo lietuviai emigrantai, gimę Lietuvoje, gyvenantys emigracijos šalyse mažiausiai penkerius metus ir turintys vieną ar daugiau 4–17 metų vaikų. Informacija apie apklausos respondentų lytį ir amžių nebuvo renkama ir atskirai neanalizuota.

Respondentams buvo pateiktos anketos elektroniniu formatu, *Google Docs* platformoje. Anketa sudarė 39 uždari ir 5 atviri klausimai apie šeimos kalbines nuostatas ir praktikas, lankymosi tėvynėje, bendravimo su giminaičiais Lietuvoje įpročius, taip pat savo vaikų kalbines nuostatas, kalbinius gebėjimus ir įpročius (žr. 1 priedą).

Tyrimo metu taip pat buvo paimti, įrašyti ir išanalizuoti 5 pusiau struktūruoti interviu su Norvegijos ir Airijos lietuviais, kurių duomenimis iliustruotos sociolingvistinėje apklausoje išryškėjusios tendencijos.

Siekiant išsamiau apibūdinti emigracijos kontekstą, toliau trumpai apžvelgiamos Airijos ir Norvegijos diasporos.

Airijos lietuvių diaspora

XXI a. pradžioje į Airiją ilgesniam ar trumpesniam laikotarpiui atvyko apie 120–150 tūkstančių lietuvių. Visuotinio surašymo Airijoje duomenimis, 2016 m. šioje šalyje iš viso gyveno 36 552 lietuviai. Nuo 2004 m. iki 2011 m. lietuvių emigrantų skaičius sparčiai didėjo, tačiau pastarąjį dešimtmetį emigracija sulėtėjusi (žr. 1 paveikslą).

Visuotinių surašymų Airijoje (2006, 2016) duomenimis, daugiausiai lietuvių gyvena Dubline ir jo priemiesčiuose. Neskaitant sostinės, didžiausia

dalį lietuvių yra susitelkę šiaurinėje ir šiaurės-rytų Airijoje – Monachano, Droedos ir Navano miestuose bei jų apylinkėse. Daugiau nei 80 proc. 2016 m. Airijoje gyvenusių lietuvių buvo 15–64 metų amžiaus (iš viso – 30 670 gyventojų). Pensinio amžiaus lietuviai sudarė mažiau nei 1 proc., o vaikai – 19 proc. visų lietuvių. Visuotinio surašymo metu taip pat nustatyta, kad 8 787 lietuvių šeimų ūkiai (angl. *Lithuanian headed households*) turėjo vaikų, iš kurių 70 proc. – jaunesni nei 15 metų (CSB, 2016).

1 paveikslas

Lietuvių skaičius Airijoje (CSB, 2016, 2022)



Airijoje dalis mokyklų organizuoja pamokas bei rengia specialius kursus, skirtus moksleivių paveldėtųjų kalbų mokymuisi ir tobulinimui (O’Toole & Skinner, 2018). Šalyje veikia net kelios mokyklos, kuriose patvirtintas ir vykdomas oficialus, akredituotas lietuvių kalbos kursas ar dalykas. Pastaraisiais metais Airijoje aktyviai siekiama priimti įstatymą, užtikrinsiantį, kad visi vidurinių mokyklų mokiniai turėtų galimybę studijuoti lietuvių kalbą kaip pasirenkamąjį dalyką (ŠMSM, 2022). Nuo 2020-ųjų Airijoje abiturientams sudaryta galimybė laikyti gimtosios kalbos egzaminą (angl. *Leaving Cert. Lithuanian Higher Level*). Pirmieji mokiniai tokį egzaminą laikė 2022 m. (*National Council for Curriculum and Assessment* 2020). Litanistinių mokyklų atstovai pastebi, kad galimybė mokytis savo gimtąją kalbą švietimo įstaigoje, laikyti gimtosios kalbos egzaminą, motyvuoja mokinius lavinti lietuvių kalbos įgūdžius, aktyviau lankyti lituanistines mokyklas.

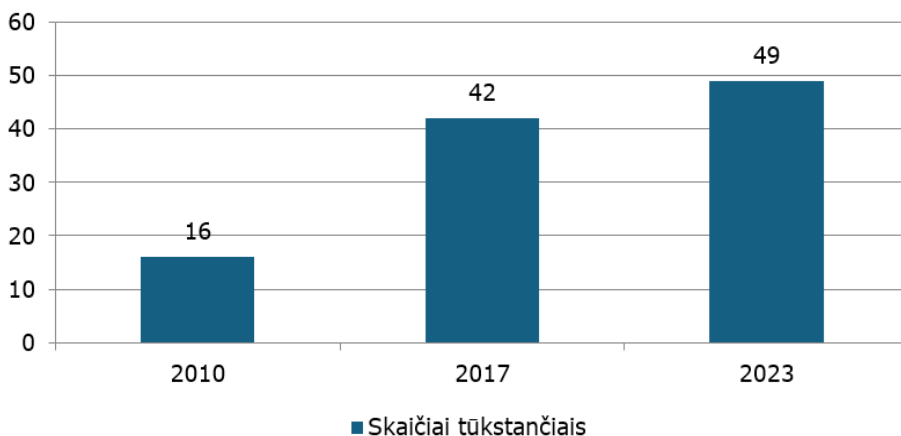
Pastarąjį dešimtmetį lituanistinės mokyklos sulaukia didesnio dėmesio bei gausnio finansavimo ir iš Lietuvos valstybės. 2022 m. Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo ir sporto ministerija įsipareigojo remti keturias Airijos lituanistines mokyklas – joms skirta beveik 10 tūkstančių eurų įsigyti vadovėliams, interaktyvioms mokymo priemonėms, taip pat rengti specialistams. Airijoje oficialiai įregistruota 14 lituanistinių mokyklų, kuriose pamokos dažniausiai vyksta kartą per savaitę.

Norvegijos lietuvių diaspora

Lietuviai yra antroji pagal dydį imigrantų grupė Norvegijoje. Pastarųjų metų statistikos duomenimis, čia gyvena beveik 50 tūkstančių lietuvių. Daugiausia lietuvių susitelkę pietinėje ir pietvakarinėje šalies dalyse, Osle (3 000), Bergene (2 000), Trondheime (700), Stavangeryje (700), tad čia Lituanistinių mokyklų daugiausia (IMDi, 2019). Visuotinių surašymų duomenimis, skirtingai nei Airijoje, lietuvių skaičius Norvegijoje kasmet tebeauga: 2010-aisiais šioje šalyje gyvenamąją vietą deklaravo apie 16 tūkstančių lietuvių, o po kiek daugiau nei dešimtmečio – 2023-aisiais – kone triskart daugiau lietuvių (žr. 2 paveikslą).

2 paveikslas

Lietuvių skaičius Norvegijoje (IMDi 2019, 2022).



Norvegijoje esama mokyklų, kuriose, kaip ir Airijoje, mokiniai turi galimybę laikyti Europos komisijos patvirtintą A1-B2 lygio lietuvių kalbos egzaminą; tiesa, jam pasiruošti turi savarankiškai. Kai kuriose mokyklose taip pat leidžiama laikyti individualius įvairių užsienio kalbų, įskaitant ir lietuvių, egzaminus. Plačios apimties Andzijauskienės tyrimas (2020) Norvegijoje atskleidė panašias tendencijas, kaip ir tyrimai Airijoje: galimybė mokytis lietuvių kalbą ir gauti aukštą paveldėtosios kalbos egzamino balą mokykloje motyvuoja vyresnius vaikus aktyviau lankyti ar grįžti į liuanistines mokyklas ir įsitraukti į mokymosi procesą.

Kaip ir Airijoje, lietuvių kalbos mokymą ir liuanistinį lavinimą dažniausiai organizuoja Norvegijos lietuvių bendruomenės ir privačios iniciatyvos. Lietuvos ambasados Norvegijoje oficialus puslapis informuoja, kad šalyje yra registruota 12 liuanistinių mokyklų, veikiančių skirtinguose Norvegijos regionuose. Gausėjant Norvegijos lietuvių bendruomenei bei čia gimusių antrosios kartos emigrantų vaikų skaičiui, Lietuvos užsienio politikos ir švietimo sistemos atstovai vis aktyviau remia tokių organizacijų veiklą. 2022-aisiais ŠMSM priėmė nutarimą skirti daugiau nei 9 tūkstančius eurų Norvegijos liuanistinėms mokykloms ir jų veiklos plėtrai, naujiems projektams.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, jog, kaip ir Airijoje, Norvegijoje etninių mažumų kalbų situacija neretai priklauso nuo konkrečios ugdymo įstaigos ar gyvenamosios vietovės (regiono) nuostatų (Andzijauskienė, 2020). Kokybiškas liuanistinis švietimas, aktyvus lietuvių bendruomenės Norvegijoje ir Lietuvos valstybės įsitraukimas, neabejotinai, yra itin svarbūs ir sukuria stiprią atsvarą lietuvių asimiliacijai (Šutinienė, 2009).

Lietuviškumo raiška Airijoje ir Norvegijoje

Airijoje ir Norvegijoje gyvenantys lietuviai gali būti laikomi transnacionalinės migracijos dalyviais, reziduojančiais daugiakultūriame kontekste. Šiame tyrime išryškėjo svarbiausi lietuviškumo šiose diasporose išlaikymo būdai: 1) fizinės kelionės į Lietuvą, socialinių ryšių gimtinėje išlaikymas; bendros veiklos, tamprūs socialiniai ryšiai su kitais lietuviais (etninės grupės nariais) – bendruomeniškumas, 2) lietuvių kalbos išsaugojimas bei perdavimas jaunesniajai kartai, teigiamų kalbinių nuostatų formavimas.

Kelionės į Lietuvą: socialinių ryšių su šeima išlaikymas

Dažnas lankymasis Lietuvoje yra vienas lietuviškumo puoselėjimo ir ryšio tėvyne palaikymo būdų. Kelionės į kilmės šalį ir ryšių su gimtąja šalimi palaikymas – moderniosios migracijos bruožas, būdingas transmigrantams ir sietinas su socialinių tinklų plėtra, jautimusi kelių kultūrų ar bendruomenių dalimi, taip pat didėjančiomis tarptautinių kelionių ir finansinėmis galimybėmis, žmonių judumu. Dažnos kelionės sukuria galimybę fiziškai įsitvirtinti dviejose šalyse.

Atliktos sociolingvistinės anketos rezultatai rodo, kad Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuviai daug dėmesio skiria vaikų supažindinimui su savo kilmės šalimi. Dažnai lietuviai renkasi atostogauti Lietuvoje, tvirtina siunčiantys vaikus per vasaros atostogas pasisvečiuoti pas senelius ar į vasaros stovyklas. Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuviai neretai turi nuosavybės (nekilnojamojo turto) Lietuvoje, kuriuo rūpinasi. Taigi jaunoji karta į Lietuvą keliauja dažnai: 53 proc. Airijoje apklaustų lietuvių teigė, kad jų vaikai Lietuvoje lankosi kartą per metus, 35 proc. nurodė, jog vaikai Lietuvoje lankosi 2 kartus per metus ir dažniau. Likusiųjų respondentų vaikai ar patys respondentai Lietuvoje lankosi rečiau: kaip nurodė anketoje – „retai“, „1 kartą per 6 metus“.

Norvegijos lietuviai pripažino, kad jų vaikai tėvynėje lankosi dar dažniau: 34 proc. apklaustųjų nurodė, kad Lietuvoje lankosi (patys ir (ar) jų vaikai) mažiausiai kartą per metus. Net 41 proc. apklaustųjų tvirtino, kad jų atžalos ir (ar) jie patys Lietuvą aplanko mažiausiai 2 kartus per metus. 18 proc. respondentų vaikai Lietuvoje lankosi dar dažniau – daugiau nei dukart per metus. Taigi vos kiek daugiau nei 7 proc. apklausoje dalyvavusių tėvų pripažino, kad į Lietuvą vaikai grįžta rečiau nei vieną kartą per metus.

Įdomu ir tai, kad lietuviai ne tik vyksta aplankyti Lietuvoje likusių artimųjų, bet ir skatina juos apsilankyti Airijoje ar Norvegijoje. Štai interviu metu Norvegijos lietuvė pasakojo, kad tėvai (vaikų seneliai) neretai atvažiuoja padėti prižiūrėti anūkų, kai kurie net lieka ilgesniam laikui:

R: Reikia nepamiršti, kad pas mus yra trumpesnės mamos atostogos. Tai, pavyzdžiui, nuo dešimt mėnesių jie jau turi pradėti (lankyti darželį). Tai, pavyzdžiui, aš išsikviečiau senelius. Vieną – vienam, kitą – kitam.

<...> Tai jie pradeda, kai dar tikrai nei vienas nekalba savo gimtąja kalba (M, K1, Norvegija).

Galimybė kuo daugiau laiko praleisti su šeima užtikrina efektyvesnę gimtosios kalbos perdavimą, be to, neabejotinai, sukuria stipresnę ryšį ir su šeima, ir su etnine bendruomene. Pokalbiai su Norvegijoje ir Airijoje gyvenančiais lietuviais atskleidė siekį vaikus į ugdymo įstaigas išleisti kiek vėliau, negu yra įprasta emigracijos šalyse.

Vis dėlto, nepaisant dažnų kelionių į Lietuvą ir glaudžių ryšių su artimaisiais, anketinės apklausos rezultatai neatskleidė ryškių re-emigracijos tendencijų. Atsakydami į anketos klausimą, su kokia šalimi sieja savo ateitį, dauguma apklaustųjų (41 proc.) Airijoje teigė planuojantys likti emigracijos šalyje, su Lietuva ateitį sieja 24 proc. apklaustųjų. Likusieji abejoja arba sieja ateitį su kitomis šalimis (35 proc.):

I: Neplanuojat grįžti, ar jau įsigyvenot čia?

R: Nu kažin, jau čia dvidešimt metų.

I: A, tai jau ilgai.

R: Kažin. Dabar jau dėl dukros biškį sunkiau būtų. Nes Lietuvoj viskas sustiprinta. <...> Bet grįžo brolis. <...> O, vat, mes, nežinau. Kažkaip įpratę čia. (V, K1, Airija).

Norvegijoje su Lietuva savo ateitį sieja 20 proc. apklaustųjų; su Norvegija – 53,5 proc.; 20,5 proc. abejoja, nesieja ateities su nė viena šalimi ir (arba) planuoja ateitį kitose šalyse. 6 proc. informantų į klausimą, kokioje šalyje planuoja savo ateitį, atsakė: „ten, kur bus geriau“, „rinksimės ten, kur geriausia“. Tai patvirtina ir visuotinių surašymų duomenys, rodantys, kad Norvegijoje lietuvių skaičius vis dar didėja: t. y., išvykstančiųjų daugiau nei grįžtančių.

Apisprendimas likti emigracijos valstybėse gali būti sietinas tiek su palankesne ekonomine situacija, tiek su tuo, kad visi apklausos dalyviai turi mažamečių vaikų, lankančių ugdymo įstaigas emigracijos šalyse, tad jiems sudėtingiau palikti emigracijos šalis. Dalis apklaustųjų susitikimų metu ar atsakydami į anketos klausimus minėjo tam tikrus neigiamus veiksnius,

privertusius išvykti (nedarbas, prasta ekonominė padėtis), bet ne vienas tvirtino pasvarstantys grįžti į tėvynę sulaukę pensinio amžiaus, užsitikrinę finansinę nepriklausomybę ar užauginę vaikus. Taigi, įvertinus gautus duomenis galima teigti, kad pirmosios kartos emigrantai, gyvenantys Airijoje ir Norvegijoje, tebejaučia gana stiprų ryšį su tėvyne, „namais“.

Svarbiu lietuviškumo išlaikymo elementu emigracijoje tampa bendruomeniškumas ir socialinių ryšių su etnine grupe palaikymas. Bendruomeniškumas, kuris gali būti prilygintas šeimyniškumui, apima dalijimąsi bendru paveldu, vertybėmis, patirtimis, tradicijomis. Bendruomeniškumo raiška individui leidžia *jaustis savu* (Kuznecovienė, 2008, p. 80). Šiuo metu šiose šalyse veikia daugybė įvairiausių lietuvių įkurtų organizacijų, jaunoji karta dažnai įsitraukia į socialinius tinklus internetinėje erdvėje, kur formuojasi tarpusavio ryšiai, pagrįsti tautiškumu ar paveldu. Tokie virtualūs ryšiai taip pat stiprina tapatinimosi su lietuvių etnine grupe jausmą, skatina lietuvių kalbos vartojimą (Liubinienė, 2009).

Kaip teigė patys apklaustieji, lietuviai linkę bendrauti su kitais lietuviais, jų šeimomis labiau nei daugumos nariais:

R: Lietuviai vaikai daugiausiai draugauja su lietuviais, su lenkais, latviais. Airių draugų turi, bet mažai. Bet, kai pagalvoji, ar ir mes turim draugų airių? Gal trys šeimos ir viskas (M40, K1, Airija).

Taigi, tiek vyresnioji, tiek ir jaunoji kartos formuoja socialinių ryšių tinklą su savo etnine grupe ir (ar) panašių kultūrų nariais, turinčiais emigracijos patirčių. Nepaisant kintančios ir (ar) rečiau vartojamos lietuvių kalbos, galima teigti, kad migrantų vaikai gana sėkmingai išlaiko tėvų kultūrą, noriai bendrauja tarpusavyje.

Įdomu, kad per pokalbius su lietuviais atsiskleidė tam tikros neigiamos nuostatos apie gimtosios kalbos neperduodančius tautiečius:

R: Būtų absurdiška dar grįžus namo angliškai kalbėt, verstis per save (V, K1, Airija).

R: Aš suprantu, kai vaikai angliškai kalbasi. Bet kaip matau vaikai su

tėvais angliškais kalbasi, nors yra lietuviai, ot, aš galvoju, nežinau, kodėl tėvam taip yra.

I: O neklausėt niekada, kodėl jie taip?

R: Ai, kad patogia. Sako, jeigu aiškinu lietuviškai, tai nesupranta (M40, K1, Airija).

Apibendrinant gautus duomenis galima teigti, kad lietuvių etninis tapatumas ir ryšys su tautine grupe reiškiasi per bendras veiklas, gimtosios kalbos praktikavimą bei perdavimą vaikams, lankymąsi Lietuvoje ir domėjimąsi Lietuvos aktualijomis, ryšių su Lietuvoje gyvenančiais artimaisiais puoselėjimą, taip pat ir sąitų su etnine grupe emigracijos šalyje palaikymą.

Lietuvių kalbos vartojimas ir nuostatos

Lietuvių kalbos vartojimas namuose, jos perdavimas savo vaikams bei socializacija per lietuvių kalbą yra vienas svarbiausių lietuviškumo išlaikymo emigracijoje veiksnių. Lietuvių kalbos vartojimo namuose įpročiai, taip pat ir teigiamos kalbinės nuostatos, susijusios su lietuvių kalba, perduodamos iš kartos į kartą ir lietuvių laikoma savotiška tėvų pareiga. Tokiu būdu paveldėtąją kalbą gali išlaikyti ne tik pirmoji ir antroji, bet ir vėlesnės emigrantų kartos. Šis tyrimas atskleidė, kad lietuvių kalbos perdavimo svarbą suvokia ir ankstesniųjų emigrantų bangos, ir naujoji migrantų karta.

Lituanistinių mokyklų lankymas. Šiuo tyrimu siekta kiek plačiau paanalizuoti lituanistinių mokyklų veiklą, išeivių nuomonę apie jas, lituanistinių mokyklų lankomumo tendencijas, priežastis, dėl kurių pasirenkama leisti ar neleisti vaikų į tokias ugdymo įstaigas. Airijoje 89 proc. apklausoje dalyvavusių tėvų teigė šiuo metu leidžiantys savo atžalas į lituanistines mokyklas; 5,5 proc. apklaustųjų savo vaikų į lituanistines mokyklas neleidžia; dar 5,5 proc. tėvų leido vaikus į tokias ugdymo įstaigas anksčiau. Norvegijoje į lituanistines mokyklas savo vaikus leidžia 90 proc. apklaustųjų; 6,5 proc. apklaustųjų vaikų tokių mokyklų nelanko; 3,5 proc. – lankė anksčiau. Apklausoje paprašyti įvardyti priežastis, kodėl leidžia vaikus į lituanistines mokyklas, lietuviai išskyrė kelias pagrindines (svarbiausias) priežastis. Jos gali

būti suskirstytos į keturias grupes: 1) lietuvių kalbos, kultūros, tradicijų pažinimas ir išlaikymas; 2) lietuvių kalbos lavinimas 3) bendrystė, susipažinimas su kitais lietuviais, socialinių ryšių plėtimas 4) kitos priežastys – klausimas neatsakytas arba nurodytos kitos priežastys (žr. 1 lentelę).

1 lentelė

Lituanistinio ugdymo įstaigų lankymo priežastys

| Kalbos, kultūros ir tradicijų pažinimas | | Lietuvių kalbos lavinimas | | Bendrystė: bendravimas su kitais lietuviais | | Kitos priežastys | |
|---|-------------|---------------------------|-----------|---|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| Airija | Norvegija | Airija | Norvegija | Airija | Norvegija | Airija | Norvegija |
| 25 % | 37 % | 62,5 % | 26 % | 0 % | 18,5 % | 12,5 % | 18,5 % |

Airijoje dauguma apklaustųjų (62,5 proc.) išskyrė lietuvių kalbos lavinimą kaip pagrindinę lituanistinių mokyklų lankymo priežastį. Atsakydami į atvirąjį anketos klausimą „Įvardykite priežastis, kodėl vaikas lanko arba nelanko lituanistinės mokyklos“, tyrime dalyvavę tėvai tvirtino, kad jiems svarbu išsaugoti, perduoti lietuvių kalbą vaikams: „Norime gerinti lietuvių kalbos žinias“; „Norime stiprinti gimtąją kalbą“; „Nes patinka išmokti lietuvių kalbos pagrindus“; „Lanko todėl, kad norim, kad mokėtų Lt kalbą“.

Airijos lietuviams taip pat svarbus ir ryšys su tėvynėje likusiais giminaičiais, šeima. Siekis puoselėti ryšius su artimaisiais tampa stipria motyvacija išlaikyti lietuvių kalbą emigracijoje – apklaustieji anketose minėjo, kad gimtosios kalbos išlaikymas svarbus ir dėl Lietuvoje gyvenančių senelių, kitų artimųjų, taip pat dėl lietuviškos kilmės, ryšių su lietuviška bendruomene, todėl leidžiantys savo vaikus į lituanistines ugdymo įstaigas: „Norime, kad gerai mokėtų lietuvių kalbą, susikalbėtų su šeimos nariais, gyvenančiais Lietuvoje“; „Nes yra lietuviai, tėvai ir seneliai kalba lietuviškai“.

Norvegijoje lituanistinių mokyklų lankymo priežastys pasiskirstė tolygiau: atsakydami į anketos klausimus tėvai pabrėžė tiek lietuvių kalbos, tiek kultūros, tradicijų perdavimo jaunesniajai kartai svarbą: „Lanko dėl socialinių įgūdžių gimtąją kalbą“; „Lanko dėl to, kad gyvenam kitoje šalyje ir kad norime, kad žinotų, kas yra Lietuva, jos tradicijas. Ir jei taip nutiktų, kad

tektų grįžti į Lietuvą gyventi, mokėtų mūsų kalbą"; Priežastis: lituanistinis ir meninis švietimas, supažindinantis su krašto istorija ir papročiais, bei lietuviybės ir pilietiškumo ugdymas".

Ryšių palaikymas su bendruomenės nariais, artimesnis bendravimas taip pat tampa paskata Norvegijos lietuviams leisti vaikus į lituanistines mokyklas: „*Susitinkame su kitais lietuvių vaikais ir jų tėveliais*".

Vis dėlto, nors dauguma apklaustųjų savo atžalas leidžia į lituanistines mokyklas, kaip ir ankstesniuose diasporos tyrimuose, apklausos rezultatai atskleidė tam tikrą lituanistinių mokyklų ir kitų neformalių ugdymo institucijų lankymo fragmentiškumą, nepastovumo temą. Dalis tėvų anketose nurodė, kad vaikai nustojo tokias ugdymo įstaigas lankyti dėl neigiamo pasaulinės COVID-19 pandemijos poveikio: „*Bandė lankyti, bet prasidėjus covid-19, planus pakeitė.*" Pastebėta, kad ir patiems vaikams pritrūksta motyvacijos: „*Nes nepatinka daryti namų darbų ir dar papildomai mokintis po mokyklos.*" (Airija).

Giluminių pokalbių su tėvais ir mokyklų atstovais metu išryškėjo dar keli lituanistinėms mokykloms tenkantys iššūkiai: nuolatinis pedagogų ir išteklių trūkumas, nepakankamas mokyklų finansavimas:

I: *O kada Jūs pradėdat (Airijoje) lankyti mokyklas?*

R: *Nuo keturių priimam. Nu, šiais metais nepriėmėm, nes nebuvo mokytojos. Nors susirinko 8 vaikai, klasė būtų buvusi (M48, K1).*

Lituanistinių mokyklų atstovai pastebi, kad sunku ne tik motyvuoti vaikus, bet ir įtikinti tėvus, kad lituanistinės mokyklos lankymas nepakenks ugdymui pagrindinėje ar vidurinėje mokykloje, nesudarys per didelio krūvio. Dalis lituanistinių mokyklų menkesnį vyresnių mokinių lankomumą sieja būtent su didėjančiu krūviu ir užimtumu pagrindinėje ugdymo įstaigoje:

I: *O, pavyzdžiui, nubyrojimo (mokinių) kiek?*

R: *Antra klasė ir penkta klasė. <...> nes pirma klasė eina dar vis tiek įdomu, įdomu, įdomu. Pradeda nuo keturių, vat. Tada antroj klasėj nusprendžia, kad aš jau viską moku, viską su močiute susišneku, kam čia reik. <...> Tada, kitas etapas – didelės mokyklos. Bet tada vis tiek*

dažniausiai tėvai nusprendžia, kad vaikui bus labai sunku ir į didelę mokyklą eiti ir į tą. <...> tai tėvam labiausiai būna – pažiūrėsim, kaip seksis didelėj mokykloj, padarysim pertrauką. Ir po tos pertraukos nieks nebegrįžta. <...> o tie, kur jau lieka penktoj, šeštoj, pabaigia iki galo (M48, K1, Airija).

Tiesa, Airijoje įteisinus jau minėtą gimtosios kalbos egzaminą, pastebėta, kad dalis vyresnio amžiaus mokinių sugrįžta į neformaliojo ugdymo įstaigas siekdami pasiruošti egzaminui, patobulinti rašymo, skaitymo, viešojo kalbėjimo gimtąja kalba įgūdžius:

I: Tai va, egzaminas yra gera motyvacija?

R: Nes tada patiem (mokiniam) jau – tai gal ir egzaminą reikia išlaikyt, nu, jau tiek atsimokiau, tai ką jau (M48, K1, Airija).

Dar vienas svarbus lituanistinių mokyklų lankymo veiksnys – asmeninis ryšys su mokykla, mokytojais, bendraamžiais:

R: Vaikai vis klausia, ar bus ta pati mokytoja, Jie prisiriša ir, vat, jiems reikia pas draugus ir pas mokytojus (M40, K1, Airija).

Apibendrinant lituanistinių mokyklų Airijoje ir Norvegijoje veiklą, galima teigti, kad tankiau lietuvių gyvenamose teritorijoje jos yra aktualios ir populiarios. Pastebimas efektyvesnis bendradarbiavimas su Lietuvos institucijomis, gausėja finansavimo šaltinių ir iniciatyvų. Vis dėlto, trūksta mokytojų, ieškoma būdų, kaip papildomai motyvuoti tėvus ir vaikus lankyti užsiėmimus savaitgaliais. Tam itin pasitarnauja glaudūs mokytojų, mokyklų vadovų ir tėvų ryšiai, bendros veiklos, taip pat bendruomenės renginiai, narius suburiančios lietuviškos šventės (kaip Joninės, Vasario 16-oji, Kovo 11-oji).

Kalbinės nuostatos: kalbų prestižas ir konkurencija

Anketinės apklausos rezultatai ir interviu įžvalgos atskleidė tam tikras kalbų vartojimo tendencijas ir emigravusių lietuvių kalbinės nuostatas.

Aptariant Airijos atvejį, anketų rezultatai koreliuoja su anksčiau atliktais etninių mažumų tyrimų rezultatais (Vilkienė, 2011; Brazauskienė, 2013). Nustatyta, kad daugumai (55,5 proc.) Airijoje įsikūrusių migrantų lietuvių kalba turi simbolinę prasmę: gimtoji kalba atrodo gražiausia, artimiausia. Tačiau reikalingiausia laikoma anglų (39 proc. apklaustųjų). Dar labiau Airijoje anglų kalbos svarbą ir aukštą prestižą sustiprina tai, kad ji ne tik tarptautinė *lingua franca*, bet ir oficiali šalies kalba. Vis dėlto, dalis apklaustųjų tvirtino, kad abi kalbos yra savaip svarbios, kad anglų kalba labai svarbi, tačiau paveldėtoji lietuvių kalba svarbi dėl ryšio su tėvyne, šaknų: „Anglų (reikalingesnė), nes gyvename Airijoje. Tačiau noriu, kad mano vaikas kalbėtų, rašytų lietuviškai, nes mūsų šaknys lietuviškos“; „Anglų, nes šiuo metu gyvename Airijoje. Bet reikalinga ir lietuvių kalba, nes tai yra mūsų šaknys“. Nė vienas apklaustasis neįvardijo lietuvių kalbos kaip pačios reikalingiausios (žr. 2 lentelę).

2 lentelė

Airijos lietuvių kalbinės nuostatos

| | Gražiausia kalba | Reikalingiausia kalba |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Lietuvių | 55,5 % | 0 % |
| Anglų | 5,5 % | 39 % |
| Abi: anglų ir lietuvių | 11 % | 22,5 % |
| Visos kalbos | 11 % | 22,5 % |
| Kita | 17 % | 16 % |

Aukštas anglų kalbos prestižas ir įtaka taip pat akivaizdūs analizuojant Norvegijos apklausos rezultatus. Trečdalis Norvegijoje gyvenančių lietuvių anglų kalbą nurodė kaip reikalingiausią, nors valstybinė Norvegijos kalba – norvegų. Įdomu, kad nė vienas apklaustasis norvegų kalbos neįvardijo nei kaip reikalingiausios, nei kaip gražiausios (žr. 3 lentelę).

3 lentelė

Norvegijos lietuvių kalbinės nuostatos

| | Gražiausia kalba | Reikalingiausia kalba |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Lietuvių | 75 % | 16 % |
| Norvegų | 0 % | 7 % |
| Anglų | 3,5 % | 23 % |
| Abi: norvegų ir lietuvių | 3,5 % | 28,5 % |
| Lietuvių ir anglų | 0 % | 3,5 % |
| Visos kalbos | 5,5 % | 14,5 % |
| Kita | 12,5 % | 7,5 % |

Kaip minėta, palankus anglų kalbos vertinimas sietinas su jos prestižu, plačiu vartojimu, o norvegų kalba vartojama tik vienoje valstybėje. Lietuvių kalba, kaip ir Airijos lietuvių, vertinama kaip turinti simbolinę reikšmę, artima, graži, svarbi dėl kilmės, lietuviškų šaknų.

Kalbinės nuostatos tiesiogiai siejasi su šeimos kalbų politika ir kalbų vartojimo šeimoje įpročiais bei praktikomis. Analizuojant Airijos lietuvių anketinės apklausos duomenis nustatyta, kad visi tyrimo dalyviai dažniau ar rečiau skatina savo vaikus kalbėti lietuviškai. Airijoje su savo atžalomis tik lietuviškai bendrauja 100 proc. motinų (globėjų) ir 89 proc. tėvų (globėjų). 16 proc. apklaustųjų teigė, kad jų šeimoje vaikai – broliai, seserys – bendrauja lietuviškai; tačiau beveik pusė tėvų pripažino, kad dažniau jų vaikai tarpusavyje kalbasi antrąja savo kalba, t. y., anglų. Didžioji dalis apklaustųjų nurodė, kad vaikai anglų kalbą vartoja dažniau (mokykloje, su draugais, broliais ir seserimis, naršydami internete) nei lietuvių, kuri dažniausiai, vartojama tik namuose, su artimaisiais: *vaikas vis dažniau ir visur nori kalbėti angliškai.*

4 lentelė*Airijos lietuvių vaikų (ir tėvų) kalbų vartojimo įpročiai*

| | Su mama (globėja) | Su tėvu (globėju) | Su seneliais | Su broliais ar seserimis | Naršydamas internete, žaisdamas komp. žaidimus | Skaitydamas (jei nemoka – kokia kalba dažniausiai skaito tėvai) |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Savo gimtąja (lietuvių) | 100 % | 89 % | 84 % | 16 % | 11 % | 5 % |
| Savo antrąja kalba (anglų) | 0 % | 0 % | 0 % | 39 % | 83,5 % | 45 % |
| Abiem po lygiai | 0 % | 5,5 % | 16 % | 45 % | 5,5 % | 50 % |
| Kita arba neatsakė | 0 % | 5,5 % | 0 % | 0 % | 0 % | 0 % |

Kiek kitokios lietuvių kalbos vartojimo tendencijos užfiksuotos tarp Norvegijos lietuvių (žr. 5 lentelę).

5 lentelė*Norvegijos lietuvių vaikų (ir tėvų) kalbų vartojimo įpročiai*

| | Su mama (globėja) | Su tėvu (globėju) | Su seneliais | Su broliais ar seserimis | Naršydamas internete, žaisdamas komp. žaidimus | Skaitydamas (jei nemoka – kokia kalba dažniausiai skaito tėvai) |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Savo gimtąja (lietuvių) | 96,4 % | 96,4 % | 92,7 % | 68,6 % | 8,9 % | 48,2 % |
| Savo antrąja kalba (norvegų) | 0 % | 1,8 % | 1,8 % | 5,8 % | 14,2 % | 26,8 % |
| Abiem po lygiai | 1,8 % | 0 % | 0 % | 11,7 % | 23,1 % | 23,2 % |
| Anglų | 0 % | 0 % | 0 % | 3,9 % | 26,8 % | 1,8 % |
| Kita arba neatsakė | 1,8 % | 1,8 % | 5,5 % | 10 % | 27 % | 0 % |

Beveik visi apklaustieji tvirtino namuose, su vaikais bendraujantys lietuvių kalba, ir kalbų tarpusavyje nekaitaliojantys niekada arba tai darantys retai. Skirtingai nei Airijos atveju, su broliais ir seserimis tarpusavyje lietuviškai

bendrauja beveik 70 proc. vaikų. Taip pat pastebėtina, kad beveik pusė vaikų geba skaityti lietuviškai ir (ar) jiems lietuviškai skaito tėvai.

Tyrimo metu dalyvių buvo prašoma ne tik atskleisti savo kalbines nuostatas ir kalbų vartojimo praktikas šeimoje, bet ir įvertinti vaikų kalbinius įgūdžius. Analizuojant Airijos lietuvių vaikų gebėjimus akivaizdu, kad dėl dažno anglų kalbos vartojimo įvairiose situacijose (taip pat ir tarp šeimos narių) vaikai šią kalbą moka geriau (žr. 6 lentelę).

6 lentelė

Airijoje gyvenančių lietuvių vaikų kalbiniai įgūdžiai

| | Geriausiai vaiko mokama kalba | Mėgstamiausia vaiko kalba |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Gimtoji (lietuvių) | 16,5 % | 0 % |
| Antroji (anglų) | 44,5 % | 50 % |
| Abi kalbos vienodai | 39 % | 0 % |
| Kita arba neatsakė arba neturi mėgstamiausios kalbos | 0 % | 50 % |

Tik 16 proc. Airijoje apklaustų tėvų nurodė, kad vaikas geriau moka lietuvių kalbą, o beveik pusė atsakė, jog vaikas geriau kalba arba supranta angliškai. Pusė apklaustųjų pripažino, kad jų vaikai labiau mėgsta (renkasi vartoti) anglų kalbą, o lietuvių kalba kaip vaiko mėgstamiausia anketinėse apklausose nenurodyta nė karto. Tai, ko gero, vienas ryškiausių skirtumų tarp pirmosios (K1) ir antrosios (K2) emigrantų kartų. Didelė dalis antrosios kartos narių (vaikų ir paauglių), priešingai nei jų tėvai, palankiau vertina savo antrąją (daugumos) kalbą – anglų, geriau ją moka, dažniau vartoja. Lietuvių kalba Airijos jaunosios kartos lietuvių gyvenime atlieka veikiau buitinės šeimos kalbos ar simbolinės kalbos funkcijas. Tokie apklausos rezultatai parodo ne tik itin aukštą anglų kalbos prestižą, paplitimą ir populiarumą tarp jaunimo, bet ir gali būti siejami su savita antrosios kartos lietuvių kalbine ir (ar) etnine, kultūrine identifikacija, daugiakultūriškumu, hibridiškumu.

Norvegijoje pastebėti kiek kitokie rezultatai: čia gyvenantys lietuviai tvirtino, kad jų vaikai gimtąją lietuvių moka labai gerai arba gerai; tik 2 proc. apklaustųjų pripažino, kad vaiko lietuvių kalbos įgūdžiai prasti. Beveik 38 proc. apklaustųjų teigė, kad jų vaikai geriausiai supranta ar kalba lietuviškai, 43 proc. – kad vaikas vienodai gerai supranta ir kalba abiem kalbomis.

7 lentelė

Norvegijoje gyvenančių lietuvių vaikų kalbiniai įgūdžiai

| | Geriausiai vaiko mokama kalba | Mėgstamiausia vaiko kalba |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Gimtoji (lietuvių) | 37,5 % | 24,7 % |
| Antroji (norvegų) | 18 % | 12 % |
| Abi kalbos vienodai | 43 % | 8 % |
| Anglų | 0 % | 17,8 % |
| Kita arba neatsakė arba neturi mėgstamiausios ar stipriausios kalbos | 1,5 % | 37,5 % |

Beveik penktadalis Norvegijoje gyvenančių tėvų teigė, kad jų vaikai anglų kalbą mėgsta labiau nei kitas: „*Anglų mėgsta labiausiai*“; „*Taip, anglų kalbą renkasi prieš norvegų*“. Beveik 25 proc. apklaustųjų teigimu, mėgstamiausia vaikų kalba – lietuvių, o norvegų kalba kaip vaiko mėgstamiausia nurodyta tik 12 proc. respondentų.

Kalbų vartojimo ir kalbinių nuostatų analizės rezultatai rodo, kad pirmoji emigrantų karta tiek Airijoje, tiek Norvegijoje gana aktyviai stengiasi išsaugoti lietuvių kalbą, ja kalba šeimos rate. Vis dėlto, Airijoje, galima teigti, vyksta natūralus, plačiai mokslinėje literatūroje aprašytas kalbų pasikeitimas (iš namų į šalies dominuojančią). Anglų kalbos įtaka šioje šalyje ypač stipri, taigi jaunoji karta ją dažniausiai vartoja, moka geriausiai, ja kalba įvairiose situacijose, bendrauja su broliais, seserimis. Airijoje tik 22 proc. apklaustųjų teigė, kad jų vaikai moka tris ir (ar) daugiau kalbų (visais atvejais kaip trečioji nurodyta airių kalba). Tai, be abejo, atskleidžia ir žemą airių kalbos, kuri yra

Airijos oficiali kalba, prestižą: nors jau pradinėje mokykloje šios kalbos pradinis kursas privalomas, jos vaikai nevartoja, moka prastai.

Aukštas anglų kalbos prestižas ir stipri įtaka matyti tiek anglakalbėse, tiek kitose šalyse. Norvegijoje taip pat išryškėjo daugiakalbystės tendencijos: 55,5 proc. apklaustųjų teigė, kad jų vaikai gerai arba labai gerai moka tris kalbas: gimtąją lietuvių, antrąją (daugumos) norvegų ir tarptautinę anglų. Lietuvių kalbą Norvegijoje vaikai vartoja kiek dažniau nei Airijoje: vaikai labiau linkę lietuviškai kalbėti su broliais ar seserimis, skaityti. Iš dalies besiskiriantys kalbų vartojimo įpročiai ir mokėjimo lygiai taip pat gali būti sietini ir su skirtingu diasporų formavimosi laiku: Airijoje gausiausios migracijos bangos fiksuotos XXI a. pradžioje, o į Norvegiją daugiausia lietuvių išvyko per pastarąjį dešimtmetį. Kadangi lietuvių emigrantų skaičius tebeauga, diaspora yra nauja, besiformuojanti, taigi ir labiau susieta su Lietuva.

Apibendrinimas

Modernėjančiame pasaulyje nuolat auga migracijos mastai, formuodami naujas kalbines, etnines, kultūrinės grupes. Šių dienų globaliame pasaulyje vykstant daugybei pokyčių, sparčiai vystantis komunikacijos ir migravimo galimybėms, keičiasi etninių grupių gyvenamosios teritorijos (anksčiau buvusios aiškios ir nekintančios), įvairios kalbos ir kultūros maišosi bei sąveikauja tarpusavyje, taip sukurdamos naujus kultūrinius žemėlapius. Siekdami sėkmingai naviguoti ir prisitaikyti naujuose socialiniuose kontekstuose, transmigrantai taiko įvairias strategijas.

Šis darbas siekė apžvelgti Airijos ir Norvegijos lietuvių praktikas, siekiant išsaugoti savo paveldėtąją kalbą, kultūrą, etniškumą gyvenant užsienio valstybėje, taip pat tirti šių diasporų narių kalbines nuostatas, šeimos kalbų politiką, migrantiškosios tapatybės formavimąsi. Stengdamiesi išlaikyti ryšius su bendruomene, migrantai sąmoningai taiko įvairias praktikas. Svarbiausiomis ryšio su tėvyne ir etnine grupe palaikymo priemonėmis galėtų būti laikomos fizinės kelionės į Lietuvą, jungimasis į įvairias organizacijas bei grupes. Itin didelė svarba iki šių dienų tenka lituanistinėms mokykloms, kurios ne tik prisideda prie lietuvių kalbos išsaugojimo ir ugdymo, bet ir per bendras veiklas siekia vystyti glaudžius socialinius ryšius tarp lietuvių. Airijoje bei

Norvegijoje, kaip ir kitose diasporose, lietuviai leidžia vaikus į lituanistines mokyklas, stengiasi perduoti gimtąją kalbą savo vaikams bei įdiegti jiems lietuviškojo tautiškumo idėjas. Svarbu suvokti, kad prie lietuviškojo identiteto formavimosi prisideda tiek emigracijos šalies institucijos, mažumų (kalbų) politika, tiek Lietuvos migracijos politika, finansavimas bei abiejų šalių tarpinstitucinis bendradarbiavimas. Be abejo, didelė galia atsiduria ir pačių migrantų rankose. Siekiant išlaikyti lietuvių kalbą ir kultūrą bei perduoti ją jaunesniajai kartai, ryškėja užsienio lietuvių bendruomenių svarba, ryšių su kitais lietuviais – tiek emigracijos, tiek kilmės šalyje – palaikymas.

Tyrimo rezultatai suponuoja, kad modernieji migrantai, kaip ir ankstesniųjų bangų migrantai, yra linkę tapatintis su savo kilmės šalimi, taip pat teigiamai vertinti lietuvių kalbą, skatinti jos vartojimą artimoje aplinkoje, supažindinti jaunesniąją kartą su lietuviška kultūra, istorija. Vis dėlto sociolingvistinės apklausos rezultatai taip pat atskleidė jaunosios kartos daugiakultūriškumo, daugiakalbystės tendencijas, svarią anglų kalbos įtaką jaunimo saviidentifikacijai ir kalbų vartojimui. Nors dauguma tyrime dalyvavusių antrosios kartos emigrantų moka lietuvių kalbą, yra pažįstami su savo tėvų kilmės šalies kultūra, akivaizdu, kad šios kartos etninė, kalbinė savivoka formuojasi kitaip nei pirmosios kartos (tėvų) migrantų: veikiant dviejų kultūrų, kelių skirtingų kalbų įtakoms ir pan. Taigi vystosi savitos diasporinės tapatybės.

Siekiant geriau ir išsamiau įvertinti sociokultūrinę ir sociolingvistinę šiuolaikinių, modernių lietuvių bendruomenių situaciją užsienyje, būtina atlikti tolesnius plačios apimties tyrimus įvairiose šalyse. Svarbu paminėti, kad maža imtis gali nevisiškai tiksliai vaizduoti platesnę tirtų šalių emigrantų bendruomenių situaciją. Taip pat atkreiptinas dėmesys, kad į kvietimą dalyvauti tyrime atsiliepė ir jame dalyvavo tik suinteresuoti lietuviai, t. y., beveik visi jų aktyviai dalyvauja bendruomenės gyvenime. Kaip vieną tokio pobūdžio tyrimo trūkumą mini ir Ramonienė (2019). Taigi būtų įdomu ir vertinga patyrinėti šeimas ir individus, aktyviai neįsitraukusius į lietuvių bendruomenės veiklas, nesitapatinančius su lietuvių kalba, kultūra bei analizuoti tai lėmusias priežastis. Taip pat svarbu plačiau nagrinėti re-emigracijos reiškinį, jo priežastis ir problematiką.

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1 priedas

2023 metų sociolingvistinė apklausa

| 1. Bendra informacija apie vaiką. | |
|--|--|
| 1. | Vaiko vardas, pavardė (galite nurodyti tik inicialus). |
| 2. | Vaiko gimimo data (metai, mėnuo). |
| 3. | Vaikas šeimoje yra: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Pirmagimis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Antrasis vaikas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Trečiasis vaikas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Kita_____ |
| 4. | Jei šeimoje auga daugiau vaikų, įvardykite jų lytį ir amžių. |
| 5. | Kokioje šalyje gimė Jūsų vaikas? |
| 6. | Nurodykite, kokia kalba ar kokiomis kalbomis kalba Jūsų vaikas. |
| 7. | Kokia Jūsų vaiko gimtoji kalba ar kalbos? |
| * Gimtoji (-osios) – kalba, kurią asmuo išmoksta pirmiausia. Gimtosios kalbos įsisavinama natūraliai, paprastai iš kitų šeimos narių. Jei nuo gimimo su vaiku intensyviai bendrauta dviem kalbomis , tuomet šios abi kalbos laikomos vaiko gimtosiomis (pirmosiomis) kalbomis, pvz., lietuvių kalba ir anglų kalba (lietuviškai su vaiku kalbėjo mama, angliškai – tėvas). | |
| * Antroji kalba – antrąją kalbą vaikas įsisavina turėdamas pirmosios kalbos pagrindus, pvz., antroji kalba – anglų, jei jos išmoko darželyje, mokykloje ar kt. | |
| 8. | Ar Jūsų vaikas šiuo metu lanko darželį ar mokyklą? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Taip, darželį |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Taip, mokyklą |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Ne |
| 9. | Jei taip, nurodykite, kokiomis kalbomis kalbama darželyje ar mokykloje (šeštadieninė lituanistinė mokykla neturėtų būti įtraukta). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vaiko gimtąja ir antrąja kalbomis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vaiko gimtąja kalba |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vaiko antrąja kalba |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Kita_____ |
| 10. | Kiek laiko Jūsų vaikas gyvena antrosios kalbos šalyje (metai, mėn.)? |
| 2. Informacija apie vaiko raidą | |
| 11. | Kada Jūsų vaikas pradėjo tarti pirmuosius žodžius (metai, mėn.)? |
| 12. | Ar Jūsų vaikas lankosi ar lankėsi pas logopedą? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Ne |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Taip |
| 13. | Jei atsakėte taip, kokie kalbos nesklaidumai buvo nustatyti? |

MIGRANTIŠKOJI TAPATYBĖ: LIETUVIŠKUMO RAIŠKA IŠEIVIJOJE, KALBINĖS
NUOSTATOS IR KALBŲ POLITIKA

14. Ar vaikas kada nors yra turėjęs **klausos** sutrikimų?
 Ne
 Taip

15. Jei atsakėte taip, prašome nurodyti kokių.

3. Informacija apie kalbų vartojimą vaiko aplinkoje

| | Jūsų gimtoji kalba | Jūsų antroji kalba | Kitos kalbos, kurias mokate | Kiek laiko gyvenate Airijoje? | Jūsų išsilavinimas ir pareigos |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Mama ar globėja | | | | | |
| Tėvas ar globėjas | | | | | |

16. Kokiomis kalbomis su vaiku dažniausiai kalba **mama**?
 Savo gimtąja kalba
 Savo antrąja kalba
 Abiem kalbomis po lygiai
 Kita _____

17. Kokiomis kalbomis su vaiku dažniausiai kalba **tėvas**?
 Savo gimtąja kalba
 Savo antrąja kalba
 Abiem kalbomis po lygiai
 Kita _____

18. Kokiomis kalbomis vaikas dažniausiai kalba su **broliais ar seserimis**?
 Savo gimtąja kalba
 Savo antrąja kalba
 Abiem kalbomis po lygiai
 Kita _____

19. Kokiomis kalbomis vaikas dažniausiai kalba su **seneliais**?
 Savo gimtąja kalba
 Savo antrąja kalba
 Abiem kalbomis po lygiai
 Kita _____

20. Kokią kalbą vaikas **dažniausiai** vartoja naršydamas internete, žaisdamas kompiuterinius žaidimus?
 Savo gimtąją kalbą
 Savo antrąją kalbą
 Abi kalbas po lygiai
 Kita _____

21. Kokia kalba Jūsų vaikas **dažniausiai** skaito (jei dar nemoka skaityti – kokiomis kalbomis dažniausiai vaikui skaitote knygas, pasakas ir pan.)?
 Savo gimtąją kalbą
 Savo antrąją kalbą
 Abiem kalbomis po lygiai
 Kita _____

22. Kaip dažnai Jūsų vaikas lankosi Lietuvoje?
 1 kartą per mėnesį
 1 kartą per pusę metų
 3–4 kartus per metus
 1 kartą per metus
 Kita _____

4. Vaiko kalbinių gebėjimų įvertinimas

19. Kada Jūsų vaikas pradėjo mokytis **antrosios (negimtosios)** kalbos?

Nuo gimimo
 0–1 m.
 1–2 m.
 2–3 m.
 4–5 m.
 Vyresnis nei 5 m.
 Kita _____

20. Jūsų vaikas vartoja **antrąją** kalbą:

Darželyje ar mokykloje
 Kalbėdamas su draugais
 Kalbėdamas su šeimos nariais
 Žiūrėdamas televizorių, skaitydamas knygas, žaisdamas kompiuteriu
 Kita _____

21. Įvertinkite procentais, kokiomis kalbomis ir kiek laiko per dieną Jūsų vaikas kalba savo **gimtąją** kalba:

25 %
 50 %
 75 %
 100 %

22. Įvertinkite procentais, kokiomis kalbomis ir kiek laiko per dieną Jūsų vaikas kalba savo **antrąją** kalba:

25 %
 50 %
 75 %
 100 %

23. Kokia kalba, Jūsų nuomone, vaikas kalba geriausiai?

Savo gimtąja
 Savo antrąja
 Abiem vienodai gerai
 Kita _____

24. Ar, Jūsų nuomone, vaikas kurią nors kalbą mėgsta labiau nei kitas?

| Įvertinkite vaiko kalbą | Labai gerai | Gerai | Nelabai gerai | Sunkiai |
|---|-------------|-------|---------------|---------|
| Kaip vaikas supranta savo gimtąją (ąsias) kalbą (-as)? | | | | |
| Kaip vaikas kalba savo gimtąją (-osiomis) kalba (-omis)? | | | | |
| Kaip vaikas supranta savo antrąją (ąsias) kalbą (-as)? | | | | |
| Kaip vaikas kalba savo antrąją (-osiomis) kalba (-omis)? | | | | |

5. Kalbinės nuostatos

25. Kokia kalba Jums atrodo reikalingiausia?

26. Kokia kalba Jums atrodo gražiausia?

27. Ar skatinate savo vaiką ar vaikus bendrauti gimtąja kalba?

Taip
 Ne
 Kartais
 Kita: _____

28. Ar siejate savo ateitį su Lietuva ar Airija, o gal Europa ar kt. šalimis?

Airija
 Lietuva
 Nežinau
 Kita: _____

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**MIGRANT IDENTITY: MAINTENANCE OF LITHUANIANNES,
LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN
LITHUANIAN DIASPORA**

Abstract. Ethnic, linguistic identity, heritage language maintenance and transmission, language attitudes and policies remain important topics in nowadays globalized world. The main purpose of this study, which is a part of a large-scale research on Lithuanian heritage language, was to analyze the linguistic and ethnic identity development within Lithuanian diaspora. The article investigates the linguistic attitudes, language practices and language policies within the Lithuanian diaspora in Ireland and Norway, paying extra attention to the younger (K2) generation of Lithuanian migrants. A specialized sociolinguistic questionnaire was developed for this study. A total of 74 first-generation Lithuanian emigrants based in Ireland (n = 18) and Norway (n = 56) participated in the online survey. All participants had children aged 4–17. The data from the questionnaire survey are also illustrated with examples from 5 semi-structured interviews. The study revealed that emigrants from both countries maintain a strong connection with their country of origin. Almost half of the respondents claim that their children visit Lithuania at least once a year, while more than a third of respondents' children visit Lithuania twice a year or more often. A third of participants are planning to return to Lithuania. Most of the respondents enroll their children to Lithuanian Saturday schools. However, the younger generation seem to differ from their parents in their language attitudes and practices: Lithuanian children based in Ireland tend to feel a stronger connection with the majority language (English) than Lithuanian. Meanwhile, children in Norway are multilinguals, having more than two languages in their everyday repertoire. To summarize, the study demonstrated the main language attitudes and practices of Lithuanians abroad and also highlighted some differences between the first and the second generation of Lithuanian migrants. The results from this study might provide interesting insights for future studies in the fields of sociology, sociolinguistics, and diaspora studies.

Keywords: diaspora; heritage language; linguistic identity; Lithuanian education; migration.

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PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG ALGERIAN-ARABIC SPEAKERS IN FRANCE

Abstract. For a very long time, France's language policy has considered French as the only language of the republic, ignoring any other languages spoken across the country. In such a situation, immigrant minorities are most likely to experience significant challenges in preserving their heritage language. This paper addresses language maintenance and shift among the Algerian minority group in France, which represents the largest immigrant group with 12.7% of the total number of foreigners living in the country. It seeks to compare three generations by examining their language proficiency, language use, and language attitude in order to gauge the degree to which each generation is maintaining the heritage language. It also seeks to determine whether participants' language proficiency and use are associated with their length of residence in the host country, age at immigration, and language attitudes. To reach these goals, a questionnaire was administered to the target population, together with interviews recorded with a smaller group in each generation. Based on the questionnaire data from 187 participants, the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significant differences between the three generations in their self-reported proficiency and use of Arabic and French languages, which may be an indication of a gradual shift towards French. The interviews conducted with 11 participants suggested that the reasons behind such a shift are related to: prior exposure to the French language before migration, lack of exposure to the Arabic language, and experiences of discrimination and marginalization. The correlation between the extralinguistic variables and language proficiency has shown no relationship between participants' length of residence and their level of proficiency in the Arabic language. However, age at immigration and attitude have positively and significantly correlated to participants' Arabic language proficiency.

Keywords: Algerian minority group in France; immigrant minorities; language attitude; language maintenance and shift; language proficiency; language use.

Introduction

"France is the paradigmatic case for strong ideology and management", highlights Spolsky (2004, p. 63) in his discussion about the preservation of the French identity over the centuries. Indeed, the promotion and acceptance of the "one state, one nation, one language" principle has been pervasive among the majority of the French populace since the 17th century (Judge, 2000). Nevertheless, minority languages have demonstrated resilience despite these overarching principles (Spolsky, 2004).

When it comes to immigrant minorities, a long-term language contact is likely to affect or reshape the language use, choice and practices of bilingual speakers who are constantly exposed to the language of the new environment. As such, it will most probably lead to various linguistic outcomes, including language maintenance and language shift (LMLS). The majority of LMLS studies describe situations in which speakers of Language A move to a country where Language B is spoken by the majority of the population and due to the interaction of several factors (such as frequency of language use and attitudes), speakers of Language A will move on the LMLS continuum (see Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996). However, cases where speakers of Language A had already gained experience with the culture and language of the new environment before moving to the country are rarely discussed. Colonial migrants from such special group usually (but not always) have some proficiency in the language of the host country. They are familiar with some cultural elements and hold (negative or positive) attitudes towards these elements. Immigration to France from former colonies, such as Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria has been very intensive since the 20th century (Sekher, 2010). So, several generations (first, second, and third) of immigrant minority groups can be found in the country. The question arises whether language shift is accelerated by the fact that most of these migrants speak French and thus assimilation is faster or negative attitudes towards the former colonial language promote language maintenance. The present study focuses on the phenomena of language maintenance and shift among Algerian-Arabic speakers living in France. It seeks to compare three generations by examining different aspects (e.g. language proficiency, language use in daily life, attitudes towards bilingualism) to gauge the degree to which each generation maintains the heritage language. It also seeks to determine whether participants' language proficiency and use are associated with their length of residence in the host country, age at immigration, and language attitudes. Results from this study are expected to bring about a better understanding of the factors inducing change in language maintenance patterns among the Algerian community in France, whose case remains largely under-researched.

Language Maintenance and Shift

Migration contributes to language interaction that may lead eventually to language change. Therefore, immigrant minorities face many challenges as they find it difficult to decide whether to keep using their heritage language or shift towards the majority language of the host community (Borland, 2005). While some immigrants are eager to maintain their heritage language and transfer it to younger generations, others choose to adopt and use the majority language to achieve social acceptance and integration within the society (Adserà & Pytliková, 2016).

According to Fishman (1972), language maintenance takes place when a community agrees to continue speaking its heritage language for several generations, and when a community replaces its heritage language by another more powerful language, the phenomenon of language shift is to occur. In general, language shift takes three to four generations (Saltarelli & Gonzo, 1977). The first generation has a strong dominance of their primary language. They may be able to speak the majority language as well, but they generally prefer to use their primary language, especially at home. The second generation (i.e. the children of the first generation) is typically bilingual, speaking both the heritage language and the majority language. However, this does not change the fact that many of them prefer to use the majority language even in their communication with their immigrant parents (Lopez, 1996). The third generation (i.e. the children of the second generation) has a strong command of the majority language. They grow up usually with very limited knowledge of the heritage language and, therefore, they only use the majority language in different contact situations. The rate and speed of language shift usually depend on the norms of the language and the speech community in question. In some cases, the process of shift is gradual, across several generations. In other cases, however, it is rapid, taking place within one generation (Grenoble, 2013).

Research on immigrant minorities has attempted to identify several factors that can influence the process of LMLS. These include age at immigration, length of residence, in addition to a number of other social and individual factors, such as language attitudes.

Previous studies (e.g. Romaine, 1995) have shown that early bilinguals are able to fully develop two language systems and gain proficiency in both languages. However, as they grow older, they may come to heavily rely on one language, in most cases the majority language. Conversely, late bilinguals will take longer to acquire the language of the new territory which will make them use their heritage language more frequently, at least in the initial stages of settlement (Pauwels, 2016). This pattern is less likely to result in language shift compared to the one mentioned earlier (Clyne, 1991). In fact, the previous situation does not apply to cases where immigrants are exposed to the host country language prior migration. For example, in a study investigating cultural and linguistic adaptation of Vietnamese Catholic immigrants in Australia and France, Tran (2018) states that due to colonial ties, many Vietnamese respondents had already acquired a moderate level of French proficiency before arriving in France. The results show a lower level of Vietnamese maintenance among first-generation participants in France compared to their counterparts in Australia who were not as proficient in their host language at arrival. As such, previous level of proficiency in the majority language may serve to constrain the effects of age at immigration and accelerate language shift.

The length of residence (LOR) in the host country was also found to be important in the process of LMLS. Some previous studies (e.g. Kouritzin, 1999) suggest that language shift does not occur abruptly but takes time. In other words, those who have been in the host country for a long period of time will most likely express themselves in the majority language, which eventually can lead to language attrition. Some researchers (e.g. Bergmann et al., 2016; Schoofs, 2013) have argued that longer LOR is associated negatively with L1 and positively with L2 proficiency. For example, in a study conducted on Palestinian and Jordanian immigrants in New Zealand, it was revealed that those who had been in New Zealand for less than 10 years were more proficient in Arabic than those who had been in New Zealand for more than 10 years (Dagamseh, 2020). However, Schmid (2002), in her pioneering study on first language attrition among German Jews in Anglophone countries, found that although many respondents spent decades away from their home country, their German proficiency remains largely intact. Such a result has been

confirmed repeatedly in the field of language attrition research (e.g. Gnitiev & Bányi, 2022). This underplays the role that LOR occupies, especially if immigration transpires after the first language has been fully acquired (for an overview see Bylund, 2019).

Another factor influencing LMLS is language choice and use. Having social networks¹ that require the use of the majority language will impact immigrant bilinguals' linguistic behaviour and their language choice patterns (see Stoessel, 2002). First-generation speakers tend to maintain relations with members of their own heritage community, which acts as a deterrent to language shift. On the contrary, second- and third-generation speakers lean towards establishing ties with members of the host community. Consequently, the likelihood of heritage language maintenance decreases. Hulsen et al. (2002) conducted a study on the role of social networks in the language processing and shift of three generations of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand. The findings indicate that an intergenerational decrease in L1 contact in immigrants' social networks correlates with a shift to the majority language.

Positive and negative attitudes towards both the heritage and the majority language can also influence LMLS. A positive attitude towards a language is likely to increase its use in a variety of domains which leads eventually to its maintenance (Holmes, 2001). On the other hand, a negative attitude will most often result in language shift as speakers, in such a situation, perceive their heritage language insignificant and impractical to use in a society dominated by another language (Isphording, 2015). This goes hand in hand with what was found by Dweik (1980) in his study on the Lebanese and the Yemenite communities in New York. The findings showed a significant correlation between positive or negative attitudes and LMLS. According to Dweik, first-generation Yemenite speakers were able to maintain their Arabic because of the positive attitudes they hold towards that language. In contrast, second- and third-generation Lebanese speakers have shifted to English because of their negative attitudes. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009)

¹ In sociolinguistic terms, a social network is composed of a community of language users who are in regular contact with one another. This can be applied to such social groups as family, friends, or neighbours. Analysing these social networks has been found to be useful in explaining why some immigrant communities maintain their home languages while others fail (Milroy, 1987).

investigated language maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the United States and found that due to their positive attitude towards their mother tongue, the first generation exerts massive efforts to maintain and transmit it to the next generations. Such efforts, however, are partially resisted by the second generation who view the heritage language as inadequate in their daily lives. Furthermore, Hatoss (2003) studied identity formation, cross-cultural attitudes, and language maintenance among Hungarian migrants in Queensland, Australia. The results suggest that the attitude towards the heritage language plays a vital role in the success or failure of intergenerational language maintenance.

The Algerian Immigrant Context in France

For over a century, Algerian immigration to France marked a significant chapter in the history of both nations. Upon French colonisation of Algeria in 1830, north to south movement was the norm as millions of French settlers took over vast domains of fertile Algerian lands (Arfi, 2008). This seizure resulted in an impoverished Algerian population and led to the first waves of south to north labour migration in the 1900s. Algerian labour migrants used to speak basic French for the sake of work, and Arabic or Tamazight for the sake of intragroup communication. As long as they maintained the boundaries between the work and home domains, their primary languages were preserved (Abu-Haidar, 1994).

However, it was not until the period of the *Trente Glorieuses* (thirty years of fast economic growth in France after WWII, from 1946 to 1972) that an influx of immigrants surged, leading to a massive increase in the Algerian population. According to official statistics published by INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), the number of Algerian immigrants jumped from 22,000 in 1946 to over 350,000 at the end of the Algerian War of Independence. Moreover, the Evian agreements (*les accords d'Evian*) upon Algeria's independence in 1962 paved the way for the movement and settlement of millions of Algerians in the following decades (Adler, 1977).

Algerian communities in France used to live in close-knit groups, fostering a sense of familiarity and shared identity (Zemmour & Alghazo,

2023). They used to speak Arabic or Tamazight in their homes, and this has undoubtedly helped in strengthening children's ties with their Algerian roots from birth. During their early years, children of Algerian immigrants are likely to acquire the heritage language and use it when communicating with their parents. However, when they start expanding their social networks, the need for French (which is used in a variety of domains) will be more than that for Arabic or Tamazight (which is often limited to the home). In that case, children are likely to shift towards French as they grow older, leaving behind their heritage language (Abu-Haidar, 1994).

In a visit to the University of Tlemcen, Algeria, in 2015, Bernard Emié, the then French ambassador in Algeria, declared that the number of people with Algerian ties in France approaches 7 million. However, the French authorities insist that it does not exceed 3 million. According to recent statistics², France is home to at least 2.6 million Algerian immigrants, constituting the largest immigrant community in the country.

In spite of such significant numbers, studies regarding the phenomena of LMLS among Algerians in France remain largely scarce, which makes it a severely under-researched area of study about one of the largest immigrant minorities in continental Europe. In that regard, different elements of the aforementioned phenomena, such as language choice, language proficiency, language attitude, as well as culture and identity, remain unexplored. This raises numerous questions, not only about the linguistic status of the Algerian community in France but also about their affiliations and standpoints on social as well as cultural issues.

One of the studies conducted on Algerians living in France was by Abu-Haidar (1994) addressing the topic of language loyalty among Algerian immigrants' children. In response to a few studies (e.g. Billiez, 1985) claiming that the speech of young people of Maghrebi descent is dominated by French instead of Arabic or Tamazight in practically all domains, Abu-Haidar shows that Algerian-Arabic is still used by second-generation immigrants.

In another study, Medjedoub (2015) investigated language choice among the Algerian immigrant community in France. The findings indicate that

² See <https://observatoire-immigration.fr/limmigration-des-algeriens/>

although the use of Arabic is still relevant in various domains by first- and second-generation immigrants, third-generation immigrants exhibit a strong shift towards French. The reasons behind such a shift are: 1) the negative attitudes they hold towards Arabic; 2) disuse of Arabic at home; 3) parents' higher educational level.

Based on an overview of studies, Arfi (2008) claims that the Algerian community in France is undergoing a linguistic shift towards French. She provided different reasons that prevented Arabic language transmission in the community. The most important of which was the familiarity of the majority of Algerian immigrants with French before migrating to France. This assumption and the scarcity of studies among colonial migrants served a strong motivator for the present empirical research.

Methodology

This study investigates Arabic³ language maintenance and shift in three generations of Algerian immigrants in France. It aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Is there any difference between first, second and third generations regarding their language proficiency, use, and attitudes?
2. To what extent extralinguistic factors (e. g. LOR, age at immigration, attitudes) are associated with the degree of intragenerational and transgenerational language shift (decreased language proficiency in the L1)?

In the current study, first-generation immigrants are those who were born and raised in Algeria then moved to France as adults. The second generation includes two types of immigrants: those who were born in France to at least an Algerian immigrant parent and those who were born in Algeria then moved to France as children, prior to the age of six. Third-generation

³ In this study, 'Arabic' is used to refer to both the dialect (Algerian-Arabic or Dardja) and the standard language (Standard Arabic). When asking participants about their oral skills in the Arabic language, answers would be relevant to the dialect. However, when asking about their literacy skills, it becomes a matter of Standard Arabic.

immigrants are the grandchildren of first-generation immigrants, typically born and raised in France.

Participants

The present research is based on data collected from 187 participants, 82 of whom are females whereas 105 are males. As a result of the snowball approach, participants living in different areas of France could be reached; however, the majority are settled in cities such as Metz, Grenoble, and Paris. Based on the answers, they were divided into three groups: first-generation ($n = 128$), second-generation ($n = 38$), and third-generation ($n = 21$). All first-generation participants were born in Algeria, while 94.7% of the second generation was born in France and 5.3% was born in Algeria and had left the country before the age of six. All third-generation participants were born in France. Table 1 presents participants' characteristics, in terms of their gender, age, age at immigration, LOR, and educational level.

Table 1

Participants' Characteristics

| | 1st generation (n= 128) | | 2nd generation (n= 38) | | 3rd generation (n= 21) | |
|---------------------------------------|---|------|--|------|--|------|
| Gender (N) | Female | Male | Female | male | Female | Male |
| | 52 | 76 | 20 | 18 | 10 | 11 |
| Age (years) | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| | 33 | 14 | 34 | 12 | 18 | 4 |
| Age at immigration (years) | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| | 23.4 | 6.9 | - | - | - | - |
| LOR (years) | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| | 10 | 11.7 | - | - | - | - |
| Education (%) | | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 15.6 | | 10.5 | | 14.3 | |
| High school | 14.8 | | 52.6 | | 47.6 | |
| Vocational school | | | 5.3 | | | |
| Bachelor | 19.6 | | 26.3 | | 33.3 | |
| Master | 44.5 | | 5.3 | | 4.8 | |
| PhD | 5.5 | | | | | |

Note. LOR = length of residence.

Interviews were conducted with 11 participants, including 5 females and 6 males who had previously completed the questionnaire. Most interviewees belonged to the first generation. All of them were born in Algeria and then migrated to France for the purpose of study, work or marriage, and their age ranges from 29 to 58 years. Only 3 participants were second-generation, born and raised in France, with ages ranging from 23 to 49 years. Third-generation participants were not volunteering for the interview. However, considering the fact that most interviewees are married, data about second- and third-generation children's language proficiency, use and attitude can be still accessible through their parents.

Data Collection Instruments

The present study used a questionnaire that was divided into five main sections with a total of 77 questions. The first section was designed to elicit information on the demographic background of the participants, i.e., age, sex, country of birth, nationality, education, profession, generation, etc. In the second section, participants were asked to report on the degree of proficiency in four skills in both Arabic and French languages. Participants' level of proficiency was measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent). The third section aimed to examine what language participants prefer to use when communicating with different people in different contexts. In this section, they were asked to choose a value on a five-point Likert scale — ranging from 1 (only Arabic) to 5 (only French) — for the amount of language use in six domains: family, friends, mosque, work, school, clubs and organizations. The fourth section was designed to elicit information about participants' attitudes towards the Arabic and French languages. The answers for this section were measured on a five-point Likert scale (from 1 being 'strongly disagree' to 5 being 'strongly agree'), which allowed respondents to indicate their views on maintaining their heritage language. Finally, the items in the fifth section were designed to discover patterns of code-switching among the Algerian community in France. The reliability scores for the language proficiency, language use, and language attitude scales range between 0.77 (acceptable) and 0.83 (good). All details are provided in Table 2.

Table 2

Reliability of the Language Proficiency, Language Use, and Language Attitude Scales

| Scale | Number of items | Cronbach's Alpha |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Language proficiency | 8 | 0.83 |
| Language use in domains | 17 | 0.77 |
| Language attitude | 14 | 0.77 |

Most of the questions in the questionnaire are considered fundamental in the field of language maintenance and shift and are therefore adapted from similar studies (see Dagamseh, 2020) which used questionnaires with different Arab populations in various contexts. However, several other items were developed by the researcher in order to suit the specific characteristics of the Algerian community in France.

Semi-structured interviews were also used in this study for the purpose of elaborating and expanding on the answers received from the questionnaire. The interview provides the opportunity to observe participants' linguistic practices and skills in a more comprehensive way, which might explain their language choices and practices.

Procedure

Participants were contacted using the snowballing technique. They were asked to fill the questionnaire in the language of their choice (37 participants chose to answer the Arabic version of the questionnaire, while 150 preferred to answer the French version), and it took them approximately twenty minutes to complete. Since participation in the questionnaire was voluntary, it was taken as consent for their data to be used for the purpose of this research.

The aim of the interview was to elaborate on participants' previous responses to the questionnaire. Eleven Interviewees were given the opportunity to ask questions before the interview. They were informed that they would be recorded during the process. They were also informed that their language performance would not be assessed or evaluated and that they were

free to answer the interview questions in the language of their choice (Arabic or French). Interviews usually lasted between fifteen and forty-five minutes, and took place through personal meetings in public settings, as well as through social media platforms.

Analysis

SPSS was used to analyse all the quantitative data collected through questionnaires. Kruskal-Wallis is a non-parametric test that is used to determine if there are statistically significant differences between the three groups. Follow-up Mann-Whitney test is another non-parametric test that can be applied in the case of group comparisons for examining unique pairs.

Results

Questionnaire Results

Language Proficiency

The Kruskal-Wallis test is used in order to understand whether participants' level of proficiency in both Arabic and French, measured on a five-point scale (1 = poor, 2 = fair, 3 = good, 4 = very good, 5 = excellent), differed based on generation. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in Arabic language proficiency ($\chi^2 = 74.39$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$) and French language proficiency ($\chi^2 = 36.25$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$) between first-, second- and third-generation bilinguals. While second- and third-generation bilinguals have a lower proficiency in Arabic ($M = 2.5$; 2 respectively) than first-generation bilinguals ($M = 4.1$), they reported higher proficiency with excellent scores in French ($M = 4.7$; 4.9 respectively) compared to first-generation bilinguals ($M = 3.9$) (cf. Table 3). This suggests that there is a significant decrease in the overall Arabic proficiency and a significant increase in the overall French proficiency from generation to generation.

Table 3

Arabic and French Language Proficiency across Generations

| Language proficiency | Arabic | | | | | | French | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| | 1 st gen. | | 2 nd gen. | | 3 rd gen. | | 1 st gen. | | 2 nd gen. | | 3 rd gen. | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Language proficiency | 4.1 | 1 | 2.5 | 1.1 | 2 | 0.7 | 3.9 | 1 | 4.7 | 0.7 | 4.9 | 0.4 |

Figure 1

Self-reported Arabic and French Proficiency in the Four Skills

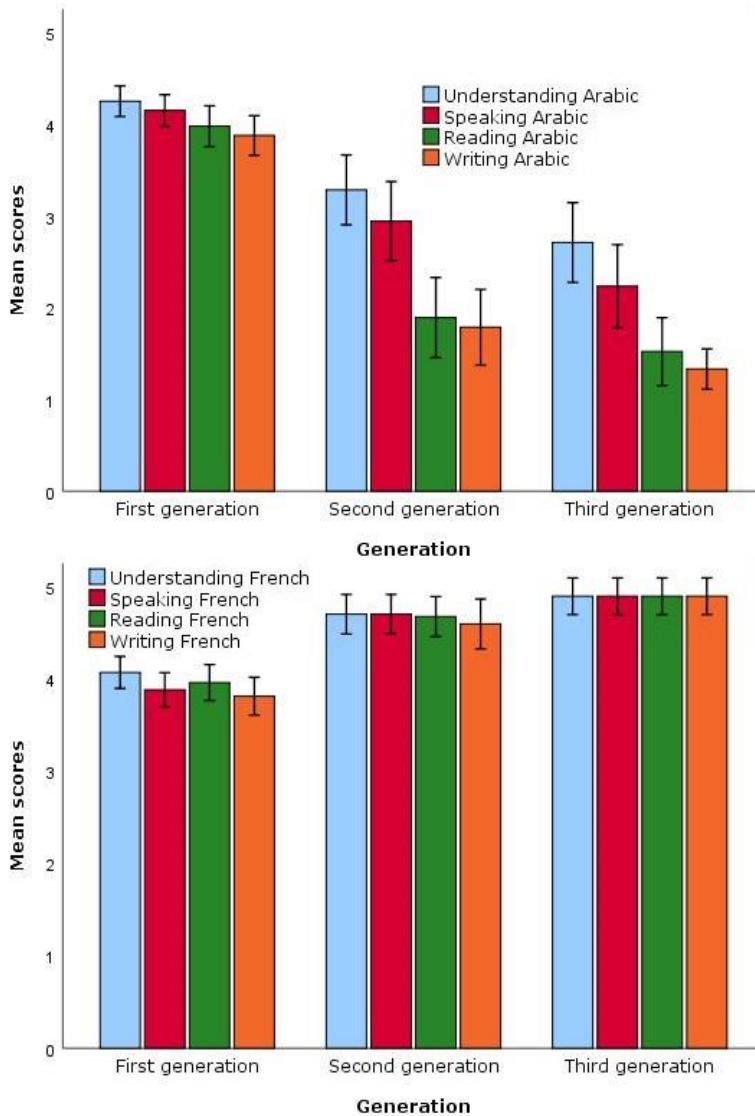


Figure 1 shows a clear difference in the Arabic and French language proficiency among different generation groups. First-generation participants reported no difficulties in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Arabic compared to second- and third-generation participants who showed lower proficiency in the four skills, especially in their literacy skills. However, with regard to the French language skills, second- and third-generation participants reported themselves to be more proficient than first-generation participants.

Language Use and Choice

In addition to language proficiency, the questionnaire elicited information about participants' language use in six domains: family, friends, mosque, work, school, clubs and organizations.

The Kruskal-Wallis test showed that there is a statistically significant difference between the three generations in their overall daily language use ($\chi^2 = 65.37$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$), with a mean rank score of 72.73 for first generation, 131.59 for second generation and 155.64 for third generation. Follow-up Mann-Whitney U test revealed significant differences in self-reported daily language use between first- and second-generation bilinguals ($U = 838$, $p < 0.05$), and between first- and third-generation bilinguals ($U = 214$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 4 presents the mean scores for the frequency of use of Arabic and French among three generations of Algerian-Arabic speakers in France. With regard to language use at home, the data suggest that Arabic is mostly used by first-generation bilinguals ($M = 2.27$). Second-generation bilinguals seem to either mix both Arabic and French or use more French than Arabic ($M = 3.69$) depending on to whom they are speaking in the family including parents, partners/spouses, siblings, and children. Third-generation bilinguals seem to use French more frequently than both first- and second-generation bilinguals ($M = 4.45$). Note that the amount of Arabic and French used at home can vary among first-, second- and third-generation bilinguals based on the composition, language background, preferences, and attitudes within the family.

The use of the heritage language in the friendship domain is most likely related to older speakers of the immigrant group (first-generation). In general, older speakers make greater use of the heritage language than younger speakers (second- and third-generation). Unlike second- and third-generation bilinguals who reported using more French in their interaction with their Arab friends in France ($M = 3.96; 4.40$), first-generation bilinguals seem to use both Arabic and French when communicating with their friends even through social media platforms ($M = 2.99$).

Concerning language use in the mosque, it appears that Arabic is the most used language among the three generations, with very small differences ($M = 2.21; 2.29; 2.48$ respectively). These results suggest that the religious domain holds an important role in helping the Algerian minority group to maintain and appreciate their Arabic language by connecting them to the Islamic religion.

The results on language use in other domains show that all participants use a great deal of French in the context of work ($M = 4.30; 4.73; 4.92$), considering it the required language. In schools dedicated to teaching Arabic to second- and third-generation immigrants, participants seem to use both Arabic and French in their process of learning ($M = 3.14; 3.55$). While all participants report using both Arabic and French in clubs and organizations, it becomes evident that the French language use increases progressively from one generation to the other ($M = 3.10; 3.86; 4$).

Table 4

Self-reported Language Use Across Generations

| | 1 st gen. | | 2 nd gen. | | 3 rd gen. | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|------|----------------------|------|
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Family | 2.27 | .95 | 3.69 | .92 | 4.45 | .76 |
| Friends | 2.99 | .84 | 3.96 | .78 | 4.40 | .59 |
| Mosque | 2.21 | .73 | 2.29 | .95 | 2.48 | .86 |
| Work | 4.31 | .96 | 4.73 | .71 | 4.92 | .20 |
| School | – | – | 3.14 | .86 | 3.55 | .50 |
| Clubs/organizations | 3.10 | .98 | 3.86 | 1.46 | 4 | 1.41 |

Note. (1) only Arabic, (2) mostly Arabic, (3) Arabic and French, (4) mostly French, (5) only French.

Language Attitudes

The Kruskal-Wallis test showed no significant difference across first, second and third generations pertaining to their attitude towards both Arabic ($\chi^2 = 4.23, df = 2, p > 0.05$) and French languages ($\chi^2 = 0.84, df = 2, p > 0.05$). Surprisingly, all participants exhibited very positive attitudes towards Arabic. Such attitude was in no way restricted to the mere use of the language, but also included a strong desire for the cross-generational transmission of the linguistic and cultural heritage. While it is expected that first-generation bilinguals display a positive attitude towards their mother tongue, the second and third generations do not usually show such a persistent tendency towards Arabic. This offers an advantageous situation for a long-lasting maintenance of their heritage language. On a similar note, all participants demonstrated a positive attitude towards French. Being part of a community dominated by another language, participants evidently resort to using French for a variety of reasons. The French language for Algerian immigrants in France constitutes the key to a better integration into the French society, an instrument for higher academic achievement, as well as a means for additional work opportunities. The means and standard deviations on bilinguals' self-reported attitude are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Self-reported Language Attitude Towards Arabic and French

| | Arabic | | | | | | French | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| | 1 st gen. | | 2 nd gen. | | 3 rd gen. | | 1 st gen. | | 2 nd gen. | | 3 rd gen. | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Language attitude | 4.2 | 0.6 | 4.1 | 0.7 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 4.1 | 0.6 | 3.9 | 0.8 | 4 | 0.8 |

Note. (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) not sure, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree.

Extralinguistic Variables

Looking at the relationship between participants' LOR in France and their level of proficiency in both Arabic and French languages, it can be

observed that there is no significant correlation between the two variables ($r = -.024$, $p > 0.05$; $r = .146$, $p > 0.05$). On the other hand, the results indicate a non-significant, negative correlation between participants' age at immigration and their proficiency level in the French language ($r = -.147$, $p > 0.05$), and a highly significant, positive correlation between age at immigration and Arabic proficiency ($r = .228$, $p < 0.01$).

The results also show a highly significant, positive correlation between participants' attitude towards Arabic and their Arabic proficiency ($r = .339$, $p < 0.01$), and a significant but weak positive correlation between participants' attitude towards French and their proficiency in French ($r = .179$, $p < 0.05$). However, non-significant, weak negative and positive correlations are found between participants' attitude towards Arabic and their French proficiency ($r = -.022$, $p > 0.05$), as well as between participants' attitude towards French and their Arabic proficiency ($r = .058$, $p > 0.05$).

Interview Results

Following the questionnaire results, which revealed differences between the three immigrant generations, particularly in their Arabic and French language proficiency, and their use of these languages across various domains, the interviews' findings provide detailed information about the causes of language shift or maintenance and shed light on immigrant experiences and challenges to maintain their heritage language.

Language Choice

During the interview, most first-generation participants (7 out of 8) chose to answer the questions in Arabic, incorporating numerous French words and expressions. This is quite common for Algerians given the fact that French borrowings are a common feature of the spoken Arabic varieties, not only in Algeria but throughout all Maghreb countries. Only one participant (58 years old) chose to respond exclusively in French, suggesting that his linguistic choices are generally determined by his prior experiences and personal background. The participant elaborates on that by saying:

Excerpt (1)

In the country [Algeria], I used to study in French. Later on, I worked in the journalism sector where we operated in French...

As for second-generation participants, most of them preferred answering the interview questions in French, considering it the easier language for them. They admitted that despite their understanding of Arabic, their speaking proficiency is somewhat limited and weak. One participant explains:

Excerpt (2)

Thanks to my wife, I understand Dardja [Algerian dialect]. I do not understand everything of course, but it is okay for me. The problem is always when I try to respond in Dardja, I cannot and I do not feel comfortable speaking it. It is terrible.

Only one second-generation participant (23 years old) responded in Arabic. Despite being born and raised in a French-speaking environment, she explicitly stated that she faces no difficulties when communicating in Arabic. She further added that whenever addressed in Arabic, she would respond in Arabic.

Language Use

The interviews conducted with the Algerian immigrants in France provided valuable insights into their language use. When asked about the language they predominantly use in their day-to-day lives, both first- and second-generation participants claimed that it mainly depends on the situation they are in as well as the people with whom they are interacting.

First-generation interviewees indicated that the partner's nationality impacts their use, as well as their children's use of the Arabic language. Participants who are married to French spouses reported highly frequent use of French at the expense of Arabic at home. However, those who are married

to Algerian partners asserted the use of a mix of Arabic and French.

Second- and third-generation children may be exposed to Arabic through contact with family and relatives in Algeria. Such contact can be very beneficial for improving their Arabic proficiency. For instance, a first-generation woman married to a second-generation man described her third-generation children's Arabic as follows:

Excerpt (3)

My children speak Arabic very well, but since everyone here speaks French, they are obliged to use French instead. Whenever we go to Algeria, they only speak Arabic.

Evidently in this case, children's frequent contact with family members and relatives, be that online or during visits to Algeria, presents them with an opportunity to further interact with native speakers of the heritage language, which is not easily attainable abroad. Such interactions not only provide valuable exposure to Arabic, but also serve to counteract the societal and academic pressures for a shift towards French.

While contact with relatives in Algeria is important, it is by no means always positive. At times, contact can worsen the situation for second- or third-generation children, accelerating the shift towards the dominant language. A first-generation parent expressed how his children's frequent contact with family and relatives in Algeria was not beneficial for their Arabic proficiency. The following is an excerpt from his interview:

Excerpt (4)

Question: Which language do your children use when talking to their relatives in Algeria?

Answer: French.

Question: So, they did not learn Arabic even when they were in contact with family in Algeria?

Answer: No, because my family in Algeria spoke to them in French since they knew they do not understand Arabic.

As per this case, contact with family and relatives in the home country was not conducted in the heritage language, which resulted in additional exposure to French.

Attitudes

Concerning interviewees' attitude, the results are congruent with findings from the questionnaire. The participants who took part in the interview voiced their positive attitude towards their heritage language. For them, Arabic not only denotes an essential means of communication with family and relatives at home, but also bears great cultural value and deeply correlates with their Algerian identity which is substantiated by a myriad of interviewees' statements. One of which comes from a first-generation immigrant expressing his daily need to hear Arabic as it makes him feel home:

Excerpt (5)

I cannot live in a place where there are no Algerians or Maghrebis in general. I need to hear Arabic and talk about Algeria. I feel at home like that.

This positive stance towards Arabic drives transmission efforts among first-generation members who believe their children should speak the heritage language. A first-generation immigrant asserts the following:

Excerpt (6)

All this work we are doing is to establish the Arabic language in the hearts and minds of our children. We do not want our children to lose their Arabic language. On Sundays, I normally have other things to do, but look we are here from 8 am to 1 pm to teach our children Arabic. All this effort is for that.

Albeit one of the contributing factors to heritage language maintenance and transmission, religion may constitute the sole reason for the preservation

of Arabic among Algerians in France. The Arabic language in Islam is absolutely imperative. The holy Quran is written in Arabic, and every prayer and invocation requires the recitation of Quranic verses in Arabic. As such, Islam is inherently linked to the language, and so do its adherers by extension. This is especially evident in the next excerpt:

Excerpt (7)

There are schools here to learn Arabic, and we are trying as parents to speak with our children in Arabic so as to preserve their Arabic language and identity, but as I see it here, Arabic is on the decline. Maybe it will remain for years and years, but afterwards, God [Allah] only knows. We are trying to preserve Arabic just for our religion.

Interviewees also expressed awareness of the significant role that French occupies in their lives. First-generation immigrants recognise the importance of French in securing job opportunities, reaching academic milestones, as well as achieving social acceptance and integration. As such, their attitude towards it is not so much negative, but rather is one of awareness and positivity. An interviewee states:

Excerpt (8)

Now that we came to France, it is absolutely normal to speak French for work as well as for everything. Even back in Algeria, we did not speak Arabic fully as half of it was French and the other half Arabic. We kept doing that for years and it stayed with us.

Evidently, French also carries additional value for second- and third-generation immigrants. They are not only exposed to the French language at a societal level but are also formally taught in French from childhood until adolescence and possibly beyond. For them, French assumes the primary position that Arabic occupied in the lives of their first-generation parents or grandparents. In that sense, their attitude towards

French may prove positive for more reasons than just occupational or academic.

Although the shift towards the majority language may appear to be rapid for subsequent generations, it is by no means a process bereft of difficulty. Due to positive attitudes towards the heritage language and culture transmitted from first-generation immigrants to their descendants, the latter may receive scathing remarks or behaviours seeking to eradicate any presence of the heritage language. This is especially the case in workplaces or educational establishments wherein the French language is supremely powerful.

One first-generation participant tells the story of his child who was humiliated by one of his teachers for merely drawing an Algerian flag. The parent maintains his son's positive attitude towards Arabic and the Algerian culture, which prompted him to draw an Algerian flag when the teacher allowed them to freely sketch whatever they wanted. In consequence, the child was publicly shamed by the teacher in sight of his colleagues and other teachers. According to the parent, his son's once positive attitude towards Arabic dwindled in fear of stigmatization. Such incidents usually result in hastening a shift towards the French language and culture to avoid any unfavourable outcomes, whether academically, socially, or professionally.

Discussion and Conclusions

The present investigation sets out to explore language proficiency, language use, and attitudes among three generations of Algerian immigrants in France. The study is based on data collected from 187 participants through questionnaire surveys and 11 through interviews.

The results suggest a gradual shift towards French starting from the second generation. This was evident in participants' self-rated language proficiency and language use in different domains. As for proficiency, a significant decrease in Arabic language proficiency is reported by the second and third generations. This is especially marked by weak literacy as opposed to oral skills which remained relatively resilient. Based on the reported

language use patterns, Arabic is most often used by members of the first generation in various domains, including home, with friends, and in the mosque. Admittedly, French is not absent among first-generation speakers. It is used in workplaces, or when addressing friends who only speak French. Second- and third-generation participants also declared the use of Arabic, but only for religious purposes or when taking Arabic courses on weekends.

One of the most instrumental factors which considerably influence heritage language proficiency of second- and third-generation participants is heritage language exposure. Considering that home is the most important domain where second- and third-generation bilinguals are expected to learn and use Arabic, having only one first- or second-generation parent seems to limit their exposure to the language. Instead, this is likely to culminate in the use of French. This is not surprising since many previous studies on mixed marriages have acknowledged its contribution to language shift among heritage language speakers (see Sevinç, 2016; Pauwels, 1985).

Language use for first-generation immigrants can be influenced by their prior exposure to the majority language of the new society. As is the case with first-generation Algerian immigrants in France, many of them are familiar with French, while some are even fluent speakers of the language. In fact, Algerians who possess a secondary level of education usually have a good understanding of the French language. University graduates in scientific disciplines such as mathematics, engineering, and medicine are taught in French, and most of them have a good command of the language. Moreover, those working within the business sector communicate primarily in French. Thus, it is no surprise that some first-generation immigrants would prefer French to Arabic as they were already accustomed to using it prior to their arrival in France. This may influence the linguistic behaviour of their children.

All participants, regardless of their generation, exhibited positive attitudes towards both French and Arabic. Respondents acknowledge the importance of Arabic, not only as a marker of identity, but also as a crucial part of their religious beliefs. In light of that, they perceive its maintenance and transmission synonymous to the preservation of their culture and religion. The participants also recognise the importance of speaking French in the new

society as it facilitates social integration, increases job opportunities, and helps with academic achievements. For second- and third-generation bilinguals, French denotes part of their identity and culture given that they were born and raised in France. Nonetheless, the positive attitude towards Arabic, especially by members of the second and third generations, does not necessarily reflect their effort or motivation to learn it.

Attitude towards the heritage language is not entirely fixed. Data from the interview revealed that certain experiences can shape or change immigrants' perspectives. This is particularly the case in schools or workplaces where prejudice against anything Algerian or Arabic can be prevalent.

No correlation was found between participants' LOR in France and their Arabic proficiency. This could be related to the fact that most first-generation participants in the present study left Algeria after reaching adulthood. The age at immigration is strongly associated with the LOR, and often the two factors intersect. Literature on the topic suggests that migration prior to adulthood leaves immigrants more susceptible to shift towards the majority language, especially with a prolonged LOR (O'Leary, 1988). Among adults, however, language shift is not usually expected given that migrants have already fully acquired the language as well as the cultural values of their home country. Notwithstanding, the data is inconclusive. A recent study on German immigrants who moved to Finland as adults suggests that a shift has occurred towards Finnish after a prolonged LOR (Grasz, 2023). Schmid (2019) maintains that LOR should not be perceived in separation but rather in tandem with other factors which probably interact and influence one another in unpredictable, complex, and non-linear ways.

On the other hand, a highly significant positive correlation was found between participants' age at immigration and their Arabic proficiency level, suggesting that the older someone is at the time of immigration, the more proficient their mother tongue tends to be and the opposite is true. This result is in line with what was found by Luo and Wiseman (2000) in their study on language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States.

The results also show a highly significant positive correlation between the participants' attitude towards Arabic and their overall Arabic proficiency. This means that a more positive attitude towards Arabic is related to a better

proficiency level in the language. In this particular study, second- and third-generation participants' positive attitude towards Arabic does not seem to promote language maintenance since they predominantly use more French than Arabic in almost all domains.

In conclusion, this study revealed significant differences between the three generations of Algerian immigrants in their self-reported proficiency and use of Arabic and French languages, which may be an indication of a gradual shift towards French. Based on interview data, the reasons behind such a shift are related to the following: 1) prior exposure to French before migration; 2) lack of exposure to Arabic, and 3) experiences of discrimination and marginalization. However, given the special context and attributes of the target group, one would expect a more severe state of language shift in the community. Both, the top-down language policy of the host country and the prior knowledge of French could be accelerators of inter- and intragenerational language shift, yet this study demonstrated the use of Arabic in several domains, even in the case of third-generational Algerians. Bilingualism in the community is maintained by establishing language use norms, i.e. community group members use the L1 for intragroup communication in the family, with friends and most importantly in the religious domain, while L2 is used within the group and for interethnic communication. Fase et al. (1992) suggests that language maintenance can be ensured by geographically unbroken settlement patterns and the use of the language for communication in the minority group. In the case of Algerians living in France these factors seem to be present in addition to frequent contact with the home country when the L1 is used.

The results of this study may contribute to the body of knowledge on LMLS, especially that it focuses on a special group of migrants (colonial migrants) who have previous knowledge of the host country's language. It is also expected that this study will motivate other researchers to conduct further research on language maintenance and shift among other Arabic immigrant minorities in France.

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Anotacija. Ilgą laiką Prancūzijos kalbų politika prancūzų kalbą laikė vienintele respublikos kalba, neatsižvelgdama į kitas šalyje vartojamas kalbas. Tokioje situacijoje imigrantų mažumos, tikėtina, patiria nemažai iššūkių siekdamos išsaugoti savo paveldėtąją kalbą. Šiame straipsnyje nagrinėjama, kaip alžyriečių mažuma, didžiausia imigrantų grupė Prancūzijoje, sudaranti 12,7 % visų šalyje gyvenančių užsieniečių, išlaiko savo kalbą ir pereina prie kitos kalbos. Siekiant įvertinti, koku mastu kiekviena karta išlaiko paveldėtąją kalbą, lyginamos trys kartos ir analizuojamas jų kalbos mokėjimas, kalbos vartojimas ir kalbinės nuostatos. Taip pat siekiama nustatyti, ar tyrimo dalyvių kalbos mokėjimas ir vartojimas susiję su jų gyvenimo priimančiojoje šalyje trukme, imigracijos amžiumi bei kalbinėmis nuostatomis. Dėl to tikslinei populiacijai buvo pateiktas klausimynas; be to, su mažesne kiekvienos kartos grupe įrašyti interviu. Remiantis 187 apklausos dalyvių duomenimis, Kruskal-Walls testas parodė reikšmingus skirtumus tarp trijų kartų pagal jų pačių nurodomą arabų ir prancūzų kalbų mokėjimą ir vartojimą bei laipsnišką perėjimą prie prancūzų kalbos. Iš interviu su 11 pašnekovų galima daryti prielaidą, kad tokį poslinkį lemia kelios priežastys: susidūrimo su prancūzų kalba mastas iki migracijos, nepakankamas arabų kalbos vartojimas, diskriminacijos ir marginalizacijos patirtys. Koreliacija tarp ekstralingvistinių kintamųjų ir kalbos mokėjimo neparodė jokio ryšio tarp dalyvių gyvenimo priimančiojoje šalyje trukmės ir jų arabų kalbos mokėjimo lygio. Tačiau asmens amžius imigracijos metu ir nuostatos teigiamai ir reikšmingai koreliavo su dalyvių arabų kalbos mokėjimu.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: Alžyro mažumos grupė Prancūzijoje; imigrantų mažumos; kalbinės nuostatos; kalbos išlaikymas ir kaita; kalbos mokėjimas; kalbos vartojimas.

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ENDANGERED LANGUAGES: A SYSTEMATIC QUALITATIVE STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS AND REVITALISATION

Abstract. This study investigates endangered language preservation through three research questions: risk factors for endangerment, socio-cultural effects of language loss, and complexities in preservation and revitalisation. A qualitative systematic review underscores the cultural, historical and intellectual importance of endangered languages. It identifies globalisation, urbanisation, and dominant languages as key accelerators of linguistic endangerment. The findings indicate significant sociocultural consequences of language loss, notably the decline of cultural identity and heritage. The study concludes that community involvement, technological advancements, and supportive government policies are crucial to successful preservation, ensuring that at-risk languages are maintained and revitalised for future generations.

Keywords: cultural identity; endangered languages; language policy; language preservation; linguistic discrimination.

Introduction

Human languages serve as dynamic representations of human experiences, encompassing history, culture, and perspective. They encapsulate the unique narratives of their speakers across generations. However, the prevalence of certain languages threatens the existence of other languages.

Language endangerment occurs due to various factors. Globalisation promotes assimilation of minority languages into dominant languages and jeopardises minority language communities. Migration for economic or political reasons further erodes linguistic heritage, as individuals often adopt dominant languages and neglect their native tongues. Moreover, linguistic discrimination marginalises minority language speakers, perpetuating stereotypes, and hastening language decline, particularly regarding socio-economic prospects.

A study indicates that 50 to 90% of more than 6,000 current languages may face extinction by 2100 (Maffi, 2005). The ascendancy of dominant

languages, such as English and Chinese, has contributed to the decline of numerous lesser-spoken languages (Kandler, 2009). Kornai (2013) noted that there are around 7,000 languages worldwide, with approximately 2,500 classified as endangered.

The number of languages fluctuates on the basis of the classification of dialects as distinct entities. Approximately one-fourth of languages and some dialects possess unique scripts, and undiscovered languages may still exist. The latest data from ethnologists lists 6,809 languages. Approximately 10 million individuals speak 300 languages, while nearly half of all languages are used by approximately 6,000 speakers, with 450 languages facing significant extinction risks. As can be seen, 60% of the world's languages are spoken by fewer than 10,000 individuals, with 10% by fewer than 100 (Rahman, 2024).

This study seeks to identify the catalysts of language endangerment, evaluate the sociocultural ramifications of language loss, and investigate barriers to preservation and revitalisation, ultimately formulating strategies to uphold linguistic diversity and enrich global cultural heritage.

Literature Review

The endangerment of languages is a major concern for scholars and organisations around the world. Approximately 43% of the existing languages are classified as endangered, as indicated by UNESCO (Dressler, 2017). Indigenous languages are especially at risk, and many are critically endangered (Ting, 2023). Languages are endangered by declining speakers, poor transmission, and dominant languages (Joven-Romero, 2020). Endangered tongues are frequently recognised to have speaker numbers less than 10,000 (Headland, 2018).

"Critically endangered" languages face severe declines in speakers and a shift away from their use (Lee & Way, 2016). Various methodologies, including the graded intergenerational disruption scale, have been established to assess language endangerment (Bodó et al., 2017). Language revitalisation aims to improve the status of endangered languages, from severe endangerment to widespread use (Ting, 2023).

Endangered languages exhibit various types according to their level of endangerment. UNESCO's Atlas reveals that 43% of contemporary languages are endangered, with various classifications including critically endangered, severely endangered, endangered, and vulnerable languages (Dressler, 2017). Language endangerment is disproportionately prevalent on islands where significant percentages of extinct and critically endangered languages reside (Tershy et al., 2015). Factors such as war and repression of linguistic minorities contribute to language endangerment (Kingston & Hanson, 2022). Endangered language movements emphasise the need to protect linguistic diversity globally (Roche & Suzuki, 2018).

Addressing language endangerment involves processes such as reclamation, revitalisation, and reinvigoration (Sivak, 2023; Zuckermann, 2021). Therefore, urgent efforts are necessary to safeguard the cultural and linguistic heritage of endangered languages. Recognising endangered languages as "language ecologies" underscores their interconnectedness and the significance of social and historical contexts in linguistic studies (Hermes, 2012). Classification systems, such as Zarma's five-level system, identify languages under social and economic pressure (Muhammad, 2014). The revitalisation context for indigenous and endangered languages highlights the importance of new speakers in language re-creation (Ting, 2023). Traditional multilingual settings are increasingly at risk, necessitating immediate action to preserve their linguistic diversity (Pakendorf et al., 2021).

The categorisation of endangered languages is based on varying levels of endangerment, emphasising the need to understand, reviving and addressing the underlying causes. Language revitalisation highlight the importance of new speakers and participations of indigenous communities, linguists, teachers, and language activists in preserving endangered languages (Wiltshire et al., 2022; Farfán & Olko, 2021). The multifaceted nature of endangered languages requires accurate assessment and evaluation of effective preservation strategies to combat the loss of linguistic diversity. Various vitality scales and metrics are essential to classify and understand the levels of language endangerment.

Linguistic discrimination, or linguicism, entails biased treatment based on language or dialects (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2018b). This form of prejudice

reinforces the disparities among linguistic groups that are similar to racism, ethnicism, or sexism. Historical instances of linguistic discrimination include severe actions, such as the mutilation of slaves' tongues, the prohibition of German during World War II, and the execution of Russian speakers' post-Alaskan purchase. Additionally, linguistic discrimination affects broader social structures, which causes significant obstacles for various ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups due to the established social and educational inequalities. Moreover, an example of this is linguistic profiling, in which voice-based race inference also contributes to discrimination in the housing market (Squires & Chadwick, 2006; Wright, 2023; Rice, 2006).

Linguicism refers to ideologies and systems that rationalise unequal power among linguistically distinct groups. Velez (1998) categorised linguicism as overt, such as explicit language bans, or covert, such as the omission of language in education. The spectrum of linguicism, highlighting a range that includes direct discrimination and intricate, unrecognised signs within the discrimination in education for minorities (see Gynther, 2003, 2007 as cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2018a). It is framed as a loss of power and influence linked to language, highlighting its relevance to power dynamics and social equity.

Language revitalisation involves initiatives aimed at sustaining and revitalising endangered and minority languages within communities. Such efforts are vital to maintaining linguistic diversity and cultural identity. Various approaches have been adopted to foster new speakers, including digital technology (Galla, 2016), specialised teaching methods for endangered languages (Hinton, 2011), and musical integration to foster new speakers (Ansah et al., 2022). Furthermore, language revitalisation encompasses both linguistic and socio-cultural dimensions. This requires a transformation in the perspectives of the community on language use, promoting greater engagement with endangered languages by both native speakers and learners (Hinton, 2018). Furthermore, effective revitalisation requires active community participation in linguistic documentation and revitalisation strategies (Hermes, 2012).

The objective of language revitalisation is to stop or reverse language extinction. This includes: (a) assessing individual languages, (b) understanding

the complex causes of language decline, (c) advocating publicly and politically, (d) documenting languages, and (e) collaborating with community members to support language preservation efforts (Wilhelm, 2013/2023). In addition, language revitalisation initiatives have garnered considerable attention and involve various stakeholders, from individuals to governmental bodies. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) emphasised coordinated actions, while Hinton (2013) highlighted family and community involvement, focussing on innovative strategies to engage the younger generations. A review of the literature presents a 10-year national plan of India that focusses on policy development and community involvement for the revitalisation of native language (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2023).

Indigenous communities around the world face threats to their linguistic heritage from dominant colonial languages and cultures (Meighan, 2023). Studies suggest that active use and revitalisation of traditional indigenous languages can improve mental and physical well-being (Whalen et al., 2023). Consequently, the role of linguists has evolved to become more complex and politically charged, necessitating ethical partnerships rooted in mutual benefits and trust (Wilhelm, 2013/2023). Language revitalisation is a comprehensive process that integrates linguistic, cultural, and technological strategies to protect endangered languages.

Research Methodology

This study focusses on endangered languages, linguistic discrimination, and linguistic revitalisation from a sociolinguistic perspective. The research method used is a qualitative systematic review of the literature aiming to identify and critically review relevant research, as outlined by Rubio-Alcalà et al. (2019). The review process was rigorous and systematic, ensuring the collection of relevant articles by systematically searching several databases such as Google Scholar, ERIC, JSTOR, Scopus, and many other relevant sources. This is due to the large number of studies available in the field of endangered languages.

Findings and Discussion

Statistical evidence indicates a significant language loss in various regions. Several countries, including Papua-Neuve Guinea and Brazil, exhibit diverse languages that are facing extinction. Within these nations, only a few languages maintain substantial speaker populations and official recognition (Brenzinger & Graaf, n.d.). In more linguistically uniform areas, language threats are less severe but still noteworthy. For instance, the Sorbian language has been gradually supplanted by German since the 13th century (Faska, 2012), and Saami languages faced significant pressure from dominant state languages from the mid-1800s to World War II (Jernsletten, 1993). Similarly, the Sora language in Bangladesh (Mahapatra, 1991) and the Breton language in France (Mendel, 2004) are endangered.

Scholars have linked the rapid extinction of languages to biodiversity loss and the erosion of unique worldviews (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Crystal (2000) highlights that the dominance of global languages exacerbates the marginalisation of minor languages. Mufwene (2002) discussed socioeconomic factors, asserting that language shift and death are influenced by the economic advantages of dominant languages.

Addressing language extinction requires urgent multifaceted interventions. Preservation strategies should encompass socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors that affect language survival. By tackling the root causes of language endangerment and applying effective preservation measures, linguistic homogenisation can be resisted, thus safeguarding global linguistic diversity.

In Lithuania, the Karaim language, part of the Turkic family, is critically endangered, the northwest Karaim dialect being the only remnant in Lithuania and Poland (Németh, 2023). The Lithuanian dialects exhibit regional variations and complexity. While dialects such as Samogitian (Žemaitian) possess a strong regional identity, others, such as certain Aukštaitian sub-dialects, face potential decline (Mikašytė, 2017). Lithuania's linguistic environment is intricate and shaped by historical influence and diverse languages. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania has historically promoted multilingualism for effective communication (Lūžys, 2012). This language co-existence has led to

interference, bilingualism, and multilingualism, illustrating the region's rich linguistic heritage (Koniusz, 2015). Even with official monolingual policies, real language use often reveals a hybrid variety, challenging strict monolingualism (Pinkevičienė, 2022). This linguistic richness is further evidenced by the interactions between Lithuanian and Latvian-speaking communities in border regions, and the historical impact of Germanic languages in Lithuania (Rudzāte, 2022).

In the context of globalisation, bilingual and multilingual communities face increased risks of language variety and a reduction in linguistic diversity (Mirhosseini & Abazari, 2016). Initiatives aimed at preserving and promoting minority languages are essential to safeguard linguistic heritage and cultural identity despite these challenges.

Endangered Languages: Socio-cultural Importance and Risk Factors

The preservation of endangered languages is crucial for the protection of traditional knowledge, cultural identity, and human heritage for the forthcoming generations (Bensemann et al., 2023; Cámara-Leret & Bascompte, 2021). Furthermore, endangered languages improve global cultural and cognitive diversity, as each language encapsulates a distinctive worldview that has evolved over centuries, reflecting the cumulative knowledge of its speakers (Evans, 2010). These languages are frequently regarded the quintessence of cultural heritage, serving as a repository of human history and representing intricate social and cognitive systems (UNESCO, 2003). Every language, indigenous or dominant, encapsulates a distinctive understanding of local ecosystems and environmental interactions (Gorenflo et al., 2012). Furthermore, the extinction of any language can lead to the forfeiture of invaluable knowledge on biodiversity, sustainable practices, and ecological equilibrium (Maffi, 2005). Furthermore, language plays a crucial role in the cognitive mechanisms that encompass memory, perception, and problem solving capabilities. Consequently, language extinction increases the likelihood of losing these unique cognitive frameworks (Boroditsky, 2011). Both dominant and endangered languages promote cognitive diversity, offering varied

methodologies for understanding and interpreting the world (Lupyan & Dale, 2010). Therefore, the conservation of endangered languages signifies the preservation of the intricate tapestry of human cognitive and cultural experiences (Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

In addition, the symbolic significance of endangered languages is evident within the linguistic landscape, which augments language awareness and emphasizes the critical importance of these languages (Kļava & Ernštreits, 2022). Discourse surrounding endangered languages frequently underscores their intrinsic value, employing metaphors such as "priceless treasures" to accentuate their relevance (Schwartz, 2018; Muehlmann, 2012). Government-led initiatives aim to create a multitude of potential advantages. These benefits may extend beyond the linguistic sphere and positively impact the autonomy, legal framework, and general welfare of communities associated with these languages (Watson, 2020).

In addition, several significant risk factors contribute to the change and decline in endangered languages. Primarily, economic necessity serves as one of the predominant forces propelling language shifts toward dominant languages, as individuals often pursue "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu, 2003) pertinent to their specific contexts, operating under the assumption that adopting or transitioning to a dominant language can secure enhanced employment prospects and facilitate greater mobility. Consequently, numerous individuals forsake their native languages in favour of languages that are perceived as economically advantageous (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Bangladesh is in a similar situation. Individuals show less interest in acquiring proficiency in Bengali, instead opting to allocate their resources and time to mastering English, as it is believed to guarantee employment and promote social mobility (Roshid, 2018). Furthermore, linguistic discrimination is frequently interwoven with the dynamics of political power. Dominant groups with social and political influence may marginalise minority languages inadvertently or deliberately. This often culminates in the relegation of minority languages to informal contexts, devoid of official recognition, and experiencing a contraction of functional domains (May, 2012). Thus, the marginalisation of minority languages diminishes their status and practical significance, thereby exacerbating their decline toward extinction.

Another salient risk manifests itself within educational systems that predominantly endorse hegemonic languages while systematically marginalising minority or indigenous languages. This phenomenon obstructs the intergenerational transmission of minority or endangered languages and perpetuates the notion that these linguistic forms lack intrinsic value or practical utility (Cummins, 2000). Illustratively, nations such as Australia and Canada have a historical precedent for suppressing indigenous languages through educational paradigms that favour English [or French in Quebec] at the expense of native tongues (Khawaja, 2021). Such suppression has precipitated a marked decline in the demographics of Indigenous language speakers. Furthermore, the peril of language endangerment may also arise from the repercussions of warfare, genocide, and explicit repression directed toward linguistic minorities (Kingston & Hanson, 2022).

Ultimately, individuals can experience coercive pressure to conceal or relinquish their linguistic heritage to facilitate assimilation when subjected to discrimination based on language or accent. Lippi-Green (1997) posits that this tendency may undermine cultural identity and foster a shift towards dominant languages. A pertinent illustration of this phenomenon is observed in the decline of Welsh as a linguistic entity within the United Kingdom, attributed to cultural pressures. During the mid-19th century, British authorities characterised Welsh as the vernacular of the uncivilised and uneducated, thus establishing English as the predominant language across most public domains (Bowen, 2020). Consequently, contemporary initiatives aimed at revitalising and promoting the Welsh language strive to counteract its decline and reclaim the cultural heritage intrinsically linked to it.

The framework of language revitalisation for indigenous and endangered languages encompasses the discursive construction of language ownership and accountability, highlighting the pivotal role of new speakers in the revival of these languages (Ting, 2023). In addition, traditional multilingual environments are increasingly at risk, underscoring the critical necessity of safeguarding linguistic diversity (Pakendorf et al., 2021).

Role of Policy in Preserving Endangered Languages

The preservation of endangered languages is vital to linguistic diversity and cultural heritage. Protection strategies include documentation and revitalisation programmes to ensure linguistic diversity among future generations. Preservation efforts include documentation, revitalisation, and conservation initiatives. Furthermore, the preservation of endangered languages serves as resistance to linguistic oppression and cultural erasure (Battiste, 2000). By disputing the perceived superiority of dominant languages, preserving marginalised languages empowers communities to affirm their identities and resist linguistic assimilation pressure (Fishman, 1996). Initiatives like "Kohanga Reo" in New Zealand have significantly aided the revival of the Mori language (Mahrooqi & Asante, 2012), challenging English dominance and affirming indigenous cultural value. Furthermore, language preservation acts against globalisation, which often prioritises some dominant languages over endangered ones. Communities can resist monolingualism by promoting minority languages in education and the media (Hale, 1992). In particular, post-1994 education reforms in Bolivia advanced Quechua, Aymara, and other indigenous languages alongside Spanish (Hornberger, 1998) through bilingual education and recognition policies to counter Spanish dominance. Furthermore, language preservation is linked to broader resistance efforts, including land rights and environmental activism. Indigenous communities worldwide integrate language preservation into their struggles against colonisation, land loss, and environmental degradation (Maffi, 2005).

Education is crucial to revitalising endangered languages. Various strategies have been developed to meet the specific requirements of language revitalisation (Hinton, 2011). Furthermore, social networks and digital resources greatly influence multilingual practices and education, especially within indigenous and minority contexts (Imtiaz & Murshed, 2020). Specifically, training community members in linguistic methodologies and transcription has been effective in documenting endangered languages (Hermes, 2012). Additionally, the incorporation of endangered languages into formal education, supported by heritage languages as instructional media, facilitates intergenerational transmission (Barrett-Walker et al., 2020). These initiatives

engage scholars, enhance public awareness of language endangerment, attract funding, and aid communities in preserving their linguistic heritage (Hill, 2002). Furthermore, language revitalisation encompasses various forms, including music lyrics, that improve usage (Arifin, 2019). Consequently, immersion education is vital to revitalising indigenous languages, emphasising grassroots efforts and community consciousness (Hermes & Kawai'ae'a, 2014). Social networks and emerging technologies provide innovative avenues for language education and exposure (Deschene, 2019). Numerous countries have demonstrated various policy frameworks to safeguard linguistic diversity, reflecting their distinct linguistic and cultural contexts. For instance, South Africa's Constitution [1996] endorses 11 official languages, promoting multilingualism and linguistic equity across government, education, and media (Du Plessis, 2000). As more examples, the National Indigenous Languages Report (Australian Government, 2019) and organisations, such as First Languages Australia (www.firstlanguages.org.au), established in 2013, exemplify Australia's dedication to conserve and foster indigenous linguistic heritage. These programs aim to identify, manage, and distribute linguistic resources housed in archival institutions. Concurrently, they emphasise the crucial role of local community participation and cultural significance in maintaining the vitality of Australia's Indigenous Languages. This national effort underscores a country's commitment to preserving its rich indigenous linguistic diversity.

While French endures as the singular official language of France, the government admits the existence of numerous regional languages, incorporating Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Franc Provençal, Occitan, and the languages d'oil, which embody different northern dialects. Significant milestones in the development of French language policy within the educational sector include the establishment of compulsory public education with instruction in French in 1882, the implementation of the Toubon Law in 1994, which mandates the utilisation of French in educational establishments, the recognition of regional languages within the curriculum in 2001, and the initiation of bilingual programmes in regional languages in 2013. These achievements illustrate an enhanced appreciation of the cultural and historical importance of regional languages, which has led to increased

availability of language education in academic institutions (Nikolovski, 2018; Hawkey & Kasstan, 2015). Additionally, the acknowledgment of New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) as an official language by New Zealand in 2006 highlights the imperative for inclusivity as well as the fundamental rights pertaining to communication. It was officially recognized as a language of New Zealand in April 2006 pursuant to the New Zealand Sign Language Act 2006 (New Zealand Government, 2023).

Concurrently, it is essential to recognize that the Constitution of Kenya (2010) acknowledges the significance of cultural diversity and the safeguarding of indigenous languages. This concept is evident in the Basic Education Act (2013) (Government of Kenya, 2013) which mandates the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction in lower primary education grades 1 to 3 in regions where the language is prevalent. Furthermore, it is imperative to reiterate that Singapore's initiative for bilingualism, established in the 1960s, obligates students to excel in both English and their cultural languages (i.e., Mandarin for the Chinese faction, Malay for the Malays and Tamil for the Indians) (Le, 2023; Ng, 2011). This policy has two objectives. First, it addresses the necessity of effective global communication, as English operates as a universal language, facilitating interaction in a connected world and providing access to international commerce, technology and education. Furthermore, it promotes social integration within Singapore's multifaceted population, by establishing a common linguistic framework across diverse ethnic groups. Additionally, advocacy for native languages preserves and honours cultural heritage, ensuring continuity with ancestral customs, beliefs, and values. This bilingual approach is recognised for enhancing Singapore's economic prosperity by fostering a workforce proficient in English that is grounded in its cultural heritage. In addition, it cultivates national unity and multiculturalism, reflecting Singapore's identity as a cohesive and diverse society. India's endeavour to safeguard endangered languages, spearheaded by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), aims to advance and conserve Indian languages through research, promote linguistic cohesion, and document minority and tribal languages. CIIL also fosters emotional unity and interdisciplinary studies of these languages (Benedikter, 2013). These instances underscore the vital importance of well-formulated policies, legal

acknowledgements, and community involvement in promoting linguistic diversity and preserving endangered languages. Consequently, revitalising endangered languages requires innovative educational strategies and robust policies to protect minority language rights, uphold linguistic traditions, celebrate cultural diversity, and enrich human communication.

Exploring Case Studies: Demonstrating the Role of Language Preservation in Resisting Linguistic Discrimination

Analysing real-world cases reveals valuable insights into how language preservation functions as a resistance mechanism. The following cases demonstrate the dynamic relationship between endangered languages and proactive attempts to combat linguistic discrimination.

Rejuvenation efforts and promotion of Bilingualism in Wales

The Welsh language in the UK has significantly declined due to English dominance, particularly after the Laws in the Wales Acts of 1535 and 1542, which undermined Welsh in key areas. Nevertheless, since the late 20th century, revival efforts have emerged through grassroots activism and policy initiatives. The Welsh Language Act of 1993 and the Government of Wales Act of 1998 formally acknowledged Welsh and incorporated educational reforms for bilingual instruction up to the age of sixteen. These actions have resulted in a steady increase in Welsh speakers, with a governmental goal of one million speakers by Welsh Government (2017). Revitalisation efforts have also fostered renewed national identity and cultural pride, as the Welsh language has been reintegrated into the media, education, and daily use in conjunction with the promotion of bilingual education. In addition, schools have incorporated Welsh into their curricula, facilitating instruction in both languages. Government offices and public services have begun to provide Welsh language services to promote bilingualism. Additionally, media outlets have played a role in broadcasting Welsh programmes, news and entertainment. Consequently, local cultural events, museums, and festivals

have embraced language, enhancing national identity and pride. Consequently, the collaborative interplay among these initiatives has significantly mitigated discrimination towards Welsh speakers, culminating in the development of a dynamic bilingual community (cf. Özerk & Williams, 2023; Royles & Lewis, 2019).

The Maori Renaissance in New Zealand

The decline in the Maori language, an indigenous linguistic representation of New Zealand, can be traced back to colonisation and the overarching influence of the English language, resulting in the marginalisation of both the Maori language and its cultural significance. Recently, preservation initiatives have experienced a significant increase. Programmes such as Kohanga Reo (language nests), which were established in the 1980s, concentrate on immersing young children in the Maori language from an early age, further supported by government-endorsed television and radio broadcasts. These meticulously coordinated endeavours have played a pivotal role in what is widely recognised as the Maori Renaissance. This cultural revival is characterised by an increased use of language, an enhanced sense of cultural pride and connection to indigenous heritage, and a broader social acknowledgement of New Zealand's dual cultural identity (Hunter & Hunter, 2020; Te Huia, 2020).

Reviving the Hawaiian Language

In Hawaii, the Hawaiian language had previously faced extinction. However, collaborative efforts have led to a successful revitalisation. Schools have emerged as crucial centres for Hawaiian language education through immersion programmes. These programmes allow children to learn the language naturally and incorporate it into everyday conversations. Furthermore, local media began to produce content in Hawaii, helping its normalisation. Community workshops engage adults in language learning and practice. Universities have also played a role in researching and documenting language and preserving cultural heritage for future generations. These joint

initiatives have enhanced cultural pride and reduced linguistic discrimination against native speakers (Wilson, 2020; Saft, 2023; Silva, 2022; Ramirez, 2024; Heinrich, 2020).

Rejuvenation of the Basque Language

The Basque language, a venerable European language, arose from the overwhelming presence of Spanish and French. However, its revival has been bolstered by governmental support, local media participation, and educational initiatives within the Basque Country. In addition, authorities have provided financial resources for Ikastolas, where instruction is conducted in Basque. Public awareness campaigns have highlighted language distinctiveness, promoting its presence in public and domestic spheres. In addition, the media has been instrumental in revitalising the country by producing Basque content, enhancing its status as a spoken language. Similarly, literary and cultural endeavours have significantly contributed to elevating the visibility and acceptance of Basque, thus mitigating the marginalisation of its speakers (Nandi et al., 2023; Breda & Krämer, 2021; Nandi et al., 2022; Roman Etxebarrieta et al., 2024; Gardner et al., 2020; Apodaka et al., 2022).

Indigenous Languages in Latin America

The effort to protect indigenous languages in Latin America exemplifies resistance to cultural homogenisation. Several nations have implemented strategies to protect these languages, recognising their vital role in cultural preservation. In Mexico, the official acknowledgement of 68 national languages, including 63 indigenous languages, is in accordance with the general law on the linguistic rights of indigenous people (cf. Bugeda Bernal, 2019; de León, 2019)). Bilingual education is promoted in regions with notable indigenous demographics and indigenous language characteristics in various media to enhance cultural representation (Hurtado, 2019). Despite this, there are still issues, including a scarcity of resources, an absence of competent bilingual teachers, and social bias. Furthermore, Bolivia's Constitution (2009)

recognises 37 languages, reflecting a strong commitment to linguistic diversity (Hammond, 2011; Gussen, 2017). The establishment of an intercultural bilingual education system and cultural events underscores Bolivia's progressive position, although issues such as resource allocation and educational disparities continue. Furthermore, Peru's Indigenous Languages Act (Ley No. 29735) (2011) facilitates the recognition of 47 indigenous languages in the relevant regions (Howard et al., 2018). This official status enables individuals to utilise their native languages in public services with provisions for interpreter assistance. Consequently, legislation fosters the use of indigenous languages in both public and educational contexts. Indigenous languages are increasingly represented in media and government communications (Mendoza-Mori & Becerra Sanchez, 2023), with grassroots initiatives and community centres essential for language preservation through collaboration with indigenous leaders. Community involvement significantly improves Peru's grassroots strategy by complementing its national policies. Although Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru have made commendable strides in protecting indigenous languages, the efficacy of these initiatives differs. Bolivia stands out for its comprehensive constitutional recognition and educational advancements, establishing it as a leader in linguistic inclusivity. Mexico and Peru have also shown substantial progress, particularly in the incorporation of indigenous languages into the media and public services. Paraguay's acknowledgement of Guaraní as an official language with Spanish signifies the effective incorporation of indigenous languages into societal frameworks, thereby enhancing national bilingualism (Ullon, 2023). However, these three nations face shared challenges such as limited resources, societal prejudices, and inconsistencies in their implementation. In general, these policies emphasise the necessity of an integrated strategy that merges legal structures, educational incorporation, media engagement, and community participation to guarantee effective preservation of indigenous languages and linguistic human rights in Latin America.

Preservation of the Kurdish Language in the Middle East

In Kurdish populations, the preservation of the Kurdish language is essential for cultural conservation and resistance with Kurdish identity and

historical narrative (Soleimani, 2024). Despite political challenges and deprived of linguistics human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1994), grassroots movements are advocates for the Kurdish education. Informal educational institutions bolstered by community and international support improve the accessibility of Kurdish learning. The diaspora uses online platforms to promote language and heritage. Community-driven initiatives and cultural events foster the expression and celebration of the Kurdish identity. Contributions from local authors and artists help to produce Kurdish literature. These efforts not only renew Kurdish usage but also symbolise identity, cultural resilience, and resistance to linguistic discrimination (Bocheńska, 2022; Kelbaugh & Conley, 2021).

In examining these instances, interventions in the legal and political spheres to revitalise minority languages such as Welsh, Maori, Hawaiian, Basque, indigenous languages in Latin America, and Kurdish employ diverse strategies tailored to specific contexts. Legislative and administrative support plays a crucial role in this process. In particular, Wales and New Zealand achieved substantial advances through legal recognition and immersive educational strategies. Furthermore, community-driven educational programmes in Hawaii and media integration in the Basque have demonstrated their effectiveness. Latin America has shown a strong commitment to safeguarding indigenous languages through legal and educational initiatives, although with certain challenges. Additionally, the preservation of the Kurdish language benefits from grassroots movements and digital platforms. These examples highlight the need for a comprehensive approach that integrates legal, educational, media and community efforts for effective revitalisation and the lasting presence of minority languages.

Challenges in Language Preservation and Linguistic Revitalisation of Endangered Languages

Language preservation and the struggle against linguistic discrimination, although noble and critical, often face multifaceted challenges with which various stakeholders struggle.

Societal and Economic Dynamics

Dominant languages frequently engender a unique environment conducive to social advantages and economic proficiency across various domains, rendering them particularly appealing while simultaneously overshadowing languages that are at risk of extinction. For numerous individuals, embracing an endangered language may compromise their economic potential and social status, thereby instigating apprehension, even in instances where they acknowledge the intrinsic cultural significance of their indigenous languages (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). For example, in the Philippines, the prevalence of English and Filipino in formal and educational contexts has resulted in the decreased utilisation of numerous indigenous languages. Furthermore, the elevated status of English in the realms of global commerce and international employment often seems to eclipse the relevance of local languages. In Singapore, the government's prioritisation of English for global commerce has markedly reduced the prevalence of ethnic languages such as Malay, Mandarin and Tamil among youth.

Gaps Across Generations

There frequently exists a significant linguistic disparity between the senior and junior cohorts. The older generation may exhibit proficiency and possess comprehensive insights into the intricate heritage of the language, while the younger generation may only demonstrate a superficial grasp predominantly shaped by the influences of global culture and evolving societal norms. Nevertheless, reconciling this division requires tailored educational frameworks and community-driven initiatives that effectively engage younger populations (Dorian, 1981). For instance, an initiative in the United States entitled The Master's Apprentice Language Learning Programme (1992) pairs younger participants with older, proficient speakers to promote the transmission of language through interactive conversational engagement. This approach is gaining traction in North America (McIvor et al., 2024) and globally (Pine & Turin, 2017). Furthermore, in Japan, initiatives such as the Ainu language revitalisation project at Hokkaido University (2005) sought

to mitigate the generational divide through educational and community-orientated programmes (Alaimo, 2017).

Financial Bottlenecks

The financial battle on the road to language revitalisation is often uphill. Funding is often scarce, particularly when language keepers are members of marginalised communities. Funding is essential for selecting programmes, creating materials, and promoting research (Hinton, 2013). This is evident in several Latin American nations, where efforts to preserve indigenous languages are frequently hampered by financial limitations. It is possible that indigenous groups lack funding or resources to create educational materials or programmes, despite the rich linguistic diversity between them. Similarly, there has been little financial support for Santali, a language spoken in Bangladesh, Nepal, and India. This has had an impact on the development of educational resources and language-learning initiatives.

Controversies Surrounding Linguistic Authenticity

Efforts to revitalise endangered languages often spark spirited debates on linguistic authenticity. The central dilemma revolves around determining which dialect or variant truly captures the core essence of a given language. The quest for standardisation and linguistic purity can become focal points of contention, sometimes fragmenting communities and weakening unified preservation activities (Hale, 2007). This can be seen in the United Kingdom, where the revitalisation of Cornish faced such controversies, with different revivalists advocating various orthographies and dialects. Similarly, the Lanna language in northern Thailand has multiple dialects and lacks a standardised orthography, leading to debates on how to unify and revitalise it while respecting its diverse expressions (Unthanon, 2022; Chumbia & Wongpolganon, 2012; Phattharathanit, 2012).

Policy Pitfalls

Endangered languages face various policy challenges that facilitate their decline. The reasons that influence the risk of language loss are elaborate and cover political, ecological, financial, and sociolinguistic variables. Oppressive ideologies and assimilation tactics have endangered the languages of indigenous populations, as exemplified by the Sámi languages (Fylling & Melboe, 2019; Özerk & Williams, 2023; Sarivaara & Keskitalo, 2016). Consequently, communities frequently abandon their minority languages as dominant languages that provide greater economic, political, and social advantages, worsening the situation. Language policies significantly influence either the exacerbation of conflicts and language loss or the promotion of revitalisation and inclusion, thereby affecting societal stability. Historical legacies of colonisation and marginalisation policies have markedly contributed to language attrition, underscoring the necessity for effective revitalisation initiatives. Furthermore, competent administrations in regions with endangered languages are critical for the formulation and execution of linguistic policies. Additionally, revitalisation efforts require the creation of innovative pedagogical strategies that address the distinct needs and objectives of language recovery. Various countries have implemented strategies for revitalising endangered languages, yielding differing levels of success, and underscoring the critical nature of proactive preservation actions. The decline in endangered languages has necessitated the quantification of endangerment indicators to develop effective early intervention preservation programmes. In China, the majority of minority groups possess their own mother tongues (Zuo, 2007). However, the nationwide promotion of Mandarin Chinese as a national language, initiated in 1956 (Rohsenow, 2004; Zhou, 1999), along with the globalization-driven popularity of Mandarin due to China's trade relations with the world, has placed 120 minority languages in unfavourable positions (Zhou & Ross, 2004; Wang & Phillion, 2009; Sun, 2004; Sun et al., 2007). The promotion of Mandarin often undermines minority languages, such as Tibetan, Sui, and Qiang (Zhou, 2004; Nima, 2001; Stanford & Evans, 2012). Although some educational resources and media exist in these minority languages, national policies do not consistently support their widespread use (cf. Wang & Phillion, 2009).

So, endangered language policies should require a comprehensive approach considering historical, sociopolitical, and cultural contexts. Effective revitalization strategies and policies are essential to preserving linguistic diversity and ensuring sustainability.

Technological Obstacles

In the digital age, languages must evolve to be technology compatible to remain relevant. However, many endangered languages find themselves on the fringes of the digital revolution, lacking foundational technological infrastructure such as specialised keyboards, localised software, or a significant online presence (Warschauer et al., 1997). In particular, languages such as Quechua and Aymara in South America have limited digital presence, with efforts to develop digital resources hindered by a lack of technological infrastructure. Similarly, in Vietnam, minority languages such as Hmong and Khmer Krom struggle to find their place in the digital world, lacking online content, resources, and technology developed for their specific linguistic needs.

Limitations

The methodological framework of this study had certain limitations. For example, it exclusively examined particular databases, concentrated predominantly on publications in the English language, depended on specific lexical terms, and incorporated comprehensive studies. Qualitative methodology may have engendered an element of subjectivity. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic lens used in this investigation may have restricted the interdisciplinary perspectives. It is imperative to acknowledge these limitations to contextualise the findings and inform subsequent research.

Conclusion

Maintaining linguistic rights for minority groups is critically important because the marginalisation of minority languages can profoundly endanger

their status and vitality. State entities wield substantial authority over language policy by promoting specific languages while marginalising others, thus instigating profound societal changes even with slight modifications. The debate about language extinction is notably contentious; certain scholars argue that the disappearance of a language does not negatively impact human society, while others assert that each language embodies a unique perspective, cognitive framework, mode of expression, and worldview, thus making its extinction detrimental to cultural diversity. Educational approaches often prioritise dominant languages over indigenous ones, a phenomenon that has elicited criticism from linguists. Revitalising at-risk languages requires comprehensive strategies that encompass the instruction of the native language within educational systems, its incorporation into cultural frameworks, and the establishment of linguistic resources, such as lexicons and encyclopaedias. Active parental involvement is essential to instruct children in their native languages to promote intergenerational transmission. Language-related conflicts tend to escalate in multilingual states, leading to legal controversies. The survival of minority languages depends on effective government policies, affirmative educational practices, and community-driven initiatives. The extinction of any language eradicates its distinctive cultural identity and perspective, transcending its role solely as a medium of communication.

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**NYKSTANČIOS KALBOS: SISTEMINIS KOKYBINIS
SOCIOKULTŪRINIO POVEIKIO IR KALBŲ ATGAIVINIMO
TYRIMAS**

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamas nykstančių kalbų išsaugojimas ir siekiama aptarti tris klausimus: grėsmės rizikos veiksniai, sociokultūrinis kalbos praradimo poveikis ir sudėtingi kalbų išsaugojimo ir atgaivinimo aspektai. Kokybinė sisteminė apžvalga pabrėžia nykstančių kalbų kultūrinę, istorinę ir intelektualinę svarbą; joje nurodoma, kad globalizacija, urbanizacija ir dominuojančios kalbos įtaka yra pagrindiniai kalbų nykimą skatinantys veiksniai. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, jog kalbos nykimas turi reikšmingų socialinių ir kultūrinių pasekmių, ypač dėl to silpsta kultūrinis tapatumas ir paveldas. Daroma išvada, kad bendruomenės dalyvavimas, technologinė pažanga ir palanki vyriausybės politika yra labai svarbūs veiksniai, kad kalbos, kurioms gresia pavojus išnykti, būtų išsaugotos ir atgaivintos ateities kartoms.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kultūrinis tapatumas; nykstančios kalbos; kalbų politika; kalbų išsaugojimas; kalbinė diskriminacija.

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MULTILINGUALISM IN LITHUANIAN CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE

Abstract. Multilingualism and multiculturalism have always been phenomena present in folklore. Since the last decades of the 20th century, due to changes in lifestyle influenced by factors such as globalization, intense migration, development of social media, and information technologies, manifestations of multilingualism and multiculturalism have become even more noticeable and, in consequence, are becoming an important feature of contemporary folkloric creation. Focusing on a few genres, namely, counting-out rhymes, games, horror stories and horror verses, this article presents and discusses manifestations of multilingualism in Lithuanian children's folklore. The following are the main research questions that the present study aims to investigate: How does multilingualism manifest in children's folklore and what functions does it perform? How do children adopt and transmit folklore, i.e. how do they adopt and creatively reinterpret texts and plots, namely, forms and contents from other languages? Which foreign languages have major impact on Lithuanian children's folklore? The methodology of the research consists of analytical descriptive and comparative analyses. The research has shown that Lithuanian children's folklore is dynamic and open to other languages and cultures. Children are attracted by linguistic play and feel comfortable with texts containing foreign or unknown words. In Lithuanian folklore, two major influences can be traced: Russian influence, particularly from World War II until the beginning of the 21st century, and influence from English-speaking countries, beginning in the 1990s and continuing to the present. Children translate folklore, sometimes word for word, adapt foreign texts, plots, traditions, take over certain genres, or integrate separate words or phrases from other languages into Lithuanian folklore.

Keywords: counting-out rhymes; games; horror stories; horror verses; Lithuanian children's folklore; multilingualism.

Introduction

Multilingualism and multiculturalism have always been phenomena present in folklore because folklore, by its nature, is at the same time both global and local. It does not respect boundaries between states and spreads among culturally diverse communities speaking different languages. Even though it is bound to tradition, folklore is also dynamic, as variation is "one of the key characteristics of folklore" that "guarantees that folklore phenomena are adjusted to the contemporary world" (Babič & Voolaid, 2019, p. 1). Since

the last decades of the 20th century, due to changes in lifestyle influenced by factors such as globalization, intense migration, development of social media, and information technologies, manifestations of multilingualism and multiculturalism have become even more noticeable and, in consequence, are becoming an important feature of contemporary folkloric creation.

Multilingual folkloric texts can be found both in traditional, i.e. that of ancient origin, and contemporary children's folkloric creation. The present study focuses on a few children's folklore genres, such as counting-out rhymes (Lith. *skaičiuotės*), children's games (Lith. *žaidimai*), horror stories (Lith. *šūrpės*), and horror verses (Lith. *siaubaraštukai*). Some of these genres, for instance, counting-out rhymes or horror stories are widely known in the whole world and others, for instance, some games are popular in smaller children's groups.

The majority of the texts analysed in this article are from the Archive of Ethnology and Folklore (hereafter referred to as VDU ER) at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania. This archive, compiled between 1993 and 2024, contains the largest collection of children's folklore in the country. Most of these texts were recorded by researchers, teachers, and students from the Department of Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Humanities at Vytautas Magnus University. The first number and, if necessary, the second number following the abbreviation VDU ER, denote the file, while the final number indicates the narrative's position within it. The analysis includes approximately 1,000 examples of Lithuanian children's folklore from the four mentioned genres. Within this body of folklore, the search specifically focused on examples reflecting multilingualism (the use of foreign languages) and multiculturalism, i.e., children's folklore from other countries and in other languages. Selected examples of texts from different genres help to reveal the variety of ways in which multilingualism manifests in children's folklore.

It is also important to acknowledge certain limitations of the present study. In future research, it would be beneficial to conduct a broader analysis of multilingualism by examining a wider range of genres within Lithuanian children's folklore, such as riddles, teasing rhymes, anecdotes, and so forth. This expanded analysis could help to identify which genres are most receptive to multilingual influences and determine the reasons for this receptivity.

Literature Review

Even though, in folklore, multilingualism most often intertwines with multiculturalism, this article primarily focuses on the concept of multilingualism which has already been quite well studied by literary and translation scholars (e.g. Deganutti, 2022; Dembeck, 2017; Eidukevičienė & Aurylaitė, 2023; Taylor-Batty & Dembeck, 2023) but has not received much attention from folklorists yet. To date, folklorists have provided only sporadic insights into the use of foreign words, phrases or texts in the study of various aspects of different folklore genres. For instance, in the issue of the journal *Traditiones* dedicated to multilingualism in folklore and aiming at “revealing and interpreting cross-linguistic song connections in their contextual settings”, Marija Klobčar (2023), Hana Urbancová (2023), Marjeta Pisk (2023) and other researchers focus on song and music practices in multilingual communities, settled especially in linguistic borderlands. In her article on multilingual songbooks in Slovakia, Urbancová states that “multilingual songbooks point to a culture of multilingual singing, which existed alongside a dynamically developing culture of national singing in the 19th century” and points out to changes in tradition that depend on a variety of factors including cultural and linguistic environment by stating that “the coexistence of languages and the structure of the repertoire changed along with the functions of singing in contemporary society, the given social milieu, and the lives of individual” (2023, p. 40). In her book on riddles, Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj (2001) also provides interesting examples from multilingual societies. Through an illustrative example of a joking riddle from India recorded in English and containing one Hindi word, she demonstrates how “individual words, phrases and even expressions from the vernaculars are readily incorporated into conversational English” (Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 2001, p. 60). The researcher further states that “this is a phenomenon no doubt familiar in other bi- or multilingual communities; the Swedish-speaking Finns, for example, season their spoken language with expressions taken from Finnish that readily present themselves as being more appropriate or topical” (p. 60).

Different traces of multilingualism, such as integrating separate words or phrases from other languages into Lithuanian folklore, the phenomena of

borrowing folkloric texts by translating them from other languages, or adopting entire folklore genres from linguistically diverse communities, have been detected by Lithuanian folklorists (e.g. Anglickienė et al., 2013; Macijauskaitė-Bonda et al., 2021). However, this paper is the first attempt to analyse multilingualism in Lithuanian children's folklore.

Research Methodology

Drawing on theoretical propositions about literary multilingualism by Marianna Deganutti (2022), Till Dembeck (2017) and others, this article seeks to discuss various manifestations of multilingualism in Lithuanian children's folklore. The key research questions addressed in this study are: How does multilingualism manifest in children's folklore and what functions does it perform? How do children adopt and transmit folklore, i.e. how do they adopt and creatively reinterpret texts and plots, namely, forms and contents from other languages? Which foreign languages have major impact on Lithuanian children's folklore? However, to undertake an analysis of multilingual manifestations in children's folklore, first and foremost it is essential to delineate the criteria for folkloric texts to be classified as multilingual. We will consider as multilingual:

1. Texts that are in a foreign language or languages, i.e., when a folkloric text in a foreign language is recorded in Lithuania.
2. Texts that have foreign insertions, i.e., individual foreign language lexemes and word combinations or phrases integrated into the Lithuanian folkloric text.
3. Texts that are known in more than one language, i.e., word-for-word translations or very similar folkloric texts known in Lithuanian and other languages.

When it comes to the analysis of manifest forms of multilingualism in children's folklore, it is important to bear in mind that such folkloric texts include different degree of correctness (deviations from the norm depend on the foreign language competence of the child and on motivation in the text)

(see Helmich, 2016, pp. 30–32). Children generally tend to place more importance on linguistic play, particularly focusing on sound and rhythm, rather than on grammar or the meaning of the text. In some cases, children may not even recognize that they are using multilingual folkloric texts, as texts containing nonsense words or texts that are non-completely understandable are not an obstacle to use them for play. Discussing the boundaries of literary multilingualism, Deganutti uses the term “latent multilingualism”, defined as “the presence of languages in a text even when they are not immediately perceptible” (Deganutti, 2022, p. 1). In children’s folklore, just like in literary texts, both openly expressed, and more hidden forms of multilingualism can be found. Children adapt foreign folkloric texts, plots, traditions, take over certain genres, translate folklore, sometimes, word-for-word, or integrate separate words or phrases from other languages into Lithuanian folklore. However, in many cases, foreign texts or foreign insertions are not perceived as such by children playing with peers.

“Foreign” and Multilingual Texts of Counting-out Rhymes

Interesting examples of how Lithuanian children use, adopt or create texts in other languages are found in counting-out rhymes. As the main function of the counting-out rhyme is to start a game by determining who gets an undesirable role, its most important feature is good rhythm, not meaning. Therefore, as folklorists note, children enjoy linguistic play and the usage of nonsense words, and they do not mind counting-out in “a foreign way” (Anglickienė et al., 2013, pp. 63–77). Observations in the field by Jurgita Macijauskaitė-Bonda, the author of this article whose children are bilingual clearly support this principle; once her children were counting-out in Lithuanian before playing with Italian children in Italy, and, another time, in Lithuania, they were playing with Lithuanian friends and the group was joined by a child of Lithuanian origin living in the USA who used a counting-out rhyme in English. In both cases, the counting-out rhymes were unknown to all players and were not in the language spoken by the majority, however, all children accepted the results of the counting-out as unbiased and objective without questioning their “validity”.

Lithuanian counting-out rhymes can be divided into two major groups: 1) texts composed of nonsense words that often remind words in foreign languages, and 2) texts composed of meaningful words and phrases, although various intermediate categories can be distinguished. Counting-out rhymes composed of nonsense words have been documented since the 19th century, when the collection of these texts began (see Bolton, 1888, pp. 43–51; Anglickienė et al., 2013, p. 21). "Eeny, meeny", which can be spelled in various ways, is the most popular type in English-speaking countries, Lithuania, and many other places. Similar-sounding nonsense syllables can be easily recognized in different languages. As early as the 19th century, Henry Carrington Bolton provided numerous examples of this rhyme from all over the world (1888, pp. 45–48). The "Eeny, meeny" type did not lose its popularity throughout the 20th century and is still in use today. The following examples in Lithuanian (1 and 2), English (3), Polish (4) and Ukrainian (5) that sound like collections of incomprehensible words demonstrate how even completely nonsense texts can be taken over from one language to another and can be shared by children of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

- (1) *Eni meni diki daki / Urbi turbi šmiki šmaki.* (VDU ER 1264/127)
- (2) *Eni meni mani mau / Leci lece aci gaaauuu.* (VDU ER 2089/2196)
- (3) *Eeny, meeny, tippy tee, / Deali, dahlia, dominee, / Hatcha, patcha, dominatcha* (Bronner, 1888, p. 240).
- (4) *Ene due like fake / Torba borba ósme smake / Eus deus kosmateus / Imorele baks!* (VDU ER 2755/1/19)
- (5) <...> *Эни, бени, рики, таки, /Турба, урба, синтибряки, /Эус, бэус, краснобэус, Бац!* (VDU ER 2755/15/21)

Rhythmically composed lines of incomprehensible words can also be extended by adding meaningful text in any language, usually with comic content (6 and 7). As Brian Sutton-Smith points out, "younger children will enjoy the nonsense of sounds, but by seven or so years, children in their riddling are showing increasing interest in word meanings and their proper categorization, as well as using words in a social way as in teasing rhymes and pranks" (1999, p. 142).

- (6) *Eni beni, / Diki daki, / Urbi šurbi, / Šmiki šmaki, / Aus baus bus medaus,
/ Stora boba kiaulę pjaus.*¹ (VDU ER 2061/25)
- (7) *Ēni, kēni, / Šmiki šmaki, / Orbi, sorbi, / Viki baki, / Aus maus bus
medaus, / Tave kiškis šaus!*² (VDU ER 2066/13)

Such counting-out rhymes sound like mysterious charms or spells. Different researchers identify, embedded among the nonsense words, relics of ancient charms, Latin liturgy, Catholic, Muslim, or Hebrew prayers, magic formulas and even secret passwords of the Freemasons (Bolton, 1888, pp. 35–44; Виноградов, 1930). Children have always enjoyed secretly visiting places they are not allowed to enter and, in doing so, likely heard prayers or other words that sounded strange and mysterious to them. Consequently, these words entered folk rhymes and spread among children. In Lithuanian versions, words and phrases from German, Yiddish, Polish, Russian, Latin and some other languages can be found. For example, phrases “Urbi turbi” (1), “Urbi šurbi” (6), “Orbi sorbi” (7) can be traced to “Urbi et Orbi” – “to the city [of Rome] and to the world” – denoting a papal address and apostolic blessing given by the pope on certain solemn occasions, like Easter and Christmas.

In Lithuania, from the 20th century to the present, folklorists have recorded counting-out rhymes that contain lexis similar to that of German (8, 9), Russian (8, 9), and Polish (9). As children who use these texts generally lack proficiency in foreign languages and focus more on rhythm than on meaning, foreign words may become distorted:

- (8) *Lepi lepi lepi in der lepi in der haus / In der haus haus haus in der haus,
/ O mani mani mani makarončiki / Čiki drai, / Čiki drai drai drai čiki
drai.* (VDU ER 1829/1)
- (9) *Ēgi tiki ura / Abal pabal domina / Yki chyki gramatyki / Eni kleini /
Zabus zeini / Pies!* (VDU ER 564/4)

¹ Meaningful words in the last two lines translate into English as: “there will be honey, / A fat lady will butcher a hog”. All translations from Lithuanian and other languages into English, unless otherwise stated, are by the authors of the chapter.

² Meaningful words in the last two lines translate into English as: “there will be honey, / The hare will shoot you”.

Lithuanian folklorists occasionally record entire texts in foreign languages, such as the following example in German (10). However, such instances are relatively rare, with the notable exception of the Lithuanian-Russian version of rock-paper-scissors:

- (10) *Eine kleine Miki Maus / Trog sich seine Hose aus. / Trog sich wida [wieder] an, / Und du bist dran!* (VDU ER 2068/9a)

Despite the fact that many children and young people in Lithuania today are not well-versed in Russian, folkloric texts in Russian are still in use. For instance, one of the most popular counting-out rhymes among Lithuanian children, particularly during the 1990's and 2000's was "Po morskomu raz dva tri"—a variant of rock-paper-scissors that translates from Russian into English as "In the marine way, one two three." Lithuanian children tend to distort Russian words, combine two or three words into one, and often extend the phrase by adding humorous endings in Lithuanian (12, 13). These additions frequently contain vulgar or obscene language (13):

- (11) *Pamazgomu razvati.* (VDU ER 2068/10)
 (12) *Pamarskomu raz dva tri, ir jūreivis nuplukdys.*³ (VDU ER 2068/12)
 (13) *Pamarskomu raz dva try, šiko boba pajūry, vienas papas vandeny, kitas papas šuliny.*⁴ (VDU ER 1923 / 29)

Another variant of this counting-out rhyme known in Lithuania is "Vas-ki-či", which derives from Chinese and is pronounced as vas·kee·chee. It is analogous to "one two three", i.e., "raz-dva-tri" in Russian. Iona and Peter Opie, writing about the linguistic variation in this rock-paper-scissors game, point out that many of the chants imitate Chinese (Opie, 1969, p. 26). This variant of counting-out, described by the Ming dynasty writer Xie Zhaozhe (1567–1624) dates back to around the 2nd century AD and was known as "shoushiling", which translates from Chinese as "the three who fear each

³ In the marine way one two three, and the sailor will carry away.

⁴ In the marine way one two three, an old woman shitted by the seaside, one tit in the water, the other tit in the well.

other". During the 17th century, the game of rock-paper-scissors was introduced to Japan. Subsequently, in the early 20th century, increased interaction between Japan and Western countries facilitated the dissemination of this hand game to English-speaking nations, notably gaining popularity in the United States. Shortly thereafter, it also spread to Europe (Ferro, 2016). Emilija Jacevičienė speculates that, given the game's extensive history, it was not until the 1990s that it was introduced to Lithuania (Jacevičienė, 2024, pp. 43–44). After reviewing Wikipedia articles in 64 languages and examining 40 entries across various topics on Reddit, no chant similar to "vas-ki-či" was found. This suggests that it is a purely Lithuanian variant, possibly an imitation of the Chinese language, as Opies have noted (Jacevičienė, 2024, p. 45). Different Lithuanian cities and regions use their own variants. For example, in Vilnius and the eastern Lithuania area, the "Vas-ki-či" variant is more widespread, whereas children in Kaunas, Klaipėda and central and western Lithuania are more likely to count using a variant in Russian, albeit with slight distortion: "Pa marskomu ras dva try".

It is also noteworthy that although the words of this counting-out rhyme or game have remained popular for several decades in Lithuania, the accompanying movements have changed. During the Soviet period, children would indicate a number by bending their fingers and counting the unbent fingers until one child was counted out. Nowadays, a different method involving the game of rock-paper-scissors in which the more "powerful" object is declared the winner, has become popular. This method was adopted from English-speaking countries. Moreover, in recent decades, a new element has been added to the list of objects in Lithuania —the well— which has not been documented in children's games from other nations (Jacevičienė, 2024, p. 45). This demonstrates how children are creatively adopting games and their terminology from other cultures and modifying them according to the same unwritten but well-understood rules.

Creative Adaptation of Game Texts in Foreign Languages

Numerous representative examples of children creatively adopting texts from other languages can be found in games. It is important to note that

while playing, children primarily focus on the game itself, with the words serving as a supplementary element that enhances linguistic play. For this reason, during the Soviet period (from the 1950s to the 1980s), when Lithuanian children adopted certain Russian games, they often incorporated the original Russian text without translating it. Such texts are typically rhythmic and poetic and, therefore, difficult to translate.

As an example, let us analyse the popular Ali Baba game, which was well-known not only in Lithuania but also in other Soviet republics during the Soviet era. It is played in two groups, employing dialogue (14–17). With the final words of the game, a child from the opposing team is called out. The child must run towards the opposing team, which stands firmly holding hands, and attempt to break through their line. If successful, the child selects one member from the opposing team and brings them back to their own team. If unsuccessful, the child remains with the opposing team. The game continues until all the children are gathered on one side. The meaning of the text in this game is not very important to the children because the most enjoyable part of the game is running and demonstrating their physical strength. Laima Anglickienė, the author of this article, recalls her childhood experience in the 1980s when she played the game "Ali Baba" with other children, and a neighbour commented that "the Russian game" was inappropriate for Lithuanian children. As Anglickienė remembers, at that time she did not understand what the neighbour referred to and what the latter meant by "the Russian game" as Anglickienė and the other children did not identify it as a foreign game at all.

The game "Ali Baba" was very popular during the Soviet era and, like all games, had its own variations within Russia itself (14, 15):

(14) - *Али-Баба!*

- *О чем слуга?*

- *Пятого, десятого, Петю нам сюда!*⁵ (VDU ER 2746/93/3)

⁵ It translates from Russian into English as: "- Ali Baba! / - What do you need a servant for? / - Fifth, tenth, bring Petya here!". Ali Baba is a fictional character, the hero of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," a very popular tale during the Soviet era and one of the best-known stories in The Thousand and One Nights.

(15) - *Али-Баба!*

- *На что слуга?*

- *Починять рукава!*

- *На чьи бока?*

- *Пятого-десятого, Ивана к нам сюда!*⁶ (VDU ER 2746/93/4)

In some instances, Lithuanian children, while playing this game, would use relatively accurate and clearly understandable Russian words (16). However, the words were more often distorted to maintain a rhythm suitable for chanting (17).

(16) - *Ali baba!*

- *Začem sluga?*

- *Čiris piatava disiatava [vardas] k nam siuda.*⁷ (VDU ER 1294/4)

(17) - *Skalim-baba / Kalim-baba!*

- *Začem sluga?*

- *Na petu disiatu [vardas] nam siudatu.* (VDU ER 2746/93/5)

In some games, only the words from another language are used, while the game rules are changed to those of other games already familiar to the children. This is the case with the game "Sim-sim-fonija" described below. For Russian children, it is a test of endurance (18), whereas for Lithuanian children, it is a game of reaction (19).

(18) Russian variant: *Кони-кони-кони / мы сидели на балконе / чай пили, чашки били / по-турецки говорили: / "чаби, чаляби, чаляби-чаби-чаби" / мы набрали в рот воды / и сказали всем: "замри!"*⁸

⁶ It translates from Russian into English as: "- Ali Baba! / - What do you need a servant for? / - To mend my sleeves! / - On whose sides? / - Fifth to tenth, bring Ivan here!"

⁷ Both texts (15, 16) translate from Russian into English as: "- Ali Baba! / - What do you need a servant for? / - Fifth, tenth, bring [child's name] here!"

⁸ It translates from Russian into English as: "'Konny-konny-konny / we were sitting on the balcony / drinking tea, clinking cups / speaking in Turkish: / 'chabi, chalyabi, chalyabi-chabi-chabi' / we filled our mouths with water / and told everyone: 'Freeze!'"

Endurance Game: Upon saying the words, players must remain still and not move. The first player to move receives a flick to the forehead from the other participants. (VDU ER 2746/93/6)

- (19) Lithuanian variant: *Sim-sim-fonija / Sidiela na balkone ja / Čai pili, rožki (ložki) bili, / Po turecki govoroli, / Čiaba čiriaba / Čiriaba čiaba či / Anuka zamoči. / Po ulicam ušila / Balšije krokodila, / Ana ana ana / Zelionaja byla.*⁹

Reaction Game: The game is played in a circle, with participants clapping their hands. The player who receives a clap on their hand at the final syllable must quickly retract their hand. If they fail to do so and their hand is clapped again, they lose and are eliminated from the game. (VDU ER 2746/93/7)

Folklorists have also recorded cases when only words or rules of a game were adapted, as, for example, in the case of a clapping reaction game "Sim-sim-fonija" (19) or "Am amary amary" with English-like words (20).

- (20) *Am amary amary to flori, / Amari amari / Tiki tomba tiki tomba / Van - tu - try (One- two - three)!* (VDU ER 2746/93/8)

An even more intriguing example is found in Žemaitija (Samogitia), a region of Lithuania, where the traditional Shrove Tuesday (Lith. *Užgavėnės*) custom of visiting neighbours in masks persisted even during the Soviet era. It is noteworthy that over time this tradition shifted from adults to children, who, dressed in costumes, would visit their neighbours and, after greeting them, ask for gifts. During the Soviet period, these children's requests were made in a blend of Russian and Lithuanian (more precisely, in the local Samogitian dialect) (21):

⁹ It translates from Russian into English as: "Sim-sim-fonija / I was sitting on the balcony / Drinking tea, clinking horns (spoons), / Speaking in Turkish, / Chaba chiriaba / Chiriaba chaba chi / Quiet now. / Through the streets walked / Large crocodiles, / Ana ana ana / (It) was green."

(21) *Sašenka Mašenka* [Rus.]

Dobryj dobryj molodec, [Rus.]

Šakar makar duok ragaišį, [Lith.]

kur matušė vakar maišė. [Lith.]

Jeigu blynai nemaišyti, [Lith.]

Prašom pinigų skaityti [Lith.].¹⁰ (VDU ER 2746/93/9)

Indeed, the idea of a “foreign” greeting in another language, aligned with an old tradition. Historically, during Shrove Tuesday, masqueraders visiting homes would impersonate people of different nationalities (such as Jews, Romani, Hungarians); they would mimic their language and manner of speaking to amuse those around them. Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, children creatively adopted the linguistic style of traditional Lithuanian Shrove Tuesday masqueraders and incorporated words from Russian, a language they knew, into their performances.

Taking over Folklore Genres

Not only individual games, texts, and plots can be adopted from other countries and linguistic environments, but entire genres can also be taken over. For instance, consider horror verses (Lit. *siaubaraštukai*, referred to as “sadistic verses” in Russia). These are short, rhymed texts, usually dactylic couplets or quatrains, distinguished by their unique humour and destructive themes. The main characters are often children in dangerous situations, frequently a young boy or girl, or children inflicting harm on adults (Anglickienė et al., 2013, p. 126). Horror verses appeared in Russia around the late 1970s, quickly spreading and becoming one of the most popular genres of contemporary Russian schoolchildren's folklore. By the end of the 20th century, examples of these “sadistic verses” had reached Lithuania. However, they did not gain widespread popularity at that time, with only a few texts circulating in Russian.

¹⁰ Sashenka Mashenka (Rus.) / Good, good young man, (Rus.) / Give us a *ragaišis* (homemade baked from rye flour with the addition of boiled potatoes or barley flour), (Lith.) / That mother mixed yesterday. (Lith.) / If the pancakes are not mixed, (Lith.) / Please count out the money. (Lith.)

Among these were two classic couplets about a little boy who finds a machine gun or an assault rifle and tries it out in his village or kindergarten (22) (Anglickienė et al., 2013, p. 129).

(22) *Маленький мальчик нашёл пулемёт –
 Больше в деревне никто не живёт.
 Маленький мальчик нашёл автомат –
 В братской могиле лежит детский сад.*¹¹
 (Чередникова 1995, p. 72)

In the first decade of the 21st century, particularly with the launch of the monthly magazine *Flintas* in 2003, aimed at boys aged 8-13, horror verses gained popularity in Lithuania. The magazine included a section called "Siaubaraštukai," featuring translated, adapted, or newly created horror verses. The magazine's authors would present the first two lines of a scary rhyme and encourage children to complete it, subsequently publishing some of the best submissions (Anglickienė et al., 2013, pp. 129–130). Around that time, horror verses also entered the virtual space, captivating adults, teenagers, and young people who appreciated dark humour. Consequently, two distinct periods of the existence of horror verses in Lithuania can be identified. The first verses appeared around the same time as in Russia, during the 1980s and early 1990s, but at that time, they were primarily known to Russian children living in Lithuania and their Lithuanian peers who interacted with them. In the early 21st century, there was a resurgence of interest in horror verses in Lithuania. These verses began to be created in Lithuanian, and new variants were translated from Russian (Anglickienė et al., 2013, p. 130). In the example provided (23), the inclusion of a Russian plumber's name clearly signifies a literal translation of the rhyme from Russian. In analogous couplets in Russian, children are depicted playing "Gestapo" and "sadists" (Anglickienė et al., 2013, p. 136).

¹¹ It translates from Russian into English as: A little boy found a machine gun – / No one in the village lives anymore. A little boy found an assault rifle / The kindergarten lies in a mass grave.

(23) *Žaidė rūsy vaikai poliklinika*

*Mirė gimdydamas santechnikas Nilinas.*¹² (VDU ER 2250/11)

Another representative example to consider is horror stories, known as "šiurpės" in Lithuanian. These are defined as terrifying narratives with destructive content, typically culminating in death, and are told by children aged 6 to 12. Although such texts had been known in other countries for several centuries, in Lithuania, horror stories became widespread in the second half of the 20th century, following World War II. Lithuanian children adopted this tradition from Russian children. After WWII, when Lithuania was occupied by Soviet Union, Lithuanian children often participated in various camps and gatherings, and those from mixed families spent their holidays in other Soviet republics, where they shared horror stories with each other. Their communication was in Russian. As a result, many horror stories told by children several decades ago are translations of Russian stories and, consequently, a significant number of modern horror story plots closely resemble their Russian counterparts (Anglickienė, 2009). Nowadays, translations of horror stories from other, especially English-speaking countries, are increasingly spreading across the Internet. As a result, the plots and character names often change. For instance, the popular character "The Queen of Spades" (Lith. *Pikų dama*), known from the Russian tradition (24), is frequently replaced by figures such as Bloody Marry (25), Candyman, or Slender Man, which are more popular in Western Europe. The rapid adoption of new plots and characters through the global virtual world can be exemplified by the rise in popularity of the Slender Man character. Originating as an internet meme in 2009, Slender Man has since been developed worldwide into not only a frightening figure of horror stories (Blank & McNeil, 2018, pp. 3-4) but also a well-recognized icon in popular culture. The character appears in various narratives, including both folklore and original works such as video games and films. Today, Lithuanian children are also well-acquainted with Slender Man.

¹² It translates from Russian into English as: Children were playing clinic in the basement / Plumber Nilin died during childbirth.

(24) *Kartą buvo mergaitė, kurios vardo dabar jau niekas neatsimena. Ji labai mėgdavo pasiimti iš spintos mamos kortas ir jas dėlioti. Mergaitė kortas sudėdavo kartais kryžiaus forma, kartais apvaliai, o tada bandydavo atspėti, kokią ateitį jos pranašauja. Mama, pamačiusi dukrą besiburiančią, labai supykėdavo, atimdavo kortas ir drausdavo jas net liesti, sakydavo, kad ateis Pikų damos juodoji ranka. Tačiau vieną naktį mergaitė nebeiškentė ir užsimanė sužinoti, ką vėl pasakys jai kortos. Ji pasiėmė žvakę, susirado kortas ir nuėjo tyliai į tualetą. Tada užsidegė žvakė, susidėliojo kortas ir pradėjo jas žiūrėti. Tik staiga žvakė užgeso, mergaitė atsisuko ir pamatė, kaip iš tualetu sklinda šviesiai žalia šviesa ir lenda juodoji Pikų damos ranka, ant kurios buvo užmauti trys didelis žiedai. Ranka griebė mergaitę už kaklo ir ją pasmaugė. (VDU ER 1731/61)*

Once there was a girl whose name no one remembers now. She loved to take her mother's cards from the cupboard and lay them out. Sometimes, she would lay the cards out in the shape of a cross, sometimes in a circle, and then she would try to guess what future they predicted. When her mother saw her daughter telling fortunes, she would get very angry, take the cards away, and forbid her from even touching them, saying that the Black Hand of the Queen of Spades would come. However, one night the girl couldn't resist and wanted to know what the cards would tell her again. She took a candle, found the cards, and quietly went to the bathroom. She lit the candle, arranged the cards, and began to look at them. Suddenly, the candle went out, the girl turned around, and saw a light green glow coming from the bathroom and the Black Hand of the Queen of Spades emerging, with three large rings on it. The hand grabbed the girl by the neck and strangled her.

(25) *Ten [buvo] kruvinoji Marija. Ten kaip buvo šeima ir po visą pasaulį plito kiaulių liga. Ir ten Marijai buvo atsitikusi tokia nelaimė, ją užpuolė ta kiaulių liga. Tada ją nuvežė greitai gydytojai, jai pririšo varpelį ir palaidojo gyvą. Ir jos visa šeima sapnavo, kad jos varpelis skamba, o jeigu varpelis skamba, tai reiškia, reikia ją jau atkasti, reiškia, jinai jau normali, nesusirgusi. Jos šeima sapnavo, kad jisai skamba ir jos*

neatkasė. Ir paskui, kad ją vadina Meri kažkaip tai ten. Ir sako, ten reikia uždegti tris raudonas žvakes ir reikia prie veidrodžio atsisėsti ir jinai [Meri] visada prie veidrodžio laukia ir jinai, jos dvasia visada prie veidrodžio su šituo su peiliu. Mano draugei buvo vieną kartą taip atsitikę, jinai kažkokį slaptažodį pasakė ir jos vos nenužudė ta Meri. (VDU 1966/17)

There was Bloody Maria. There was a family, and a swine flu pandemic spread across the world. And then a misfortune befell Maria—she was struck by that swine flu. The doctors quickly took her, tied a bell to her, and buried her alive. Her entire family dreamt that her bell was ringing, and if the bell rings, it means they need to dig her up because it means she has turned normal again, that she is no longer sick. Her family dreamt that the bell was ringing but they did not dig her up. Afterwards, she was called Mary or something like that. And they say you need to light three red candles and sit in front of a mirror, and she [Mary] always waits by the mirror, her spirit always there with a knife. This once happened to my friend; she said some password and Mary almost killed her.

It is noteworthy that over the past two decades, horror stories have been disseminated not only orally but also in written form through various blogs on the Internet. In virtual communities, they are often accompanied by eerie images, and the most popular narratives are adapted into films. Horror stories currently have a new format on the internet, familiar to today's youth as creepypasta. Creepypasta stories can be defined as horror-related legends or scary tales that have been copied and pasted around the Internet. This global phenomenon of telling scary stories live on YouTube or other channels has been adopted by children and youth in Lithuania as well. For example, Greta Orech narrates creepypasta in Lithuanian on her channel, "Creepypasta / Istorijos Iš Pasaulio - YouTube," inspired by examples from children and youth in other countries.

Let us present another example of intercultural communication through the transmission of tradition, this time involving non-textual elements. In Lithuania, during the Soviet period, particularly in the 1980's and 1990's, girls

enjoyed creating the so called "secrets" (Lith. *sekretas / sigretas*) (26). As Russian folklorist Maria Osorina notes, this tradition was documented in Russia as early as the 1910s and 1920s. (Осорина, 2010, pp. 172–173). The tradition, retaining the Russian name for the game, spread among Lithuanian children after World War II. To create a "secret," one needed a piece of glass or the bottom of a bottle. Girls would place the glass on the ground and arrange a composition underneath it using grasses, leaves, flowers, colourful candy wrappers, silver foil, feathers, dried insects, and butterflies, among other items. Occasionally, paper notes containing messages about significant secrets or first love would also be hidden. Typically, a girl would have several such "secrets," which she would visit and update from time to time. These "secrets" were shown only to close friends and were often sought out by boys aiming to destroy them. An angry friend could also ruin a "secret." The tradition began to wane after 1990, and today, it is no longer known among girls.

(26) (VDU ER 2746/93/10)



In summary, the cross-cultural transmission of folkloric traditions illustrates the fluidity and adaptability of folklore. The adoption and adaptation of horror verses, horror stories and "secrets" in Lithuania reflect broader trends

of cultural exchange, where elements from Russian and other traditions have been integrated into local practices. Today, these traditions continue to evolve, influenced by global media and the internet, demonstrating the dynamic nature of folklore in a modern context.

Conclusions

The obtained research results have revealed that Lithuanian children's folklore is highly dynamic and open to multilingual and multicultural influences. Children demonstrate a playful approach to language and are particularly drawn to linguistic play which is a significant aspect of their interaction with multilingual folklore. Children are drawn by the playful and rhythmic qualities of foreign words and phrases, often treating them as whimsical rather than focusing on their semantic content. This phenomenon is evident across various genres, especially counting-out rhymes and games, where such multilingual elements are seamlessly integrated.

The present study highlights two major linguistic influences on Lithuanian children's folklore: Russian and English. Russian influence has been predominant from the post-World War II era (when Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union from 1944 to 1989) to the early 21st century, while English has gained prominence since the 1990s, when Lithuania declared its independence and turned towards the West. These influences manifest through direct translations, adaptations of foreign texts, and the integration of foreign lexemes into Lithuanian folklore. It is also noteworthy that, despite the decline in the popularity of the Russian language and its diminished presence among children and youth today, certain folklore texts continue to be recited in Russian.

The increased visibility of multilingualism in contemporary folklore can be attributed to globalization, migration, and the proliferation of digital media. These factors have facilitated the exchange of cultural and linguistic elements, allowing children to encounter and integrate foreign folkloric traditions into their own practices. Examples of horror stories illustrate how, within a multilingual and multicultural environment, the plots of folklore narratives

can migrate from one cultural or linguistic context to another, and how characters can be easily replaced by others.

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DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ LIETUVIŲ VAIKŲ FOLKLORE

Anotacija. Daugiakalbystė folklore nėra naujas reiškiny. Tai integrali vaikų folklorinės kūrybos dalis, nes daugiakalbystės ir daugiakultūriškumo apraiškų galime rasti tiek ir tradiciniame, tiek ir šiuolaikiniame vaikų folklore. Šio straipsnio tikslas – pristatyti ir išanalizuoti daugiakalbystės apraiškas lietuvių vaikų folklore. Analizei pasitelkiami keli tautosakos žanrai: skaičiuotės, žaidimai, širpės, siaubaraštukai ir kt. Pagrindiniai tyrimo klausimai: Kaip daugiakalbystė pasireiškia vaikų folklore ir kokias funkcijas ji atlieka? Kaip vaikai priima ir kūrybiškai interpretuoja folkloro tekstus ir siužetus, t. y. jų formas ir turinį, paimtus iš kitų kalbų ir kultūrų? Kokios užsienio kalbos labiausiai veikia lietuvių vaikų folklorą? Tyrimo metodai – analitinis aprašomasis ir lyginamasis. Tyrimas atskleidė, kad lietuvių vaikų folkloras yra dinamiškas ir atviras kitoms kalboms bei kultūroms. Vaikus traukia lingvistiniai žaidimai ir žaisdami jie be jokio diskomforto gali vartoti tekstus, kuriuose yra svetimų arba nežinomų žodžių. Po Antrojo pasaulinio karo iki XXI a. pradžios lietuvių vaikų folklorą veikė rusų kalba ir kultūra, o nuo 1990-ųjų iki dabar stebima anglakalbių šalių įtaka. Žaisdami vaikai gali vartoti ir visiškai neverstus kitakalbius tekstus, tik nemokėdami užsienio kalbų dažnai jų žodžius iškraipo. Vaikai taip pat nesunkiai adaptuoja kitakalbius tekstus, nesuprantamus žodžius „sulietuvindami“ ar prijungdami prie jų kitų jiems žinomų tų pačių žanrų lietuviškų kūrinių dalis (pavyzdžiui, skaičiuočių ar kai kurių žaidimų atvejais). Kai kurie žanrai, jų siužetai ir personažai perimami ir pažodžiui (širpių ir siaubaraštukų). Bet visas šis daugiakalbis ir daugiakultūris folkloras puikiausiai adaptuojamas pagal atitinkamų folkloro žanrų kūrimo taisykles ir darniai integruojamas į Lietuvos vaikų folklorą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: daugiakalbystė; lietuvių vaikų folkloras; skaičiuotės; siaubaraštukai; širpės; žaidimai.

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ERRORS IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS ON RENAISSANCE WORKS OF FINE ART

Abstract. Ever wider spread of the Latin language in Europe during the Renaissance period resulted in de facto bilingual society. Latin grew into a cultural code to understanding the ancient high culture heritage though in everyday life people kept using local dialects. Classical Latin was also used as the language of education and by the 15th century, most of the aristocratic elites had achieved a high-level proficiency in Latin. The desire to become a part of the elite class pushed artists, their customers, friends or relatives to place Latin inscriptions on works of fine art. Occasionally they even hired experts to create the text for the inscriptions. However, they were not always well-educated humanists and connoisseurs of the classical Latin, therefore the inscriptions contain numerous errors both in the original, custom-made texts and in quotations from ancient works. The analysis of the Latin inscriptions on paintings, frescoes and engravings of the Renaissance period shows that the most common errors are phonetic and orthographic. This reflects the peculiarities of the pronunciation of Latin letters and letter combinations in this period: use of digraphs (*ae, oe*), alternation of letters *e-a, o-e, o-u, a-o*, replacement of *y* with *i*, simplification in writing doubled consonants, interchange of *ti* and *ci*, parallel use of letters *k* and *c*, substitution of Greek aspirates with single-grapheme counterparts etc. Fewer are the errors of the morphological (declension) and syntactic (use of syntactic constructions, agreement, etc.) levels. Even rarer are the lexical deviations from the norms of classical Latin: most of the vocabulary of the inscriptions comes from the classical period. The desire to avoid incorrect use of certain forms often led to hypercorrection. In some cases, the errors were made because the artists did not understand the meaning of the inscription.

Keywords: grammatical errors; hypercorrection; imitation of antiquity; Latin inscriptions; phonetic and orthographic features; Renaissance art.

Introduction

The study of inscriptions on works of fine art of the Renaissance (on the artworks of the *vanitas* genre, on portraits and allegories) in terms of their semantic and functional aspects, references, etc. (Korolova & Lazer-Pankiv, 2022; Lazer-Pankiv et al., 2021) allows the authors to answer many questions about the reason and aim of their use and to understand the meaning of these works in general. However, the historical, cultural, functional and semantic

analysis of the inscriptions opens up a number of unresolved issues for scholars about the errors in Latin inscriptions on works of fine art.

To answer this question, we studied more than three hundred works of fine art (paintings, engravings and frescoes) of the Renaissance period¹ presented in reference books and catalogs of large museum collections, in online catalogs of museums² etc., in order to collect, classify and analyse phonetic and orthographic, morphological, syntactic and lexical errors in Latin inscriptions on them. Although the analysed works of fine art vary from the chronological and geographical viewpoint³, the purpose of the article is to

¹ The chronological boundaries of the Renaissance period are generally defined as 14th – beginning of the 17th centuries (Bosiljka, R. et al. 2000, p. 9; *Treccani: l'Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* (<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/rinascimento/>); *Encyclopædia Britannica* (<https://www.britannica.com/art/Renaissance-art>); *Merriam-Webster dictionary* (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/renaissance>)).

² *Accademia Carrara*, Bergamo, Italy; *Albertina*, Vienna, Austria; *Alte Pinakothek*, Munich, Germany. *Art Gallery of New South Wales*, Sydney, Australia; *Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, UK; *Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi*, Assisi, Italy; *Bibliothèque Royale*, Brussels, Belgium; *Birmingham Museum of Art*, Alabama, USA; *Galleria Colonna*, Roma, Italia; *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, Dresden, Germany; *Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, Germany; *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*, Braunschweig, Germany; *Historisches Museum der Stadt Regensburg*, Regensburg, Germany; *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, Boston, USA; *John Carter Brown Library*, Brown University, Providence, USA; *Kröller-Müller Museum*, Otterlo, Netherlands; *Kulturhistorisches Museum Görlitz*, Germany; *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna, Austria; *Kunstmuseum*, Bern, Switzerland; *Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*, Oldenburg, Germany; *Louvre*, Paris, France; *Mauritshuis*, Hague, Netherlands; *Melanchthonhaus*, Bretten, Germany; *Minneapolis Institute of Art*, Minneapolis, USA; *Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, Rotterdam, Netherlands; *Museum der bildenden Künste*, Leipzig, Germany; *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, USA; *Northampton Museum and Art Gallery*, Northampton, UK; *Öffentliche Kunstsammlung*, *Kunstmuseum*, Basel, Switzerland; *Palazzo Pubblico*, Siena, Italy; *Pinacoteca di Brera*, Milan, Italy; *Prado Museum*, Madrid, Spain; Private collection; *Royal Collection*, Windsor, Berkshire, UK; *Schloss Gottorf*, *Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, Schleswig, Germany; *Schlossmuseum*, Weimar, Germany; *Scrovegni (Arena) Chapel*, Padua, Italy; *St. Anna Kirche*, Augsburg, Germany; *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, *Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, Germany; *Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein*, Gotha, Germany; *The British Museum*, London, UK; *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, USA; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York City, USA; *The National Gallery of Art*, Washington, USA; *The National Gallery*, London, UK; *The National Portrait Gallery*, London, UK; *The Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, UK; *Uffizi Gallery*, Florence, Italy; *Vatican Museums*, *Stanza della Segnatura*, Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican; *Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, UK; *Wallraf-Richartz Museum*, Cologne, Germany.

³ Among the analysed works of fine art there are paintings, engravings and frescoes by representatives of the Italian Renaissance (Domenico Beccafumi, Marco Basaiti, Andrea del Castagno, Jacopo Ligozzi and his Follower, Garofalo, Giotto di Bondone, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Monogrammist B, Giovanni Battista Moroni, Francesco Pesellino, Antonio Pisanello, Raphael, Tintoretto, Giorgio Vasari, Agostino Veneziano), and the Northern Renaissance: German (Heinrich Aldegrever, Hans Baldung, Hans Sebald Beham, Barthel the Elder Bruyn, Lucas the Elder Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, Gerlach Flicke, Hans the Younger Holbein, Georg Pencz, Virgilius Solis, Bernhard Strigel), Dutch and Flemish

give a general description of the trends in the use of the Latin language in inscriptions on works of fine art of the Renaissance period, without resorting to the analysis and detailing of certain chronological or geographical features of its distribution in various regions and spheres of culture. Given the scope and ambiguity of this issue, it would require a separate study.

The main factors that determined the features of inscriptions on works of fine art and caused errors on them were changes in the economy, political and cultural life, as well as changes in the education system and the peculiarities of the language situation that developed during this period (the functioning and active use of classical languages in parallel with the national languages in various spheres of life). Therefore, in the context of our study, we consider it necessary to provide answers to the following key questions: (1) what was the historical and cultural situation in Renaissance Europe that actually caused multilingualism? (2) how did it happen that Latin was used most often on the inscriptions of works of fine art? (3) why did Latin inscriptions on works of fine art contain errors at that time?

Factors of the Latin Inscriptions Use on Renaissance Works of Fine Art

The period from the 13th century to the beginning of the 17th century was a time of great changes in the economy, political and cultural life of European countries. The creation of artworks was no longer the prerogative of the clergy, and art itself had a secular character. There was a gradual transition from church culture to secular culture, which was based on the ancient tradition. The invention of printing opened unprecedented opportunities for the spread of literary and scientific achievements, and close contacts between countries contributed to the penetration of new ideas. This changed the face of Europe, allowing more people access to more texts (Bosiljka et al., 2000, p. 9).

The change of the general cultural paradigm was accompanied by significant changes in the system of education and science, especially in

(Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter the Elder Bruegel, Catharina van Hemessen, Lucas van Leyden, Simon van de Passe, Johann Sadeler, Maerten de Vos, Jan Wierix, Joos van Winghe), English (William Segar and Unknown artist).

the field of philology. At that time, the language situation in Europe was extremely heterogeneous. On the one hand, there was an intensive development of national languages⁴, which influenced the features of Latin inscriptions on works of fine art. On the other hand, numerous other languages were actively studied and used in various spheres of life.

The key factor that determined the language situation in Europe during the Renaissance was the study of the Holy Scriptures on a philological basis⁵. Since this approach required translation researchers to know the languages in which the Bible and other religious texts were written, the study of these languages was intensified (Hamilton, 2004, p. 101). Classical languages were especially actively studied because they had the *sacred* status; special attention was also paid to the study of Hebrew and Aramaic (Hamilton, 2004, p. 101).

The study of the language situation in Europe during the Renaissance requires particular attention to the status of classical languages, and King considers that "Renaissance humanism began in Northern Italy from the enhanced study and imitation of classical (mainly Latin and Greek) texts at the end of the 13th century" (King, 2018, p. 5).

King points out that the study of ancient Greek texts in Eastern Europe continued without interruption since antiquity, whereas in Western Europe the Greek language is not used (2018, pp. 4–5). The process of ancient Greek language learning was especially intensified after 1453 (the year of the fall of Constantinople), because Greek (Byzantine) scholars and translators migrated to Italy, bringing with them Greek and Latin manuscripts (they were stored in the library of Laurentius Medici in Florence); prominent philologists of that time studied, edited and translated these texts from Greek into Latin, prepared them for publication for educated audience who did not know Greek (Bosiljka et al.,

⁴ See J. Leonhardt (2013, pp. 124–31, 163).

⁵ The first illustrative result of the philological approach to the study of the Bible was the publication of a six-volume edition of the Bible in 1514–17, in which the original text was given in parallel with the Latin translation (Complutensian Polyglot). Later, the edition was improved and corrected, and at the beginning of the 15th century the Syriac language was added. In 1516, an Arabic edition of the Psalter appeared (Hamilton, 2004, p. 108). In 1569 and 1573, the *Biblia Regia* was published in Antwerp (Hamilton, 2004, p. 114), which contained the Old Testament in Hebrew along with the Vulgate, the Septuagint was in the original and in Latin; and the New Testament was translated in Greek, Syriac, and Latin in two separate volumes.

2000, p. 9). According to Reeve, it is the return of the Greek language to Western Europe more than anything else that gives the Renaissance period the right to have such a name (Reeve, 1996, p. 32). However, Burckhardt pointed out, that "the study of Greek literature died out about the year 1520 with the last representatives of the colony of learned Greek exiles, and it was a singular piece of fortune that a scholar of such a high level as Erasmus appeared there at that time" (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 75).

Hamilton pointed out that learning Hebrew was much simpler than learning ancient Greek from a practical point of view. There were numerous Jewish communes in Europe; therefore, the experts in Hebrew (and Aramaic), unlike in Greek, had always been in France, Spain, Italy, and everyone could learn Hebrew. For example, Pico della Mirandola did not limit himself to knowledge of the Hebrew grammar and the Holy Scriptures but penetrated into the Jewish Cabbalah and even made himself as familiar with the literature of the Talmud as any Rabbi; Johann Reuchlin published a dictionary and grammar of Hebrew in 1506; the Italian Dominican Sanctes Pagnini, the head of the Vatican Library, was a famous Hebrew teacher and also published a grammar and a dictionary for students; the Jesuit Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino also taught Hebrew and published a grammar (Hamilton, 2004, pp. 102, 106, 113–114; Burckhardt, 1878, pp. 75–76).

In 1515, delegates from the Eastern churches introduced the study of the Syriac language in Rome as this language was widely used in written form and was also the spoken language of some Eastern Christian communities with which the Vatican maintained close relations in the hope of uniting them with Rome. Learning Syriac was accompanied by learning Arabic (Hamilton, 2004, p. 108). The science of medicine, no longer satisfied with the older Latin translations of the great Arab physicians, had constant recourse to the originals, to which an easy access was offered by the Venetian consulates in the East, where Italian doctors were regularly kept (Hieronimo Ramusio, Andrea Mongaio, etc.) (Burckhardt, 1878, pp. 75–76).

So why of the variety of languages was Latin used as a language of the inscriptions on the artworks? Moreover, why did they contain errors? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to take a little excursion into the past and outline the status and the state of Latin in the period under study.

The fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 did not mean the death of the Latin language. "For centuries Latin had been the only language used (apart from Greek and a few minority languages that survived) in most parts of the empire and former empire" (Moran, 2019, p. 21). The administrative center collapsed, the provinces began to develop in their own direction, cultivating local dialects that became the basis for the Romance languages.

Latin in the Renaissance was quite often (in certain social groups and in certain geographical regions) a vehicle for spoken and extempore communication and there were widely differing degrees of proficiency in this spoken use (Tunberg, 2020, p. 66). "Before the end of the first millennium Latin had been spoken by everyone for whom it was a first or a second language. Most of these people were illiterate or had basic literacy only. A minority was literate" (Moran, 2019, p. 21). Latin was under the influence and at the same time influenced national languages, as a result of which the Latin of the same time period in different territories had significant differences. Latin ("reduced and impoverished" (King, 2018, p. 4)) was studied mainly in monastic schools.

Pade analysed the letter of Guarino da Verona (1374–1460), an Italian humanist and classical scholar, one of the pioneers of Greek studies in Western Europe during the Renaissance and an outstanding teacher of humanist scholars, and gave other factors that caused the decline of Latin before the beginning of the Renaissance period. He wrote this letter to his son Niccolò as an example of terrible Latin in 1452; the scientist noted that the reasons for this state of Latin and people's inability to express themselves adequately were the neglect of Cicero's study, whose speech and style were an absolute linguistic norm, and the use of French manuals for studying Latin grammar, which "had caused linguistic havoc" (Pade, 2014, pp. 5–6, 8).

Over time, Latin had the status of the language of state communication, the language of the new Christian religion, literature and education, in general, the language of the intellectual elite and a means of expressing ideas and opinions from various fields of knowledge. Latin was, at that time (in medieval and Renaissance Europe), the *Lingua franca* of educated people, not only in an international sense (significantly strengthening its position) as a means of intercourse between Englishmen, Frenchmen, and

Italians, but also in an interprovincial sense (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 97). "Latin, if not a world language, was a supraregional one, the only language that was understood by educated people, whatever their vernacular might be" (Moran, 2019, p. 22). It preserved and expanded the sphere of its use in the European cultural space.

Vickers draws an interesting parallel between the state of Rome and development of the Latin language, and notes that "letters and the study of Latin went hand in hand with the state of the Roman republic"; therefore, "as the city of Rome was devastated by perverse tyrannical emperors, so Latin studies and letters suffered a similar destruction and diminution, so that at the last hardly anyone could be found who knew Latin with the least sense of style" (Vickers, 2004, p. 76).

During the Renaissance, the aristocratic environment formed the fashion for Latin written culture, and representatives of the nobility and bourgeoisie tried to know it perfectly. Latin was the dominant language in the European cultural space for a long period of time and ensured the continuity of traditions and the transmission of knowledge. During the Renaissance, it united all educated people in Europe and was the cultural code necessary to understand the ancient heritage, to study various sciences and receive education, both religious and secular, and contributed to the cultural integration of Europe. The humanists of the Renaissance transformed European civilization, completed the synthesis of Greco-Roman and Christian culture begun by the Church Fathers in the last centuries of the ancient world, and revitalising almost all aspects of culture, including politics, philosophy, religion, and art (King, 2018, p. 5).

There were Latin schools in every town of the least importance from the beginning of the 15th century (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 81), which became the centers for the growth of humanism (Vickers, 2004, p. 82). Among the educated population, Latin was "an absolute necessity" for intellectuals as the universal language, because it was used not only for reading the works of Latin authors, Latin sources from the liberal arts and theology, but also in order to be able to use it for communication in written and sometimes oral form (Tunberg, 2020, p. 66; Burckhardt, 1878, p. 81). Knowledge of Latin became a norm of life, and moreover a sign of belonging to the higher social classes.

According to Burckhardt (1878, pp. 98–107), the use of Latin in works was dictated not so much by the authors' desire to join the general humanist current but to expand the scope of reading their works: "If you wanted to command a wide audience for your work, it was essential to write in Latin" (Moran, 2019, p. 22).

According to Vickers, the recovery of Cicero's authentic texts and the practice of *imitatio* are two factors for the renaissance of classical Latin in the early 15th century (Vickers, 2004, p. 80). The letters of Cicero, Pliny, and others, were at that time diligently studied as models (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 92). Moreover, Pade notes that there is a clear pattern:

In a period where books are physically neglected, a decline in language competence will automatically follow. And, of course, the inverse: when the books are found again and the texts they contain are recopied and brought into circulation, the material conditions for a re-blossoming of good language are created. (Pade, 2014 p. 10)

In the monastic scriptoria, scribes copied Christian and ancient texts stored in monastic libraries, creating handwritten versions, "so the classical tradition endured in the West: stowed in monastic repositories, embedded in the thought of Christian theologians, displayed in a handful of frequently read and widely circulated Latin books (Cicero, Seneca, and Virgil the favored authors)" (King, 2018, pp. 4–5).

Inspired by ancient texts, humanists sought to write in correct classical Latin and to teach others to do the same, they "did everything they could to make Latin a living language learned primarily by hearing and speaking" (Leonhardt, 2013, p. 224). They despised medieval Latin as corrupt and barbaric, but they also clearly understood the fact that Latin was the international language of education, science, church, administration and politics, so they tried to reform the language (Mout, 2016, p. 28). Cicero was the undisputed model for imitation in language and style for most humanists, although other classical authors were popular (e.g. Valla preferred Quintilian).

By the middle of the 15th century humanists imitated ancient Ciceronian Latin so successfully that it became the gold standard of elite education (Celenza, 2008, pp. 36–37). The restoration of grammatically correct Latin "turned Western society into a bilingual society, in which Latin was used in the realm of high culture, and local dialects were used in everyday life" (Linch, 1994, p. 135). After all, the ability to write exclusively in classical Latin became a common thing for the educated elite by the end of the 15th century. To maintain a faultless style under all circumstances was a rule of good breeding and a result of habit (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 92). Latin was "omnipresent" in the field of education and communication (Coroleu, 2019, p. 73). Latin had strong positions then:

Even when, during the early Middle Ages, the various European vernaculars began replacing Latin, for a good thousand years it would have been unthinkable to practice one of the higher professions without a thorough grounding in Latin. In addition, Latin continued to play a crucial role even after the vernacular languages had become well established throughout Europe. (Leonhardt, 2013, p. 1)

For example, in Sweden, Latin held its strong position up to the end of the Great Nordic War in 1721 and only by the mid 18th century it had lost its status as the main language of the Swedish politics and education, overtaken by the vernacular (Coroleu, 2019, p. 74). Latin was the only official written language for a long period of time: until 1733 in England, until 1784 in the Czech Republic, until 1795 in Poland, and in Hungary Latin lost its state language status in 1844 (Shaidurov, 2008).

Latin was the main language of literature as it was enhanced by the authority of ancient culture (Axer, 1995, p. 83). Neo-Latin writing developed successfully in Italian, Polish, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and English literature. Coroleu notes that in Renaissance literary culture "the development of Neo-Latin poetry, prose, and drama was inextricably linked to (and usually in competition with) the inevitable spread of the vernacular in all spheres of life"; on the one hand, the literary output of several authors who shunned the vernacular tongue altogether or used it rarely

and reluctantly was strongly influenced by the tastes and styles of the dominant vernacular culture; those authors who wrote almost exclusively in the vernacular inevitably looked to their Latin counterparts for models and inspiration (Coroleu, 2019, p. 75).

However, even this restored, model Latin was not homogeneous and unified. As Moss pointed out (2010, p. 17), there were two variants of Latin in Europe during the period from 1470 to 1540: on the one hand, the Latin of the intellectuals with university education of the late Middle Ages, which was the dominant language for academic and ecclesiastical use in Northern Europe at the end of the 15th century ("scholastics"); on the other hand, the Latin language, which was energetically promoted by self-conscious "new" thinkers and writers ("humanists"). Tunberg emphasized the differences between the Latin language used in educational and academic spheres from the norms of classical and patristic Latin, and he also noted that, for example, in Germany, the Netherlands, France and other regions of Central Europe daily communication in Latin was more common than in Italy and Spain (2020, p. 67). The researcher suggested that the teachers in Italy and Spain feared that the excessive influence from their native languages (being similar to Latin) would spoil the Latin used by the students in communication (Tunberg, 2012, pp. 53–61). There were many testimonies that spoken Latin from the 16th to the 18th centuries was much rarer in Italy than in transalpine Europe, so northern European scholars travelling in Italy conversed in Latin much more fluently than the Italians (Tunberg, 2012, p. 8).

The tradition of inscribing works of fine art was very common during the Renaissance; referring to the portrait genre, Lemeshkin noted that "the audience of the Northern Renaissance was used to reading pictures, and in the literal sense of the word" (Lemeshkin, 2019, pp. 56–58). "The inscribed texts are often so eye-catching, so integral to the overall design, that they fairly demand equal time with the portraits themselves" (Vredeveld, 2013, p. 509). Khomentovskaja, the researcher of Italian culture, says the following:

The humanists' attitude to the antiquities was not only the curiosity of enthusiastic antiquity lovers before what was revealed to them by

the veil over the past, but they became an incentive for them to create in the same direction. Like the ancients, they enjoyed decorating the facades of houses and palaces, squares, churches, arches, gardens and fountains with inscriptions to tell about the remarkable things associated with them, or to evoke an image that could inspire and cause aesthetic emotion by combining the music of words with the charm of lines, colours, light and shadows. (Khomentovskaja, 1995, p. 23)

The desire to become a part of the elite class motivated artists, their customers, friends and relatives to place Latin inscriptions on works of art. As Burckhardt pointed out, "a few clever lines, engraved on a monument or quoted with laughter in society, could lay the foundation of a scholar's celebrity" (Burckhardt, 1878, p. 107).

The authorship of Latin inscriptions put on works of fine art during the Renaissance could be very different. Renaissance artists were not always educated humanists and experts in classical Latin: they were representatives of the working class who worked with their hands and received their education in the folk schools and workshops of their masters, not in a university (DePrano, 2008, p. 633). Therefore, the artists sometimes hired specially trained experts to create Latin inscriptions; "artist and writer worked closely together in Renaissance times to create a work that neither could have completed on his own" (Vredeveld, 2013, p. 510). As DePrano notes with regard to women's portraits in Quattrocento, all details were agreed upon between the artist and the patron and recorded in the contracts, so no element on an inscription could be used by the artist in a painting on his own whim; the artist, communicating with the patron, only determined the appropriate location and visual design of the text, he did not go into the details of the inscription, which, in turn, also sometimes led to the errors on the inscriptions (2008, p. 631–32).

Vickers states that the Renaissance humanists approached literature in the essentially utilitarian manner, as an arsenal of resources which could be re-used in their own composition. At this time, numerous collections were created, in which the raw materials for writers, as well as dictionaries of

proverbs, similes, metaphors, phrases, and rhetorical figures, were selected and arranged in some useful sequence, often in alphabetical. "The budding writer no longer need to read the whole of ancient literature: modern middlemen were doing it for him" (Vickers, 2004, p. 83). Ancient quotations were often used in a modified form on works of fine art, since although the Renaissance "revived classical culture it was forced to re-interpret it to fit a quite different series of political and social contexts" (Vickers, 2004, p. 91), and this required a high level of language proficiency.

Therefore, the cumulative impact of all the above mentioned factors resulted in the numerous errors in Latin inscriptions on artworks of the Renaissance period, both in the original custom-made texts and in the quotes from works of ancient authors.

The disappearance of differences in the pronunciation of individual letters and letter combinations, poor knowledge of grammar and etymology of Latin, the influence of dialects and national languages, etc. often led to the incorrect writing of Latin inscriptions⁶. Sometimes an excessive desire to avoid "wrong" forms or constructions that did not correspond to the norms of classical Latin led to the phenomenon of hypercorrection (the application of the norms and rules of classical Latin even in those cases where such use was not etymologically justified).

Types of Errors in Latin Inscriptions on Renaissance Works of Fine Art

Phonetic and Orthographic Errors

Vocalism System

Phonetic and orthographic errors are the most common. In particular, the inscriptions reflect characteristic changes of Latin vocalism

⁶ See Niedermann, M. (1997). *Précis de phonétique historique du Latin*. Paris: C. Klincksieck; Stolz, F., Debrunner, A. (1966). *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter; Weiss, M. (2009). *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor / New York: Beech Stave Press etc.

system. It is known that one of the most important changes in Latin phonetics was the monophthongisation of diphthongs, e.g. the diphthong *ae*.

As Sturtevant pointed out (1916), the orthographic change from *ai* to *ae* in the 2nd century B.C. reflected a change of the second element of the diphthong from a close [i] to a more open sound approaching [e]. In many parts of Latium, *ai* became [ē] in prehistoric times. The process of inconsistent use of digraphs was considered a sign of rustic pronunciation: "ac rustici pappum Mesium, non Maesium, a quo Lucilius scribit: Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat" (Varro LL 7.97); "in Latio rure edus qui in urbe, ut in multis a addito aedus" (Varro LL 5.97). This "rustic" [ē] made its way into urban Latin in a few several "country" words (e.g. *sepes*, *fenum*) (Sturtevant, 1916, p. 116). The attempt of dwellers in the city – particularly, no doubt, those who had come from the country – to avoid rustic [e] led to an "hypercorrection" in the case of diphthongs where its use was not etymologically justified (e.g. *scaena*, *scaeptrum*). Inscriptions *letus*, *etate*, *tabule*, *que*, etc. in vulgar Pompeii dialect indicated the use of *e* instead of *ae*. Various passages of the grammarians of the 4th century clearly showed that monophthongisation of *ae* diphthong became the norm at that time.

There is a general tendency to restore classical Latin in the Renaissance, and therefore numerous examples of inconsistent use of monophthongous and non-monophthongous variants in Latin inscriptions on works of fine art are found: **PRE**LVXI (v. **PRAE**LVXI), **PRE**MIVM (v. **PRAE**MIVM) (Vasari, 1533–34); **me**rore (v. **mae**rore) (Holbein, 1532); **PE**NITENTIA (v. **POE**NITENTIA) (Giotto, 1296–97); **VITE** (v. **VITAE**), **PRE**CIPITAVIT (v. **PRAE**CIPITAVIT), **HEC** (v. **HAEC**) (Garofalo, 1528–31); **OB**EDIENTIA (v. **OBOE**DIENTIA) (Giotto, ca. 1320); **PRE**SENTATVR (v. **PRAE**SENTATVR), **CE**LIS (v. **COE**LIS) (Giotto, 1306d); **PATRIE** (**PATRIAE**) (Beccafumi, 1529–35), etc. On a painting by Jacopo Ligozzi **e**ternum is used instead of **ae**ternum and **e**quat instead of **ae**quat (Ligozzi, 16th c.). The pronoun **quae** in the expression *Quae prius anima mea tangere nolebat nunc cibi mei sunt* is used on J. Ligozzi's painting (Ligozzi, ca. 1600–10) in the form of **que**, while on the paintings of his two followers (Follower Jacopo Ligozzi, 17th c.; Follower Jacopo Ligozzi, n.d.), it is **quae**.

In this context, the use of different phonetic and orthographic variants of the standard Renaissance portrait formula *Aetatis suae* seems to be the most illustrative, especially if these works were created by the same author. For example, on the paintings of Lucas Cranach the Elder we find the inscriptions **ETATIS** (Cranach, 1509), **AETATIS SVE** (Cranach, 1532a), **AETATIS SVÆ** (Cranach, 1550); on Albrecht Dürer's paintings – **æetatis** (Dürer, 1500), **ETATIS SVE** (Dürer, 1519); on the paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger: **Etatis sue** (Holbein, 1527c; 1528), **Etatis Suæ** (Holbein, 1527b), **ETATIS SVÆ** (Holbein, 1527a; 1533; ca. 1535; 1536a; 1540; 1541a-b; 1542), **Æ XLV** (Holbein, 1542–43), **AETATIS SVÆ** (Holbein, 1543b-c), **AETATIS SVE** (Holbein, 1543a), **AETATIS SVE** (Holbein, 1543d); on Giovanni Battista Moroni's paintings: **AETATIS** (Moroni, 1567b), **AET** (Moroni, 1572), **ETATIS** (Moroni, ca. 1573–75a-b). This inconsistent use of monophthongous equivalents along with correct classical forms with diphthong by the same author, and sometimes even in the same inscription indicates, in our opinion, the use of custom-made text by artists.

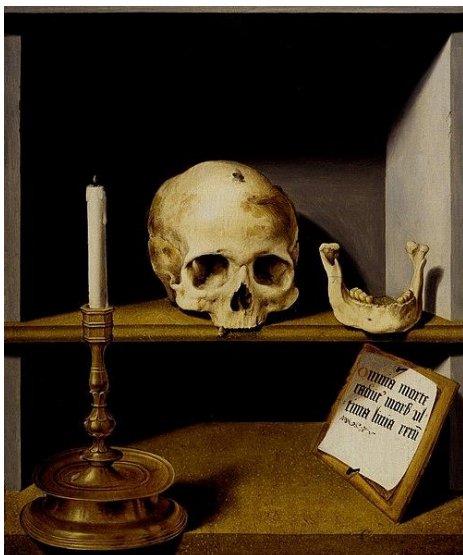
At the same time, the desire to avoid the use of "incorrect" Latin leads to digraphs appearing where they are not etymologically justified (the phenomenon of hypercorrection), e.g. **EFFOEMINAT** is used instead of **EFFEMINAT** (Bruegel, 1558).

Errors in vocalism system also occur in the inconsistency of letter usage, which is related to the instability of orthographic norms in classical Latin and the distinction in their recording in dictionaries of the Middle Ages and subsequent centuries: **BENIVOLENTIA** (v. **BENEVOLENTIA**) (Beccafumi, 1529–35), **VVLNARASTI** (v. **VVLNERASTI**) (Garofalo, 1528–31), **MELENCOLIA** (v. **MELANCHOLIA**) (Dürer, 1514; Beham, 1539f), **IOCUNDITATE** (v. **IUCUNDITATE**) (Giotto, 1306b), **MONDVS** (v. **MVNDVS**) (Garofalo, 1528–31), **CATERINA** (v. **CATARINA**) (Hemessen, 1548b), **ANNA** (v. **ANNO**) (Baldung, 1509), **THEODERICVS** (v. **THEODORICVS**) (Vos, 1597).

Pronunciation features are also associated with the emergence of spelling variants of the expression *Mors ultima linea rerum: linja* is used on the painting by Barthel Bruyn the Elder (1524) (Fig. 1). We can see the phenomenon of narrowing the vowel [e] > [i] before the next vowel in writing (the examples of this phenomenon include the emergence in Latin inscriptions of the variants *mija* (v. *mea*), *balnja* (v. *balnea*), etc.).

Figure 1

Barthel Bruyn the Elder. *Vanitas* (public domain)



In some inscriptions, y^7 is replaced by i due to the fact that these letters are pronounced as [i], e.g. **L****I****N**X (v. **L****Y****N**X) (Pencz, 1544b). The desire to avoid this error leads to the hypercorrect use of y instead of i , e.g. **S****Y****D**E**R**A (v. **S****I****D**E**R**A) (Cranach, ca. 1530), **O****B****Y****T** (v. **O****B****I****I****T**) (Moroni, ca. 1573–75a-b), **S****Y****D**N**E****Y****U**S (Eng. Sidney) (Unknown artist, ca. 1576).

Consonantism System

One of the most common phonetic and orthographic features of the consonantism system is the substitution of the Greek aspirates φ (= ph), χ (= ch), θ (= th) and ρ (= rh) with Latin monographic equivalents f , c , t , r : **C****R****I****S****T****I** (v. **C****H****R****I****S****T****I**) (Garofalo, 1528–31); **M****E****L****E****N****C****O****L****I****A** (v. **M****E****L****A****N****C****H****O****L****I****A**) (Dürer, 1514; Beham, 1539f); **C****O****L****E****R****I****C****U****S** (v. **C****H****O****L****E****R****I****C****U****S**), **C****O****L****E****R****A** (v. **C****H****O****L****E****R****A**) (Pencz, 1530–62a); **M****E****L****A****N****C****O****L****I****C****U****S** (v. **M****E****L****A****N****C****H****O****L****I****C****U****S**), **M****E****L****A****N****C****O****L****I****C****I** (v. **M****E****L****A****N****C****H****O****L****I****C****I**) (Pencz, 1530–62c); **F****L****E****G****M****A****T****I****C****V****S**

⁷ In Latin, y was used exclusively in the words of Greek origin, hence its name *i graeca* (Greek [i]).

(v. **PHLEGMATICVS**), **FLEGMATICI** (v. **PHLEGMATICI**) (Pencz, 1530–62b); **SCOLARIS** (v. **SCHOLARIS**) (Castagno, ca. 1450a); **ARITMETICA** (v. **ARITHMETICA**) (Unknown artist, 1530-1600).

At the same time, another trend related to hypercorrection is becoming more widespread: the letter *h* appears where its use is not etymologically justified. This phenomenon is observed in specific Latin and borrowed from Greek lexemes: **AETHERNA** v. **AETERNA** (arch. *aeviternus* "eternal" < *aevum* "eternity"), **SIMVLACHRA** v. **SIMVLACRA** (< *simulacrum* "similarity" < *simulare* "simile" < *similis* "similar") (Cranach, 1520); **PATHMO**, **PATHMI** v. **PATMO**, **PATMI** (< Πάτμος (**Patmos**) – Patmos is one of the Sporades Islands, a place of exile for the Romans) (Cranach, 1521–22); **THETRARCHA** v. **IETRARCHA** (< τετράρχης "tetrarch") (Castagno, ca. 1450b); **THEVCRO(RVM)** v. **IIVCRO(RVM)** (< Ἰεῦκοί (**Ieucri**) "the Trojans") (Castagno, ca. 1450a); **CIRTHAE** (Cirta – the ancient Berber and Roman settlement which later became Constantine, Algeria) (Veneziano, 1535a); **charis** v. **caris** (< *carus* "darling") (Flicke, 1554); **MARCHVS** v. **Marcus** (praenomen, a Roman personal name) (Basaiti, 1495); **CHARITAS** v. **CARITAS** (Bruegel, 1559; Pesellino, 1450b; Beham, 1539a); **SATHAN** v. **SATAN** (Giotto, 1306a); **ATHLAS** v. **ATLAS** (Monogrammist B, 1544b). There are two mistakes in the word **RETHORICA** (**RHETORICA**) from the series *The Seven Liberal Arts* by Francesco Pesellino (1450a). On one of Jacopo Ligozzi's painting of the 16th century variant *pechabis* is used instead of *peccabis* (< *peccare*).

The consequence of the established pronunciation of doubled consonants as ordinary consonants is the simplification of their spelling: **OTOMANICAE** (v. **OTTOMANICAE**) (Veneziano, 1535b); **PHILIPUS** (v. **PHILIPPUS**) (Unknown artist, ca. 1576); (ar)chigram**ateum** (v. (ar)chigram**mateum**) (Dürer, 1522); **COMVTATIVA** (v. **COMMVTATIVA**) (Lorenzetti, 1338-40); **GRAMATICA** (v. **GRAMMATICA**) (Monogrammist B, 1544d; Unknown artist, 1530-1600; Solis, 1530-62); **ECLESIA** (v. **ECCLESIA**) (Garofalo, 1528–31).

However, the opposite phenomenon occurs (as a result of hypercorrection), when the author uses doubling in place of a single consonant, e.g. **KATTARINA**, **LVITTERIN** (v. **KATARINA**, **LVTERIN**) (Cranach, 1526); **vna** (v. **na**) (Unknown artist, early 17th c.). The preparatory drawing of *Sir Richard*

Southwell by Hans Holbein the Younger (1536a) contains the inscription **ETTATIS** (v. **AETTIATIS**).

The letter *k*, which is a graphic variant of the [k] sound, is often used in parallel with the letter *c* in the spelling of the same name: **K**ASTITAS (v. **C**ASTITAS) (Giotto, 1330), **K**aritas (v. **C**aritas) and **K**ARITATIS (v. **C**ARITATIS) (Giotto, 1306c).

Errors in the Use of Letter Combinations

It is a common phenomenon to interchange the letter combinations *ti* and *ci* before the next vowel due to their similar pronunciation. Usually, *ti* is replaced by *ci*: SILENCIO (v. SILENTIO) (Cranach, 1529a; 1529c-d; 1530a-b); GENERACIONEM (v. GENERATIONEM) (Cranach, 1529b); PRVDENCIAM (v. PRVDENTIAM) (Strigel, 1520); Avariccia (v. Avarittia) (Bosch, 1505–10); IVSTICIA (v. IVSTITIA) (Bruegel, 1559–60a; Beham, 1539c); COGNICCIO (v. COGNITTIO) (Beham, 1539b); PRVDENCIA (v. PRVDENTIA) (Beham, 1539d); TEMPERANCIA (v. TEMPERANTIA) (Beham, 1539e); PACICIENTIA (v. PATITIENTIA) (Beham, 1540; Aldegrever, 1549). Sometimes *ci* is replaced by *ti*, e.g. SPETTIALI (v. SPECICALI) (Giotto, 1306c).

Figure 2

Domenico Tintoretto. Portrait of Giovanni Mocenigo (public domain)



A lack of differentiation in pronunciation also leads to simplification in the letter combination *exs*: **EST**INXIT (v. **EXS**TINXIT) (Tintoretto, second half of 16th c.) (Fig. 2); **EX**TINCTO (v. **EXS**TINCTO) (Pisanello, 15th c.); **EX**TAT (v. **EXS**TAT) (Unknown Flemish artist, 1559); **EX**ISTAMUS (v. **EXS**ISTAMUS) (Bruegel, 1559–60b).

Dissimilation of the nasal consonant before the labial consonant leads to the replacement of the letter combination *mp* > *np*; *mb* > *nb*: **TEN**PERANTIA (v. **TEMP**ERANTIA) (Lorenzetti, 1338-40); **AN**BVLATE (v. **AMB**VLATE), **COLU**NBA (v. **COLU**MB) (Garofalo, 1528–31).

Assimilation of the velar consonant to the dental in the letter combination *ct* leads to the replacement of *ct* > (*tt*) > *t*: **AV**TOR (v. **AV**CTOR) (Monogrammist B, 1544d); **OLFAT**VS (v. **OLFACT**VS) (Pencz, 1544a). This phenomenon can be seen in the *Appendix Probi*: "auctor non autor, auctoritas non autoritas" (GL 4.198.30). The addition of a letter *p* between two nasal sounds is also regular, e.g. **DAMP**NATI (v. **DAMN**ATI) (Giotto, 1306a).

Errors at the Morphological and Syntactic Levels

Errors at the morphological and syntactic levels are also found, although in a smaller number.

Morphological Errors

The most common morphological error is the incorrect declension and word formation: **ARIADENV**S **BARBARV**SSA **CIR**THAE **TVNETIQ** **REX** **AC** **OTOMANICAE** **CLASS**^{is} **PRAEF** (Veneziano, 1535b) (**TVNETI**(**QUE**) – is incorrect genitive singular form of a third-declension noun *Tunes*, *-ētis m*, it should be **TVNETISQUE**); *Anno quadragesimo septo* (v. **septimo**) (Holbein, 1528); **HEC** **EST** **VIA** **AN**BVLATE **PER** **EAN** (v. **EAM**) (Garofalo, 1528-31); on the engraving *Visvs* (Pencz, 1544b) the inscription clearly shows the erased letter **E** at the end of the word: **VISV**(**E**).

Syntactic Errors

Examples of syntactic errors are found in some Latin inscriptions. They include violations of the rules for the use of case forms, e.g. motto **AMOR** ET VIRTUTE ("By love and virtue") on the portrait of *Sir Walter Raleigh* (*Raleigh*) by Unknown English artist (1588), contains error in the first word (cf. **AMORE** ET VIRTUTE on the portrait of *Sir Walter Raleigh* by Simon van de Passe (1617)). There are errors in such a well-known (especially in the *vanitas* genre) expression as *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*: it is used in the form *Vanitas vanitatem et omnia vanitas* (Winghe, 1570–1603) (Fig. 3).

Figure 3

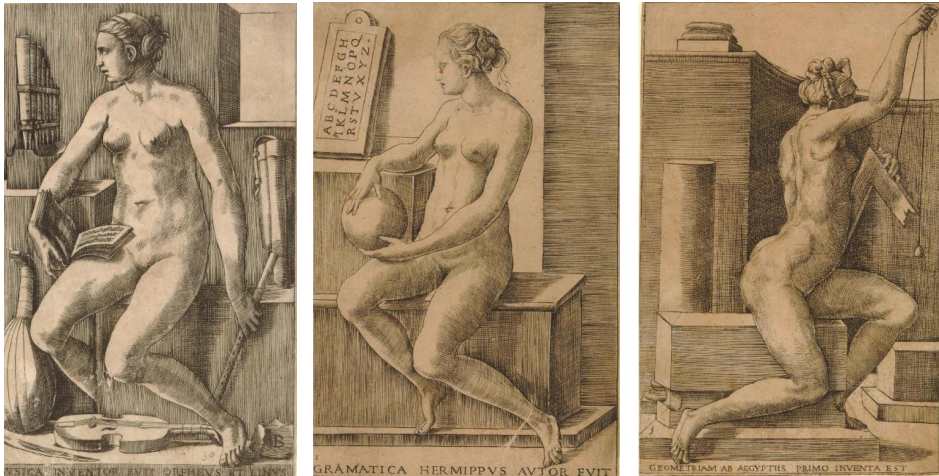
Joos van Winghe. An Allegory of Vanity (public domain)



Individual engravings of the cycle *The Seven liberal arts* by Monogrammist B (Fig. 4) contain gross errors in the syntactic structure of the sentence: **GEOMETRIAM** AB AEGYPTIIS PRIMO INVENTA EST (1544c) (v. **GEOMETRIA** <...>); **GRAMATICA** HERMIPPVS AVTOR FVIT (1544d) (v. **GRAMATICA** <...>); **MVSICA INVENTOR FVIT** ORPHEVS ET LINVS (1544e) (v. **MVSICAE INVENTORES FVERUNT** <...>).

Figure 4

Monogrammist B. The Seven Liberal Arts: Musica. Gramatica. Geometria
(public domain)



The use of a reflexive pronoun for the 3rd person instead of the 1st person can also be considered an example of a syntactic error. Caterina de Hemessen writes in Latin on the self-portrait (1548b): EGO CATERINA DE HEMESSEN **ME** PINXI 1548 ("I, Kateryna de Hemessens, have painted myself") from the first person, but then uses the standard portrait formula AETATIS **SVÆ** instead of AETATIS **MEÆ** (cf. on the portrait *Girl at the Virginal* (1548a), painted in the same year, grammatically correct construction AETATIS **SVÆ** is used).

Miscellanea

Etymological Errors

We would also like to draw attention to the errors that we have grouped under the conventional name of "etymological errors" that resulted from the misinterpretation of the origin of a particular word. Allegorical images often depict the liberal arts, including arithmetic. The traditional name ARITHMETICA (Greek ἀριθμητική) is quite rare (e.g. Monogrammist B, 1544a; Sadeler, ca.

1570–1600; Unknown artist, 1530–1600). Instead, the lexemes ARITHMETRIA (Greek ἀριθμός "number" + μετρέω "measure") (Beham, 1531–1600) (Fig. 5) and ARISMETRICA (< Ars Metrica, formed by analogy with Ars Grammatica) (e.g. Pesellino, 1450a; Solis, 1530–62) are used more often. In the Middle Ages, through a mistaken idea of its etymology, the word *arithmetic* took an extra *r*, as if it had to do with *metric*; this extra *r* is generally found in the Italian literature until the time of printing, in the German books of the 16th century and later (less frequently) in France (Smith, 1958, p. 8).

Figure 5

Hans Sebald Beham. *The Seven Liberal Arts: Arithmetria*



In this context, an interesting example is the adjective *ceterus*, *a*, *um*, for which there are two possible spellings: *caeterus*, *a*, *um* and *ceterus*, *a*, *um*. This orthographic variation (*caet*- and *cet*- with the predominant use of the first variant) is related to the etymology of this adjective proposed by Tortelli and Perotti, i.e. its origin from the Greek *καὶ ἕτερος* (Ramminger, 2014, p. 28). There are cases of using **CAETERA** (Dürer, 1524b; Bruegel, 1559–60a; ca. 1559; Unknown artist, ca. 1576) and **CAETERA** (Unknown Flemish artist, 1559) instead of **CETERA**.

Lapsus Calami

The level of Latin proficiency depended on personal abilities, cultural background, and the influence of mother tongue or the language of the environment. As noted above, the artist, the customers or their friends and relatives took part in the text creating process, and large workshops could hire experts to make the inscriptions. The artists often copied inscriptions from another artworks or a written source, not always realising what they were writing, which also led to errors.

Minnigerode, analysing the inscription on the *Portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton* by William Segar (ca. 1581), says that "artists and even patrons in 16th century England were not always as fluent in Latin as one might assume" (Minnigerode, 2021, p. 331). In particular, among the *lapsus calami* on the above-mentioned portrait are the following: *guis* (v. *quis*); *guidem* (v. *quidem*), *guam* (v. *quam*) etc.

The same type of errors includes the inscription **AR~~II~~HMET<ICA>** (Solis, 1530–62) (obviously misspelt with a change in the sequence of letters **AR~~II~~HMET<ICA>**). But on the engraving created later on its basis, the error in the inscription on the image has already been corrected (Unknown artist, 1530–1600).

In our opinion, additional evidence that artists often did not delve into the meaning of what they wrote can be the fact that, for example, the works by Giovanni Battista Moroni often contained primitive errors in the spelling of Latin text, such as **ETATIS** (Moroni, ca. 1573–75a-b), but at the same time, there was an inscription with a subordinate clause and a subjunctive mood: **CVM BERGOMI PRAETVRAM SVSTINERET M.D.LXV** (Moroni, 1565).

In this aspect, the use of different orthographic variants on paintings by the same author is indicative. In particular, the inconsistent use of monophthongous equivalents along with correct classical forms with diphthongs by the same author (for example, the aforementioned numerous portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger), and sometimes even in the same inscription or on artworks painted in the same year (**ETATIS SV~~AE~~** on *Self-Portrait* and **AETATIS SV~~AE~~** on *Girl at the Virginal* by Catharina van Hemessen

(1548a-b)) indicates that the artists copied a ready-made inscription brought by the customer and did not care about its content.

Influence of the Modern National Languages

As Wallis points out that, "in the 15th century there appear the first inscriptions in modern national languages — in Flemish ("Als ik kan" by Jan van Eyck), in French (Jean Bellegambe, triptych *Noli me tangere*, Warsaw, National Museum), in German (Master of the Book of Reason, Uncourtly lovers, Gotha, Schlossmuseum)" (Wallis, 1973, p. 7). And even in Latin inscriptions there are errors that are caused by the influence of national languages. In particular, in the inscriptions, the majority of the vocabulary of which comes from classical Latin, there are words from other languages (GVERRA v. bellum (Lorenzetti, 1338–40); PRVDENZA (v. PRVDENTIA), TEMPERANZA (v. TEMPERANTIA) (Pesellino, 1450b), and vulgarisms (incl~~y~~ta v. incl~~y~~ta < inclutus, a, um (Wierix, 1572); **COELI** v. **CAELI** < caelum (Cranach, ca. 1530)).

The influence of the German language can be seen in the spelling of the word **V**ORTITVDO (v. **F**ORTITVDO) on the engraving *Fortitude* (Leyden, 1530) and in the spelling of the word **NV**RIMBERGENSIS (v. **NOR**IMBERGENSIS, cf. German. Nürnberg) on the *Portrait of Frederick The Wise* by Albrecht Dürer (1524a).

Other Errors

The inscription NOSCE TE APHTON on Portrait of a Man by Giovanni Battista Moroni (1567a) is an interesting example of a linguistic mess. It is created by combining the famous Greek aphorism ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ("Know thyself"), written at the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and its Latin equivalent NOSCE TE IPSVM. The Latin *ipsum* is replaced here by the Greek αὐτόν, transliterated according to the Byzantine pronunciation (Rossi & Gregori, 1979, p. 269).

Conclusions

The predominant use of a language is often associated with the prestige that arises not because of its linguistic properties but because of its historical and cultural development and because the opposition *mass VS elitism* is also valid for a language. During the Renaissance, a number of factors led to the special prestige and elitism of Latin, which acquired a narrow social base. The cultivation of Latin reflected a linguistic aestheticism (linguistic culture), the principles of which varied depending on the existing language canons.

The humanists' efforts to revive the golden standard of Latin were quite successful and were partially offset by objective factors that led to the appearance of errors in Latin inscriptions on works of fine art: the historical development of Latin, the influence of vernacular languages that were intensively developing at the time, an excessive desire to imitate the norms of "golden" Latin, etc.

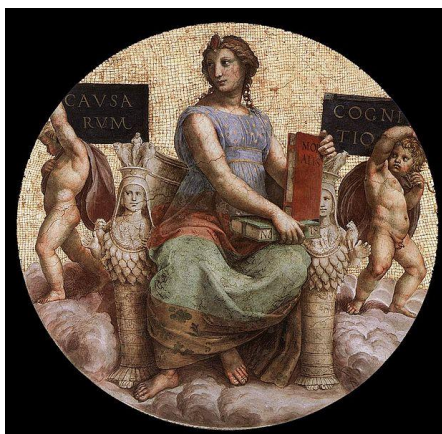
Phonetic and orthographic errors are the most numerous, because they reflect changes in the phonetic system of the Latin language. We have identified and analysed errors in the vocalism system (inconsistent use of monophthongous and non-monophthongous variants as a result of the monophthongisation of diphthongs; errors in letter usage, which is related to the instability of orthographic norms; substitution of *y* by *i* due to the same pronunciation); in the consonantism system (the substitution of the Greek aspirates with the Latin monographic equivalents; simplification of the spelling of doubled consonants; parallel usage of the letter *k* and the letter *c* in the spelling of the same name); in the use of letter combinations (the interchangeability of the letter combinations *ti* and *ci*; simplification in the letter combination *exs*; the replacement of the letter combinations *mp* > *np*; *mb* > *nb* and *ct* > (*tt*) > *t*). Morphological (the incorrect declension and word formation) and syntactic (wrong case forms and syntactic structure of the sentence) errors are not typical. Some errors are caused by the influence of national languages. We also analysed errors caused by incorrect etymology of individual words ("etymological errors") and *lapsus calami*.

An excessive desire to adhere to the norms of the classical Latin led to the use of hypercorrect forms: with digraphs instead of the letter *e*, letter combinations with *h* instead of the Latin monographic equivalents, doubling in place of a single consonant appearing where they are not etymologically justified).

There are cases of errors "correction" (this is probably at the request of the customer / author of the text after the artist's work was done) on several artworks. For example, on some portraits of Martin Luther by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1529a; 1529c-d; 1530a-b) we see the erroneous spelling SILENCIO instead of SILENTIO, but on the later portraits (1532b-c) the error has already been corrected. In *The Five Senses* by Georg Pencz (1544b), the letter E is clearly visible at the end of the word VISV(E).

Figure 6

Raphael. Philosophy



The preparatory drawing of *Sir Richard Southwell* by Hans Holbein the Younger (1536a) contains the inscription ETTATIS, and the painting (1536b) already has a corrected, but not completely, version EIATIS. On Raphael's fresco *Philosophy* in Stanza della Segnatura (1508), the word CAVSARVM was originally written with an O – CAVSAROM (Fig. 6).

It is worth noting that some of the identified errors are difficult to interpret clearly due to the lack of evidence. There are errors in the form of syncopation, e.g. PHILIPPVS (v. PHILIPPVS) (Castagno, 1450a), ÆTATS

(v. ÆTATIS) (Holbein, 1543d), NEAP_oLETANI and DISPENSAT_oR (Castagno, 1450b), OBS_oCVRI (Bruegel, 1559–60b). We are not sure that these errors have been made due to the artist's misunderstanding and / or unwillingness to delve into the meaning of the text, or they are due to decorative and / or technical reasons. We can clearly certify and estimate the errors that are typical of a certain period. As for the rest, unfortunately, sometimes we can only state the fact of their presence, but cannot give an unambiguous assessment.

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**KLAIDOS LOTYNIŠKUOSE UŽRAŠUOSE ANT RENESANSO
VAIZDUOJAMOJO MENO KŪRINIŲ**

Anotacija. Vis platesnis lotynų kalbos paplitimas Europoje Renesanso laikotarpiu lėmė *de facto* dvikalbę visuomenę. Lotynų kalba tapo kultūriniu kodu, padedančiu suprasti antikinės aukštosios kultūros paveldą, nors kasdieniame gyvenime žmonės ir toliau kalbėjo vietinėmis tarmėmis. Klasikinė lotynų kalba taip pat buvo vartojama kaip švietimo kalba, ir iki XV a. dauguma aristokratų elito atstovų puikiai mokėjo lotynų kalbą. Noras tapti elito klasės dalimi skatino menininkus, jų užsakovus, draugus ar giminaičius rašyti lotyniškai ant vaizduojamojo meno kūrinių. Kartais net samdydavo ekspertus, kad šie sukurtų užrašų tekstą. Deja, vadinamieji ekspertai ne visada buvo išsilavinę humanistai ir klasikinės lotynų kalbos žinovai, todėl užrašuose yra daug klaidų – tiek originaliuose, pagal užsakymą sukurtuose tekstuose, tiek antikinių kūrinių citatose. Analizuojant lotyniškų užrašus ant Renesanso laikotarpio paveikslų, freskų ir graviūrų matyti, kad dažniausiai pasitaikančios klaidos yra fonetinės ir ortografinės. Tai atspindi šio laikotarpio lotyniškų raidžių ir raidžių junginių tarimo ypatumus: digrafų (ae, oe) vartojimą, raidžių e-a, o-e, o-u, a-o kaitaliojimą, y keitimą i, dvigubų sąskambių rašymo supaprastinimą, ti ir ci keitimą, lygiagretų k ir c raidžių vartojimą, graikiškų aspiratų keitimą viengarsiais atitikmenimis ir kt. Mažiau morfologinio (skyrybos) ir sintaksinio (sintaksinių konstrukcijų vartojimo, susitarimo ir kt.) lygmens klaidų. Dar retesni leksikos nukrypimai nuo klasikinės lotynų kalbos normų: didžioji dalis užrašų leksikos yra iš klasikinio laikotarpio. Noras išvengti neteisingos tam tikrų formų vartosenos neretai lėmė hiperkorekciją. Kai kuriais atvejais klaidos radosi dėl to, kad dailininkai nesuprato užrašo prasmės.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: gramatinės klaidos; hiperkorekcija; antikos imitacija; lotyniški užrašai; fonetinės ir ortografinės ypatybės; Renesanso menas.

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**ПОМИЛКИ У ЛАТИНСЬКОМОВНИХ НАПИСАХ НА ТВОРАХ
ОБРАЗОТВОРЧОГО МИСТЕЦТВА ПЕРІОДУ ВІДРОДЖЕННЯ**

Анотація. Розширення сфери використання латини в європейському культурному просторі періоду Відродження, фактично, перетворило суспільство на двомовне. Латина була своєрідним культурним кодом, необхідним для осягнення античної спадщини, а в повсякденному житті користувалися місцевими говірками. Класична латина залишалася мовою освіти, а тому до 15 ст. досить високий рівень знання латини став нормою для аристократичної еліти. Прагнення долучитися до еліти було причиною використання художником, замовниками або їхніми друзями та родичами латинськомовних інскрипцій на творах образотворчого мистецтва. Деколи вони наймали спеціалістів для створення латинськомовних інскрипцій, які не завжди були освіченими гуманістами, знавцями класичної латини, а тому написи містять помилки як в оригінальних, створених на замовлення, текстах, так і у цитатах з античних творів. Аналіз латинськомовних написів на картинах, фресках та гравюрах періоду Відродження показав, що найбільш поширеними серед помилок у проаналізованих написах є фонетико-орфографічні, які відображають особливості вимови у цей період окремих латинських букв і буквосполучень: використання диграфів (*ae, oe*), чергування букв *e-a, o-e, o-u, a-o*, заміна *u* на *i*, спрощення в написанні подвоєних приголосних, взаємозаміна *ti* та *ci*, паралельне вживання літер *k* та *c*, субституція сполучень на позначення грецьких придихових приголосних однографемними відповідниками тощо. Меншою мірою у написах відображено помилки на морфологічному (відмінювання) та синтаксичному (вживання синтаксичних конструкцій, узгодження тощо) рівнях. Найменше відхилень від норм класичної латини засвідчено на лексичному рівні: переважна частина словникового складу написів походить з класичного періоду. Прагнення уникнути помилкового вживання тих чи інших форм часто призводило до гіперкорекції. Подекуди поява помилок була спричинена тим, що художники не розуміли змісту напису.

Ключові слова: граматичні помилки; гіперкорекція, наслідування античності; латинськомовні написи; фонетико-орфографічні особливості; мистецтво періоду Відродження.

**MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN
LANGUAGE POLICY
IMPLEMENTATION**

**DAUGIAKALBĒS PRAKTIKOS
ĪGYVENDINANT KALBŪ
POLITIKĀ**



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SCHOOLSCAPING IN A MULTILINGUAL AREA: AN EXAMPLE OF A HUNGARIAN COLLEGE IN WESTERN UKRAINE

Abstract. Transcarpathia is one of the westernmost counties of Ukraine with a century-long multilingual tradition. The biggest minority group in the region is formed by Hungarians whose main educational and cultural centre is the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. The linguistic landscape of the region has been analysed several times, but the same cannot be said about schoolscape studies. Therefore, the present paper aimed to solve this research gap and investigate how a minority higher education institution can implement current educational and language policies in its linguistic landscape. The study employed a qualitative approach to show the symbolic significance of the languages used in an educational setting. Altogether 394 pictures were taken in the corridors of the main building of the Transcarpathian Hungarian College, in the Philology Campus, in several classrooms, and in the near environment of the institution. The pictures were divided into eight distinct categories, ranging from bottom-up to top-down initiatives: decorations, symbolic inscriptions, advertisements, instructions related to crises, names of rooms, educational documents, library signage, and other signs and announcements. In addition, the official website and the social networking sites of the Transcarpathian Hungarian College were analysed briefly as part of a virtual schoolscape analysis. Based on the results, the Rákóczi College follows a strong bilingual tradition by making everything available in at least two languages (Ukrainian and Hungarian), but the bottom-up domain is also subject to monolingualism. Furthermore, the online schoolscape of the institution is multilingual because everything is published in three languages (Ukrainian, Hungarian, and English). The research can be further expanded with the help of the aforementioned qualitative approach of schoolscape in other Transcarpathian Hungarian educational institutions to get a deeper insight into the applied multilingual practices in a war-torn country.

Keywords: Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education; linguistic landscape; multilingualism; schoolscape analysis; Ukraine.

Introduction and Research Context

Transcarpathia is a multilingual region in the western part of Ukraine with over a hundred distinct nationalities, as documented by the latest official census data from 2001. Hungarians form the largest minority group with 151,516 inhabitants, constituting 12.1% of the population (Molnár & Molnár D., 2005). However, many Hungarians emigrated as a result of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 (Cserniczkó & Gazdag, 2023).

Transcarpathia has always been a linguistically and culturally diverse region, being situated at the crossroads of various countries. It is also important to mention that the territory belonged to four different countries in the last one hundred years, including the Czechoslovak Republic, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Ukraine. It was also operating as an autonomous region under the names of Carpatho-Ukraine (in March 1939), and Transcarpathian Ukraine (between September 1944 and January 1946). Not only has the state affiliation of Transcarpathia changed several times, but also the status of the languages used in the region (Cserniczkó et al., 2023). Nowadays, the official language of the state is Ukrainian, and the Russian language is banned from public use. Nevertheless, the Hungarian language variety spoken by the local minority is still influenced by both the previous (Russian) and the current (Ukrainian) state languages in the form of Slavic loanwords (Gazdag, 2021; Váradi, 2022).

Most of the population is bilingual or trilingual with frequent switching between the official and minority languages (Márku, 2013). The linguistic variety of the region is reflected in all aspects of life: there are bilingual schools, people communicate in three or more languages in everyday communication, and the streets are full of multilingual signs. A great number of studies have already dealt with the linguistic landscape of Transcarpathia, especially in the case of the town of Berehove, the last large settlement in the region with a Hungarian majority (Cserniczkó, 2015, 2016; Hires-László, 2019; Hires-László et al., 2023; Tóth-Orosz, 2020).

However, there has been no attempt to conduct a schoolscape study in such a multilingual environment, except for the qualification work of Ohár (2022), where the researcher compared the schoolscales of three secondary

education institutions in Transcarpathia. Nevertheless, no schoolscape analyses were conducted in Transcarpathian Hungarian higher education institutions before.

Therefore, in this research, we investigate the schoolscape of the main building of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, which is a private higher education institution in Berehove and functions as a cultural and educational centre for the local Hungarian minority (Szamborovszkyné Nagy, 2020). In particular, the distribution of languages in the linguistic landscape of the Rákóczi College was analysed, paying special attention to the symbolic power of languages, and the presence of bilingualism and multilingualism within the institution walls.

The Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education is a prominent Ukrainian private educational institution, accredited at the third level, situated in Berehove, Transcarpathia. It was established by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, and it has been in operation since 1996 under the auspices and authorization of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine.

At present, the college offers full-time and part-time courses leading to qualifications such as “junior specialist”, “bachelor”, and “master”, in accordance with the Ukrainian higher education legislation. As specified in the Charter of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, instruction is conducted in Ukrainian, Hungarian, and English languages. At the beginning of the 2023/2024 academic year, the number of enrolled students was 1,698, out of which 1,014 were full-time students, 684 participated in part-time education, and 271 students were admitted to non-accredited courses of different Hungarian universities. As the college is situated in a multilingual area, most of the students are multilingual as well. Many of them speak at least two languages, while others also speak three or more, including Hungarian, Ukrainian, English, German, and Russian (Váradi, 2023).

It is important to mention that the college also has other buildings and branches, including the Vocational High School of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Lyceum, and the Egán Ede Vocational Training Centre. However,

the present study aimed to analyse the schoolscape of the main college building and the Philology Campus of the Rákóczi College, where courses operate in four languages: Hungarian, Ukrainian, English, and German. For further information, please visit the official website of the institution¹.

Linguistic Landscape Analysis

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 23) define linguistic landscape as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region”. How different languages are used in the public space is a manifestation of societal multilingualism.

The analysis of the linguistic landscape can shed light on the dissonance or the harmonious coexistence of different languages, as well as the forms in which the state and minority languages appear in the public sphere (Barni & Bagna, 2015). By investigating the linguistic landscape of multilingual areas, different social and political phenomena can be explained. For instance, even if the linguistic landscape of a minority school is examined, conclusions can be drawn in relation to the language policy of a country (Hires-László, 2019).

Linguistic landscape analysis is based on two different approaches: quantitative and qualitative (Shohamy & Ben-Rafael, 2015). Quantitative analysis of the linguistic landscape involves categorizing the gathered illustrations and signs based on diverse perspectives, elucidating their proportions or frequency distribution. Conversely, qualitative analysis entails the critical interpretation of the positioning of linguistic landscape elements in public areas, while also considering the symbolic significance of languages (Hires-László, 2019).

Based on the degree of formality of the investigated inscriptions, bottom-up and top-down initiatives can be distinguished in linguistic landscape analysis (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). If inscriptions are made by individuals (bottom-up), they are less formal than those inscriptions that are placed by state organizations (top-down).

¹ Available at: <https://kmf.uz.ua/en/>

What is a Schoolscape?

A schoolscape denotes the linguistic environment within an educational setting. It encompasses the physical environment where texts and images shape, alter, and perpetuate language ideologies (Brown, 2012). Schoolscape analysis allows for the exploration of the visual manifestation of implicit educational norms concerning language ideologies (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2012).

The organization of schoolscales is influenced by the legislation, regional mandates, and institutional conventions. Symbols and texts adorning the walls of school buildings are strategically positioned to reflect prevailing cultural and linguistic beliefs within the given institution (Szabó, 2015). In contexts where minority languages are present alongside the state language and possibly other foreign languages, this provides a fertile ground for educational inquiry (Bartha et al., 2013).

Educational institutions serve as vital arenas for implementing and studying language policies and ideologies. Within the linguistic landscape of schools, literacy artefacts wield significant influence in disseminating information, preserving culture, and facilitating social interaction (Wedin, 2021). Gorter and Cenoz (2015) undertook linguistic landscape analyses in multilingual schools situated in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain. The researchers categorized the collected signage into nine distinct groups, considering their informative and symbolic functions. These categories included such aspects as classroom management, teaching values, announcing collective events, and decorations. Their findings revealed that the presence of multilingual signage can foster the enhancement of students' multilingual competence.

A qualitative method for studying schoolscales involves the prolonged observation of various school environments and the recognition of recurring sign patterns within spaces like corridors, classrooms, canteens, staff rooms, and more. Additionally, signs often carry symbolic significance linked to social and cultural traditions in the local community (Laihonen & Szabó, 2017). Schoolscape analyses were conducted in Hungary (Szabó, 2015), in Hungarian-medium minority schools in Romania (Laihonen & Tódor, 2015), and in Transcarpathia, Ukraine (Ohár, 2022). However, no such work

was conducted in Transcarpathian Hungarian higher education institutions before.

Language Policy in Ukraine

Throughout the 20th century, Transcarpathia experienced shifts in sovereignty, leading to changes in the official languages enforced within its borders. These transitions altered the linguistic hierarchy multiple times, resulting in six changes of the official language within the region in the last hundred years, necessitating constant adaptation to evolving political and linguistic landscapes. Despite some improvements for minority languages introduced by the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of the State Language Policy" (State of Ukraine, 2012), the status of the Hungarian language remains precarious in independent Ukraine.

The Law of Ukraine "On Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" (State of Ukraine, 2019) reversed some of these advancements, diminishing the status of all languages in Ukraine except for Ukrainian. This legislation also stripped Hungarian of its regional official language status, prohibiting its use in local government and administration, even in areas where Hungarians constituted a significant proportion of the population (Cserniczkó et al., 2023). The law underscored the significance of using the Ukrainian language in public institutions, education, media, etc. It also made it mandatory to use Ukrainian as the language of instruction in educational institutions throughout Ukraine, with exceptions only for lessons in foreign and minority languages (Cserniczkó et al., 2020).

The Law of Ukraine "On General Secondary Education" (State of Ukraine, 2020) reinforced the importance of Ukrainian as the primary language of instruction in all educational establishments across the country (Cserniczkó & Tóth, 2021). Since 2021, Russian-language schools have been abolished, and there is a growing requirement for subjects to be taught in Ukrainian in minority schools beginning from the 5th grade (Cserniczkó et al., 2023).

On December 8, 2023, the Supreme Council passed the Law of Ukraine "On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine on Taking into Account the Expert Opinion of the Council of Europe and its Bodies on the Rights of National

Minorities (Communities) in Certain Areas” (State of Ukraine, 2023). These amendments were introduced in alignment with the recommendations from the European Commission, aiming to facilitate Ukraine’s progression towards the European Union membership. As per the amendments, private universities now have the flexibility to select the language of instruction from among the official languages of the EU, provided they offer a possibility to learn Ukrainian as a distinct subject. Furthermore, national minority languages that hold official status within the EU are permitted to be used in classrooms alongside the Ukrainian language. Notably, these provisions do not extend to the Russian language due to its classification as the language of an aggressor nation (Ukrainska Pravda, 2023).

Research Methodology

The present research dealt with the qualitative analysis of the linguistic landscape of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. The Philology Campus was also included in the research setting because it is an integral part of the college.

A research gap was identified because numerous studies have dealt with the linguistic landscape of Berehove or the neighbouring villages, but schoolscaping is a relatively unique and new area of research in Transcarpathia. The goal of the study was to develop a comprehensive approach for schoolscaping which can be used in future research in other multilingual educational institutions of the region. Additional research objectives included the qualitative analysis of the distribution of languages in the visual space of a minority higher education institution. As a result of the schoolscape analysis, fruitful patterns and practices of using two or more languages in educational institutions in multilingual settings emerge which can contribute to sustainable multilingual development in the 21st century.

The study addressed the following research questions:

1. How are the Hungarian minority language and the Ukrainian dominant language represented in the schoolscape of a Hungarian minority higher education institution in Ukraine?
2. How can the items found in the visual space of the college be

grouped most effectively to develop a system for conducting schoolscape analysis in other educational institutions?

3. What is the difference between top-down and bottom-up signs in terms of the symbolic importance and representation of languages?

The fieldwork was carried out in March 2024. Pictures were taken both in the corridors and inside the classrooms of the main building and the Philology Campus of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. Altogether 394 pictures were captured in the three floors of the Philology Campus, in the four floors of the main building of the Rákóczi College, in some classrooms, in the air raid shelters, in two canteens, in the school atrium, in the registrar's department, in the schoolyard, and at the front of the building. These pictures were analysed qualitatively and grouped into different categories. The images were meticulously selected to prevent any repetition of identical signs. Additionally, the online schoolscape analysis involved six websites; therefore, the study was based on 400 analysed elements.

The research focused on the symbolic significance of the different languages observed in the linguistic schoolscape of the college: Hungarian as a minority language used as the medium of instruction in the analysed educational institution, Ukrainian as the state language used in all official institutions of Ukraine, and English as an international language. Moreover, it was also an important aspect of the study to analyse the website of the Rákóczi College because it is the "corridor" of part-time students as they study solely online, and do not visit the main building of the college at all. However, virtual linguistic landscape analysis is a separate research method (Biró, 2018), and the present study did not intend to analyse the virtual schoolscape of the college in detail.

Schoolscape of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College

Generally speaking, the schoolscape of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education is predominantly

bilingual. The linguistic landscape corpus consisted of 394 pictures which were divided into eight categories, ranging from bottom-up to top-down initiatives, based on the approach of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). All the pictures can be accessed through Google Drive (see the Appendix).

Additionally, the virtual schoolscape analysis of the websites associated with the Rákóczi College is also provided because they are strongly connected to the institution itself, and students – especially those who participate in part-time courses – visit only the website of the college rather than the main building itself. The categories which were determined as components of the schoolscape analysis are summarized in Table 1, together with the amount of the collected signs and the analysed websites.

Table 1

Categories employed in the schoolscape analysis

| Categories | Components | Amount |
|--------------------------------|---|---------------|
| Decorations | artwork, paintings, informative posters, graduation photo collages, classroom decorations | 127 |
| Symbolic inscriptions | statues, commemorative plaques, institutional inscriptions | 16 |
| Advertisements | inner advertisements of institutional events, conferences, scholarships, and other academic activities; outer advertisements of job opportunities | 52 |
| Instructions related to crises | signs connected to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russo-Ukrainian war, and other emergencies | 27 |
| Names of rooms | signs containing the names and opening hours of offices, classrooms, and departments | 40 |
| Educational documents | lists of thesis topics, extracurricular activities, timetables, and structure of the academic year | 42 |
| Library signage | inscriptions found in the three library departments of the college, the organization of books, signs related to scientific databases available in the college | 34 |
| Other signs and announcements | legal documents, exit signs, toilet signs, menus from the canteens, other informative announcements | 56 |
| Virtual schoolscape analysis | analysing the content of the official website, the digital repository, and the social media sites of the college and the Kiscsikó canteen | 6 |
| Altogether | | 400 |

Decorations

Decorations, whether they are situated in the corridors or inside the classrooms, belong to the informal domain of linguistic landscapes. Everything which had an inscription on it was considered a decoration, including informative posters on the walls, artwork, paintings, maps, books, graduation photo collages, etc. It is important to mention that these are more permanent parts of the schoolscape because decorations are not frequently replaced.

Most of the pictures were taken in the corridors of the main building of the college and the Philology Campus, but decorations were also inspected inside some classrooms belonging to the Departments of Biology, History, and Geography, together with English, Hungarian, and Ukrainian Philology.

Firstly, let us talk about the presence of bi- and multilingualism. Various languages appeared in the decorations: Hungarian, Ukrainian, English, Italian, French, Slovak, Latin, German, and Spanish. Most decorations were Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual, including artwork on the walls with bilingual descriptions beneath, minerals showcased at the Department of Geography, pictures portraying various settlements of Transcarpathia with bilingual inscriptions, and books found on the bookshelves which were often bilingual, with the same content written in two languages.

Figure 1

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Decorations



The bilingual artwork in Figure 2 illustrates how much both teachers and students value the importance of presenting information in both the Ukrainian state language and the Hungarian minority language (which is the native language for most of them). It is enough to look at the heart-shaped little drawing with a mirror at the head, saying in two languages “Your place is here”. The artwork also contains the name of the Art Department in two languages and the bilingual biographies of Transcarpathian artists. In addition, some books are painted on the wall, with the names of famous authors from Hungarian, Ukrainian, and world literature.

Figure 2

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Artwork



However, not all decorations were bilingual. A large set of informative posters about famous Hungarian inventors was available only in Hungarian, together with decorations found near the Biology Department about plants and animals. Monolingual decorations also appeared in the classrooms. The English Department showcased pictures of famous English poets and writers, as well as some posters about English literary classics. The Hungarian Department had posters about the grammar of the Hungarian language and the Hungarian dialects spoken in the Carpathian Basin. In addition, the Ukrainian Department had pictures of famous Ukrainian poets and writers, accompanied by some national symbols. It was also frequent that classrooms near the History and Geography Departments contained monolingual Ukrainian pictures of historical

figures and maps of Ukraine. Moreover, Ukrainian national symbols (flag, coat of arms, national anthem) occurred four times, but the presence of Hungarian national symbols was much more limited.

Other European languages (German, Italian, Spanish, Slovak, etc.) were observable only in rare cases when some educational posters were imported from abroad. Also, Latin was frequently used by the Department of Biology to indicate the names of herbs and plants.

Lastly, graduation photo collages were analysed as well, and nearly all of them were Hungarian monolingual. It was typical that graduates from the English Department chose an English quotation for their collage, and in one case, the Ukrainian version of the students' names was transcribed into English, not the Hungarian one. Interestingly, the graduates of the Ukrainian Department also typically favoured Hungarian photo collages, except for two cases, when the Ukrainian language was used.

Figure 3

Hungarian Monolingual Graduation Photo Collage of Ukrainian Graduates



Symbolic Inscriptions

Statues, commemorative plaques, and institutional signs outside the college building belonged to the category of symbolic inscriptions. Statues

generally had monolingual Hungarian inscriptions because they symbolised great Hungarian historical figures (such as Ferenc Rákóczi II, after whom the college was named), and important members of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia (such as Dr. Kálmán Soós, the former rector of the college). Near to these statues and commemorative plaques, Hungarian national symbols were often observable on wreaths of tribute.

The name of the István Kótyuk Philology Campus also has a symbolic meaning and shows how much the leaders of the college admire their former colleagues and those people without whom the Transcarpathian Hungarian College would not have been able to reach its current state. Some commemorative plaques were bilingual because of biographical reasons. For instance, the Hungarian–English plaque of Milton Friedman, an American economist with Hungarian roots, and the Hungarian–Ukrainian plaque of József Zupkó, who was a former member of the Ukrainian national handball team.

Figure 4

Monolingual Statue, Bilingual Institutional Signs



Furthermore, institutional signs and plaques showing the names of the college, the “Genius” Charity Foundation, the István Kótyuk Philology Campus, and the registrar’s office were all Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual

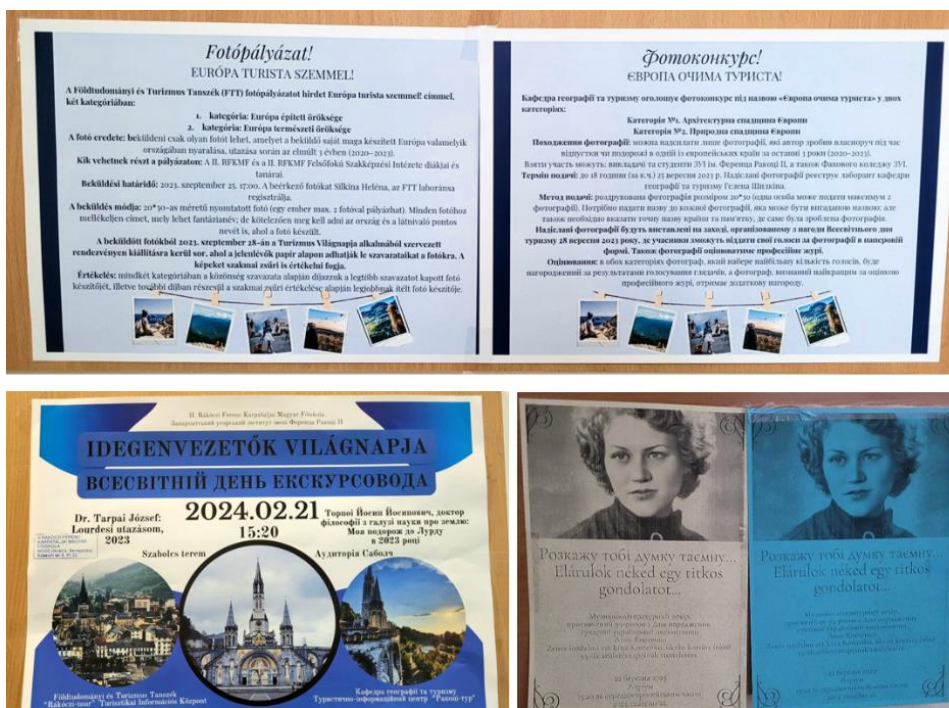
because these were more formal parts of the schoolscape, regulated by different laws.

Advertisements

Advertisements are only temporary parts of the schoolscape as they frequently change. Some of them were rather old from 2022–2023, so we cannot be sure whether the older advertisements were originally placed only in one language or two languages next to each other. Advertisements could be divided into inner and outer types.

Figure 5

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Advertisements



Inner advertisements were placed by the college itself, typically advertising some scientific activities, conferences, scholarships, events, etc. Posters connected to the enrolment campaign of the college were also included

in this section, but most of them were from the previous years and were found at the registrar's office. Most inner advertisements were Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual which was achieved with two techniques: either by showcasing bilingual information on one poster, or by creating two versions of the same advertisement in two languages, typically placed right next to each other. However, in connection with the enrolment campaign, the posters were Hungarian monolingual only, probably because they were not new and the Ukrainian versions have been removed with time. Moreover, the advertisements made by the Ukrainian Department were mostly monolingual, showing information only in the Ukrainian state language.

The English language was used only in the advertisements made by the English Department when they organized workshops, Christmas events, or when a linguist from a foreign country gave a lecture in the college.

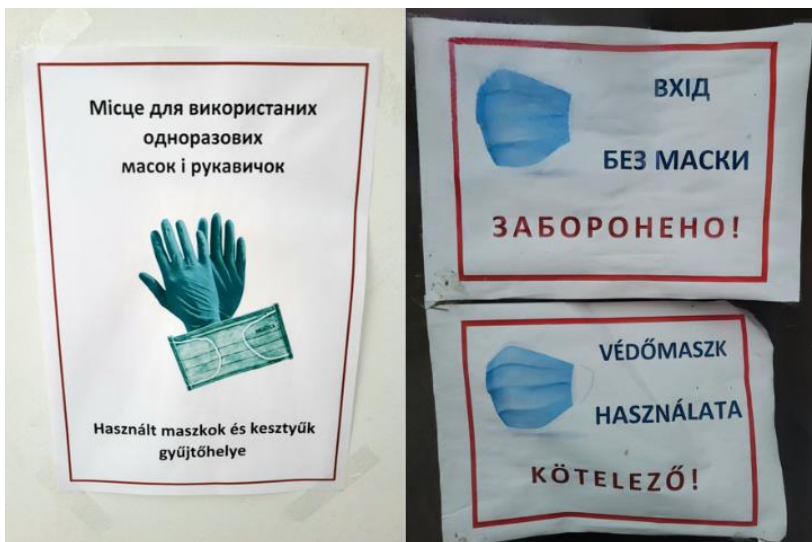
Considering outer advertisements, mainly job advertisements could be mentioned. Most of them, except for two cases, were Hungarian monolingual because they were looking for applicants who spoke Hungarian as a native language. When both Ukrainian and Hungarian languages were required by the companies, the advertisements were bilingual as well.

Instructions Related to Crises

Instructions concerning crises were divided into four categories. Firstly, instructions in case of fires. All of the informative posters and inscriptions on fire alarms were monolingual Ukrainian. Secondly, escape plans, which were Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual, so every student and teacher would understand how to behave in case of an emergency. Thirdly, instructions related to the COVID-19 pandemic were also frequent in the college. Informative posters were posted mostly in Hungarian regarding the correct method of washing one's hands, but Ukrainian signs also appeared in connection with personal hygiene. The most important COVID-19 signs about using a face mask or showing places to leave used masks were Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual. An English sign was also printed probably from the Internet to raise attention to the importance of social distancing.

Figure 6

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual COVID-19 Signs



Lastly, the Russian invasion of Ukraine beginning in February 2022 also resulted in the appearance of some instructive signs. Two typical war-related signs were the ones showing the way towards the air raid shelters and the ones indicating how many people can safely stay in a given shelter, placed above the doors in the cellar of the Rákóczi College. All of the war-related instructions were Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual.

Figure 7

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Signs Related to Air Raid Shelters



Names of Rooms

All the names of classrooms, departments, offices, exhibitions, libraries and other rooms in the college were indicated in Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual signs placed right next to doors.

Figure 8

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Room Names



In addition, the opening hours and the names of personnel working in the given office were also bilingual. Concerning opening hours, even the time had been converted into two formats: Central European Time used in Hungary, and Eastern European Time used in Ukraine, with a one-hour difference.

Monolingual signs occurred in very rare cases. For example, only the Hungarian language was used when showing the place where the off-site training from a Hungarian university took place. In addition, two newer signs were monolingual Ukrainian near the Chemistry Department, indicating specialized cabinets.

Educational Documents

Regarding educational documentation, nearly everything was available in two languages, Hungarian and Ukrainian, respectively. The lists of thesis topics, timetables, semester structures and other department documentation were regulated by the state, and all of them were bilingual.

Figure 9

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Timetables



Hungarian monolingual documents were found only in two cases: lists of students who did not have to attend all the classes shown at the registrar's office, and lists of extracurricular sport activities. Also, some posters made by students about field practices were only Hungarian, but these were informal, bottom-up signs.

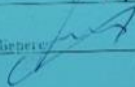
The English language was used only by the English Department to show the obligatory reading list for a subject. Furthermore, an interesting example of using three languages in the same sign could be observed on the door of the English Department, where everything was in English, but the names of teachers were written in Ukrainian, while the position of the department head was written in Hungarian as *Tanszékvezető*.

Figure 10

A Mixture of Three Languages

OFFICE HOURS
PHILOLOGY DEPARTMENT
ENGLISH SUBDIVISION

| | | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Online |
|----|---|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|--------|
| 1 | Баняс Н. Ю. /Banyas N. | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | | | |
| 2 | Баняс В.В./Banyas V | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | | 3-5pm |
| 3 | Барань А. Б./Barany A. | 3-5pm | | | 3-5pm | | |
| 4 | Бати С. З. /Batyí S. | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | | 3-5pm |
| 5 | Врабель Т. Т. /Vrabely T. | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | | |
| 6 | Гнатик К. Б./Inatik K. | | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | |
| 7 | Горенко О. П. /Horeno O. | 3-5pm | | | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm |
| 8 | Густі І. І./Husti I. | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | | |
| 9 | Демецька В.В./Demetskaya V. | | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | |
| 10 | Леврінт М. І./Levrints M. | | | | 3-5pm | | |
| 11 | Лехнер І. Г./L.ehner I. | 3-5pm | | | 3-5pm | | |
| 12 | Лізак К.М./Lizak K. | 3-5pm | | | 3-5pm | | |
| 13 | Надь-Колозшари Е. А./ Nagy-Kolozshvari | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | | |
| 14 | Пліска В.Т./Pliska V/ | | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | |
| 14 | Сіладі В. В./Silagyi L. | | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | |
| 15 | Фабіан М. Ю./ Fabian M. | | | 3-5pm | 3-5pm | | |
| 16 | Ференц В. С./Ferents V. | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | | |
| 17 | Фодор К. Й./Odor K. | | 3-5pm | | 3-5pm | | |

Tanszékvezető:  Beregszasi A.Ф./Beregszasi A.

Library Signage

There are three libraries at the Rákóczi College where students can read and borrow literary and academic works. It can be generally stated that library sections offered Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual signs on bookshelves, indicating the scientific fields of the various books stored in a given place. However, Hungarian-language library signage was richer and more common. As the librarians told us, only the main categories of books were indicated in Ukrainian, while the different sub-categories were shown in Hungarian only. In addition, a lot of informative monolingual flyers were seen in the libraries about Hungarian databases accessible from the college.

Nevertheless, both Hungarian and Ukrainian students could effectively search for anything because the main scientific fields were indicated on the shelves in two languages, and the librarians were eager to help them find any books they wanted. The literary section of the library also frequently makes

exhibitions of famous Hungarian and Ukrainian poets. In March, the birthday of Taras Shevchenko, one of the greatest Ukrainian poets was celebrated with the exhibition of his prominent works on a separate shelf.

Figure 11

Hungarian–Ukrainian Bilingual Library Signage



Other Signs and Announcements

The category of other signs and announcements contained those inscriptions and signage which did not fit into other categories. These were mainly informative signs giving general information such as the way towards the toilets, exit signs, elevator signs, and the menus of the canteens.

Exit, elevator and toilet signs showed a great amount of variety in terms of the observable languages. It can be stated that the Ukrainian version was always present, usually accompanied by an international English word also known by Hungarians, such as *Exit*, *WC*, or *Lift*. On the other hand, specific English terms were also used (*Toilets*, *Disabled*).

Figure 12

International Signage



In addition, some Ukrainian monolingual signs were also found on printing machines made in Ukraine. Legal documents about the students' obligations and samples of contracts were also only Ukrainian, showing that the distinctly formal landscape of the Transcarpathian Hungarian College is in accordance with other higher education institutions in Ukraine. However, informal signs containing the Wi-Fi password, instructions about keeping the toilets clean, or inscriptions indicating the phone number of the porter's cubicle were in Hungarian. These were unofficial informative signs, so it was not important to make them bilingual.

Figure 13

Monolingual Hungarian Menus in Canteens



Lastly, the linguistic landscapes of the two canteens found in the college were dominantly Hungarian considering their menus. The Ukrainian version of the menu was only available on the Facebook page of one of the canteens. The reason for this is that the canteens were not state-regulated organizations inside the college, so their owners could decide in which languages they wanted to inform their guests.

Virtual Schoolscape Analysis

The virtual schoolscape analysis serves as a brief addition to the study because it would require a separate article to conduct a thorough analysis of six websites associated with the Rákóczi College: the main website², the institutional repository³, the Facebook⁴, Instagram⁵, and TikTok⁶ pages of the college, and the Facebook page of the Kiscsikó canteen⁷.

The main website of the college is available in three languages, including Ukrainian, Hungarian, and English. All the news is translated into these three languages and shared both on the official website and the Facebook page of the college. The digital repository is also available in three languages and contains information about the research papers uploaded to the database. Interestingly, the online library catalogue of the college is available in Hungarian, English, Romanian, and German, but not in Ukrainian. It is also possible to take a virtual tour in the college's building⁸, but the programme is only available in Ukrainian and Hungarian. The same can be said about the IRIS learning management system of the college, which is available in both Ukrainian and Hungarian but not in English. Here, the students and teachers can access timetables and individual learning plans in two languages. In addition, different types of educational documents, including regulations, teaching materials, syllabuses, curricula, training programmes, are available on the main website both in Hungarian and Ukrainian.

² Available in English at: <https://kmf.uz.ua/en/>

³ Available in English at: <https://dspace.kmf.uz.ua/jspui/?locale=en>

⁴ Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IIRFKMF>

⁵ Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/rakoczi.foiskola/>

⁶ Available at: <https://www.tiktok.com/@iirfkmf>

⁷ Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/kiscsikomenza>

⁸ Available at: <https://kmf.uz.ua/tour/index.htm>

The Facebook page of the Rákóczi College serves as a place where all the news from the main website is shared in three languages. However, Instagram and TikTok are less formal social networking sites, where pictures and videos are uploaded with only Hungarian descriptions.

The same can be said about the Facebook page of the Kiscsikó canteen, where everything is uploaded only in Hungarian, except for the daily menu which is posted in Hungarian and Ukrainian every day. Therefore, informal posts are made in Hungarian, while more formal announcements are Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual.

Results and Discussion

The Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education is undoubtedly a multilingual educational institution. Three languages are represented in the public space of the college: Ukrainian as an official language, Hungarian as a minority language, and English as a foreign language. With the analysis of the presence of these languages, an insight could be gained into the language ideologies employed in Ukraine and the attitudes towards diversity (Amara, 2018).

The Ukrainian state language was nearly everywhere because most of the signs and inscriptions were Ukrainian–Hungarian bilingual. This was especially true for top-down signs (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), which conveyed the most important information to students. For example, all exit signs, classroom names, department documentation, and official announcements were made in Ukrainian, and (nearly all the time) in Hungarian. This is in accordance with the language policy employed in Ukraine (Csernicskó et al., 2023).

In official, permanent signs, a systematic approach of using the Ukrainian and Hungarian languages could be observed. However, temporary signs placed on walls with adhesive tape showed a great variety of using three languages (Ukrainian, Hungarian, and English). It was typical that advertisements contained the same information in Hungarian and Ukrainian, while sometimes two versions were made from the same posters and were showcased right next to each other. Therefore, the leaders of the college made

sure that everything was available in at least two languages, which were most of the time the Ukrainian state language, paired with the Hungarian, the native language of the majority of students.

Sometimes when they had their individual choice (such as the design of the graduation photo collages or the small instructive signs in the toilet), students – representing the bottom-up or individual perspective (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006) – preferred to use Hungarian instead of the state language. The same can be said about the decoration of the classrooms and corridors. In the Philology Campus, each department had decorations in its own language to make their students more accustomed to the target culture.

The symbolic importance of the Hungarian and Ukrainian languages was observable in every aspect of the schoolscape. For example, names and opening hours of offices, classrooms, departments, and libraries were all bilingual, together with bilingual library signage on bookshelves and bilingual decorations on the walls. Even the website of the Rákóczi College was available in three languages (Hungarian, Ukrainian, English), and every news was posted and shared in these languages on Facebook. Every educational documentation (timetables, thesis topics, syllabuses, etc.) was available in Ukrainian and Hungarian both online and in printed form. Thus the linguistic landscape of the analysed institution was quite the opposite of that employed in other parts of the world, such as in India (Bisai & Singh, 2022), where minority languages are not taken into consideration in the language planning processes.

Only those inscriptions which belonged to the bottom-up domains were monolingual, including informative posters, instructive signs in the toilet, graduation photo collages, and some job advertisements coming from different companies. Biró (2016) also found in a Romanian minority setting that the top-down domains were controlled by state authorities, while bottom-up public language displays supported the Hungarian language more extensively.

The schoolscape analysis leads to the conclusion that the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education is a multilingual educational institution in Ukraine. The Ukrainian state language is used in almost all public inscriptions, most of the time together with the Hungarian equivalent of the same document or advertisement. Moreover, the English language also plays an important role, especially in the case of

inscriptions made by the English Department. It has to be mentioned that schoolscape can vary from school to school because each educational institution may have its own cultural and linguistic ideologies (Szabó, 2015). Therefore, generalizations cannot be drawn from the present study.

Conclusion

The symbolic importance of languages plays a decisive role in their representation in the linguistic landscape of educational institutions. In the framework of this study, the schoolscape of a minority college was investigated in a multilingual environment, situated in a war-torn country. The Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education is a predominantly bilingual institution, where top-down (formal) elements of the linguistic landscape are mostly Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual, while bottom-up (informal) elements are also mainly bilingual, with a considerable amount of monolingualism. Less important informative signs sometimes appear only in Hungarian, but the most crucial documents and inscriptions, including evacuation plans, air raid shelter signs, classroom names and opening hours, timetables and educational documentation, are all Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual.

The findings of the research provide an insight into how languages can be effectively organised in a multilingual, war-torn environment with current minority issues. Minority educational institutions are responsible for making everything available in at least two languages: the minority and the dominant language, thus contributing to sustainable multilingual development among their students. Studying the schoolscape of such institutions can shed light on the useful practices of bilingual tradition which may be adopted by other educational institutions situated in multilingual environments.

In summary, the aim of the study was achieved as a comprehensive qualitative methodology was elaborated to analyse the schoolscape of other Transcarpathian educational institutions in the future. While the study filled a research gap as the linguistic landscapes of Hungarian minority schools were not well-documented, it also had its limitations. To start with, the research contained a brief virtual schoolscape analysis, but it should be further expanded

in a different study. In addition, it would also have been useful to examine the distribution of different languages not only qualitatively, but also quantitatively, over a greater period of time. These future directions of research will provide us with a better understanding of how languages are organised in the visual space and how the linguistic landscape changes with time.

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<https://doi.org/10.47862/apples.110860>

Appendix

All 394 pictures can be accessed through Google Drive:
<https://bit.ly/Drive-Schoolscape>.

Krisztián Váradi

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**MOKYKLINIS KRAŠTOVAIZDIS DAUGIAKALBĖJE APLINKOJE:
VENGRIJOS KOLEGIJOS VAKARŲ UKRAINOJE PAVYZDYS**

Anotacija. Užkarpatė yra viena vakariausių Ukrainos apskričių, turinti šimtmečio daugiakalbystės tradicijas. Didžiausią mažumų grupę regione sudaro vengrai, kurių pagrindinis švietimo ir kultūros centras yra Ferenc Rákóczi II Užkarpatės vengrų aukštojo mokslo kolegija. Regiono kalbinis kraštovaizdis analizuotas ne kartą, tačiau to negalima pasakyti apie mokyklinio kraštovaizdžio tyrimus. Todėl šio darbo tikslas buvo išspręsti tyrimo spragą ir atskleisti, kaip mažumų aukštojo mokslo institucija gali įgyvendinti dabartinę švietimo ir kalbos politiką savo kalbinėje aplinkoje. Tyrime taikytas kokybinis metodas, siekiant parodyti simbolinę švietimo aplinkoje vartojamų kalbų reikšmę. Iš viso Užkarpatės vengrų kolegijos pagrindinio pastato koridoriuose, filologijos miestelyje, keliose auditorijose ir artimoje įstaigos aplinkoje padarytos 394 nuotraukos. Paveikslėliai buvo suskirstyti į aštuonias skirtingas kategorijas – nuo „iš apačios į viršų“ ir „iš viršaus į apačią“ iniciatyvų: dekoracijos, simboliniai užrašai, skelbimai, instrukcijos, susijusios su krizinėmis situacijomis, klasių ir skyrių pavadinimai, bibliotekos iškabos, švietimo dokumentai ir kiti ženklai bei skelbimai. Be to, oficiali Užkarpatės Vengrijos kolegijos svetainė ir socialinių tinklų svetainės taip pat buvo trumpai išanalizuotos kaip virtualios mokyklos kraštovaizdžio analizės dalis. Remiantis rezultatais, Ferenc Rákóczi II kolegija laikosi tvirtos dvikalbystės tradicijos, nes viskas yra prieinama bent dviem kalbomis (ukrainiečių ir vengrų), įskaitant oficialius pranešimus ir neoficialius skelbimus. Be to, mokyklos internetinis vaizdas taip pat yra daugiakalbis, nes viskas skelbiama trimis kalbomis (ukrainiečių, vengrų ir anglų). Tyrimas gali būti toliau pratęstas taikant minėtą kokybinį mokyklinės kalbos kraštovaizdžio analizės metodą kitose Vengrijos švietimo įstaigose Užkarpatėje, kad būtų galima aiškiau suprasti karo nuniokotoje šalyje taikomas daugiakalbystės praktikas.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: Ferenc Rákóczi II Užkarpatės Vengrijos aukštojo mokslo kolegija; kalbinis kraštovaizdis; daugiakalbystė; mokyklos kraštovaizdžio analizė; Ukraina.

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THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF URBAN VELLORE: A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION, CHOICE, AND IMPLICATIONS IN THE COMMERCIAL SPACE THROUGH SHOP SIGNS

Abstract. The current study explores the language distribution on commercial shop signs in the linguistic landscape (LL) of urban Vellore, a city in the Tamil Nadu state of India. The study aims to contribute to the understanding of the LL in urban Vellore by focusing on the analysis of shop signs in the commercial space. A previous survey of the linguistic situation of the region highlights the presence of several Indian and foreign languages in the verbal repertoire of the inhabitants, yet the visual representation of the shop signs render prominence to bilingual signs with English and Tamil occupying maximum space. The study utilizes the conceptual frameworks of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and Social Representation Theory (SRT) to explore the dynamics of shop signs. The study analyzed the total of 250 shop signs from 5 sample areas and interviewed 25 sign producers and 15 sign readers to understand the motivation and implication of language choices on the name boards of shops. The study found that English enjoys the highest visibility and dominance among all languages, while Tamil is salient next to English on the shop signs. The shop owners' language choices on shop names are driven by a desire to accommodate customers from different linguistic backgrounds, to project their cultural identity, and to align with the values of globalization and modernity. The study concludes that there is a dialectical relationship between the city and the inhabitants, as they develop and accommodate one another in response to the city along with its language policies, identity issues, and expectations. The LL of Vellore's shop signs is a reflection of the cultural, linguistic, and economic landscape of the city, and provides a window into the complexities of language use in multilingual urban environments.

Keywords: Communication Accommodation Theory; linguistic landscape; name boards; Social Representation Theory; Vellore.

Introduction

Linguistic landscape (LL), as defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997), is the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (p. 23). Such languages as found on display posters, advertising billboards, graphics, signposts, commercial shop signs, street and place names, city walls, and public signs on government institutions,

are associated with people. They are the ones to produce and display them and may choose to either interpret or ignore. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) state that “these displays shape the ecology in local, global, and transnational contexts and in multiple languages” (p. 1). Coulmas (2009) claims that the LL research, which analyses writing on exhibition in the public space, particularly targets “urban environments” (p. 14). Coulmas goes on to say that the art of writing metamorphosed in cities as they offer a conducive environment for interaction of “language and other social attributes” (p. 14).

Considering cities render propitious conditions for societal multilingualism, LL alludes information about the “language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomenon, regulations, and aspects of literacy” (Gorter, 2013, p. 191). Shohamy and Gorter (2009) believe that visitors to a new location get enticed with the LL as they provide the preliminary information about the culture and practices of the new place. The newcomers to the city try making sense of the new environment through the languages displayed in the LL.

Among several displays that constitute LL, shop signs play a distinct role in making the onlooker passively inclusive in determining the choice of display language on such shop signs. Since shop signs play an informative function, their immediate purpose is to persuade customers to consider the shop in question is worthy of a visit. Therefore, shop signs are usually in such a format that builds an instant connection with the prospective customer.

Eastman and Stein (1993) argue that language display on shop signs “represents symbolic rather than structural or semantic expression” (p. 200). Kelly-Holmes (2014) calls the phenomenon a linguistic fetish as shop signs engage languages with symbolic intention instead of utility purposes. Amara (2018) clarifies this stance by stating that, more than the presenting factual information, shop signs tend to intrigue the potential customers’ emotions.

In the Tamil Nadu state of India, urban parts of Vellore project rich societal multilingualism (Mishra, 2022). Consequently, the LL of the region highlights the balance of more than one language in the visual repertoire of its shop signs. Previous studies conducted on the Indian LL analyzed the languages prevalent in commercial and public signs (Meganathan, 2017; Mishra, 2023). Yet, not many studies have explored the Indian LL, and

therefore the current study intends to address this paucity and concentrates on shop signs in the urban Vellore's space.

Objectives of The Study

The present paper seeks to contribute to the understanding of the linguistic landscape (LL) in urban Vellore by focusing on the analysis of shop signs in the commercial space. To achieve this goal, the study addresses the following objective questions:

- (1) What is the language distribution pattern on the shop signs in urban Vellore's commercial space?
- (2) What regulates the shop owners' language choice on shop names?
- (3) What are the implications of the language codes employed on shop names?

Limitations

However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study, which include its sole focus on the analysis of shop signs without considering other forms of linguistic landscape, a relatively small number of interviewed sign producers (25) and sign readers (15), and its primary focus on the representation of English and Tamil without exhaustively covering other languages present in the region.

Theoretical Frameworks

The study utilizes two conceptual frameworks to explore the dynamics of shop signs in the linguistic landscape of Vellore. First, there is the application of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) to understand how the shop owners present their shop signs to accommodate and maintain their potential customers or remain distinct among competitors. Second, Social Representation Theory (SRT) is applied to explain the broad representation of

Vellore's inhabitants not only among themselves but also in the context of a larger global context.

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Howard Giles' Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) offers a framework to predict and explain the different ways in which the participants in conversation make adjustments to create, sustain or reduce the social distance in communication (Giles & Ogay, 2007). Adaptation strategies primarily include pronunciation, speech rate, pitch, discourse style, language use, and non-verbal elements such as gesture and body language (Bourhis & Giles, 1977; Gallois & Giles, 2015). However, researchers have postulated an array of manners in which interlocutors modify their speech patterns to accommodate their communication partners. According to Toomey et al. (2013), "CAT recognizes two types of orientation: An individual orientation based on personal identity or personalized uniqueness and social identity orientation based on respective social identity or group membership emphasis" (p. 115).

Participants engaged in communication employ communication strategies such as *convergence* and *divergence* to adapt to their communication partner and their social group. Convergence refers to the application of similar communication strategies to express allegiance towards the communication partner. One primary objective of convergence is to indicate homogeneity among the communication partners. This may lead to greater appreciation, approval, and recognition not just among the interlocutors but a follow-up of societal rewards too. Due to convergence, not only the sender is benefitted as it earns approval for them but the receiver also tends to feel more favored when they encounter communication as similar to theirs. This enables the receiver to feel more positive about their identity with greater self-esteem. Nevertheless, convergence may entail the loss of individual or social identity.

Divergence implies the implementation of differentiating strategies to highlight the distinction from the communication partner. According to

Simmons-Mackie (2018), "divergence might accentuate a power differential or reinforce an important identity" (p. 3).

In the current study, CAT is applied in the analyses of LL as found in urban Vellore. As communications partners, the shop owners are the addressers, while the prospective buyers are the addressees or audience in this partnership. The study examines how the addressers either converge or diverge from their audience through the shop signs to indicate their individual orientation as well as social identity orientation.

Social Representation Theory (SRT)

The Social Representation Theory (SRT) is an essential concept of social psychology that focuses on "common cognitions which produce social bonds uniting societies, organizations, and group, 2011, p. 3). The concept was developed by French social psychologist Serge Moscovici (Moscovici, 1961, 1981) and understood as the concerted expansion "of a social object by the community for the purpose of behaving and communication" (Moscovici, 1963, p. 251).

According to Lu et al. (2015), social representations offer a framework that aids people in rendering sense to any circumstance they encounter and thereby steering their actions around that framework. Moreover, these representations vary from one group to another (Brunel et al., 2017). Dagenais et al. (2009, p. 255) assert that social representations could be somewhat cognate and shared by all or maybe variegated and contended for, whenever group members almost share disparate opinions. Dagenais et al. (2009) further add that in the latter case, individuals prudently identify themselves with a specific representation to express either adherence or antagonism to them.

Abric (1976) claims that the structure of social representation comprises two components: the central core, which is the stable focal constituent, and the peripheral components, which are flexible elements that are revamped depending on changes in the environment or new information. Therefore, peripheral components aid individuals "adapt their understanding of

a fluctuating situation without drastically changing the core elements of their representation" (Flament, 1994, in Lu et al., 2015, p. 6).

Pertaining to our situation, SRT is suitable for understanding LL where the city or the urban space is the central core around which the inhabitants who are the peripheral elements adapt and organize themselves to reflect themselves. Blackwood (2010) states that "cities are not animate entities ... and they do not act of their own volition" (p. 303). Thus, the LL in the urban space is manipulated by the people who inhabit it, and it appears as these inhabitants want these spaces to emerge. This representation of LL in urban Vellore could be accomplished by the inhabitants either "voluntarily, collectively, willingly or reluctantly" (Blackwood, 2010, p. 303) and is realized based on the convergence and divergence strategies of the communication partners.

Thus, in the current study, the SRT highlights the kind of representation the LL of the city projects by combining the tenets of CAT.

The Linguistic Situation of Vellore

Mishra (2022) renders a useful taxonomy of languages in Vellore. The city of Vellore is located in the north-eastern part of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. The city is situated on the banks of the Palar River and has a geographical spread of 5920.18 sq. km with a total population of 3,936,331 according to the 2011 census (<https://vellore.nic.in>). Tamil is the official language of the state, and English is the additional official language for communication purposes. In Tamil Nadu schools, a two-language formula prevails under which English and one other regional language (Tamil) are mandatory in the curriculum.

Christian Medical College and Hospital (CMCH) and Vellore Institute of Technology (VIT) are the two prominent institutions in the city that attract people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds from across the country and different parts of the world. Other than CMCH and VIT, other noteworthy tourist attractions such as Vellore Fort, Sripuram Golden Temple, and others bring tourists from the neighboring states. Vellore is also known for its leather factories and is the largest exporter of finished leather products in the country.

People visit the city for various reasons, such as employment opportunities, medical treatment, and educational purposes.

Due to substantial immigration, the city projects a situation of societal multilingualism with languages such as Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Sindhi, Telugu, Urdu, and some foreign languages are prevalent in its verbal repertoire (Mishra, 2022). However, the linguistic landscape of the city pertaining to shop signs is rarely multilingual. Most shop signs display either monolingual or bilingual scripts, but shop signs showing multilingual scripts are infrequent.

As stated in the *Tamil Nadu shops and establishments rules* (1948), (<http://www.labour.tn.gov.in/>): (1) The name board of every establishment shall be in Tamil, and wherever other languages are also used, the version in English shall be in the second place followed by the versions in other languages, if any. (2) The Tamil version shall be written predominantly in the name board by providing more space than for other language (p. 8).

Sivakumar (2020) reports that, as laid out in the government norms, it is "mandatory for all businesses to name their shops and establishments in Tamil." In response to such government policy regarding language choice on Tamil Nadu shops and establishments, shop signs in Vellore could be witnessed having a mixed preference towards language choice in their shop signs. On the one hand, Tamil is the symbol of individual, linguistic, cultural, and regional identity, on the other, English has emerged as a prominent marker of globalization. Although Vellore is characterized by official bilingualism (Tamil and English), it projects cultural heterogenization. Therefore, in the visual display of Vellore, English plays the role of link language between the addresser and addressee belonging to the different linguistic backgrounds.

Methodology

This study considers one specific constituent of LL, which is the analysis of the shop signs' language configuration in urban Vellore. The results highlighted in this study are constructed on the basis of three months of data collection and analysis comprising photographs, participant observation, interviews with the participating shop owners, and interviews while taking

walking tours with the participating shop sign readers. Studies focusing on LL recognize shop signs as a constituent of the 'bottom-up' landscape (Ben-Rafael, 2009) which is created more freely and independently in contrast to the 'top-down' landscape (Ben-Rafael, 2009), which is government regulated official signs. Due to this, shop signs are autonomous signs and reflect the shop creator's identity.

Location

For data collection, five sample areas were selected. The areas were as follows: The commercial areas around i) VIT, ii) CMCH, iii) Katpadi railway station. These areas represent the center of the linguistically mixed crowd. Other than the native residents, areas around VIT and CMCH are a hub of outsiders who visit Vellore either for educational purposes, employment intentions, or treatment. In most cases, these outsiders are in the city for four to five years to pursue education or three to six months when seeking medical treatment. People coming for employment purposes may settle in the city for a more extended period. The railway station is a center of constantly moving people who are in a state of transition. iv) The Gandhinagar market area. It is a prominent marketing center in the city. It attracts crowds from all sectors, offering elaborate marketing options to the people of Vellore belonging to different social and economic classes. The market equally charms customers whether they are native dwellers of Vellore or immigrants to the city. v) The Viruthampet market area. The locality is filled with shops available in the vicinity to meet the everyday needs of the customers. However, the locality is not a popular marketing destination due to its sparse marketing options. There is an adjacent residential area surrounding the commercial space, which is home to both the native people of Vellore as well as the outsiders, either living on a temporary or a long-term basis.

Photographs

During the first month of the study, the researcher was involved in observing the shop signs around the chosen locations. It was noticed that some sample locations projected more bilingual shop signs while others presented

more monolingual signs. A few of the shops also displayed multilingual shop signs.

Photographs of 250 shops were taken (Fifty from each of the five sample locations) for analysis. A variety of shop fronts were photographed, ranging from garment shops, footwear shops, cosmetic shops, general stores, electronics and electrical appliances shops, hardware stores, stationery items shops, daily utility stores, shops offering services such as courier service, trading service, hair-dressing, and eateries.

Interviewees

The photographs were complemented with interviews of the shop owners. Interviews were conducted in the second month of the study with twenty-five shop owners from all five survey locations who were willing to participate in the interview process. All twenty-five participant shop owners gave consent for their inputs before the interview process started. The shop owners selected for interview were either native Tamil people or from some different ethnic background but settled in Vellore either since their childhood or for more than the past twenty-five years.

Other than shop owners, fifteen random customers who were either native residents or tourists were also interviewed at all five locations. Their consent was taken before interviewing them.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data were gathered from the shop owners via questionnaires and discussions. The researcher ensured that the participants shared their views, practices, and attitude around the questions specified in the questionnaire in a relaxed setting to warrant well-grounded data. The data were audio-recorded after taking prior permission from the participants. In this study, a set of pre-designed questions were asked to the participants, who were shop-owners, in order to gather data for analysis. The data obtained from their answers to the objective questions of the study were then utilized for further examination.

Some sample questions were as follows:

- (1) What is the historical background of their business establishment?
- (2) How many languages are there in their speech repertoire?
- (3) Which language is representative of their as well as their business' identity?
- (4) What are the usual staff and prospective customers' demography?
- (5) What is their publicity strategy for the business?
- (6) To what extent were they involved in deciding the name and the language display of the shop name?

It is important to note that the questions presented here are only a sample of the questions asked during the study. The questionnaire contained more questions, but these were selected to provide an overview of the types of information that the researcher was looking to gather. The answers to other questions have not been discussed in this summary because they were either not directly relevant to the study's objectives, or they did not provide substantial insights to warrant inclusion.

Interviews with the customers were conducted during walking tours around the sample locations. This enabled the researcher to analyze how these customers interpret the shop signs based on the choice of language on the shop front. They were also given options and enquired about their preference between two shops trading in a similar business but displaying different language on the shop front. There was also a condition that the customers had not visited the shops in question earlier so that their earlier experience does not influence their preferences. The intention behind giving such a choice question to the participants was to determine their first-hand preference about any shop based on the language display and nothing else.

The data were collected in English as this was the language common to both the interviewer and the interviewees. The help of a native Tamil student was taken to translate sentences from Tamil to English or vice versa if the need arose. In the third month of the study, the recorded data were transcribed to obtain answers to the three objective questions. The responses from the owners and customers have been included in the findings section wherever found applicable.

Findings

Language Display on the Shop Signs in Vellore

A total of 250 shop signs were photographed at five survey areas across the city. 2.8% of the sample shops are part of retail chains, while 97.2% are independent businesses.

In the area around VIT, monolingual shop signs displaying only English made up 16% of the sample, with 40 out of 250 shop signs. Bilingual signs showcasing both English and Tamil constituted 3.6% of the sample, with 9 out of 250 signs. A small percentage (0.4%) of multilingual signs displayed Tamil, English, Telugu, and Hindi, with just one sign in the sample.

In the CMCH area, monolingual English signs accounted for 2.8% of the sample, or 7 out of 250 signs. Bilingual signs made up a larger portion, 16.8%, with 42 out of 250 signs displaying both English and Tamil. One multilingual sign, representing 0.4% of the total, displayed English, Tamil, and Bengali. The majority of shop signs in the CMCH area were bilingual, with monolingual and multilingual signs making up a smaller percentage of the sample.

Around Katpadi railway station, monolingual English signs constituted 2% of the sample, with 5 out of 250 signs. Bilingual signs were more prevalent, making up 18% of the sample with 45 out of 250 signs featuring both English and Tamil. No multilingual signs were observed in this area. The majority of shop signs in the area around Katpadi railway station were bilingual, while monolingual signs made up a smaller percentage of the sample.

In the Viruthampet area, monolingual signs accounted for 14.8% of the sample, or 37 out of 250 signs. Among these, 11 displayed English and 26 showcased Tamil. Bilingual signs made up a smaller portion of the sample, with 13 out of 250 signs, or 5.2%, featuring both English and Tamil. No multilingual signs were observed in this area. The majority of shop signs in the Viruthampet area were monolingual, with bilingual signs constituting a smaller percentage of the sample.

In the Gandhinagar area, 12 out of 250 shop signs, or 4.8%, were monolingual, displaying either English or Tamil. Bilingual signs, featuring both English and Tamil, accounted for 38, or 15.2%, of the total sample. No multilingual signs were found in the sample. This data suggests that the majority of shop signs in the surveyed areas, approximately 19% (12 + 38), are either monolingual or bilingual, with a preference for the combination of English and Tamil. It is important to note that no multilingual shop signs were found in the sample.

Figure 1

Shop Signs Exhibiting Dominance of English in the Commercial Space Around VIT



Based on the photographs collected, the distribution of bilingual shop signs with 58.8% comprising both Tamil and English languages are more comprehensive in the commercial space. This is mainly due to the government policy regarding shops (Tamil Nadu Shops and Establishments Rules, 1948). Second to bilingual signs, monolingual signs follow at 40.4%, and multilingual signs at 0.8% are rare, at least in the sample locations. English appears in 67.326% of monolingual signs, followed by Tamil with 32.673%. However, in

aggregate (comprising monolingual, bilingual and multilingual shop signs), English makes up around 86.8% of the total 250 sample shop signs, and Tamil is displayed in 72.8% of shop signs. Despite the evidence of linguistic heterogeneity in the verbal repertoire of the region, the visual display of shop signs, as shown in Figure 1, does not exhibit a significant level of multilingualism. In the image, most shop signs prominently feature English, underscoring its dominance in the commercial landscape of the area. This prevalence of English, whether it appears alone or alongside another language, suggests that the majority of the local population understands this language well, allowing it to reach the broadest customer base. Interestingly, although the interviewees report that more than three languages are common in both the sign producers' and readers' linguistic repertoire, the sign producers predominantly opt for English. This choice reflects an assumption that English serves as a universal medium of communication that can effectively bridge the linguistic diversity of Vellore's natives and outsiders alike.

Figure 2

An Instance of a Tamil Sign Being Placed Above the English Sign on the Name Board



In the analysis of bilingual signage, particular attention is paid to the placement and arrangement of the language texts. It has been observed that, in some cases, signs written in Tamil are positioned above those in English, as illustrated in Figure 2 of the document. This hierarchical placement might suggest a prioritization or greater accessibility of the Tamil language in these contexts. Conversely, when the signage displays both languages on the same horizontal level, it is typical to find the Tamil text on the left and the English text on the right, as depicted in Figure 3. This left-to-right arrangement reflects a conventional reading pattern, potentially facilitating comprehension among bilingual readers.

Figure 3

Shop Sign Showcasing Both Tamil and English Placed at the Same Level



However, such configurations are not universally applied, indicating variability in the design practices of bilingual signs. Additionally, the textual content on these signs may either be transliterations, where words are

phonetically converted from one script to another, or translations, where the text is rendered in another language conveying the same meaning. An example of this can be seen in a shop sign (Figure 3) where both Tamil and English are used; here, the name of the shop is displayed in Tamil on the left side of the sign, while the English transliteration occupies the right side. This dual-language presentation serves both to accommodate linguistic diversity and to enhance the sign's visibility and utility to a broader audience.

Motivation and Implication of Language Choice on Shop Signs

Beyond the discussion on the quantitative distribution of languages on shop signs, the researcher highlights the motivation for such preferences, and their implication for the shop sign readers based on the interviews and walking tours conducted with the interviewees.

Motivation

Government Policy. According to Sundar (2018), "the Government Order making Tamil a compulsory language on name boards was issued in 1982." Sundar further highlights that, according to the order, Tamil on name boards is not just mandatory but should also be projected in letters larger than those of other languages. Sundar (2018) reports that in some districts of Tamil Nadu, the size of displaying letters in Tamil, English, and any other language should be in the ratio 5:3:2. In order to ensure effective implementation of the government order, inspections are carried out by the government officials, and a penalty is also imposed on the violators. The government orders do not forbid English or other languages from being showcased on the name boards but insist on the compulsory presence of Tamil.

Since the government policy (*Tamil Nadu Shops and Establishments Rules, 1948*) makes businesses display their establishments in Tamil, most shop owners comply with this regulation. This is evident via sample photographs of the shop signs and the participants' responses. The government associates the use of the Tamil language with the Tamil identity. Therefore,

the shop owners adhere to this significant marker of their ethnic identity and either project shop signs in the monolingual Tamil script or with one other language, mainly English, in a bilingual shop sign.

Broader Resonance. Resonance related to shop signs could be apprehended as the extent to which either the shop name, language used in the shop sign connects on a profound level to the prospective customer. Indeed, the overall popularity of a business depends on the quality of products or services meeting the consumers' needs and context. Nonetheless, the attention-grasping function starts the moment customers lay their eyes on the shop sign either casually or to seek information about the shops' trade, which is conveyed through the shop sign.

Bilingual shop signs are the most preferred choice among the shop owners of Vellore. Such shop signs are a form of the strategy employed by the shop owners to customize their mode of address in such a format that it becomes more personal to the sign readers. This premise ensures that sign readers are attracted to such shops due to the similarity quotient, causing the shop to resonate more with all sectors of customers in the region.

Our main motto is to establish an emotional connection with our customers, and this begins with the deed of putting up a suitable shop sign on our establishment along with the choice of languages in it so that maximum people may feel addressed. This statement was made by a participant shop owner running a supermarket in the city with the bilingual shop sign. Another participant states: *We showcase Tamil sign to depict our native Tamil identity while simultaneously attracting customers from any ethnicity or linguistic background through the English language.*

The transcripts highlight that the shop owners who erect bilingual or multilingual shop signs are aiming to accommodate prospective customers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They strategically use signs that feature multiple languages—such as Tamil, English, Hindi, and Telugu—to minimize language barriers between themselves and the readers of the signs. This approach is exemplified in a shop sign for "Hi-Tech Men's Parlour," as depicted in Figure 4, where the name board displays the shop's name in all four languages. These instances of linguistic convergence allow shop owners

to bridge their differences with a broad customer base, thereby enhancing their business prospects. Such practices foster a positive impact by reducing interpersonal anxiety and unreliability in business relationships, ultimately promoting a more inclusive atmosphere for commerce.

Figure 4

Shop Sign Making an Attempt for Broader Resonance Through a Multilingual Name Board



Projection of Modernity Through the English Language.

Pandey (2020) states "Today's Indian elites speak incessantly in English – in shops and elevators, offices and homes, in-person and online. They use Indian languages only for functional conversations with service workers and tradespeople. And parents occasionally reprimand their children for speaking in the 'vernacular'- even in their own homes, at their own dining tables." Pandey's statement explicitly highlights the preference given to English over other languages in most of the upper class and upper-middle-class families in an Indian household. Pandey discusses how families subconsciously intersect power and prestige with the English language.

According to Venkataramanan (2019), English is seen as the "language of empowerment and knowledge" in the state of Tamil Nadu. It is the additional

official language for communication purposes in the state. Therefore, the priority rendered to the English language commences in the family and extends to the social and professional domains. In the LL of specific commercial areas of Vellore, such as around VIT and CMCH, the use of English on the shop signs accentuates the perception of English as a status marker and symbol of globalization. Since English is considered as a “language of progress and upward mobility” (Meganathan, 2015, p. 236), the shop owners believe that the use of English in their shop signs is empowering and fashionable.

Concerning the participants who are shop owners from the sample survey area of CMCH and VIT, a shopkeeper with monolingual English shop signage believes that the English language projects an image of modernity to prospective customers. The situation is illustrated by the following transcript.

Shopkeeper: This is a regular mindset that the English language is seen as a marker of modernity. Therefore, employing shop signage in the English language represents the modern outlook of the shopkeeper and conveys a gentle message to the sign readers that we can cater latest and trending products. Another participant highlights, I find projecting my shop's name in English a convenient practice because the message gets communicated effectively in English. Despite Tamil being my first language, I believe that shop descriptions for certain services are better expressed in English. At times, we may not even realize the actual vocabulary in our first language.

This phenomenon could be interpreted as upward convergence, where the shop owners adopt the prestigious linguistic patterns of the sign readers. Upward convergence implies the addresser's adoption of their addressee's prestige patterns. In the context of Vellore's LL, sign producers use the English language on their shop fronts to converge with the elite linguistic practices of the outsiders since any form of communication in English has become an index of modernity and prestige not just on a local level, but also on a global scale.

Representation of Cultural Identity. Haarmann (1986) asserts that language is “the immediate element which projects the ethnic identity for

regular people” (p. 14). In the context of Vellore, as reported by respondents, since there is a surge in the use of English in the local context, there are shop owners who strategically construct ethnic identities for their establishment to attract customers looking for products associated with ethnic and cultural practices or regional food items.

Shopkeeper: We express our strong belief in ethnic and cultural values through our native language. It plays a crucial social function by invoking feelings of solidarity and group identity. It is a small way in which one’s culture, along with traditions and shared values, can be conveyed and preserved.

Figure 5

Display of Monolingual Tamil Shop Sign Representing Cultural Identity



The scenario above is expressed mainly by the participating owners displaying monolingual Tamil shop signs as depicted in Figure 5 and sometimes by owners who project their shop name in their native language more prominently than in the official languages Tamil and English as displayed in Figure 6. Such a situation highlights the mechanism of divergence where

the addresser (the shop owner) is trying to affirm the distinctness or uniqueness among its competitors. They are attempting to exhibit their authenticity and ethnic identity in the context of other languages and cultures by rendering prominence to their native language.

Figure 6

Name Board Showcasing the Shop Name in Bengali More Prominently Than in the State's Official Languages Tamil and English



Implication

In order to understand the implication of language preference on the name boards of shops, the participant customers were taken on walking tours around the survey areas. They were asked two focused questions: What perspective do they develop when they first see a shop sign in a particular language? Does language choice on the shop signs affect their shop preference?

Out of fifteen customer interviewees, three participants answered that the choice of language on the shop signs does not affect their shop preferences as long as they provide them with the required products and services. The researcher realized that this non-preference for language choice on shop signs could be because two of the interviewees are local people who could have already read the monolingual Tamil signs and do not find any difficulty in figuring out the trade of the shops. Besides, one interviewee, who is an outsider, usually depends on some local persons who guide him with

the shop selection. Yet, this outsider confesses that it becomes convenient for him if shop signs are displayed in English, which is understood by a large portion of the population. Apart from these three participants who were neutral towards any language choice on shop signs, eleven participants emphasized that language choice on shop signs does influence their shop selection as it conveys information about the shop's style of operation, such as traditional or contemporary.

Depending on the sign reader's observation of the shop signs, mainly three perspectives were highlighted as these customer participants observe different languages on the shops' name boards.

The first perspective, as highlighted by the participants, is that of audience connectedness. Audience connectedness implies the amount of association and bond that individuals discern as they determine their connectedness with other individuals in the community. It renders them a feeling that they are a part of something (Russell & Puto, 1999; Sinclair & Grieve, 2017). Marketing strategies target audience connectedness in order to prevent customers belonging to any affiliation from feeling alienated or ostracized (Oakenfull et al., 2008; Akestam et al., 2017; Burges et al., 2020).

In the current study, respondents highlight three different implications on audience connectedness due to LL on the shop names in urban Vellore. As a first implication, when the shop names are bilingual, it appeals to all sections of the customers, from native Tamil buyers to an outsider to the region. According to the respondents who are native of the region, when LL is presented in Tamil or in a bilingual script it gives them a sense of identity. This could be interpreted from the following transcript:

A native Tamil customer: *When I see LL in Tamil script, it gently prompts my Tamil identity, and it also nudges me that I will experience an authentic and personalized treatment in the shop as a customer.*

Second to this, respondents who are outsiders state that when they witness either a bilingual or monolingual English shop name, it renders a sense of inclusion to them. They can conveniently comprehend the meaning of the LL, which instills feelings of positivity, confidence, making them feel at ease in a new place. However, these outsiders feel a lesser degree of connectedness

when witnessing a monolingual Tamil LL as they do not understand the local language. On several occasions, such customers report that they back out from visiting these shops unless they are absolutely sure about the authenticity of the shops' service and products.

The second perspective, as highlighted by the participants, is that of the exhibition of style. Koll-Stobbe (2015) discusses two kinds of function of shop signs – *identifier* and *ideofier*. The identifier is the informational function of the sign, which informs the customer of the type of products sold in the shop or the services provided. The ideofier implies the intended relationship between the shopkeeper and the customer as a symbolic commodity, and it guides in building the shop image in the minds of the prospective buyer (Zhang & Chan, 2016).

Shop signs in Vellore either offer a contemporary vibe or exhibit traditional overtones. As Papen (2012) states "Shop signs, (...) by their choice of language (...) signal to passerby what sort of person is expected to shop here" (p. 57). Hence, the choice of language in Vellore's shop signs highlights the ideofier function by either exuding modernity with flexibility through the English language or cultural spirit and tenacity through Tamil. The participants interpret an English sign as an enticement to accommodate outsiders. Such shops are cooperative in arranging products after taking orders from non-native customers. For example, grocery shops around CMCH procure "Sattu" (a kind of flour typical of North Indian cuisine) for their North Indian customers. However, a grocery shop in the Viruthampet area, which has maximum Tamil shop signs, does not commit to arranging such exotic food items for their customers. Nevertheless, they supply an array of endemic products that may not be available in other supermarkets, such as local sweets or homemade spices.

Two interviewees highlight memorability as the third perspective due to language choice in shop signs. When shop signs are projected in languages customers can understand, it helps them simply retain the shop's information and recall in the future. This perception could be understood from the following transcript.

Interviewee: Since I can read the shop name on its front, I retain it in my memory, which in future I may recommend to a friend or ask the rickshaw driver to take me there directly. Remembering a shop name just by hearing it is not easy to recall in the future. For me, I should be able to read and process the information to recall it next time.

Conclusion

The study examined the display of different languages in the shop signs from five different sample locations in the urban region of Vellore. A previous survey of the linguistic situation of the region highlighted the presence of several Indian and foreign languages in the verbal repertoire of the inhabitants. However, the visual representation of the shop signs renders prominence to bilingual signs with English and Tamil occupying maximum space. English enjoys the highest visibility and dominance among all languages, and Tamil is the next most salient language after English on shop signs. The CAT's parameters have been employed to understand the motivation behind shop owners' language choices on shop names. Participants share views on their convergence strategies to assimilate customers from different linguistic backgrounds. Simultaneously, other participants project their divergence strategies to render distinction to their cultural identity. The shop owners also practice upward convergence to attune practices considered prestigious and global, such as widespread presentation in the English language.

To conclude this analysis of Vellore's LL, it is helpful to consider the application of Moscovici's SRT. Augoustinos et al. (2006) state that SRT "does not separate the individual and society, but, rather, sees both in a dialectical relationship, in which the individual is both a product of society (its conventions, norms, and values) and an active participant who can effect change in society" (p. 36). Therefore, in Vellore's case, there is a dialectical relationship between the city and the inhabitants (shop owners, customers) as they develop and accommodate one another in response to the city's language policies, identity issues, and expectations. Synchronously, these dwellers

utilize the shop signs in Vellore's LL to manifest themselves or affect reforms in that space. The LL of the city appears as the inhabitants want it to appear, be that "voluntarily, collectively, willingly or reluctantly" (Blackwood, 2010, p. 303). The government policy of the region requires Tamil to be compulsorily projected on its shops and establishments. The inhabitants adhere to this policy under the aegis of explicit government ideology and cultural identity. Augoustinos et al. (2006) also believe that such a representation format is governed by convention and tradition. Undoubtedly, the use of Tamil on shop signs strengthens people's sense of association with their culture. Yet, these same dwellers advocate for globalization and prestige, endorsing English on their shop signs. According to Tang (2018), the English language is broadly associated with Western culture, sophistication, internationalization, elitism, and modernity, thereby ensuring economic prosperity. However, in the case of Vellore, English has been employed to facilitate both inter-ethnic communication and the maintenance of racial harmony.

Shop signs in Vellore's LL are configured not only to align with government policies that aim to preserve the identity of the native population, accommodate newcomers, and uphold the values of globalization and modernity, but also to provoke discussion and eliminate confusion. The study, therefore, enlightens us on the representation of the assimilating ideologies that are constantly being negotiated and accommodated by both the city and the inhabitants of the space.

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**LINGVISTINIS VELORO MIESTO KRAŠTOVAIZDIS: IŠSAMI
KALBOS PAPLITIMO, PASIRINKIMO IR PASEKMIŲ
KOMERCINĖJE ERDVĖJE ANALIZĖ, NAGRINĖJANT
PARDUOTUVIŲ IŠKABAS**

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamas kalbų pasiskirstymas komercinių parduotuvių iškabose Indijos Tamil Nadu valstijos Veloro mieste. Tyrimu siekiama atskleisti Veloro miesto lingvistinį kraštovaizdį bei komercinių parduotuvių iškabas. Ankstesnis regiono kalbinės situacijos tyrimas atskleidė, kad gyventojai kalba keliomis Indijos ir užsienio kalbomis, tačiau daugiausia yra dvikalbių parduotuvių iškabų – anglų ir tamilų kalbomis. Parduotuvių iškabų dinamikai tirti pasitelktos komunikacinės akomodacijos ir socialinės reprezentacijos teorijų koncepcinės sistemos. Aiškinantis parduotuvių pavadinimų kalbos pasirinkimo motyvaciją ir reikšmę, išanalizuota 250 parduotuvių iškabų iš 5 pasirinktų vietovių ir apklausti 25 iškabų gamintojai bei 15 iškabų skaitytojų. Tyrimas parodė, kad anglų kalba matoma labiausiai ir dominuoja tarp visų kalbų, o tamilų kalba vartojama šalia anglų kalbos. Parduotuvių savininkai savo įstaigoms pavadinimus rinko norėdami prisitaikyti prie klientų iš skirtingų kalbinių aplinkų, parodyti savo kultūrinį identitetą ir atitikti globalizacijos bei modernumo vertybes. Daroma išvada, kad tarp miesto ir gyventojų egzistuoja dialektinis santykis, nes abi pusės keičiasi bei derinasi viena prie kitos reaguodamos į miestą ir jo kalbos politiką, tapatybės klausimus ir lūkesčius. Veloro parduotuvių iškabų lingvistinis kraštovaizdis atspindi miesto kultūrinį, kalbinį ir ekonominį kraštovaizdį ir leidžia pažvelgti į kalbos vartojimo daugiakalbėje miesto aplinkoje sudėtingumą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: komunikacinės akomodacijos teorija; socialinės reprezentacijos teorija; kalbinis kraštovaizdis; pavadinimų lentos; Veloras.

स्नेहा मिश्रा

सामाजिक विज्ञान और भाषाओं का विद्यालय, वेल्लोर प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थान, भारत
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शहरी वेल्लोर का भाषाई परिदृश्य: दुकान के संकेतों के माध्यम से भाषा वितरण, चयन और व्यावसायिक क्षेत्र में इसके प्रभावों का व्यापक विश्लेषण

वर्तमान अध्ययन नगरीय वेल्लोर के भाषिक परिदृश्य (एलएल) में वाणिज्यिक दुकानों की संक्षिप्त बोर्डों पर भाषा वितरण की खोज करता है, जो भारत के तमिलनाडु राज्य के एक शहर वेल्लोर के भाषिक परिदृश्य में होता है। यह अध्ययन नगरीय वेल्लोर में एलएल की समझ में योगदान करने का उद्देश्य रखता है, वाणिज्यिक क्षेत्र में दुकानों की संक्षिप्त बोर्डों की विश्लेषण पर मुख्य ध्यान केंद्रित करके। पिछले कुछ समय में इस क्षेत्र के भाषिक परिदृश्य के सर्वेक्षण ने निवासियों के मौखिक भंडार में कई भारतीय और विदेशी भाषाओं की उपस्थिति को उजागर किया है, हालांकि दुकानों की संक्षिप्त बोर्डों की दृश्य प्रतिनिधित्व को द्विभाषी बोर्डों को महत्व देने में आम्बा होता है, जिनमें अंग्रेजी और तमिल ने अधिकतम स्थान लिया है। यह अध्ययन संचार समानुयोजना थियरी (सीएटी) और सामाजिक प्रतिनिधिता थियरी (एसआरटी) के भावनात्मक ढांचे का उपयोग दुकानों की गतिविधियों की खोज करने के लिए करता है। अध्ययन ने कुल मिलाकर 5 नमूना क्षेत्रों से 250 दुकानों की बोर्डों का विश्लेषण किया और 25 बोर्डों के निर्माताओं और 15 बोर्डों के पाठकों से बातचीत की ताकि व्यवसायों के नामों की बोर्डों पर भाषा चयन के प्रेरणा और परिणाम को समझ सकें। अध्ययन ने पाया कि अंग्रेजी सभी भाषाओं में सबसे ज्यादा दिखाई देती है और शृंगार में अधिकार रखती है, जबकि तमिल अंग्रेजी के बाद शृंगार पर आकर्षक होती है। दुकान मालिकों के द्वारा दुकानों के नामों पर की जाने वाली भाषाओं की चुनौतियों की मोटिवेशन और प्रसार को बढ़ाने के लिए विभिन्न भाषाई पृष्ठभूमियों से, अपनी सांस्कृतिक पहचान प्रकट करने के इच्छाशक्ति से और वैश्वीकरण और आधुनिकता के मूल्यों के साथ मेल करने की इच्छा से प्रेरित होते हैं। अध्ययन निष्कर्षित करता है कि शहर और निवासियों के बीच एक परस्पर संवादात्मक संबंध है।

कुंजीशब्द: संचार समायोजन सिद्धांत; भाषाई परिदृश्य; नाम पट्टिकाएँ; सामाजिक प्रतिनिधित्व सिद्धांत; वेल्लोर.

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

**KALBOS VARTOJIMAS,
MOKYMAS IR MOKYMASIS
DAUGIAKALBĖJE IR
DAUGIAKULTŪRĖJE APLINKOJE**



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UNLOCKING MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOMS: PREPRIMARY TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON INCLUSIVE PEDAGOGY IN SPAIN

Abstract. This study addresses the challenges faced by pre-primary teachers (specialists and non-specialists in additional languages) in multilingual settings, with a specific focus on attention to diversity. Nowadays, schools are becoming more diverse both linguistically (Robinson-Jones, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2022) and through the inclusion of special educational needs (SEN) students (Ramberg & Watkins, 2020). This study aims to identify the teachers' needs in these contexts and to bring to light emergent topics on multilingualism and diversity. Ten focus groups were conducted for this purpose, and participants (pre-primary teachers) were asked to reflect on their competencies to address groups of young learners in multilingual settings. The participants originate from five different locations in Spain, characterized by different linguistic and social realities. The discussions were recorded and transcribed verbatim, and the software MAXQDA was used to facilitate the content analysis of the obtained data. Information was gathered from two perspectives: specialists and non-specialist teachers of additional languages. The findings reveal the complexity of adopting and incorporating the tailored approaches required by the increasingly linguistically diverse students and by those with special educational needs. Several key findings emerged, including the difficulties of the teachers when adapting to changing educational contexts, the lack of guidelines to facilitate teaching in multilingual contexts, and the teachers' concern about diverse students. The results of this research underscore the importance of providing pre-primary teachers in multilingual contexts with multifaceted support (specific legal framework, training sessions, and classroom assistants, among others) to facilitate the inclusiveness of diverse young learners. The research, embedded in a national research project on pre-primary teachers' competencies in multilingual contexts, contributes insights into teaching strategies in diverse multilingual settings.

Keywords: attention to diversity; early childhood education (ECE); inclusive education; multilingualism; pre-primary education.

Introduction

The contemporary educational landscape in early childhood education (ECE) has witnessed significant changes in recent years. Amidst these changes, there has been an increasing number of young learners with diverse multilingual backgrounds (Raud & Orekhova, 2020; Robinson Jones, Duarte,

Günther-van der Meij, 2022, among others). These children require acknowledgment and accommodation of their educational needs, such as flexible grouping, multilingual instructional materials, and integration of multicultural content in the curriculum to name but a few. Simultaneously, inclusive education policies have facilitated the incorporation of special educational needs (SEN) students at schools from their first formative years (Ramberg & Watkins, 2020). Understandably, both groups require their specific necessities to be addressed, but, when the two realities coincide, the complexity of tailoring educational approaches intensifies.

This study explores the intersection between special educational needs and multilingualism in the context of early childhood education and from pre-primary teachers' lens. To this end, 10 focus groups with pre-primary teachers were conducted. These teachers work in educational settings characterized by their diversity from linguistic, cultural, and social points of view. Taking into consideration that specialists in foreign languages and non-specialists or generalist pre-primary teachers work in early language education in Spain, the focus groups involved both profiles and were undertaken bearing the following research questions in mind:

RQ1: Is diversity a key issue for pre-primary teachers in multilingual contexts when they describe their current teaching practices?

RQ2: What obstacles do pre-primary teachers encounter when embracing diversity within multilingual educational settings?

The emergent themes obtained after the systematic coding and the categorization of their responses unveil the difficulties these teachers face in an unprecedented reality regarding attention to diversity (specifically, linguistic diversity and SEN students). This paper endeavors to shed light on the description of these environments and on the potential interventions and collaborative approaches that help facilitate the teaching-learning process of additional languages and a better management of the classroom languages in the current diverse pre-primary contexts.

Literature Review

In the theoretical framework, we will analyze the current situation of multilingualism in different pre-primary settings, highlighting the challenges and benefits of multilingualism for early childhood. The inclusion of SEN students, who are currently gaining more presence in multilingual school contexts globally, is also addressed to identify pre-primary teachers' concerns and needs.

Multilingual Education

Multilingualism encompasses the existence of various languages, whether they are recognized as official, co-official, native, foreign, or national/international. It also pertains to an individual's aptitude to communicate in multiple languages fluently and naturally. Nowadays, it is a very common phenomenon all over the world, due to globalization, the increased mobility of the population, and the spread of new technologies, which has resulted in a rapid growth of children raised multilingually and/or being instructed in a language that is not their first.

In the realm of language policy, governments worldwide have increasingly recognized the value of multilingualism and have begun to emphasize the necessity for individuals to acquire proficiency in multiple languages to thrive in a globalized society (European Council, 2019). It is also widely acknowledged that English has become a lingua franca. In this line, Edwards (2004) points out that speaking English can be necessary but "the ability to speak other languages nonetheless ensures a competitive edge" (p. 164). Also, as observed by Hélot et al. (2018), Mary and Young (2018), and Young (2018), among others, nowadays schools around the world are multilingual because many children come to the classroom speaking in a great variety of languages. Different languages, therefore, coexist in the same space, and they are not anymore considered watertight compartments. This poststructuralist approach implies educational research focuses on language practices and how the speakers interact with the environment rather than seeing languages as separate isolated subjects.

Despite monolingual teaching still being dominant in mainstream education, the advantages of multilingualism are on the rise. Various studies (e.g., Bialystok, 2000, 2009) have highlighted these benefits, leading to an increasing emphasis on the importance of a multilingual approach. Thus, the "Focus on Multilingualism" approach views multilingual speakers holistically and argues against the notion of languages being separate "mental boxes" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010). Instead, it emphasizes the existence of a shared linguistic repertoire where languages are interconnected.

We will now analyze the benefits of multilingualism from a social perspective. Due to its inclusive nature, multilingual practices can better address the linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom. As Cenoz and Gorter (2020) highlight, they can also give immigrant students the opportunity to value their family languages and to use them in any language learning. Current research has demonstrated how multilingual diversity in the classroom allows multilingual children to feel both socially and emotionally supported (Rosiers et al., 2018; Strobbe et al., 2017).

Challenges of Multilingualism for Preschool and Primary Teachers

Despite the multiple benefits of multilingual education, the teacher's roles in multilingual classrooms (elementary and secondary) have not been examined thoroughly in European countries yet. Notwithstanding, a few recent systematic reviews and meta-analyses on multilingualism in schools (de Boer et al., 2018; Klassen & Kim, 2019; Vandenbroucke et al., 2018), indicate that teachers' experiences and attitudes are likely to play a critical role in the educational lives of the multilingual learners in Europe.

However, most teachers feel underprepared to teach in multilingual classrooms and to tackle new pedagogical challenges that have emerged due to pupils' linguistic and cultural diversity (Langeloo et al., 2019; Raud & Orehova, 2020). Along the same line, Meier (2016) states there are two main challenges, persisting: monolingual norms among language teachers and lack of teacher guidance. As for the former, Meier & Conteh (2014) have argued that to enact the multilingual turn in education, all learners should be

considered “as users of language in diverse ways, and as potential and emergent multilinguals” (p. 294), shifting from traditional monolingual education. As a response to this, several pedagogical approaches have been set up to ease the integration of regional, minority, and migrant languages into mainstream education (Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2018) with the aim of improving equity, inclusion, and pupils’ academic progress. Thus, current multilingual approaches to education should draw on learners’ linguistic and cultural resources as bridges to new learning and promote the use of their full linguistic repertoires to raise learners’ awareness about language and help them develop links between languages in a planned and systematic way (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020). Regarding the lack of guidance, this is an issue emerging from teacher education, which would benefit from specific training on addressing multilingual classes. Thus, Robinson, Duarte, & Günther-van der Meij, (2022) observe how pre-service primary teachers in the Dutch context (n = 195) reported the inability to understand pupils’ home languages. Regarding their self-perceived knowledge and skills, the content analysis shows that some pre-service primary teachers are aware of how to foster cooperation between multilingual pupils to involve their languages in their learning. Some efforts, notwithstanding, have also been made to give the topics of multilingualism and diversity an impactful place in initial teacher education (Robinson-Jones & Duarte, 2021), although they differ greatly from reality leading to early career teachers entering the sector without the level of knowledge and skills required to teach effectively in multilingual classrooms (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017).

The present scenario regarding early multilingual education deploys the complexity of the situation as well as the challenges that need to be addressed in a short period of time. Thus, although the ideal age to introduce several languages simultaneously is in infancy, few teachers have this preparation, especially if we are talking about early language awareness which, according to Hélot and Young (2006), “gives a place and a space to languages which are usually ignored in the mainstream classroom” (p. 79), meaning that coming in touch with many different languages helps to understand the way language works and the function it has in society. As an example, in the Austrian context, the great majority of teachers in Griva and Chostelidou's

(2012) study (n = 120, 72% of them being English teachers) also showed awareness of the merits of multilingualism, such as multilingual comprehension and openness to other people's languages and cultures. However, teachers report the following barriers when teaching in multilingual classrooms: too large groups, lack of adequate teaching materials, lack of time (in class), too time-consuming lesson planning, and lack of adequate teaching materials. Along the same line, Pérez Cañado (2016) extended the focus across Europe and polled CLIL teachers for their most urgent training needs regarding diversity, among which materials design and guidelines for diversity-sensitive methodologies were found.

Communication with families is another topic referred to by recent research. During the six-year project concerning emergent bilinguals in pre-school and primary in France conducted by Krüger, Thamin and Cambrone-Lasnes (2016), special emphasis was placed on constant communication between parents whose children did not speak French as a first language and the teachers. Another important aspect for emergent bilinguals is mastering the main language at school; however, the reality is that one-to-one communication between these students and teachers hardly ever takes place in the classroom mainly due to a lack of knowledge, awareness of multilingualism and the right tools and strategies to support these students. To develop an understanding of multilingual learners, according to Otwinowska (2014), "teachers should ideally be multilingual themselves" (p. 97) and possess plurilingual awareness.

Finally, a review study focusing on language teachers' beliefs and multilingual didactics conducted by Bredthauer and Engfer (2016) provides interesting insights related to this study. It presents a synthesis of 12 empirical studies from Germany and Austria and its main findings are summarised as follows: (1) teachers are positive towards the idea of a multilingual pedagogical approach and would like to implement it in their own practice; (2) teachers give a variety of reasons why they are not able to adopt such an approach, mainly highlighting the lack of relevant training, professional development courses and teaching resources; (3) teachers treat their heterogeneous student groups as if they were German first language speakers, lacking the advantages of preparing multilingual students.

In short, current research on SEN and multilingual diversity, although limited, focuses on aspects such as teachers' knowledge in both areas, self-perceived knowledge addressing diversity, rapport between teachers and parents, and lack of training, among the main topics.

Multilingualism for SEN

Multilingualism is a source of strength and opportunity for children diverse needs. It embodies our cultural diversity and encourages the exchange of views among children with diverse needs and children without diverse needs, the renewal of ideas and the broadening of the capacity of children with diverse needs to imagine. (Irina Bokova, UNESCO Director-General (UNESCO, 2017))

This idea, notwithstanding, is neglected in contexts where foreign language education continues to ignore diversity in the classroom, failing to incorporate students' linguistic resources (Busse et al., 2020), and being pedagogically sidelined.

Multilingual students with SEN are "individuals who have one or more disabilities that significantly limit their intellectual functioning and adaptive behavior as documented in their Individualized Education Programs (IEP), and who are progressing toward English language proficiency in speaking, reading, writing, and understanding" (Christensen et al., 2018, p. 2). This encompasses a range of skills, implying that SEN children who present more difficulties in some areas could excel in other parts of the curriculum, increasing their motivation and interest in the subject. Most literature on SEN language learning does not address students with social, emotional, and mental health difficulties or with physical and sensory needs but instead addresses specific learning difficulties like dyslexia (e.g. Grosjean, 2019; Kormos & Csizér, 2010).

Students with learning difficulties, specific disorders, or disabilities might benefit from schooling in bilingual environments. Thus, for instance, bearing in mind the difficulty of interacting and communicating among ADHD students, foreign language classes provide many opportunities for them to develop social skills and interact with peers (Stevens & Marsh, 2005). In

addition, learning a foreign language might increase their intercultural awareness and support cross-curricular learning including a wide array of topics regarding history, geography, math, etc. Casas Pedrosa and Rascón Moreno (2021) conducted a study in Spain on teachers' and students' perspectives on attention to diversity with CLIL which reflects a positive view from learners' and teachers' perspectives on a repertoire of methods to address diversity reporting at the same time a lack of training of classroom layouts to cater for diversity.

The EU and its Member States have called for renewed efforts to prepare teachers for diversity and to lay the foundations for more inclusive societies through education (Council of the European Union and European Commission, 2015, p.13). But what is meant by inclusive education is related to access, participation, and students' achievements, with special emphasis on those who are at risk of being excluded or marginalized. This implies transforming culture, policies, and school practices to attend to the diversity of educational needs of all students (Ainscow, 2001; Booth, 2006; Echeita, 2006).

In general terms, institutions and teachers should work in line to adapt the curriculum for students with special needs in multilingual environments to create a conducive learning environment that fosters motivation.

Method

The methodological framework where this study is embedded in is the Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), characterized as being data-driven instead of theory-driven. Data gathering and analysis leading to the conclusions take place simultaneously, setting aside the researcher's preconceptions.

In the study, 10 focus groups (non-probability sampling) were utilized as the primary method for data collection. Data were imported to MAXQDA (frequently used software supporting Grounded Theory research); at the same time, through a thematic analysis approach, recurrent patterns and emergent themes derived from the participants' contributions were identified.

Participants

Convenience sampling was utilized in selecting the participants in the focus groups, comprising the total of 44 participants (N = 44), featuring a distribution of 39 females (84.8%) and 7 males (15.2%). The participating teachers work in public and charter schools from five different locations in Spain: Alicante (18.9%), Ceuta (16.9%), Madrid (21.6%), Málaga (23.8%) and Melilla (18.9%). Charter schools operate independently from the public school system, although they also receive government funding.

The locations are characterized by their different linguistic realities both from the official and social point of view. Thus, Madrid and Málaga are officially monolingual, while in Alicante there are two official languages (Valencian and Castilian Spanish). As for Ceuta and Melilla, 40% of the population of each city speak a language different from Spanish: Tamazight in Melilla, and Dariya or dialectal Arabic in Ceuta (Fernández García, 2015).

Procedure

The research procedure comprises a structured sequence of seven distinct steps, although steps 3 to 6 take place simultaneously according to the principles of the Grounded Theory. The seven steps are detailed as follows:

1. Focus group discussions led by a facilitator and a notetaker.
2. Import qualitative data into MAXQDA.
3. Coding segments.
4. Thematic analysis.
5. Data exploration.
6. Analysis and interpretation.
7. Generating reports.

The focus group discussions took place online between March and April of 2023 (Step 1) and lasted around 90 minutes each. Participants were asked about their current situation teaching pre-primary courses, as generalists or

specialists in foreign languages. The discussion was guided through general questions on challenges, resources, evaluation, and methodologies used in their lessons. All participants had previously signed a consent form. The discussions were recorded and transcribed verbatim and the transcriptions (raw data) were imported into MAXQDA (Step 2).

In the pursuit of analysing the focus group data, codes were created by labelling the segments of texts corresponding to the topic *diversity*. Both research questions and the emerging themes were taken into consideration for the labelling (Step 3). Afterwards, different themes and patterns were compared across the focus groups (Steps 4-5). Through Steps 6 and 7, the key themes were illustrated and interpreted (see sections below in this respect).

Results and Discussion

Participants of the convened 10 focus groups developed a narrative based on the following topics: personality traits and competencies that characterize a pre-primary teacher in multilingual contexts, current challenges in their teaching, resources available in their schools, participation in national or international projects, and finally, evaluation and assessment in the pre-primary stage. Once codified, 671 segments covering all dimensions were identified. Out of these segments, those regarding special educational needs and those related to multilingualism were selected for analysis.

Special Educational Needs in Pre-Primary Classes

Out of the 671 segments codified from the transcripts, 59 segments were identified when participants specifically mentioned special educational needs. As for the mentioned themes, the coded segments indicate the educators' difficulties regarding the impossibility of paying attention to all students, the fact that these students are disruptive at times, and the complexity of adapting materials to their specific needs.

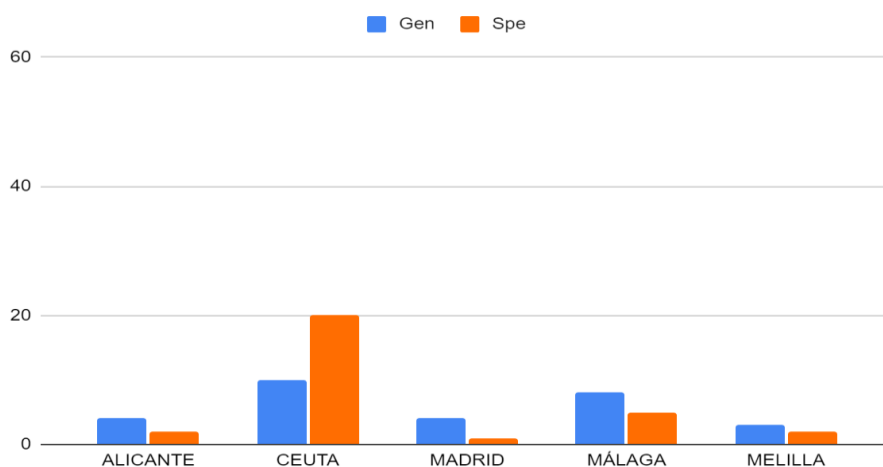
Remarkably, generalist teachers consistently reference special educational needs more frequently than their specialist counterparts across all contexts except for Ceuta, as illustrated in Figure 1. Thus, excluding

participants from Ceuta, statements referring to SEN students made by generalist teachers constitute 32.20% of the 19 segments, whereas specialist teachers' contributions (10 segments) amount to 16.94%. This finding is noteworthy, taking into consideration that generalist teachers rely on an additional teacher to provide support during their lessons, and can therefore share the workload. Specialist teachers, notwithstanding, lack this support as is frequently observed in the discussions.

The case of Ceuta presents two salient points for consideration: firstly, the notable disparity in the number of coded segments (Figure 2), and secondly, the proportion of coded segments within specialist focus groups, which surpasses that of generalist teachers by twofold, unlike the trend observed among other participants (16.94% generalist teachers and 33.89% specialists). One possible explanation for the former observation lies in the distinctive characteristics of the student demographic in Ceuta, where the economic, linguistic, and social challenges of many families might hinder early identification, care, and support for special needs. In this scenario, specialist teachers might observe more difficulties when facing this challenge and be therefore more sensitive to engage in the discussion when the topic SEN is addressed.

Figure 1

Generalist (GEN) and Specialist (SPE) Teachers' Interventions on SEN



In particular, during the interventions aimed at addressing special needs, participants frequently generalize their approaches without providing details on specific learning difficulties, disorders, or disabilities (Figure 2). As can be observed, these general references to SEN are present in all groups except for specialist teachers in Melilla. Special needs are therefore considered as a collective issue, and both generalist and specialist teachers specifically signify challenges stemming from the specific needs these students have, such as insufficient training on SEN and lack of institutional support, which undoubtedly add complexity to their teaching. Notwithstanding, at other times, participants specify a special need they find in their classrooms more frequently. In this respect, autism (ASD), hearing deficit, and language delay are the most common special needs mentioned by both groups of teachers. Surprisingly, more common conditions such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) or dyslexia are not mentioned in the discussions.

Among the special needs discussed, autism is the most frequently mentioned, appearing in 22 segments (37.28% of the references). Language delay is addressed in 10 segments, representing 16.94% of the content related to special educational needs. Hearing deficits are mentioned in 6 segments, accounting for 10.16% of the references. This prominence can likely be attributed to the significant impact these conditions have on oral language, which is crucial in these settings since pre-primary lessons predominantly take place through oral communication.

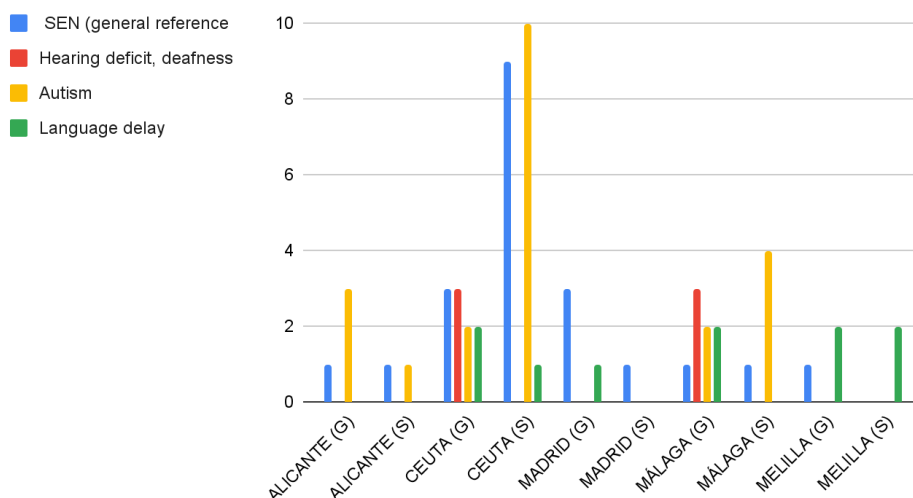
As for the references to general or specific SENs across the five locations, the focus group of specialist teachers in Ceuta is particularly noteworthy. Their results reveal that they contribute to the discussion much more by addressing the diverse challenges faced by SEN students in general, with a specific emphasis on autistic children. The increasing prevalence of autism worldwide, combined with the fact that in Spain most diagnosed children attend mainstream rather than special schools, underscores the urgency of addressing this issue. In Ceuta, stakeholders (mainly families and educators) commonly demand increased economic support to better address the needs of students with ASD, due to the current limited resources available.

The groups of generalist teachers in Ceuta and Málaga exhibit similar results and are the only ones where all four topics are addressed. The reason

why generalist teachers, except for the teachers in Ceuta, tend to mention SEN more often might be attributed to the fact that generalist teachers spend more time in class with the students, whereas specialists typically teach one short lesson per day at the most.

Figure 2

References to SEN (in General) and to Hearing Deficits, Autism and Language Delay



The 59 segments identified as references to SEN in the 10 focus groups represent 8% of the total segments, indicating a moderate concern about this issue among the participants. Nonetheless, the contributions regarding this topic reveal that teachers are uncertain about how to address SEN efficiently, consistent with findings by Casas Pedrosa and Rascón Moreno (2021). The teachers' demand for more resources could be met by initiatives such as incorporating more specialized units for SEN students (e.g. ASD units or "aulas TEA" in Spain) and increasing the presence of speech and language therapists in schools.

As shown, results indicate that teachers in pre-primary education are concerned about the necessities required by SEN students, particularly given the requirement for curriculum adaptation and other supportive measures (in line with Busse et al., 2020; Siepmann & Pérez-Cañado, 2022; and Stevens &

Marsh, 2005, among others). However, if this concern involves deprioritizing or overlooking these students' emerging multilingualism, there is a substantial risk of constraining their potential for multilingual development.

Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

In this study, the topics of language and cultural diversity are not examined concurrently. This consideration is also justified by the focus group participants, who discuss language and cultural aspects mostly in separate interventions and only occasionally simultaneously in their comments.

Out of the 671 segments codified from the transcripts, 122 segments were identified when participants specifically mentioned linguistic and/or cultural diversity (see Figure 3 for percentages). Generalist and specialist teachers reported on both kinds of diversity in their interventions in Melilla, Ceuta, and Alicante. However, in Madrid, specialist teachers do not refer to cultural diversity, and in Málaga, specialist teachers do not mention any of them either in the linguistic or cultural landscape of the class or as a challenge.

Melilla and Alicante both exhibit 28.7% of transcripts referring to language and culture. Specifically, regarding *language diversity*, Melilla demonstrates a prevalence of 24.6%, while Alicante shows 18%. In Melilla, there are frequent references to the use of Tamazight in and outside the school and concerns about how to address the challenges of multilingual classrooms. These results match those observed in earlier studies (Langeloo et al., 2019; Raud & Orehova, 2020). In contrast, in Alicante, the primary issue revolves around questioning the necessity of learning Valencian, which at times also turns into rejection.

Madrid and Málaga exhibit the lowest percentages of references to linguistic diversity. This may be attributed to the fact that both locations are officially monolingual, resulting in a weaker direct influence of other languages in classroom discourse. In contrast, locations such as Alicante, Melilla, and Ceuta experience significant linguistic diversity due to the presence of Valencian, Tamazight, and Dariya, respectively.

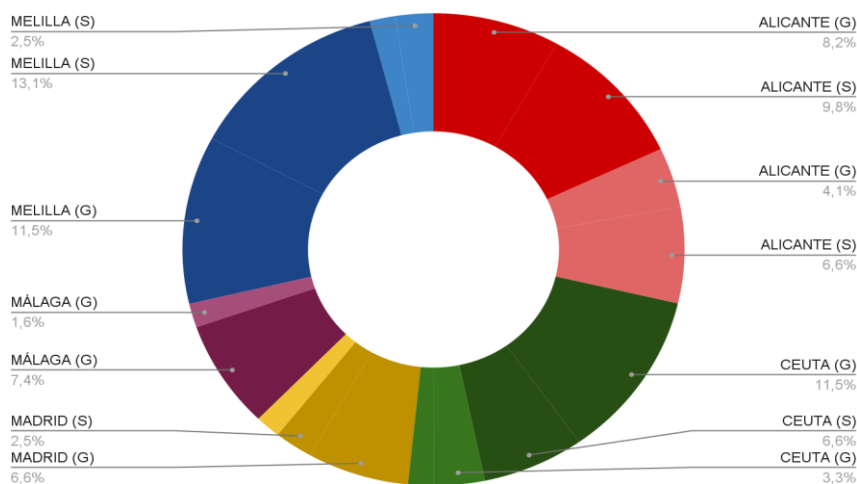
Teachers from Ceuta report on linguistic diversity in 18% of the total number of segments. Concerned about the use of Dariya in home contexts and

aware of the need for Spanish as the main vehicular language of the class. Potential communication breakdowns with the families are also mentioned, in line with Krüger, Thamin and Cambrone-Lasnes' work (2016).

Teachers from the five different locations mention linguistic diversity more frequently than cultural diversity. This trend may be attributed to the direct impact of multilingualism on lesson development in schools, whereas cultural aspects do not necessarily exert the same influence and are more often limited to home environments rather than to school contexts. Notably, teachers from Alicante lead in culture references, with generalist and specialist teachers each making 4.1% of such notes in the transcripts. Similar to linguistic diversity, cultural issues are less frequently mentioned in Madrid and Málaga. Ideally, in line with Cenoz and Gorter (2010), emphasizing the cultural diversity linked to multilingual contexts in the classroom would provide a safe environment mainly for migrant children with diverse cultural backgrounds and would also help develop cultural awareness in non-immigrant students.

Figure 3

Linguistic and Cultural Diversity



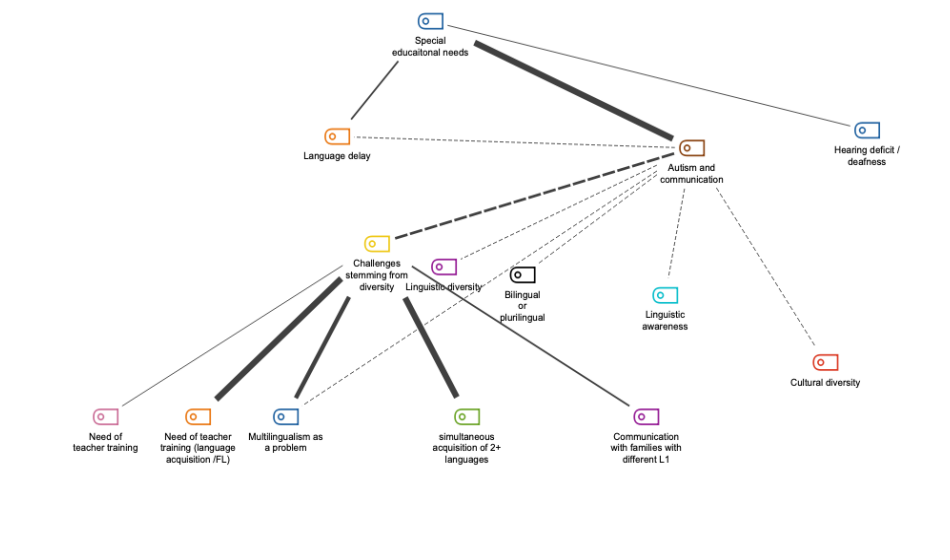
The results in these two sections address RQ1: Is diversity a key issue for pre-primary teachers in multilingual contexts when they describe their

current teaching practices? In short, both generalist and specialist teachers recognize classroom diversity regarding SEN and also language and culture. Some teachers highlight the enriching aspects of diversity, although cultural issues in all contexts are less frequently mentioned. Linguistic diversity is noted primarily for its challenges in pre-primary contexts due to limited linguistic productivity in pre-primary children and potential language barriers with families.

Challenges Stemming From Diversity

The second research question of this study (RQ2), “What obstacles do pre-primary teachers encounter when embracing diversity within multilingual educational settings?”, addressed the identification of the main challenges faced by pre-primary teachers regarding their multilingual contexts. Figure 4 describes these challenges highlighted by generalist and specialist teachers by showing the interrelations between the different specific codes when the word challenge (code CHALLENGE) is mentioned. The width of the line represents the co-occurrence of segments referring to the topic.

Figure 4
Challenges Stemming from Diversity



Thus, from CHALLENGES STEMMING FROM DIVERSITY, the following codes (topics) are highlighted by the teachers in order of co-occurrence (frequency):

1. Need for teacher training. In some cases, teacher training is mentioned as a general need, without specifying concrete needs or topics.
2. Need for teacher training regarding language acquisition or foreign language.
3. Simultaneous acquisition of two or more languages: derived from migration reasons or for situations of diglossia in the autonomous cities, the fact that the number of children acquiring several languages at the same time is perceived at times as complex regarding communication issues and the acquisition of content in the class.
4. Multilingualism is considered a problem in participants' contexts: generalist and specialist teachers report negative attitudes from families towards non-prestigious languages and co-official languages. Difficulties regarding understanding the children's needs or their understanding of key concepts in the lessons are also mentioned.
5. Breakdowns or lack of communication with families who have a different first language. This emergent topic is relevant since communication barriers with children's families might result in a diminished level of trust, complications in the supervision of student learning, and/or frequent instances of miscommunication.
6. Within the SENs, autism emerges as a salient topic. In this respect, the Confederation of Autism in Spain has drawn attention to the number of children suffering from autism (2022), indicating a prevalence of diagnoses increasing from 2012 to 2022 (+262.73%). As can be observed in Figure 4, from the code AUTISM other links stem towards special educational needs but also towards other key topics addressed in the focus groups (linguistic diversity, linguistic awareness, cultural diversity, and bilingual or plurilingual practices).

These six challenges have been identified as emergent themes and highlight the importance of addressing the unique needs of students with diverse backgrounds to create an inclusive and supportive learning environment.

Conclusion and Limitations

The current study was set to identify the challenges and existing needs expressed by pre-primary teachers working in multilingual contexts in five different locations in Spain. Likewise, the second aim was to determine to what extent their classes were perceived as diverse in relation to language, culture, and special needs. The study yields valuable insights on this topic that has received scant attention in the literature.

The study has identified a uniform concern regarding the existing challenges derived from mobility and migration. The investigation has also shown different schoolscapes that are heavily dependent on geographical location and linguistic policies. It may serve as an alert to those stakeholders involved in multilingual education, particularly in contexts where students with special educational needs (SEN) are present. Safeguarding these students' rights to support and enhance their multilingual development is imperative and should not be neglected, as doing so may hinder their overall academic and cognitive growth, limiting their full participation in both educational and social environments.

Finally, in the study, both generalist and specialist pre-primary teachers have acknowledged the difficulties regarding SEN students, mainly when the special need is related to difficulties in communication. In this respect, contributions from pre-primary teachers in international contexts could help develop more effective approaches to address this issue.

The findings from the coded data also provide insights for a bottom-up approach to teacher training, i.e. training provided based on the teachers' needs. Both generalist and specialist teachers mention specifically their need for foreign language courses and managing multilingual groups, considering language awareness, simultaneous acquisition of two or more languages, etc.

Given the needs described by these participants, it seems essential to review and update existing teacher training programs to better align with the evolving social and academic contexts such as the one described in the study.

This research was carried out analysing the segments transcribed from 10 focus groups, therefore with such a small sample size results must be interpreted with caution. It also opens the possibility to do further research on this specific field with a wider number of participants.

The study was limited to five geographically and linguistically distinct Spanish contexts, and therefore the results are not always generalizable to other areas. Notwithstanding this limitation, the study addresses an understudied topic and offers valuable insights into linguistic diversity in pre-primary schools, which is gaining ground in the educational field worldwide. This should be a fruitful area for further work, as should the research to identify best practices for multilingual students with SEN. In doing so, the academic and educational communities will be better equipped to understand the potential of diversity in a more inclusive world.

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DAUGIAKALBIŲ KLASIŲ „ATRAKINIMAS“: PRIEŠMOKYKLINIO UGDYMO MOKYTOJŲ POŽIŪRIS Į ĮTRAUKIJĄ UGDYMA ISPANIJOJE

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjami iššūkiai, su kuriais susiduria priešmokyklinio ugdymo mokytojai (ne gimtųjų kalbų mokytojai ir dalykų mokytojai) daugiakalbėje aplinkoje, ypatingas dėmesys skiriamas įvairovei. Šiais laikais mokyklos tampa vis įvairesnės tiek kalbine prasme (Robinson-Jones, Duarte ir Günther-van der Meij, 2022), tiek įtraukiant specialiųjų ugdymosi poreikių turinčius mokinius (Ramberg ir Watkins, 2020). Tad tyrimu siekiama nustatyti mokytojų poreikius šiame naujame kontekste bei atskleisti iškylančias daugiakalbystės ir įvairovės keliamas problemas. Tam buvo surinkta dešimt tikslinių grupių iš penkių skirtingų Ispanijos vietovių, kurioms būdingos skirtingos kalbinės ir socialinės realijos. Grupių dalyvių (priešmokyklinio ugdymo mokytojų) prašyta apmąstyti savo kompetencijas, reikalingas dirbant su šiomis mokinių grupėmis daugiakalbėje aplinkoje. Diskusijos buvo įrašytos ir stenografuotos pažodžiui, o gautų duomenų turinio analizei palengvinti naudota programinė įranga MAXQDA. Informacija buvo renkama iš dviejų perspektyvų: kalbų ir ne kalbų mokytojų požiūriu. Rezultatai atskleidė, kad taikyti ir integruoti specifinius mokymo metodus, atsižvelgiant į skirtingus mokinių poreikius klasėje, yra sudėtingas procesas, nes klasės tampa vis labiau įvairiakalbės, jose mokosi įvairių specialiųjų ugdymo poreikių turinys mokiniai. Išryškėjo ir kelios svarbiausios problemos, tokios kaip sunkumai prisitaikyti prie besikeičiančių švietimo kontekstų, gairės, kurios palengvintų mokymą daugiakalbėse aplinkose, mokytojų trūkumas ir susirūpinimas dėl vis didėjančios įvairovės klasėje. Šio tyrimo rezultatai pabrėžia, kaip svarbu priešmokyklinio ugdymo mokytojams teikti įvairiapusę paramą daugiakalbėse aplinkose (be kita ko, parengti specialią teisinę bazę, vykdyti mokytojų profesinio tobulinimo veiklas ir užtikrinti klasės asistentų atsiradimą klasėse), kad būtų užtikrintas įvairių besimokančiųjų jaunuolių įtraukusis ugdymas. Tyrimas kaip dalis nacionalinio mokslinių tyrimų projekto, skirto išanalizuoti priešmokyklinio ugdymo mokytojų kompetencijas daugiakalbėse aplinkose, prisideda savo išvargomis apie tai, kokių mokymo strategijų reikia darbei įvairiose daugiakalbėse aplinkose.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dėmesys įvairovei; ikimokyklinis ugdymas; įtraukusis ugdymas; daugiakalbystė; priešmokyklinis ugdymas.

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**DESCUBRIR LAS AULAS MULTILINGÜES: PERSPECTIVAS DE
LOS MAESTROS DE EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL SOBRE LA
PEDAGOGÍA INCLUSIVA EN ESPAÑA**

Resumen. Este estudio aborda los retos a los que se enfrentan los profesores de infantil (especialistas en lenguas adicionales y generalistas) en entornos multilingües, centrándose específicamente en la atención a la diversidad. Hoy en día, las escuelas son cada vez más diversas tanto lingüísticamente (Robinson-Jones, Duarte & Günther-van der Meij 2022) como por la inclusión de alumnos con necesidades educativas especiales (NEE) (Ramberg & Watkins, 2020). Este estudio pretende identificar las necesidades de los profesores en estos contextos y sacar a la luz los temas emergentes relacionados con el multilingüismo y la diversidad. Para ello, se realizaron diez grupos focales y se pidió a los participantes (profesores de infantil) que reflexionaran sobre sus competencias para dirigirse a grupos de aprendientes en edades tempranas en contextos multilingües. Los participantes procedían de cinco localidades distintas de España, caracterizadas por realidades lingüísticas y sociales diferentes. Los debates se grabaron y transcribieron literalmente, y se utilizó el programa MAXQDA para facilitar el análisis de contenido de los datos obtenidos. Se recogió información desde dos perspectivas: la de los especialistas en lenguas adicionales y la de los maestros generalistas. Los resultados revelan la complejidad de adoptar e incorporar los enfoques adaptados que requieren los alumnos cada vez más diversos desde el punto de vista lingüístico y los que tienen necesidades educativas especiales. Surgieron varias conclusiones clave, como las dificultades de los profesores a la hora de adaptarse a contextos educativos cambiantes, la falta de directrices para facilitar la enseñanza en contextos multilingües y la preocupación de los profesores por la diversidad de alumnado. Los resultados de esta investigación subrayan la importancia de proporcionar a los profesores de infantil en contextos multilingües un apoyo multidisciplinar (marco jurídico específico, sesiones de formación y asistentes de aula, entre otros) para facilitar la inclusión de alumnos jóvenes y diversos. La investigación, integrada en un proyecto de investigación nacional sobre las competencias de los profesores de infantil en contextos multilingües, arroja información sobre las estrategias de enseñanza en diversos entornos multilingües.

Palabras clave: atención a la diversidad; educación infantil; educación temprana; educación inclusiva; multilingüismo.

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EVALUATIVE LITERATURE REVIEW WRITING BY NOVICE ACADEMIC WRITERS: ENHANCING KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS

Abstract. An evaluative and critical literature review in scholarly writing, which plays an important part in a scientific report, illustrates how the existing studies contributed to the relevant field and enables researchers to identify the gaps or niches that their research can fill. However, writing evaluative and critical literature reviews is challenging for non-native speakers of English (NNES). Literature reviews are frequently descriptive summaries of previous research. Beyond simply summarizing source materials, NNES academic writers, inclusive of novice academic writers, should be aware of the ways of developing evaluative and critical literature reviews by making connections between the research findings and interpretations of published studies, showing their inconsistencies, and identifying their strengths and weaknesses. This study aimed to explore NNES doctoral students' knowledge and awareness of evaluative literature review writing and enhance their knowledge with an implementation focusing on the conventions and norms of literature review writing. The study adopted an embedded quasi-experimental design. 20 Turkish doctoral students from different educational science departments participated in the study. The quantitative analysis of the literature review tasks submitted by the participants during the pre- and post-intervention phases and the themes gathered from the semi-structured interviews revealed that NNES students had several challenges when they wrote literature reviews. The supportive implementation, which aimed at evaluative and critical literature review writing, positively affected students' skills, increasing their awareness about the characteristics of effective literature reviews and improving their evaluation and critical thinking skills. The results also offered insights into graduate students' strengths and weaknesses in evaluative and critical literature review writing.

Keywords: academic writing; novice academic writers; literature review writing; multilingual applied linguistics.

Introduction

An effectively crafted literature review (LR) plays a crucial role in a scientific report by providing deep insights into related published studies (Nakano & Muniz, 2018). Practitioners and scholars seem unanimous on

the significance of reviewing the published literature on a specific topic (Machi & McEvoy, 2016). A literature review can be defined as “a written document that presents a logically argued case founded on a comprehensive understanding of the current state of knowledge about a topic of study” (Machi & McEvoy, 2016, p. 28). In this regard, it can lead to communication with other researchers in a related field. According to Steane (2004), building an LR resembles a tapestry in which the researchers use their writing skills to bring together ideas, arguments, and theories related to a research problem under investigation. Nevertheless, this endeavor requires conducting searches not only in the first step of the process but also in the subsequent steps to keep up to date with recent studies and the possible changes in the focus, research problem, or purpose of the current study (Steane, 2004).

Academic writers are expected to be able to analyze, synthesize, and critically evaluate the literature in their respective fields in order to establish the rationale of a new research question (Boote & Beile, 2005; Gall et al., 2007). Writers need to restate the source materials in a way that aligns with their intentions as authors. This should be achieved through a knowledge-transforming approach rather than simply conveying knowledge (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1987). Unlike knowledge telling, which is a method often used by novice writers to express what they already know, knowledge transforming is an advanced strategy that involves developing ideas or reshaping knowledge into a coherent and impactful form. However, this is challenging even for native speakers of a language (Akindele, 2008; Cumming et al., 2016; Shahsavari & Kourepaz, 2020). Graduate students, particularly multilinguals, often struggle as novice writers to write LRs that meet the requirements of an evaluative LR (Walter & Stouck, 2020). That is, writers should not only make definitions, list studies and summarize research findings in their studies, but they also need to analyze, synthesize, and criticize other researchers’ arguments and findings. They should determine the insufficiencies and controversial points in the available knowledge. However, supervisors or thesis jury members might ignore or be unaware of their students’ lack of knowledge about evaluation, criticality, and author voice in the LR (Peng, 2019). However, enhanced student engagement is observed through student-teacher interactions in situated language learning environments (Yang, 2011). Supervisors' feedback plays

a vital and dynamic role in shaping the quality and scholarly impact of graduate-level academic writing (Yu & Lee, 2013). Particularly, the type of supervisors' support and feedback may display certain differences regarding academic writing at the graduate level according to L1 or L2 speakers. As such, the existing literature points out the necessity of a strong focus on increasing students' awareness about the importance of evaluative and critical language in LRs. As English is the scientific language to publish, researchers whose first languages are other than English may experience difficulties in enculturation into international academia, such as achieving an evaluative stance (Mur-Dueñas, 2019). Multilingual writers, individuals who are able "to write in two or more languages" (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 2016, p. 365), often feel anxious or fail to publish, and, therefore, growing attention is paid to supporting writers focusing on pedagogies through workshops, courses or manuals about publishing for graduate students and advisors to improve their English proficiency and knowledge of the rhetorical and linguistic conventions and norms of scholarly writing (Curry & Lillis, 2017). Since writing skills are one of the most challenging skills and are often neglected, and L1 interference is documented to influence multilingual writers' products (Daukšaitė, 2019; Nangle et al., 2024), evidence-based pedagogical supports have become highly important (Choi, 2021).

As the relevant research has generally centered on the textual analysis of the completed theses or research articles (e.g., Chigbu et al., 2023, Kwan, 2006; Soler-Monreal, 2015; Xie, 2016), as well as graduate students' difficulties and experiences with LR writing (e.g., Akindele, 2008; Shahsavari & Kourepaz, 2020), there is a dearth of research concentrating on attempts to promote students' evaluative and critical writing skills. These studies demonstrate that NNES graduate students lack the necessary skills for evaluating and criticizing literature.

The current study intends to explore the doctoral students' perceptions regarding their evaluative and critical writing skills and the difficulties they face when writing the LR, provide some conceptual and practical training sessions, and find out the effects of this instructional procedure on their evaluative writing development. Given these purposes, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What are the NNES graduate students' perceptions of evaluative and critical LRs in research studies?
2. What are the difficulties that NNES graduate students face when writing LRs?
3. What are the effects of LR writing instruction on NNES graduate students' writing skills?

Literature Review

Researchers are expected to thoroughly analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the selected sources, coherently organize relevant sources, offer compelling arguments and persuasive rationale with their ideas, and ultimately make significant contributions to their fields (Kwan, 2009; Chen et al., 2016). Graduate students often find literature reviews challenging due to their complex nature. It is important to understand this complexity to improve writing processes and teaching strategies (Badenhorst, 2018). Despite the consensus among researchers about the importance of an effective LR for all academic papers (Webster & Watson, 2002; Wee & Banister, 2016; Xie, 2016), regardless of the discipline, the extent to which academic writers can comprehend the principles of a well-written LR and apply them when writing is quite doubtful.

An effective literature review requires an evaluative and critical perspective; however, reading other sources with a questioning mode and writing through analyzing, synthesizing, and justifying tone and organization is difficult to achieve, particularly for novice writers (Xie, 2016). When considering the complex nature of effective reviews, novice writers, particularly those in graduate programs, may experience difficulties in building an evaluative and critical LR even though they receive academic writing courses (Singh, 2019). There is a complex relationship between graduate students and supervisors regarding the role, responsibilities, and expectations including literature search and writing (Everitt, 2023; Lee & Murray, 2015; Nurkamto & Prihandoko, 2022). More importantly, this complexity may elicit gaps between students' LR writing performances and the requirements of their

faculties and supervisors (Bitchener & Turner, 2011). Critical to this situation is to understand why it is difficult to write an effective LR.

There are numerous studies on understanding graduate students' abilities, inadequacies, and difficulties regarding writing from sources (e.g., Akindele, 2008; Cumming et al., 2018; Kamimura, 2014; Kapranov, 2023; Shabsavar & Kourepaz, 2020). For example, Cumming et al. (2018) examined the challenges university students face, difficulties in understanding and integrating sources, and a lack of familiarity with academic writing conventions. The findings suggested that many students struggle with paraphrasing, summarizing, and citing sources appropriately. The article highlights the need for improved academic writing instruction in Chinese universities to better equip students with the necessary skills for source-based writing in English. In a similar study, Kamimura (2014) has addressed several issues related to students' abilities to effectively integrate and cite sources in their academic writing. This study specifically examined citation behaviors in argumentative essays that demand the integration of sources to support a position. It revealed that Japanese students often rely heavily on direct quotations without adequate commentary or analysis, which can weaken their arguments. In both studies there seems to be a gap in students' understanding of how to use sources appropriately, suggesting that current educational practices may not sufficiently address the demands of academic writing in English. In Kapranov's recent study (2023), a notable finding also demonstrated that students tend to rely heavily on direct quotations from sources rather than engaging with the material through paraphrasing. This over-reliance can be attributed to a lack of confidence in their language abilities or a misunderstanding of the purpose of citations. Kapranov (2023) also points to the need for improved instructional strategies that focus on teaching students not only the technical aspects of citation but also the skills required for critical engagement with sources, including paraphrasing and summarizing in EFL contexts.

Through qualitative data and textual analyses, a closer analysis of the LRs reveals a lack of criticality (Torraco, 2016) and authorial voice (Akindele, 2008), while the adoption of a critical and evaluative approach to the academic language is considered precedence for an effective LR (Ridley, 2012). Confirming this finding, Shabsavar and Kourepaz (2020) pointed to

the lack of necessary knowledge and skills to write critical and evaluative reviews. In a similar vein, Akindele (2008) provided evidence about the difficulty of evaluating the research literature. In his study, the researcher analyzed the LRs of 30 dissertations in terms of evaluation, critical voice, and authorial identity. The authors of the dissertations mostly summarized the literature by concentrating on the main issues without considering the weaknesses and strengths of the studies or showing the gaps in the relevant literature, which implies that the writers had difficulties in evaluating, critical thinking, and bringing their voices to the forefront. Akindele's (2008) investigation asserts that a primary factor contributing to the lack of proficiency in critical and evaluative writing is the absence of explicit instruction and specialized attention. Likewise, Boote and Beile (2005) have conducted an in-depth analysis of the LRs of novice writers' theses. They viewed the evaluative aspects and problematic situations of literature reviews in terms of the quality of this section in the theses. This can be considered a significant initiative for genre pedagogy and can inspire further studies using their guidelines, which evaluate the quality of literature reviews. Previous studies have generally centered on either textual analysis or questionnaires and interviews (e.g., Badenhorst, 2018). Limited research was dedicated to exploring the effects of LR instruction on students' evaluative and critical thinking skills and performances (Bitchener & Turner, 2011). Hence, this study aims to investigate the connection between LR writing instruction and the efficacy of LR writing processes, thereby addressing the existing gap in the subject related literature.

Methodology

Research Design

A quasi-experimental design was employed with a single group of pretest-posttest measurements. The researchers used quantitative and qualitative data collection tools to examine an intervention process. The researchers tested the intervention by means of quantitative analysis. Qualitative data analysis was used to effectively interpret the research results.

Participants

The study involved 20 participants (9 females and 11 males, mean (M) age = 28). The participants were native speakers of Turkish, and English was used as a foreign language. They were required to have passed English proficiency exams in order to be admitted to their respective graduate studies. In addition, they were expected to publish research articles in English for academic promotion. The participants were enrolled in a course in academic writing.

Instruments

Qualitative and quantitative data collection instruments were sequentially used in the study. The LR sections of the participants' dissertation proposals were used to obtain quantitative data before the intervention, and a similar LR writing task was given to students after the intervention to ascertain whether the instruction had an effect on the participants' LR writing skills. Based on the review of the relevant literature, a rubric was adapted to quantitatively analyze the participants' literature reviews.

To obtain qualitative data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the doctoral students to determine their knowledge, awareness, and views regarding LR writing before the intervention. Likewise, after the implementation of the instructional model, semi-structured interview sessions were held to explore the participants' views about the effects of the instruction they received. Two interview protocols were prepared for pre- and post-interview sessions, including 5 and 6 interview questions.

Procedure

The data collection procedure started with semi-structured interviews with the participants. Firstly, participants' academic writing knowledge, their awareness of evaluative and critical LR writing, and perceived needs when they had to review and write LR sections were explored by means of semi-structured

interviews. The content of the instructional model was primarily determined in this way. Secondly, the LR chapters in the participants' dissertation proposals were analyzed. Based on the analyses of the interviews and LR papers, the instruction content was developed, and the modules were designed. The intervention was administered for six consecutive weeks. The instructional module consisted of the definition and purposes of an LR, conducting effective literature searches and identifying information sources, reading and note-taking strategies, organizing data, synthesizing and analyzing relevant literature, comparing sources, and addressing the issue of plagiarism and referencing. Also, the tutorial modules offered ways and strategies students can leverage for adopting a critical and evaluative approach and bringing an author voice into their LRs. Following the implementation phase, participants engaged in semi-structured interviews to share their experiences and perceptions about the effects of the instruction. Additionally, the students were asked to write another LR following the instructional procedure. The literature reviews were all evaluated using the same rubric.

Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to comprehensively understand the data gathered from the interviews. This type of analysis can be described as "the identification of recurring themes or ideas in a textual data set" (Riger & Sigurvinsdottir, 2015, p. 34). Such a process involves deriving and identifying common themes in a data set. As a flexible research tool, thematic analysis provides a detailed explanation of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, thematic analysis was performed to thoroughly examine the interview data. The analysis was conducted based on Braun and Clarke's six phases, including "familiarizing yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).

As for the analysis of the quantitative data, the chi-square test to examine whether two observations obtained from the same individual at different times or situations are different in terms of a variable specified as a quality was used. As a nonparametric test used to figure out if there is

a significant difference in frequency counts in two or more categories that do not overlap (Kothari, 2007), the chi-square test was used.

Results

Pre-test Interview Results

Based on the analysis of the interviews, three themes were identified: “NNES novice writers’ perceptions of the role and importance of the LR in a research paper”, “NNES novice writers’ priorities for an effective LR”, and “NNES novice writers’ strengths and weaknesses in writing the LR”.

Theme 1: NNES Novice Writers’ Perceptions of the Role and Importance of the LR in a Research Paper

Most participants stated that LR is important in a research study. This is mainly because it informs the audience about the general research topic, provides the opportunity to define terms related to the topic, and gives information about its background and the scope of the study. In this regard, P1 stated:

Everyone who reads the study should be able to understand the research topic, even if they are not from that field. Even if we do not have a good grasp of the terms related to that field, we should have an understanding of the field and the scope of the subject when we read the literature section of the study.

Similarly, a vast majority of the participants found the literature section valuable in displaying the gaps in the relevant field. P3 emphasized the importance of the literature review for a study with the following statements:

A literature review is important. Imagine that there is a puzzle, and one of the pieces is missing. Our study is the missing piece in this puzzle. There are still gaps in the relevant literature. Our aim is to fill these gaps and contribute to the whole.

The participants believed that an effective literature review is essential for a research study because it serves as the foundation for the topics covered in the academic text, justifies the study, informs the readers about the strengths and weaknesses of previous studies, and enables the publication of studies in prestigious journals.

Theme 2: NNES Novice Writers' Priorities for an Effective LR

The second theme describes the participants' priorities in writing an effective LR. According to the participants, a well-written LR should arouse the readers' attention with its content and include a comprehensive synthesis of the previous studies. Many participants (n = 11) stated that the language should be clear and precise and that a general-to-specific pattern should be adopted. As an example, P5 expressed, "One of the most important things in an effective LR is whether it adopts a general-to-specific pattern. Also, it must signal the gaps in the relevant literature and justify the current study".

Identifying effective keywords, paying special attention to current and important studies, looking for similarities or differences between studies, and writing a literature section relevant directly to the research topic are also among the priorities for many participants. P13 emphasized the importance of a thorough literature search, stating, "I am trying to conduct an effective search of published literature because it is important for my reading and the LR which will be included in my thesis". In support of the significance of a comprehensive literature search, P2 suggested, "We must conduct a comprehensive literature search with our audience in mind. We must be aware of their expectations and write the LR to meet their needs". Among their priorities, very few participants mentioned writing an LR from a critical and evaluative perspective. P4, for example, remarked that she adopted a critical approach when writing LR, stating, "While writing LR, I try to establish relationships between previous studies and determine if there are similarities and differences in the findings of the studies".

Theme 3: NNES Novice Writers' Strengths and Weaknesses in Writing the LR

In this theme, the participants' weaknesses and strengths were reported. The participants commonly stated that they have difficulties establishing connections between studies, interpreting, analyzing, and synthesizing the findings of previous studies, and making evaluations while writing LR sections. P19, for instance, expressed, "My biggest challenge is to write a list of summaries of the previous studies. I do not know how to include the cited author with an evaluative approach". Participants acknowledge that they can conduct comprehensive searches and easily access a large number of studies. However, they enunciate that analyzing and synthesizing the previous studies can be challenging. Among their weaknesses, they also include expressing ideas using their own words, capturing important ideas or information in the relevant studies, and justifying the current study through references to existing literature.

The interviews also revealed the NNES doctoral students' perceptions of their strengths as academic writers. The data showed that the participants generally felt competent in conducting comprehensive and systematic literature searches and finding all types of published literature. P8 recited her strengths as follows:

I can find many sources directly relevant to my topic and research questions. I must ensure that I don't overlook any significant information. I continue to search for relevant and new publications until the day I complete my final draft. I can identify similarities and differences between the sources I have found.

Another participant (P3) expressed that she could easily find the striking points of the relevant sources, whereas P2 could use evaluative language and make evaluative comments about previous studies. Despite the mentioned strengths, the weaknesses stated by the participants outnumbered their strengths in literature review writing.

Post-Test Interview Results

The data obtained from the interviews conducted after the LR writing instruction were also analyzed. Based on the findings, four themes were determined: "The effects of LR writing instruction on students' knowledge, skills, and awareness in LR writing", "Ongoing challenges in LR writing", "The role of supervisors in LR writing", and "Suggestions for developing knowledge, skills, and awareness in LR writing".

Theme 1: The Effects of LR Writing Instruction on Writers' Knowledge, Skills, and Awareness in LR Writing

According to the participants, LR writing instruction had positive effects on their self-perceptions about LR writing-related knowledge, skills, and awareness. Almost all the participants (n = 17) expressed that prior to the instruction, they lacked knowledge and awareness about how to write LR and were unaware of the importance of a critical and evaluative LR. Also, they reported that they used to be afraid of criticizing the cited authors, mentioning their weaknesses, and expressing their own opinions before they received the instruction. Instead, they confined themselves to summarizing prior research in the LR writing. P5 pointed out:

Honestly, before the instruction, I was afraid of criticizing the other studies about their weaknesses. However, after the instruction, I realized that we justify our work when we criticize the previous studies. Therefore, this instruction encouraged me to write a more critical and evaluative LR. I am more confident about criticizing when writing.

Many participants (n = 13) emphasized their lack of awareness about foregrounding their voice when writing the LR rather than simply making a summary without including their comments from the other researchers. P11 uttered "Actually, before the instruction, there was a misperception that the authors could not bring their voices to the fore at all. But then we realized that the author's voice should be involved".

Another positive effect of the instruction has been the increased awareness of the importance of creating spreadsheets and tables to organize the published literature review. P16 stated: "I realized that creating tables and spreadsheets gives the researcher flexibility for organizing the articles under some categories, and thereby these tables and spreadsheets can be used to effectively structure our review".

Finally, the participants mentioned that their awareness of issues such as the importance of critical reading, note-taking techniques, and creating tables when scanning the studies increased after the instruction.

Theme 2: Ongoing Challenges in LR Writing

Although the LR writing instruction considerably increased the students' knowledge and awareness, some difficulties were identified when they wrote LRs after the instruction. Some of them (n = 4) had difficulties identifying the strengths or weaknesses of the studies, while others struggled with writing introductory paragraphs and using critical and evaluative language. Relating to this theme, P10 said, "Although we are now more knowledgeable about how to write critical and evaluative LR, I still experience challenges in practice". P5 found it challenging to foreground the writer's voice and adopt a critical approach, stating, "I still struggle to assert my presence when writing LR. Even though LR writing instruction taught me how to create my authorial self, taking control of the text still requires more practice". The interviews also revealed that some participants (e.g., P5, P20) still experience difficulties doing effective literature search.

Theme 3: The Role of Supervisors in LR Writing

The majority of the participants (n = 13) asserted that they needed more guidance about writing effective LRs, which is one of the most striking reasons for the ineffective reviews. One of the participants (P5) explained the lack of supervisors' support on this issue as follows:

In fact, supervisors play an important role in writing effective LRs. They mostly do not support students. Some supervisors are not experienced in their

field, and they have a stereotyped mindset. For example, some supervisors find criticism in literature reviews a disadvantage.

Some participants (P6, P9, P12, and P16) believed that they could receive more feedback. They stated, for example, that supervisors usually provide feedback for punctuation, grammar, connections between paragraphs, in-text citations, or missing references, but not for evaluative and critical language in reviews. P16 explained the lack of supervisory support as follows:

I usually write the text myself, then send it to my supervisor for a final draft. He generally does not evaluate my paper in terms of being critical and evaluative. I only receive feedback for spelling mistakes and grammatical errors.

18 participants agreed that while writing the LR section, they usually received peer feedback rather than supervisor support. Only two students found their supervisors' support fulfilling and were thereby grateful for receiving feedback about how to write critical and evaluative reviews.

Theme 4: Suggestions for Developing Knowledge, Skills, and Awareness in LR Writing

All participants stated that the instruction they received helped them develop their knowledge, skills, and awareness regarding the writing of LR sections, and they argued that all graduate students should receive such instruction. P20 emphasized graduate students' needs in this respect, stating, "LR is the most important part of a research paper. It is the section in which current studies are examined, along with their differences and similarities, as well as any gaps or weaknesses. Therefore, it is crucial to provide LR writing instruction". One of the participants (P13) suggested that such instruction should include more practice activities and concrete examples, and supporting this, another participant (P2) argued that instruction on theoretical knowledge is insufficient; instead, the instructions should include supervisor-student collaboration and examples of effective and ineffective reviews. P2 stated: "Reading activities can be included to improve students' critical reading skills, reading techniques can be implemented with such activities, and related

articles can be analyzed to observe and note the connections across different texts.”

Post-test interviews revealed that the instruction in this study contributed to the graduate students’ knowledge, skills, and awareness; however, it could be longer and include more writing assignments and practical support.

Quantitative Results

Table 1 shows the pre- and post-test scores of the participants’ LR writing quality. As can be seen, before the treatment, the participants’ LR writing lacked evaluative quality. They mostly summarized knowledge and listed the studies rather than analyzing and synthesizing other sources. Reflecting an authorial voice, likewise, was found to be quite rare. However, after the treatment, they adopted a more evaluative stance when referencing other sources in their reviews.

Table 1

Descriptive Data for Pre- and Post-Test Scores of LR Writing

| | | Knowledge of the research topic | Comprehension of Literature / Summary | Evaluation | Critical writing | Authorial voice / identity |
|----------|---|--|--|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Pretest | N | 52 | 38 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| | % | 55.3 | 40.4 | 1.1 | 2.1 | 1.1 |
| Posttest | N | 19 | 13 | 4 | 8 | 2 |
| | % | 41.3 | 28.3 | 8.7 | 17.4 | 4.3 |
| Total | N | 71 | 51 | 5 | 10 | 3 |
| | % | 50.7 | 36.4 | 3.6 | 7.1 | 2.1 |

N: The number of the relevant sentences

Table 2 indicates the statistical differences between the participants’ pre- and post-intervention LR performance. As can be seen, there is a statistically significant difference between the pre- and post-test results ($p < 0.05$) regarding “Literature Summary”, “Evaluation” “Critical writing”, and “Authorial voice/identity”. The percentage of the pretest scores regarding “Providing information about the research topic” and “Summarizing the literature” were found to be higher than the posttest scores. However,

the percentage of the posttest scores regarding "Evaluation", "Critical writing", and "Authorial voice/identity" increased, compared to the pretest scores.

Table 2

Chi-square Test Results for Pre- and Post-Test Scores of LR Writing

| | Value | SD | p |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Chi-Square | 19.116 | 4 | .001 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 18.071 | 4 | .001 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 12.398 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 140 | | |

p<0.05

Discussion

RQ1. What are the Graduate Students' Perceptions of Evaluative and Critical LR?

Almost all the participants stated that LR plays an integral part in a research paper, and the most frequently mentioned reason for this was that a comprehensive LR shows the gaps in the relevant literature and thereby justifies the current study. This result is compatible with the results of the study carried out by Akindele (2008), who reported that doctoral students agreed about the importance of the LR for many similar reasons as the participants of this study. On the other hand, our findings contradict Boote and Beile's (2005) argument. Boote and Beile (2005) claimed that the dearth of studies devoted to understanding the importance of the LR in dissertations implies a lack of awareness regarding an evaluative LR. Despite the participants' positive attitudes towards the functions of LRs in their study, many still found the LR to be the most challenging chapter in an academic text, as confirmed by Badenhorst (2018). Likewise, the majority of the students in our study were unaware of the evaluative and critical language in LRs. Therefore, given the findings about the participants' priorities in this study, it can be concluded that evaluative and critical writing practices are rather obscure to the students. In terms of priorities, the participants mostly focused on the content of the LR and its clarity and precision. They believed that the texts created should inform

the readers about the background of the topic studied. This may lead to a tendency to summarize, paraphrase, quote, or write descriptions using the source texts. However, what is recommended here is to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the critically selected texts to support the arguments (Kwan, 2009).

Even though, in pre-test interviews, our participants did not emphasize the importance of critical and evaluative writing among their priorities, they were aware of the significance of finding similarities and differences among the source texts. This implies that the students did not completely ignore the importance of evaluation and critical writing, but they were unfamiliar with some requirements of an effective LR. This may be akin to the influence of the participants' native language as negative transfer effects were noted (Daukšaitė, 2019). Based on this finding, it can be argued that doctoral students' literacies that LR demands can substantially be improved.

RQ2. What are the Difficulties the Graduate Students Have When Writing LR?

A closer analysis of the quantitative data indicated that the participants had difficulties demonstrating evaluation and critical thinking skills. Before the instruction, the majority of the participants only summarized the published work and could not build relationships between the studies. Also, many participants did not bring their voices into the foreground in their LRs. Among the challenges they faced were finding weaknesses and strengths in the methodologies of the studies, evaluating different theories about the topic under study, and resolving conflicts among the studies they included in their reviews. These findings are in line with those of Akindede's study (2008). The researcher argued that the dissertation LRs analyzed in the study were simply descriptive summaries of the studies reviewed. Akindede's finding coincides with Xie's (2016) results for Chinese English-major MA students who consider evaluation a difficult endeavor even though they are advanced EFL learners. Similarly, Peng (2019) confirmed that constructing an authorial voice is a formidable task.

In line with our study's findings, some studies in related literature highlight difficulties in constructing LRs (Boote & Beile, 2005; Chen et al., 2016; Kwan, 2009; Shahsavar & Kourepaz, 2020). The interviews in this study showed that the doctoral students feel insecure about their evaluation and critical writing skills. This finding may indicate a need for more training to improve their writing skills and build confidence in critical writing.

The participants reported that they experienced difficulties evaluating the published studies they had obtained throughout their research. While these problems can be attributed to the students' lack of competencies and experiences in LR writing (Yang, 2011), they can also be due to a lack of supervisory support. Several studies in the relevant research have examined the role of supervisors in scholarly writing contexts (Afful et al., 2022; Lee & Murray, 2015; Nurkamto & Prihandoko, 2022; Yu & Lee, 2013). However, with a few exceptions, these accounts do not specifically include their role in LR writing (Everitt, 2023).

As the participants in this study highlighted, supervisory guidance is inadequate for many students, and process-based and corrective feedback for their LRs, also emphasized by Nangle et al. (2024), appears to be a pervasive need. As such, the students may fail to contribute to the relevant field because they only go through the stage of collecting several published studies but do not analyze these studies in a meaningful way to write an evaluative LR section in their studies. It is important to note that students do not ignore the importance of evaluating and criticizing published studies, despite having difficulty adopting them. Conceptual awareness-raising training with practices seems to be an effective way to improve LR writing quality.

RQ3. What are the Effects of LR Writing Instruction on Graduate Students' Writing Skills?

Another question about the students' improvement in LR writing skills was the effects of LR writing instruction. The quantitative data displayed that the instruction on writing effective LRs contributed largely to the students' evaluative and critical writing skills. Before the instruction, the analyses of the dissertation LRs revealed that the participants described published work as

a series of summaries lacking evaluative components. However, the analyses of the reviews written by the participants after receiving the instruction revealed that they could critically appraise the relevant literature, enhancing their metadiscourse knowledge.

Even though some research into the effectiveness of LR writing-based instruction exists in the relevant literature (Badenhorst, 2018; Bitchener & Banda, 2007; Bitchener & Turner, 2011) this issue is still an under-researched area. Among non-experimental studies, Hei & David (2015) investigated graduate students' LR writing difficulties that may provide insights to improve their LR writing competencies in future interventional studies. Achieving critical analysis and synthesis of the sources was found to be a primary challenge among the participants. These findings contributed to the rationale of the current study in a non-native context of academic writing. Multilingual students' inadequacies in evaluating and criticizing the previous studies, therefore, need to be investigated, and pedagogically supportive models should be developed. Choi's (2021), Curry & Lillis's (2017) and Mur-Dueñas' (2019) arguments highlighting the importance of understanding the diverse language backgrounds of NNE writers and help them develop their voices confirmed the findings of our study and support our suggestions. Particularly Singh (2019) attributes these challenges to the fact that English was not the first language of the non-native English of graduate students.

Our findings showed that NNES novice academic writers typically lack the essential skills for an effective LR. However, our study suggests that providing skill instruction enables students to develop an evaluative and critical LR. This may also be helpful guidance for developing effective teaching models.

Conclusion

This study drew attention to the characteristics of effective instructional content and pedagogy concentrating on quality LR writing, which would have significant ramifications for the faculty members in graduate programs and supervisors who have certain responsibilities for developing their students' evaluative and critical writing skills. The courses in graduate programs need to offer more guidelines and practices to teach how to develop arguments and

counterarguments and express evaluation in LRs. These issues point to the necessity of formal training for graduate students on how to evaluate and criticize source texts in a field. Graduate programs should incorporate the characteristics and standards of effective LRs as an important part. Thus, these training programs should establish a comprehensible framework for integrating and synthesizing findings across interventions, settings, and outcomes, resolving conflicts in a field, and identifying central issues or arguments. Also, the prerequisite of an instructional program which addresses the difficulties experienced by students from varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds can be highlighted based on the findings of this study. Therefore, materials and practices for developing multilingual graduate students' writing skills should be incorporated into the instruction. Students' critical thinking and evaluative skills can be enhanced in multilingual environments which offer supportive practice and feedback.

Several implications can be suggested based on the findings of this study. Students could first be asked to read LR papers in which evaluative and critical language is embedded within their disciplinary community. Hereby, they can examine the examples of LRs, and instructors can begin familiarizing students with this genre. The students may then participate in a specific discussion about the LR requirements and expectations of their community. They can benefit from the examination of the evaluative and critical texts to understand how evaluative resources work. They should be trained to establish connections between the source texts, integrate the authors' arguments into their assumptions, and address the weaknesses and strengths in the methodologies of other studies. Students may be encouraged to engage in writing tasks to understand their problems and difficulties related to LR writing. This may help them with individual academic writing.

Considering that constructing an effective LR is not always completely dependent on students' writing skills, a few general suggestions can be made about supervisors. The students may need additional assistance from their supervisors, particularly when the courses devoted to academic writing do not meet their expectations in this respect. Therefore, the supervisors should be aware that the LR-related practices are complicated and unclear for the students, and they need to make these practices more visible by offering

suggestions, giving feedback about their errors, and making guided revisions of their drafts to develop their literacies in LR writing.

Limitations and Further Research

The number of participants was somewhat limited in this study to reach some generalizable conclusions. Further research can be conducted with more participants to be able to generalize the results. Second, a questionnaire might be used to obtain students' perceptions about writing literature reviews. Further research is recommended to provide insights into supervisors' roles and their knowledge and perceptions of literature review writing.

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**VERTINAMASIS LITERATŪROS APŽVALGOS RAŠYMAS
PRADEDANTIESIEMS AKADEMINIAMS RAŠYTOJAMS: ŽINIŲ IR
SĄMONINGUMO DIDINIMAS**

Anotacija. Vertinamoji ir kritinė literatūros apžvalga akademinuose darbuose atlieka svarbų vaidmenį, nes parodo, kaip esami tyrimai prisidėjo prie atitinkamos srities plėtotės, ir leidžia tyrėjams nustatyti spragas ar nišas, kurias jų tyrimai gali užpildyti. Tačiau rašyti vertinamąsias ir kritines literatūros apžvalgas yra sudėtinga asmenims, kuriems anglų kalba nėra gimtoji (NNES). Literatūros apžvalgos dažnai yra aprašomojo pobūdžio ankstesnių tyrimų santraukos. Negimtakalbiai, rašantieji akademinis tekstus, įskaitant ir pradedančiuosius akademinis rašytojus, turėtų ne tik apibendrinti šaltinių medžiagą, bet ir žinoti, kaip parengti vertinamąsias ir kritines literatūros apžvalgas, nustatyti ryšius tarp paskelbtų tyrimų rezultatų ir interpretacijų, parodyti jų nenuoseklumą, nurodyti stipriąsias ir silpnąsias jų puses. Šiuo tyrimu buvo siekiama iširti NNES doktorantų žinias ir supratimą apie vertinamojo pobūdžio literatūros apžvalgų rašymą bei pagilinti jų kompetenciją, įgyvendinant priemonę, orientuotą į literatūros apžvalgų rašymo konvencijas ir normas. Tyrime taikytas įterptinis kvaziekperimentinio tyrimo planas, dalyvavo dvidešimt Turkijos doktorantų iš įvairių edukologijos katedrų. Kiekybinė dalyvių pateiktų literatūros apžvalgos užduočių, atliktų prieš intervenciją ir po jos, analizė ir iš pusiau struktūruotų interviu surinktos temos atskleidė, kad NNES studentai, rašydami literatūros apžvalgas, susidūrė su keliais iššūkiais. Palaikomoji programa, kurios tikslas buvo vertinamasis ir kritinis literatūros apžvalgos rašymas, teigiamai paveikė doktorantų įgūdžius, padidino jų informuotumą apie veiksmingų literatūros apžvalgų ypatumus ir pagerino jų vertinimo ir kritinio mąstymo įgūdžius. Rezultatai taip pat leido įžvelgti stipriąsias ir silpnąsias doktorantų puses vertinamojo ir kritinio literatūros apžvalgos rašymo aspektu.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: akademinis rašymas; pradedantieji akademinio teksto rašytojai; literatūros apžvalgos rašymas; daugiakalbė taikomoji lingvistika.

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EMI DYNAMICS: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY ON STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES AT TERTIARY LEVEL IN TÜRKİYE

Abstract. The unprecedented adoption of English-Medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education on a global scale has brought about challenges as well as opportunities for students, which necessitates a careful consideration of factors impacting their perceptions and experiences. Recognizing this critical need, our study attaches significant importance to delve into the attitudes of tertiary-level students towards EMI and aims to evaluate the attitudes and language-related challenges encountered by students in full EMI undergraduate programs. Data were collected from 278 undergraduate students in various full EMI programs at a Turkish public university. Utilizing the culturally and linguistically adapted form of Yeh's (2014) EMI questionnaire, the study focused on students' backgrounds, motivations, and attitudes towards EMI courses, challenges, learning strategies, and beliefs about EMI policies. The findings indicate generally positive attitudes towards EMI. Students perceive EMI as beneficial to their academic and professional development, viewing it as an opportunity to enhance their English proficiency. Nevertheless, challenges arise from coping with specialized terms, heavy learning load, and lecturers' accents. These results offer valuable insights into the experiences of undergraduate students in full EMI programs at a state university, highlighting both the positive facets and challenges they encounter in settings where English is used as a vehicle for academic growth.

Keywords: attitudes towards EMI; educational language policy; English as a medium of instruction (EMI); higher education; internationalization.

Introduction

In today's globalized world, English is becoming more prevalent for international communication especially in fields like science, education, and business. This phenomenon is unprecedented on a worldwide scale (Crystal, 1997). English-Medium Instruction (EMI) at universities around the world has emerged and developed quickly as a result of widespread use of English in a number of educational environments. Higher education institutions (HEIs)

worldwide have actively pursued strategies concurrently to enhance their international competitiveness and prepare graduates for the global workforce.

In some countries, EMI has been viewed as a way to improve the English proficiency of local students and internationalize education (McKinley & Rose, 2022). The evident relationship between internationalization and EMI programs particularly at the tertiary level (Özer & Bayram, 2019) has led to a significant upswing in the adoption of EMI academic programs, particularly in non-Anglophone nations, as observed by Bradford (2018). However, this widespread adoption of EMI has introduced a unique set of challenges, affecting both students and educators alike (Evans & Morrison, 2011; Pun & Jin, 2021). Lei and Hu (2022) note a variety of EMI difficulties such as language barrier, workload, the need for additional time to prepare and study for EMI courses. In the reviewed literature, the difficulties faced by EMI students are frequently considered as the result of their insufficient academic English skills, as demonstrated by their inability to write essays in a formal academic style (Evans & Morrison, 2011), listen to lectures and understand instructors' accents (Hellekjaer, 2010), give oral presentations or participate in seminar discussions (Kırkgöz, 2005), and read textbooks with a large number of unfamiliar words (Andrade, 2006).

Despite these challenges, a growing number of educational institutions have embraced EMI, sparking debates over its adoption. Located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, Türkiye serves as a prominent example of this phenomenon, as the prominence of English-Medium programs has been on the rise in an era dominated by internationalization (Yuksel et al., 2022). This phenomenon mirrors trends observed in numerous non-Anglophone countries (Doğançay-Aktuna & Kızıltepe, 2005; Kırkgöz, 2009). Much like their global counterparts, Turkish universities are gradually transitioning from students' first language (L1) to EMI (İnal et al., 2021). The critics of EMI have voiced concerns about its potential negative impact on students and the Turkish language (Sinanoğlu, 2000). On the other hand, proponents have emphasized the benefits, such as effective English language instruction, the internationalization of Turkish higher education and the standardization of university degrees by allowing staff and student mobility (Kirkpatrick, 2014). Studying through EMI has been seen as a way to gain access to better

education and a career with more respect and favourable advantages (Huang & Curle, 2021; Kırkgöz, 2005). Despite the ongoing discourse among politicians, educators, and intellectuals regarding EMI within the Turkish educational system, a critical void persists: the need for more studies on stakeholders' perceptions of EMI at the tertiary level.

Given the myriad challenges associated with EMI (Dearden & Macaro, 2016), its continued prevalence suggests a compelling need for research aimed at understanding the perceptions and challenges of students as one of the stakeholders, when navigating EMI courses. Recognizing this critical gap, our study assumes significant importance as it endeavours to delve into the attitudes of tertiary-level students towards EMI. In this regard, our research serves a multifaceted purpose. Firstly, it establishes a foundational reference point for researchers interested in exploring the perspectives of university-level students regarding EMI in Türkiye. Secondly, it provides invaluable insights that can inform decision makers and educational administrators when contemplating actions related to the implementation of EMI. Furthermore, it is worth noting that not all conclusions drawn from prior studies are universally applicable, especially considering the unique context of Turkish universities. Ultimately, our study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of how the choice of English as an instructional language at the tertiary level shapes students' viewpoints. Such investigations hold the potential to benefit various stakeholders. For instance, faculty members may uncover potential issues in delivering EMI courses through the perspectives of their students. By hearing the voices and opinions of students, faculty can critically assess the effectiveness of their EMI courses in terms of content delivery and language acquisition.

Taking the aforementioned reasons into consideration, the primary objective of our research is to examine the opinions and language-related challenges faced by students enrolled in programs where instruction is conducted fully in English. To achieve this goal, our study is structured around addressing two fundamental research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of undergraduate students towards the use of English as the medium of instruction?

2. What language-related problems do undergraduate students encounter in EMI courses?

Previous Research in International Context

EMI has garnered significant attention in the academic landscape, especially in nations where the predominant mother tongue is not English (Dearden, 2014). This contentious issue has fuelled ongoing debates spanning historical epochs up to the present day across various nations and contexts employing EMI. A deeper examination reveals a multitude of contextual, geographical, historical, and political factors that intricately shape each country's embrace of EMI. While superficially similar, the motivations behind the adoption of EMI may vary significantly (Dearden, 2014).

The literature reflects an increasing number of studies investigating the opinions and challenges faced by university students concerning EMI across countries in Europe, East Asia, as well as Türkiye. For instance, Cho (2012) conducted research at a South Korean university, seeking the perspectives of both lecturers and students. His findings revealed that courses taught in English were perceived as less effective than those delivered in Korean, primarily due to students' limited proficiency in the foreign language. Thus, language proficiency of both students and instructors, along with the challenge of comprehending lessons in a foreign language, emerged as salient issues impacting effectiveness. Similarly, Yeh (2014) explored the attitudes and experiences of Taiwanese university students via a survey, which we replicated in our study. His research indicated that a majority of participants exhibited positive attitudes toward EMI, believing it contributed to their learning and English language proficiency. Additionally, Yeh (2014) noted that some participants, who grappled with limited English language skills, resorted to notetaking as a strategy to compensate for comprehension difficulties in EMI courses.

In the research conducted by Pun and Jin (2021), the researchers investigated 73 students enrolled at EMI universities in Hong Kong. The study explored a range of factors, including gender, EMI experience, and prior English exposure, revealing that the participants viewed themselves as having low

levels of language and learning challenges. Al-Shboul's (2022) research delves into students' perceptions regarding the choice between English and their native language (Arabic) as a medium of instruction in pre-intermediate level English learning centres. The survey results indicate that although participants hold positive attitudes toward their native Arabic language, they tend to prefer English over Arabic as the medium of instruction in English learning centres. Similarly, in the study by Ndizeye and Tabaro (2023), mixed perceptions were observed regarding EMI in engineering courses in Rwanda. While both students and lecturers viewed EMI as beneficial for their career prospects, they also expressed concerns about the use of English, as limited English proficiency posed difficulties in completing academic tasks for both groups. In their study, Zhang and Pladevall-Ballester (2022) also examined students' perspectives on various EMI courses in International Trade, Film Production, and Project Management. The findings from pre-post semester student questionnaires indicate that while students initially had positive attitudes toward EMI courses, their perceptions became less favourable by the end of the semester. Furthermore, Moncada-Comas' (2022) qualitative analysis of students' reflections on EMI revealed several key insights such as the way disciplinary knowledge is conveyed, the use of multilingual dynamics, and translanguaging practices by both lecturers and students. While students generally held positive views of EMI, they also expressed concerns about its implementation, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of EMI in the specific context examined.

EMI in Turkish Higher Education

In Türkiye, English enjoys extensive use, permeating both educational settings and various sectors (Arik, 2020). The utilization of EMI, particularly in higher education institutions, is on the rise and is often considered a prestigious distinction among universities. Differing perspectives emerge regarding the role of English in HEIs where it serves as the language of instruction. Many students favour undergraduate EMI programs due to instrumental motivations, such as the prospect of better job opportunities and higher salaries (Atlı & Özal, 2017). On the other hand, according to some students, the fact that their

academic subject is not taught in Turkish causes them to acquire academic content inefficiently and spend excessive amount of time on their courses. There is also a perception among some students that the medium of instruction can, to some extent, have a negative impact on their exam results (Ozer & Bayram, 2019).

Studies are conducted in Türkiye to better understand EMI at universities. There are a number of studies that focus on students' perspectives. For example, Kirkgöz's (2014) study compared the perceptions of two groups of final-year engineering students in a Turkish institution: one group studied in Turkish Medium of Instruction (TMI), and the other in EMI. The findings revealed that despite some shared perceptions between the groups, acquiring detailed disciplinary knowledge proved more challenging for EMI students when compared to their TMI counterparts, who were largely successful. Turhan and Kirkgöz (2018) evaluated the attitudes of Turkish students enrolled in engineering programs, as well as the perceptions of instructors. The study reported no discernible difference between the motivation levels of the students in each class, and both students and instructors were found to be more externally motivated to use English as the language of instruction due to its perceived linguistic and academic advantages. The occurrence of limited interaction in EMI courses was attributed to the lecturers' dominating class discussions by the students, and the students' insufficient linguistic ability by the lecturers. In their study, Yıldız et al. (2017) explored the challenges faced by 83 EMI students from different departments and academic levels across one private and two state universities in Türkiye and examined their perceived needs. The students' responses were centred around various challenges, including difficulties with technical vocabulary, inadequate use of English by lecturers, code-switching, issues with the English preparatory-year curriculum, language skills, and the lack of language support in EMI programs. In his study, Karakas (2017b) examined satisfaction with EMI in higher education among Turkish students at a private university in Ankara, focusing on universities promoting EMI as international brands. The findings revealed overall satisfaction with EMI, but notably lower satisfaction with language policies and practices. Ozer and Bayram (2019) aimed to assess the perceived effectiveness of EMI programs among senior

undergraduate students at a state university. The findings suggest that while EMI programs significantly contributed to students' subject-specific English skills and motivation, many participants noted that their English proficiency did not consistently improve throughout their education. Likewise, exploring students' perceptions of EMI courses at a technical university in Türkiye, Ekoç (2020) found that EMI offers advantages like preparation for a global work environment and access to the English resources for students while challenges include students' language backgrounds, lecturers' language proficiency and course effectiveness. In a similar vein, Kamaşak and Sahan (2023) investigated factors impacting Turkish students' success in EMI courses. They reported that students' perceptions of their language proficiency and challenges significantly influenced their academic success, while the amount of English used in classes did not. The study emphasizes the importance of language support in EMI programs and suggests that multilingual teaching approaches may be beneficial. A recent study by Curle et al. (2024) reports the impact of general motivation (Instrumental and Integrative), gender, and English language ability on academic achievement in EMI in Turkey. They found that instrumental and integrative motivation were both significant predictors of EMI accomplishment, while gender had no statistically significant predictive power of EMI achievement. Being proficient in the English language accounted for 90% of the success variance, making it the strongest predictor.

Methodology

Setting and Participants

In the context of our study, a public university in a major city in western Türkiye, students enrolled in full EMI undergraduate programs are required to have preparatory language education if they do not achieve a score of at least 60 out of 100 points in the English Proficiency Exam administered at the beginning of the academic year, or fail to attain the required score in equivalent internationally and nationally recognized foreign language exams. It is aimed that students start their undergraduate programs by demonstrating proficiency at an advanced level in speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned requirement, students encounter some problems and have certain needs in EMI courses.

In order to reveal a clear depiction of the situation, the data for this study were collected from undergraduate students studying in different full EMI programs at a technical university in the 2022–2023 fall semester. We employed a purposive sampling technique to select participants who could offer valuable insights into the phenomenon, given their exposure to EMI (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The necessary ethical approval was obtained from the institutional ethnical board. Students enrolled in 14 full EMI programs were contacted through their lecturers and they were requested to fill in the questionnaire via Google Forms. A total of 278 students completed the questionnaire.

Table 1

Key Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

| Attribute | Number | Percentage (%) |
|--|------------|----------------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 155 | 55.8 |
| Female | 123 | 44.2 |
| Distribution of participants across academic years | | |
| First year | 36 | 12.9 |
| Second Year | 113 | 40.6 |
| Third Year | 42 | 15.1 |
| Fourth Year | 87 | 31.3 |
| Number of English courses taken by the participants | | |
| One course | 2 | 0.7 |
| Two courses | 3 | 1.1 |
| Three courses | 1 | 0.4 |
| Four courses | 0 | 0 |
| Five courses | 7 | 2.5 |
| More than five courses | 265 | 95.3 |
| Total | 278 | 100 |

As shown in Table 1, more than half of the respondents were male students (55.8%). Sophomore students made up the majority with 40.6% of the total participants. In terms of prior EMI experience, the vast majority of students (95.3%) had taken more than five English-Medium courses before, with only a small percentage taking fewer courses.

Data Collection and Procedure

Yeh's (2014) 5-point Likert-type EMI questionnaire was adapted for the current study. The questionnaire consists of six parts, including students' background information, reasons why they were enrolled in EMI programs, their attitudes towards and the effects of EMI courses, reasons for the difficulties they experience in EMI programs, learning strategies they use in EMI courses, and their beliefs about EMI policies and emotional reactions to EMI.

For the Turkish version of Yeh's (2014) scale, he was contacted via e-mail and a necessary permission was obtained for the scale to be used in the research. We then undertook a cultural and linguistic adaptation of the scale into Turkish in order to minimize cultural and linguistic barriers for the participants and allow them to express themselves effectively (Mackey & Gass, 2021). In light of this, the originally English scale was translated into Turkish by three experts in the field of English Language Education. The scales translated into Turkish were merged into a single form by the researchers by checking their linguistic and cultural equivalence. This version of the form was translated back into English by three different instructors who are experts in the field of English Language Education, and the compatibility of each Turkish item with the English scale was examined.

In order to test the linguistic and cultural equivalence, the scale forms in the original language and Turkish were applied to the pre-service English teachers who are at B2 level according to the criteria of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and registered in the English Language Teaching Program. A total of 44 students completed the Turkish scale and 39 students completed the English scale. Due to the small number of participants who answered the Turkish ($n = 44$) and English scales ($n = 39$),

the Mann-Whitney U-test analysis was performed from non-parametric statistical calculations. The results of the Mann-Whitney U-test, which was performed depending on the number of groups answering the Turkish and English scales, showed that there was no statistically significant difference between the groups ($U = 746.5, p = .309$). Through the translation and cross-cultural adaptation of the scale, we finalized the Turkish version that preserves the conceptual and linguistic accuracy of the original questionnaire. This process enabled us to ensure that the scale is understandable and relevant to participants in Turkish context.

Findings and Discussion

For the presentation of findings, the sequence of research questions is followed to offer a systematic exploration. Our initial query focused on the attitudes of students in full EMI undergraduate programs towards the use of English as the language of instruction. As a first step, the rate of Turkish usage by instructors during lessons taught in English was sought. It is seen that 72.3 percent of the participants ($n = 201$) stated that their EMI instructors made use of Turkish up to 25 percent of the class time (see Table 2). Relevant to the current discussions on the role of L1, this result shows that the English-Language delivery is prevalent despite the presence of L1 usage to a certain extent. However, the use of Turkish in EMI courses is in line with arguments in the literature advocating for EMI to encompass both lecturers' and students' diverse multilingual repertoires alongside English, thus better catering to the needs of students (Kamaşak & Sahan, 2023; Sahan & Rose, 2021).

Table 2

Rate of Turkish Usage in English Lessons

| Rate of instructors' Turkish usage in English lessons | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|
| 5% of the time | 97 | 34.9 |
| 6% to 25% of the time | 104 | 37.4 |
| 26% to 50% of the time | 44 | 15.8 |
| More than 50% of the time | 33 | 11.9 |
| Total | 278 | 100 |

Students were asked to state their reasons for taking EMI courses. They were informed that they could choose multiple reasons. The answers led to a total of 441 reasons for taking EMI courses (Table 3). Students ($n = 211$) stated that they mainly took EMI courses because they were compulsory. The following two popular reasons were related to the English language. Eighty-nine students viewed EMI courses as a means to improve their English or they chose EMI course because they liked the English language ($n = 56$).

Table 3

Students' Reasons for Taking English-Medium Courses

| Reasons why students enrol in EMI courses | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) EMI courses are compulsory | 211 | 47.8 |
| 2) I want to improve my English | 89 | 20.0 |
| 3) I like English | 56 | 12.7 |
| 4) There were no or very few other course options | 35 | 7.9 |
| 5) The instructor of the course is an expert in his field | 34 | 7.7 |
| 6) I like the teaching methods or teaching style the instructor uses | 16 | 3.6 |
| Total | 441 | 100 |

The students were also given the option to write their personal reasons in the same question. Most of these personal reasons are related to professional or academic opportunities. The students believed EMI could offer them better job prospects and easy access to information in their field, which also resonated with previous research findings (Ekoç 2020; Huang & Curle, 2021; Kirkgöz, 2005). Some excerpts representing this point of view are as follows:

“I thought it would be more suitable for [studying/living] abroad. But I don't understand English, it's not enough.” (P56)

“Because [EMI] will appear on the diploma when I graduate, and I think it can help me in my search for foreign sources in my field.” (P124)

“Since I am studying science, I think learning the terms in English will make it easier for me to master the [disciplinary] literature in my future life.” (P96)

When inquired about their opinions on EMI (see Table 4), students were found to feel moderately positive about how well they understood the course content ($M = 3.65$), as well as how knowledgeable their lecturers were in terms of linguistic proficiency ($M = 3.41$) and pedagogical resources ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.08$). However, there was also consensus slightly above the mean among the students that EMI courses adversely affected their willingness to participate in their lessons ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 1.45$). These results corroborate Yeh's (2014) finding that despite general contentment with EMI, students have hesitations in participation due to this policy. The EMI courses were found moderately satisfactory by the students in our study, which aligns with Le and Nguyen's (2023) finding. In their study, they also reported that Vietnamese undergraduate students expressed the greatest level of satisfaction with the teaching quality of lecturers in EMI contexts. Similar to their suggestions, this study underscores the importance of motivating students. To ensure successful learning outcomes, educators and educational institutions in non-English speaking nations should focus on motivational aspects.

Table 4

Opinions about English as the Language of Instruction

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|--|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| I can understand the content in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.65 | 1.12 |
| I am satisfied with the English proficiency of the instructors in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.04 | 1.15 |
| In EMI courses, instructors use sufficient teaching tools that support course content. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.41 | 1.08 |
| The fact that the language of instruction is English reduces my desire to share my ideas in the classroom. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.92 | 1.45 |

As is seen in Table 5, the participants reported that EMI helped them improve their English reading skills ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.15$), listening skills ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.14$) and writing skills ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.27$). Yet, the results revealed that this improvement is not reflected that much in their speaking skills ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.27$). These results differ from those in Yeh's study (2014) where writing skills had the lowest mean score. However, it is possible

to suggest that this finding aligns with Kırkgöz's research (2005) in which the participants reported challenges in terms of their English-speaking skills, especially when interacting with their lecturers and classmates orally. In addition, this finding could be linked to the participants' reduced desire to express opinions in class. The same tendency is observed in Mai's recent study (2023), which revealed that EMI students with low levels of perceived language competence tend to be less willing to participate in class discussions.

Table 5

Effects of English as the Language of Instruction

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|---|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| The language of instruction was English, which helped me improve my English listening skills. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.84 | 1.14 |
| Having English as the language of instruction helped me improve my English writing skills. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.49 | 1.27 |
| Having English as the language of instruction helped me improve my English reading ability. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.89 | 1.15 |
| Having English as the language of education helped me improve my English-speaking ability. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.77 | 1.27 |

In terms of learning strategies used in EMI courses, it was observed that most participants frequently took notes during classes ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.25$) and spent additional time reviewing the course materials ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.40$) as common strategies. However, seeking help from classmates ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.32$) and instructors ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 1.16$) received lower mean scores, indicating these strategies were less frequently used. Forming study groups ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.27$), asking questions ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.24$), and reviewing materials in advance ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.37$) were also expressed with moderate frequencies. One of the drawbacks is that students' performance in EMI courses might suffer when compared to those taught in their native language (L1) (Fernández-Sanjurjo et al., 2019). As teacher talk dominates interactions in EMI classrooms (An et al., 2021; Turhan & Kırkgöz, 2018), it is seen that in order to avoid the negative

influence of EMI and understand both the teacher's input and lesson content, students resort to utilizing several strategies such as taking notes and spending time for revising the materials (see Table 6).

Table 6

Learning Strategies Used in English-Medium Courses

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|--|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| I take notes in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.61 | 1.25 |
| I request help from my classmates in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.68 | 1.32 |
| I spend more time reviewing the materials of EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.42 | 1.40 |
| I spend more time reviewing additional course materials for EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.40 | 1.38 |
| I request the help of the instructors for EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.33 | 1.16 |
| I form study groups with my classmates for EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.40 | 1.27 |
| I ask questions in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.59 | 1.24 |
| I spend more time reviewing the materials of EMI courses in advance. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.78 | 1.37 |

As shown in Table 7, EMI is perceived positively in several aspects. Participants are of the opinion that it can enhance their English language skills ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.18$). Additionally, they feel that it broadens their horizons ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.30$) and enhances competitiveness ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.36$). Moreover, some participants consider EMI beneficial for future academic pursuits or business endeavours, indicating a relatively high score ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.01$). However, there are concerns as well. The survey highlights that EMI might negatively affect the learning of professional knowledge ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.35$). Furthermore, they perceive challenges in communication between instructors and students in EMI courses ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.31$). In this sense, our students' situation is comparable to that of students described by Kyeyune (2003) who encounter challenges in exchanging ideas during the lessons in which the EMI policy is implemented.

Table 7*Opinions on the Policy of English as the Language of Instruction*

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|--|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| Having English as the language of instruction can improve my English skills. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.85 | 1.18 |
| Having English as the language of education can broaden my horizons. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.60 | 1.30 |
| Having English as the language of education can increase Türkiye's competitiveness. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.47 | 1.36 |
| English as the language of education negatively affects the learning of professional knowledge. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.50 | 1.35 |
| English as the language of instruction interrupts the communication between instructors and students. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.96 | 1.31 |
| Having English as the language of instruction can be useful in future academic studies or in business. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 4.27 | 1.01 |

Although students state that they feel stressed in EMI courses, it is observed that they generally give positive affective reactions to EMI (see Table 8). Zhang and Ma (2023) also observed that students in their study held high opinions of EMI courses, considering them crucial in the modern world, despite acknowledging the pressure they bring. In a similar vein, Guo et al. (2022) underline that students who are motivated by their interests in EMI put more effort into their studies and get better grades as a result. Curle et al. (2024) also found that Turkish undergraduate students' level of motivation significantly impacts their academic success in EMI courses.

Table 8*Affective Reactions to English as the Language of Instruction*

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|--|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| I would like my department to open more EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.69 | 1.43 |
| I would like to take more EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.36 | 1.47 |

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| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|---|-----|---------|---------|------|------|
| I get stressed when I take EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.47 | 1.49 |
| I feel that I am successful in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.29 | 1.20 |

It was observed that the students do not want to have EMI courses only in the upper classes of undergraduate education and at the graduate level ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.48$). Similarly, they do not prefer them to be offered only as elective courses. Yet, they expressed a positive opinion about EMI courses being taught by foreign instructors ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.40$). Consistent with this finding, according to Karakas (2017a), more students were discovered to be orientated toward having native teachers (NESTs) teach them content courses. He reported that NESTs were considered more suitable for teaching students with high English-Language proficiency, whereas nonnative teachers (NNESTs) were preferred for students with beginning- or lower-level proficiency. Students who choose NEST EMI lecturers are considerate of the lecturer's background and do so because they believe that a native speaker's command of the language of instruction equates to a more effective teacher, as opposed to students who prefer non-native speakers.

Table 9

Attitudes Towards English as the Language of Instruction

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|---|-----|---------|---------|------|------|
| EMI courses should only be given at the upper undergraduate and graduate level. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.36 | 1.48 |
| EMI courses should only be offered as elective courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.11 | 1.41 |
| I would like instructors to use Turkish more in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.69 | 1.45 |
| I would like EMI courses to be taught by foreign instructors. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.42 | 1.40 |

Our second aim in this study was to investigate language-related problems students encounter in full EMI undergraduate programs. When

students were asked about the sources of their difficulties in EMI courses, most students stated that there was a high number of specialized terms in course materials ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.22$). Similarly, they stated that the learning load of EMI courses is generally heavy ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.31$). While the students did not consider the speaking rate of the instructors to be a major issue ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 1.07$), the instructors' accents were found to have a relatively important effect on students' comprehension of EMI courses ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.27$). Considering the fact most of the instructors are non-native speakers of English, this finding aligns with Hendriks et al. (2018) in that non-native accents impact students' attitudes towards EMI courses adversely. In terms of reading comprehension, studies have shown that many EMI students struggle to understand textbooks, mostly because they include so many unfamiliar words and specialized technical jargon (Andrade, 2006; Kırkgöz, 2005). According to Aizawa et al. (2023), EMI learners need to be proficient in both general English and discipline-specific English, including the usage of English for academic purposes (EAP) and English for specific purposes (ESP). Similarly, in Yıldız et al.'s (2017) study, the lack of the requisite technical terminology or academic vocabulary made it difficult for the students to understand the content of the EMI course.

In addition to the terminology, students found the learning load in EMI courses very heavy. As Siegel (2022) explained, EMI courses may pose challenges for students who need to simultaneously read the PowerPoint slides and listen, especially when encountering technical English terms that they do not comprehend, further adding to the cognitive load in EMI (see Table 10).

Table 10

Sources of Difficulties in English-Medium Courses

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|---|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| The content of EMI courses is very difficult | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.76 | 1.28 |
| There are many specialized terms in EMI course materials. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.29 | 1.22 |
| The learning load of EMI courses is very heavy. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.06 | 1.31 |
| I cannot focus on classes where the medium of instruction is English. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.58 | 1.34 |

EMI DYNAMICS: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY ON STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES AT
TERTIARY LEVEL IN TÜRKIYE

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | SD |
|---|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| I cannot understand the accent of the instructors in EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.86 | 1.27 |
| In EMI courses, instructors speak English very quickly. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.08 | 1.07 |
| My English proficiency is not at the appropriate level for EMI courses. | 278 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 2.19 | 1.25 |

Students with higher English language proficiency tend to have more positive attitudes and perceive EMI as beneficial for their language development. While language anxiety is common among students in EMI contexts (Chou, 2018), it was seen in this study that students do not seem to feel anxious. Thus, it was concluded that the pressure to understand and express the content of the subject area in a language that is not their mother tongue did not cause serious problems for students. This supports the finding in previous studies that challenges students face tend to decrease as they get used to EMI and gain confidence in their language skills. Supporting previous studies (Pennington & Yue, 1994; Wu, 2006), the participants in this study also stated that they preferred their programs because the medium of instruction is English. As Wei et al. (2017) noted, students tend to be more willing to participate in EMI programs at reputable institutions.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research

The current study sought to investigate the attitudes and understand the language-related needs and challenges of undergraduate students enrolled in full EMI programs at a state university in Türkiye via an online questionnaire. It was found that the attitudes of the students towards EMI are generally positive as they consider it beneficial for their academic and professional development, which were also reported in Kırkgöz (2005), Ekoç (2020), and Huang and Curle (2021). The students also see EMI as an opportunity to improve their English proficiency. This aligns with previous research by Zhang and Ma (2023) and Guo et al. (2022), highlighting students' motivation and enthusiasm for EMI.

However, the students in the current study were also found to face certain challenges when coping with the frequent use of specialized terms in course materials, the heavy learning load, and the instructors' accents. As previous research shows, these challenges pose difficulties especially for lower-proficiency students who, if not offered discipline-specific language support, might continue to benefit from EMI courses considerably less than their peers with higher English language proficiency (Aizawa, et al., 2023; Siegel, 2022). Finally, one of the most key factors affecting students' attitudes towards EMI is the pedagogical approach used by instructors. Effective teaching practices such as clarity of explanations, provision of necessary support, and interactive teaching methods can positively affect students' perceptions and increase the quality of EMI education. Such practices can be introduced to EMI lecturers via training programs tailored to their linguistic and pedagogic needs as well as contextual dynamics (Deroey, 2023).

While the current study shed light on the perspectives of EMI students from diverse academic programs, it is not without limitations. The results of this research should be interpreted cautiously due to the study sample consisting only of students from one higher education institution in Türkiye. In order to enhance the generalizability of the study, the sample can be diversified by incorporating students from different universities. In addition, future studies could complement survey data by interviewing select participants so as to gain deeper insights into their EMI experiences. In addition, further investigation can focus on exploring the effects of challenges such as specialized terminology and learning load on students' cognitive processes and learning outcomes in EMI courses. Research could also examine effective pedagogical strategies to mitigate these challenges, such as offering courses that address the students' discipline-specific language needs. Moreover, the students' preference for EMI courses taught by foreign lecturers, who are ideally native speakers of English, deserves additional exploration as this might negatively impact their perception of the instructional effectiveness of Turkish lecturers. As Karakaş (2017a) suggests, encouraging students to understand that nativeness does not necessarily ensure successful communication in English could lead to more positive perceptions of their Turkish lecturers' L2 English usage.

Disclosure Statement

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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**EMI DINAMIKA: STUDENTŲ, STUDIJUOJANČIŲ TURKIJOJOS
AUKŠTOJOJE MOKYKLOJE, POŽIŪRIO EMPIRINIS TYRIMAS**

Anotacija. Beprecedentis dėstymo anglų kalba (angl. *English-medium Instruction*, EMI) diegimas aukštosiose mokyklose pasauliniu mastu studentams sukėlė iššūkių, bet ir atvėrė naujų galimybių, todėl būtina atidžiai išnagrinėti veiksnius, darančius įtaką jų suvokimui ir patirčiai. Pripažindami šį svarbų poreikį, atidžiai tyrinėjome aukštųjų mokyklų studentų požiūrį į EMI, kad įvertintume su kalba susijusius sunkumus, kylančius mokantis anglų kalba dėstomose bakalauro studijų programose. Buvo apklausti 278 bakalauro studijų studentai, studijuojantys įvairiose EMI programose Turkijos valstybiniame universitete. Taikant kultūriškai ir lingvistiškai adaptuotą Yeh (2014) EMI klausimyno formą, tyrime daugiausia dėmesio skirta studentų demografinėms charakteristikoms, motyvacijai ir požiūriui į EMI dėstomus dalykus, iššūkiams, mokymosi strategijoms ir įsitikinimams apie EMI politiką. Gauti rezultatai rodo iš esmės teigiamą požiūrį į EMI. Studentai mano, kad dalykų dėstymas anglų kalba yra naudingas jų akademiniam ir profesiniam tobulėjimui, ir vertina tai kaip galimybę pagerinti savo anglų kalbos kompetencijas. Vis dėlto kyla sunkumų dėl specializuotų terminų, didelio mokymosi krūvio ir dėstytojų akcento. Šie rezultatai suteikia vertingų įžvalgų apie valstybinio universiteto bakalauro studijų studentų, studijuojančių tik anglų kalba dėstomose programose, patirtis; išryškėja ir teigiami aspektai, ir iššūkiai, kylantys aplinkoje, kurioje anglų kalba vartojama kaip akademinio tobulėjimo priemonė.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dalykų dėstymas per anglų kalbą (angl. EMI); aukštasis mokslas; tarptautiškumas; kalbų politika švietime; požiūris į EMI.

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- Nagrinėjama svarbi tyrimo problema.
- Yra tinkamos stilistinės ir kalbinės kokybės.

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Puslapio dydis: 17,6x25,01 cm.

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LITERATŪROS SĄRAŠAS

PAVYZDŽIAI (prašome laikytis APA 7-ojo leidimo reikalavimų)

Knygos

Ramonienė, M., & Pribušauskaitė, J. (2008). *Praktinė lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. 2 papildytas leidimas. Baltos lankos.

Knygų skyriai

Pacevičius, A. (2003). Lietuvos knygos kultūra ir paleotipų proveniencijos. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos paleotipai: katalogas (xvii–xxxv)*. Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.

Straipsniai žurnaluose

Vitkauskienė, V. (2011). Frankofonija Lietuvoje. *Respectus Philologicus*, 19(42), 57–70.

Straipsnis su priskirtu DOI:

Otwinowska, A., & De Angelis, G. (2012). Introduction: Social and affective factors in multilingualism research. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 9(4), 347–351. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714379>

Straipsnis be DOI:

Krivenkaya, M. (2012). Vertėjo sociokultūrinė kompetencija kultūrų dialogo kontekste. *Kalbų studijos / Studies about Languages*, 20, 73–78. <http://www.kalbos.lt/naujas.html>

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The main research fields of the cluster are as follows:

- research on plurilingualism and multilingualism as cultural phenomena and educational objects from linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, pragmatic and intercultural points of view,
- analyses of the issues of transfer and cross-linguistic interference while learning the second, third and subsequent languages,
- investigation of efficiency of application of innovative language teaching and learning methods,
- research in teaching and learning languages for specific and academic purposes, learner strategies, issues in communicative competence acquisition and development, content and language integrating learning, and
- exploration of issues in translation.

The scientific research activity of the scholars and dissemination of research findings in local and international publications, conferences, strategic partnerships with foreign higher education institutions in implementing mutually beneficial scientific research projects serve as a means for the development of language policy, theory of plurilingualism and multilingualism, theoretical and practical development of language competences and allow applying research findings in practical educational activity.

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Pagrindinės klasterio mokslinių tyrimų kryptys:

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