SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM

Biannual Scientific Journal

DARNIOJI DAUGIAKALBYSTĖ

Periodinis mokslo žurnalas

26/2025

Kaunas, 2025

EDITORIAL BOARD   REDAKCINĖ KOLEGIJA

REVIEWERS 2025 | 2025 M. RECENZENTAI

CONTENTS | TURINYS

Prof. dr. Nemira Mačianskienė, Editor-in-Chief
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

EDITORIAL

Dear *Sustainable Multilingualism* community,

Welcome to the 26th issue of the journal.

In his book *The Crucible of Language,* Vyvyan Evans wrote:

> "Like many other species, we are minded creatures: we store representations of the world around us, and of our own internal bodily states. But unlike other species, we also have language: an unheralded means of packaging these representations – our thoughts – and rendering them public. < …> Making thought public is the hallmark of communication" (2015, p. 3).

The 20 researchers who chose our journal to *make their thoughts public*, focus on diverse aspects of multilingual theory and practices and come from 8 different countries of Europe and Asia (East, South, Southeast, and Western Asia).

Multilingual Practices in Language Policy Implementation section presents the study by Julia Cervera Moya and Julia Valeiras-Jurado who discuss multimodality and mediation in the policies regulating the official schools of languages and present the case of the Valencian community in Spain, approaching mediation from the perspective of social semiotic multimodal analysis.

Society. Identity. Language Maintenance section features three studies. Alona Shyba and Ineta Dabašinskienė discuss the change in language attitudes and practices among Ukrainian war refugees who arrived in

Lithuania seeking for shelter. The study results reveal the complex transformations that female research participants-refugees undergo, having experienced "the traumatic experiences of enemy's occupation, refuge, lost family members, and homes" and aiming to adapt in the host country, "initially relying on Russian to facilitate communication", then trying to "gradually transition to Ukrainian", feeling the "urgent need to preserve the Ukrainian language and culture, as the most powerful factors of their national identity". Angelica Peccini explores "Language attitudes and self-reflection in immigrant women through the Lithuanian language: A prism of identities in motion" and Omar Mohammad-Ameen Ahmad Hazaymeh explores "Bilingualism in the Jordanian-Russian family residing in Jordan and its impact on communication between its members".

Language Use and Education in Multilingual and Multicultural Settings section presents four articles: the study by Aybek Sibel and Cem Can focuses on formulaic sequences, investigating "the use of the most frequent 3- and 4-word lexical bundles in the TICLE, the Turkish component of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), and the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) as the control parallel corpus in their research on multiword units or formulaic utterances in their article "Comparative analysis of lexical bundles in academic writings by native English speakers and Turkish EFL learners", whereas Nivedita Malini Barua explores the role of home language(s) in developing reading comprehension in English in a group of tertiary level ESL students in a university in India. The research results prove that working collaboratively and using "their own home language/s for discussion and taking notes" result in more detailed notes and summaries by students. A group of researchers from Malaysia – Lichao Guo, Nik Aloesnita Binti Nik Mohd Alwi, Abdullah Adnan Bin Mohamed, Li Changlin – present a systematic review of "cross-linguistic influence in additional language acquisition, focusing on how learners' awareness of differences between their primary and target languages impacts their writing competence." Jing Xuan Tian presents a pilot study aiming to determining how Mandarin speakers (MS) in Hong Kong acquire English (L2) and Cantonese (L3) pronunciation features, "how the three languages interact in their language learning process", trying to "identify the pronunciation-related

adjustment approaches that MS use to overcome L2 and L3 pronunciation challenges.

Issues in Translation section presents two studies: Aurelija Leonavičienė investigates censorship and self-censorship in interwar and soviet-era translations from French into Lithuania and concludes that "All the examples of translations of canonical French literature into Lithuanian suggest that during the interwar, censorship primarily targeted politically unacceptable revolutionary parts of the originals; whereas during the Soviet era, religious, political and ethical censorship became more widespread." Lew Ya Ling, Naginder Kaur, Huzaifah A Hamid, and Hoe Foo Terng present their study "Guiding learners in using machine translation for second and foreign language writing: the case at Malaysian higher education".

I hope you will find all the presented studies scientifically engaging, interesting, useful, and enriching.

However, before ending this brief Editorial, I will use this opportunity to introduce one event which appeared concurrently with this issue: the 8th international conference *Sustainable Multilingualism 2025 (SM25)*, organized by the Institute of Foreign Languages of Vytautas Magnus University and the Language Teachers' Association of Lithuania and held in Kaunas, Lithuania, on May 28–30, 2025.

Although the primary focus of the *SM25* was on language reclamation, preservation, and sustainability, as in the previous conferences, a wide range of themes on the key issues of multilingualism, the development of plurilingual competence, and language education were also addressed. Five keynote speakers from three continents honored our conference and presented their research on diversity of themes:

- Assoc. prof. dr. Karina Firkavičiūtė (Head of the Lithuanian Karaim Association of Culture, a civil servant of the EU Research Executive Agency, musicologist, and native Karaim language speaker) introduced Karaim — a Turkic West Kipchak group language spoken today exclusively in Lithuania by approximately 30 people in the community of about 200 people — in her keynote *Karaim Language. Challenges to Survive.*

- A South Saami and Scottish Gaelic poet, traditional yoik singer, writer, literary scholar, and teacher Johan Sandberg McGuinne gave a keynote *From Stoere Vaerie to Ubmejen jiännuo — Traditional Yoiking as a Tool in Saami Language Revitalisation.* We had an opportunity to enjoy yoiking — traditional Saami singing, "a powerful tool in the ongoing language revitalisation process within the Saami homelands."

- Prof. dr. John W. Schwieter (researcher of cognitive and neuroscientific approaches to multilingualism and language acquisition, professor at Wilfrid Laurier University and McMaster University, Canada) discussed *The Bilingual mental lexicon, language switching, and cognitive effects.* I am happy to announce that professor has accepted our invitation to join the Editorial Board of our journal.

- Prof. dr. Jūratė Ruzaitė (a researcher in sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, language and ideology, researcher in Semantika-2 project that developed software for automatic detection of offensive online comments in Lithuanian, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania) presented her keynote *These are not just words: Hate speech, propaganda, and novel words for old prejudices.*

- Prof. dr. dr. Ghil'ad Zuckermann (listed among Australia's top 30 "living legends of research" by "The Australian" (2024), the recipient of the Rubinlicht Prize for his outstanding contribution to Yiddish scholarship in 2023, the author of *Revivalistics: From the Genesis of Israeli to language reclamation in Australia and Beyond* (2020) and many other books and articles, professor at Flinders University (Adelaide), Australian Catholic University (Sydney), Australia) presented a keynote on *Language reclamation and cross-fertilization: The emergence of a "Revival Language" called Israeli.* It is with great honor that I acknowledge that professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann has been a member of *Sustainable Multilingualism* Editorial Board since 2020.

The program featured two plenary sessions and parallel sections included over 120 presenters from nearly 20 countries worldwide who, together with 15 non-presenting participants, were engaged in discussions on more than 60 oral presentations and 15 poster presentations, ensuring a multidisciplinary, multilingual, and multicultural approach to sustainable multilingualism.

A round table discussion *From policy to practice: University alliances and Plurilingualism* rallied representatives from five university alliances to discuss issues of multilingualism in the university alliances. The conference languages were Lithuanian and English, but over 20 parallel panel sessions included presentations in French, German, Latvian, Spanish and Ukrainian, apart from Lithuanian and English.

Several presenters and keynote speakers will have their research published in upcoming issues of the journal. You are welcome to follow us on the [journal website](). Our 9th *Sustainable Multilingualism* conference will be held in the spring of 2027 – hope to see you here, in Kaunas, Lithuania.

Traditionally, welcoming the 26th issue of the journal, I would like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude to all contributors: the authors who chose our journal to share their valuable research, competent reviewers who provided valuable constructive feedback and ideas for manuscript improvement, and the whole editorial team: executive editors and the technical support group (proofreaders, layout designers, and translators) whose conscientious efforts, thorough work, and belief in the mission of the journal allow us all to pursue the goal of sustaining multilingualism.

Prof. dr. Nemira Mačianskienė, Vyriausioji redaktorė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva

REDAKTORĖS ŽODIS

Gerbiama *Darniosios daugiakalbystės* bendruomene,
Sveikinu atvertus XXVI žurnalo numerį.

Vyvyanas Evansas savo knygoje „Kalbos tiglis. Kaip kalba ir protas sukuria prasmę" (*The Crucible of Language. How language and mind create meaning*) rašė:

> „Kaip ir daugelis kitų gyvybės rūšių, mes esame protaujančios būtybės: mes saugome mus supančio pasaulio ir savo vidinių kūno būsenų reprezentacijas. Tačiau, kitaip nei kitos rūšys, mes taip pat turime kalbą: neįvardytą priemonę, kaip šias reprezentacijas – savo mintis – supakuoti ir paskelbti viešai. < ...> Minčių paviešinimas yra skiriamasis komunikacijos bruožas." (2015, p. 3)

Dvidešimt tyrėjų iš aštuonių Europos bei Rytų, Pietų, Pietryčių ir Vakarų Azijos šalių, *viešam savo minčių paskelbimui* pasirinkę mūsų žurnalą, daugiausia dėmesio skyrė įvairiems teoriniams ir praktiniams daugiakalbystės aspektams.

Daugiakalbystės praktikos įgyvendinant kalbų politiką skyriuje pristatoma Julia'os Cervera'os Moya'os ir Julia'os Valeiras-Jurado studija, kurioje aptariamas multimodalumas ir tarpininkavimas (mediacija) oficialiųjų kalbų mokyklų veiklą reglamentuojančioje politikoje, nagrinėjamas Valensijos bendruomenės Ispanijoje atvejis, į tarpininkavimą žvelgiant iš socialinės semiotinės multimodalinės analizės perspektyvos.

Visuomenė. Tapatybė. Kalbos išlaikymas skyriuje pateikiami trys tyrimai. Alona Šyba ir Ineta Dabašinskienė aptaria Ukrainos karo pabėgėlių,

atvykusių į Lietuvą ieškoti prieglobsčio, kalbinių nuostatų ir praktikų kaitą. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidžia sudėtingas transformacijas, kurias patiria tyrimo dalyvės pabėgėlės, išgyvenusios „traumuojančią priešo okupacijos, pabėgimo, šeimos narių ir namų netekimo patirtį" ir siekiančios adaptuotis priimančiojoje šalyje, „iš pradžių bendravimui palengvinti pasikliaudamos rusų kalba", vėliau bandydamos „palaipsniui pereiti prie ukrainiečių kalbos", jausdamos „neatidėliotiną poreikį išsaugoti ukrainiečių kalbą ir kultūrą, kaip galingiausius savo tautinės tapatybės veiksnius". Angelica Peccini tyrinėja „Imigrančių moterų kalbines nuostatas ir savirefleksiją per lietuvių kalbą", o Omaras Mohammadas-Ameenas Ahmadas Hazaymehas analizuoja „Dvikalbystės Jordanijoje gyvenančių jordaniečių ir rusų šeimoje ir jos poveikį narių bendravimui".

Kalbos vartojimas ir ugdymas daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūrėje aplinkoje skyriuje pateikiami keturi straipsniai: Aybek Sibel ir Cemo Cano tyrime daugiausia dėmesio skiriama „dažniausių 3 ir 4 žodžių leksinių junginių vartojimui TICLE (Tarptautinio besimokančiųjų anglų kalbos tekstyne (ICLE)) turkų komponente ir LOCNESS (Louvain Corpus of Native English Essay) kontroliniame paraleliniame tekstyne"; jų straipsnis – „Lyginamoji gimtakalbių ir besimokančiųjų anglų kalbos turkų leksinių paketų analizė akademiniuose rašiniuose"; Nivedita Malini Barua tiria gimtosios kalbos (-ų) vaidmenį ugdant anglų kalbos skaitymo supratimą aukštojo mokslo institucijos anglų kaip antrosios kalbos besimokančiųjų studentų grupėje Indijos universitete. Tyrimo rezultatai įrodo, kad dirbdami kartu ir vartodami „savo namų kalbą (-as) diskusijoms ir užrašams" studentai parengia išsamesnius tekstus ir santraukas. Tyrėjų grupė iš Malaizijos – Lichao Guo, Nik Aloesnita Binti Nik Mohd Alwi, Abdullah Adnan Bin Mohamed ir Li Changlin – pateikia sisteminę apžvalgą apie „tarpkalbinę įtaką papildomos kalbos mokymuisi, daugiausia dėmesio skirdami tam, kaip besimokančiųjų supratimas apie skirtumus tarp jų pagrindinės ir tikslinės kalbų veikia jų rašymo kompetenciją". Jing Xuan Tian pristato bandomąjį tyrimą, kurio tikslas – išanalizuoti, kaip Honkonge kalbantieji mandarinų kalba įsisavina anglų (L2) ir kantoniečių (L3) kalbų tarimo ypatumus, „kaip šios trys kalbos sąveikauja jų kalbos mokymosi procese" bei „nustatyti, kokius su tarimu

susijusius prisitaikymo būdus naudoja kalbantieji mandarinų kalba, kad įveiktų L2 ir L3 kalbų tarimo sunkumus".

Skyriuje *Vertimo problemos* pateikiami du tyrimai: Aurelija Leonavičienė tyrinėja cenzūrą ir savicenzūrą tarpukario ir sovietmečio vertimuose iš prancūzų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą ir daro išvadą, jog „visi kanoninės prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą pavyzdžiai rodo, kad tarpukariu cenzūra pirmiausia buvo nukreipta prieš politiškai nepriimtinas revoliucines originalo dalis, o sovietmečiu labiau paplito religinė, politinė ir etinė cenzūra". Lew Ya Ling, Naginder Kaur, Huzaifah A Hamid ir Hoe Foo Terng pristato savo tyrimą straipsnyje „Mokymas kaip naudoti mašininį vertimą mokantis antrosios ir užsienio kalbų: Malaizijos aukštojo mokslo atvejis".

Tikiuosi, kad visi paskelbti tyrimai praturtins jūsų kompetencijas, bus moksliškai patrauklūs, įdomūs ir naudingi.

Baigdama šia trumpą straipsnių apžvalgą redaktoriaus skiltyje pasinaudosiu galimybe pristatyti vieną kartą per dvejus metus vykstantį renginį, sutampantį su žurnalo pasirodymu. Tai Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto ir Lietuvos kalbų mokytojų asociacijos organizuojama 8-oji tarptautinė konferencija „Darnioji daugiakalbystė 2025" (SM25), vykusi 2025 m. gegužės 28–30 d. Kaune.

Pagrindinis dėmesys SM25 konferencijoje, kaip ir ankstesnėse, buvo sutelktas į kalbų atgaivinimą, išsaugojimą ir tvarumą, buvo nagrinėjamos įvairios temos, susijusios su svarbiausiais visuotinės ir individualios daugiakalbystės, daugiakalbės kompetencijos ugdymo ir kalbų mokymo klausimais. Penki pagrindiniai pranešėjai iš trijų žemynų pagerbė mūsų konferenciją ir pristatė savo tyrimus įvairiomis temomis:

- Doc. dr. Karina Firkavičiūtė (Lietuvos karaimų kultūros bendrijos pirmininkė, Europos Komisijos Europos mokslinių tyrimų vykdomosios agentūros tarnautoja, muzikologė, kurios gimtoji kalba yra karaimų kalba) plenariniame pranešime *Karaimų kalba. Išlikimo iššūkiai* pristatė karaimų kalbos būklę, mokslinius tyrimus ir jos vartojimą bendrame Lietuvos karaimų bendruomenės kontekste. Karaimų kalbá Lietuvoje kálba apie 30 žmonių; visą Lietuvos karaimų bendruomenę

sudaro apie 200 žmonių. Karaimų kalba įrašyta į UNESCO nykstančių kalbų atlasą, bet pranešėjos nuomone, „dar yra vilties jai išlikti ir būti vartojamai, tik, kaip sako karaimiška patarlė, *Az ajtma, kierakli kylma* (nepakanka vien kalbėti, reikia veikti)".

- Pietų samių ir Škotijos geilų poetas, tradicinio *yoik* dainininkas, rašytojas, literatūros tyrinėtojas ir mokytojas <u>Johanas Sandbergas McGuinne'as</u> skaitė pranešimą „Nuo Stoere Vaerie iki Ubmejen jiännuo – tradicinė *yoik* kaip samių kalbos atgaivinimo priemonė". Turėjome galimybę pasimėgauti *yoiking* – tradiciniu samių dainavimu, kuris yra „galinga priemonė šiuo metu vykstančiame kalbos atgaivinimo procese samių žemėse".

- Prof. dr. <u>Johnas W. Schwieteris</u> (kognityvinių ir neuromokslinių požiūrių į daugiakalbystę ir kalbų mokymąsi tyrėjas iš Kanados Vilfrido Lorjė (Wilfrid Laurier) universiteto ir Makmasterio (McMaster) universiteto kalbėjo apie dvikalbę mentalinę leksiką, kalbų perjungimą ir kognityvinį poveikį. Džiaugiuosi galėdama pranešti, kad profesorius sutiko prisijungti prie mūsų žurnalo redakcinės kolegijos.

- Prof. dr. <u>Jūratė Ruzaitė</u> (sociolingvistikos, pragmatikos, diskurso analizės, kalbos ir ideologijos tyrėja, projekto *Semantika-2*, kurio metu buvo sukurta programinė įranga, skirta automatiniam įžeidžiančių internetinių komentarų lietuvių kalba aptikti, tyrėja, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva) skaitė pranešimą „Tai nėra tik žodžiai: neapykantos kalba, propaganda ir senos nuostatos naujais žodžiais".

- Prof. dr. dr. <u>Ghil'adas Zuckermannas</u> (2024 m. „The Australian" įtrauktas į Australijos 30-ies geriausių „gyvųjų mokslo legendų" sąrašą), 2023 m. apdovanotas Rubinlichto premija už išskirtinį indėlį į jidiš kalbos tyrimus, knygos „Rivaivalistika: nuo Izraelio genezės iki kalbos reklamacijos Australijoje" (2020) bei daugelio kitų knygų bei straipsnių autorius, Flinderso universiteto (Adelaidė), Australijos katalikiškojo universiteto (Sidnėjus) profesorius) skaitė pranešimą „Kalbos atkūrimas ir tarpkalbinis sąveikavimas: izraeliečių kaip atgimimo kalbos atsiradimas". Man didelė garbė priminti jums, kad

profesorius Ghil'adas Zuckermannas nuo 2020 m. yra žurnalo *Darnioji daugiakalbystė* redakcinės kolegijos narys.

Konferencijoje vyko dvi plenarinės sesijos, pranešimai paralelinėse sekcijose, kuriose dalyvavo daugiau kaip 120 pranešėjų iš beveik 20 pasaulio šalių ir 15 dalyvių be pranešimų, buvo pristatyta ir aptarta daugiau nei 60 žodinių pranešimų ir 15 stendinių pranešimų, užtikrinant daugiadisciplinį, daugiakalbį ir daugiakultūrį požiūrį į tvarią daugiakalbystę.

Apskritojo stalo diskusija *Nuo politikos prie politikos: universitetų aljansai ir daugiakalbystė* tarp penkių universitetų aljansų atstovų ir konferencijos dalyvių. Pagrindinės konferencijos kalbos – lietuvių ir anglų, tačiau daugiau kaip 20 paralelinių diskusijų sesijų pranešimai buvo skaitomi ne tik šiomis, bet ir prancūzų, vokiečių, latvių, ispanų ir ukrainiečių kalbomis.

Kai kurie pranešėjai ir dauguma pagrindinių kalbėtojų savo tyrimus skelbs artimiausiuose žurnalo numeriuose. Kviečiame mus sekti žurnalo svetainėje. Tikimės, kad 2027 m. pavasarį susitiksime mūsų 9-ojoje konferencijoje „Darnioji daugiakalbystė" čia, Kaune, Lietuvoje.

Sveikindama 26-ąjį žurnalo numerį, tradiciškai norėčiau padėkoti visiems, kurių dėka šis numeris pasitiks skaitytojus: straipsnių autoriams, pasirinkusiems mūsų žurnalą savo vertingų mokslinių tyrimų sklaidai, reikliems ir kompetentingiems recenzentams, pateikusiems vertingų konstruktyvių atsiliepimų ir idėjų rankraščiams tobulinti, ir visai redakcijos komandai: atsakingiesiems redaktoriams ir techninės pagalbos grupei (korektoriams, maketuotojams ir vertėjams), kurių sąžiningos pastangos, kruopštus darbas ir tikėjimas žurnalo misija leidžia mums visiems siekti darniosios daugiakalbystės tikslų.

MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

DAUGIAKALBĖS PRAKTIKOS ĮGYVENDINANT KALBŲ POLITIKĄ

Julia Cervera Moya
Universitat Jaume I, Spain
Julia Valeiras-Jurado
Universitat Jaume I, Spain

MULTIMODALITY AND MEDIATION IN THE POLICIES REGULATING THE OFFICIAL SCHOOLS OF LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY

Abstract. Since its recent implementation in the education curriculum as an independent language activity, mediation is currently the fifth language-related skill learnt and evaluated at the Official Schools of Languages in the Valencian Community (Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, 2019a). Although this might be regarded as a positive change in line with new pedagogical trends (Catalayud-Díez, 2019) that foster plurilingual and pluricultural competence development (Council of Europe, 2020), the fact that mediation is approached as being purely linguistic does not correlate with the characteristics and needs of the 21st century, in particular, the call for multimodal literacies (Jewitt, 2008). The present study approaches mediation from the perspective of social semiotic multimodal analysis and its implications within the legislation regulating the Official Schools of Languages in the Valencian Community. Particularly, the fundamental goals of this study are (1) to find out how mediation is conceived in the legislation of the mentioned context, (2) whether multimodality is considered and, if so, (3) what multimodal aspects are acknowledged. As a first step, this study includes a literature review on the concept of multimodality and its relationship with mediation within the educational landscape. In addition, we performed a thematic analysis of the legal documents that regulate this official non-compulsory education context. Our findings revealed inconsistent terminology, misalignment between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria, and both limited and incoherent references to multimodality. Therefore, a shift from the traditional way of approaching language skills towards a multimodal approach in this education context (Ciaramita, 2023) is key to conform to the linguistically diverse and technological society we live in (Alfonso-Lozano & Giralt-Lorenz, 2014).

Keywords: mediation; multimodality; non-compulsory education; Official School of Languages; language policies; language skills.

Introduction

The ongoing nature of the society we live in has been accelerated by the impact of new technologies (Ho, et. al., 2011) and, as a result, both knowledge and communication are no longer stable, static, and uniform (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009). Instead, we now resort to an increasing number of resources to convey meaning, which can be referred to as semiotic modes (Jewitt, 2008). Considering that, focusing only on alphabetical and linguistic literacy would be a choice that does not align with the needs of the digital age we live in (Lim et. al., 2022). In their call for multimodal literacies, Cope and Kalantzis (2009) highlighted that the concept of *multiliteracies* had to be also associated with the phenomenon of *multilingualism* due to globalisation.

Nowadays, English is widely regarded as the contemporary *Lingua Franca* (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013). Additionally, when it comes to the context of education in non-English speaking states, English is referred to as a Foreign Language. This is the case of the education context examined in the present study: Official Schools of Languages (henceforth, EOIs) in Spain. Official Schools of Languages are known and referred to as *Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas* in the official documents that constitute their legal framework, as these are written in Spanish or the regional language(s) of the different regions (e.g., Valencian in the Valencian Community). In this study, we use the English translation and its abbreviation *EOI* or its plural form with -s, which comes from the Spanish designation, in order to facilitate the reading process. EOIs are non-compulsory public education centres that are aimed at the teaching and certification of official, co-official, and foreign languages. Furthermore, they are organised according to the guidelines of the Council of Europe, the Spanish Ministry of Education, and their respective regional governments.

In light of the increasing plurilingual and pluricultural landscape, the Council of Europe argued that the traditional model of four discrete skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—was inadequate to fully "capture the complex reality of communication" (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 30) because the resources we employ to create meaning are multimodal (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009). The Council of Europe (2018) outlined that mediation conceives the user as a social agent who co-constructs meaning according to

the circumstances of the communicative event. Therefore, mediation was incorporated in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforth, CEFR) as the new fifth communicative language activity that any contemporary language user needs (Ciaramita, 2023).

Although mediation and multimodality are both pivotal and closely interconnected concepts in the fields of communication, education, and technology, they remain conceptually distinct. While mediation is a language activity in which a user and/or learner undergoes "processes like creating the space and conditions for communicating and/or learning, collaborating to construct new meaning, encouraging others to construct or understand new meaning, and passing on new information in an appropriate form" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 90), multimodality is an approach based on the assumption that contemporary communicators convey meaning through "organised sets of semiotic resources", where language is just one more mode of communication (Jewitt, 2008, p. 246).

Multimodal mediation is also closely linked to multilingualism. This is because developing multimodal literacy enhances the fluid use of mediation strategies, and in turn, effective mediation is very likely to involve not only various modes of communication, but also multiple languages. This phenomenon is known as translanguaging, that is, the presence and integration of multiple languages in the same communicative exchange (Lin, 2018). The focus of the present study is, however, on the various semiotic modes, emphasising how these modes should be developed alongside mediation to support effective communication. Indeed, mediation, either through translanguaging or not, can contribute to the preservation of linguistic diversity and the development of both plurilingual and pluricultural competence, as recognised in the latest CEFR Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2020).

What is more, multimodality is a field of study that is gaining recognition in the world of education, as multimodal literacy enables the design of real-life learning experiences that address the diverse needs of students (Lim et. al., 2022) and results in multiple advantages such as enhancing students' communicative abilities (Cervera Moya, 2020) or contributing to persuasion in presentations (Valeiras-Jurado, 2021). Mediation, on the other

hand, is a relatively new area of study that has not been deeply explored, particularly in the context of Official Schools of Languages. Previous studies that analyse mediation in EOIs focus on its origins (Vila-Rubio, in Carreras-i-Goicoechea & Pérez-Váquez, 2010); definition (Trovato, 2015); types of activities (De Arriba-García & Cantero-Serena, 2004a); design of activities (Sanz-Esteve, 2020); strategies and abilities required (De Arriba-García & Cantero-Serena, 2004b); evaluation (Sánchez-Rodríguez, 2020); and stumbling blocks (Nadales-Bonilla & Valderrama-Molina, 2020). However, to our knowledge, none of the existing studies deals with the link between mediation and multimodality except for Ciaramita (2023), who analyses the role of mediation in language teaching and learning in Spanish and Italian secondary education contexts.

Therefore, considering the urge for education to evolve alongside society, and recognising the key roles of the English language, multimodality, and mediation in today's communication landscape, this study pursues three main objectives. Firstly, we will explore how mediation is conceptualised by European, national, and regional policymakers. Then, we will examine the role of multimodality within language policies. The following research questions will guide this study:

RQ1. How is mediation conceived in language policies regulating the Official School of Languages in the Valencian Community?
RQ2. Is multimodality taken into account by language policies in this context?
RQ3. If so, what multimodal aspects are considered?

Hence, the following subsections include a literature review section that establishes the state of the art, followed by a contextualisation of the study and an overview of the legal framework of the educational context. Finally, the results are presented, leading into a final discussion and conclusion.

Theoretical Background

Defining Mediation

According to Piccardo and North (2017), pioneers in the field of mediation in language teaching, mediation is crucial for shedding light on processes that occur at the intersection of the social and the individual. Unlike reception and production, which are key components of mediation and often involve interaction, mediation extends further by introducing the construction of new meaning, fostering a shared understanding through mutual comprehension (Piccardo et al., 2019). Despite that, and although it is widely-known that all mediation activities require the presence of a "third party" to intervene in a communicative exchange where there is a communication barrier, mediation is a complex concept to define and its definitions vary according to the examined context (Vila-Rubio, in Carreras-i-Goicoechea & Pérez-Váquez, 2010, p. 25).

In Spain, mediation emerged in the mid-nineties in response to the developing pluricultural society (Fernández de Casadevante-Mayordomo, 2023) and the growing need for communicative facilitators to address potential language and communication barriers arising from increasing cultural and religious diversity (Trovato, 2015). Although mediation has always been an inherent part of human interaction, it was until the 1970s—coinciding with the growing visibility of migratory flows—that it began to be studied more intensively. Initially, the concept was primarily associated with translating and interpreting because of the urgent need to facilitate communication across linguistic boundaries. Nevertheless, its scope and function have evolved significantly over time (Nadales-Bonilla & Valderrama-Molina, 2020).

Similarly, when the Council of Europe published the CEFR in 2001, mediation was described as an oral or written activity that "made communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 14). Furthermore, the Council of Europe (2001) stated that mediation covered two main activities: translation and interpretation. However, among the mediation

examples presented to illustrate this activity, the presence of cultural cues was already implicitly acknowledged.

In fact, in 2018, the Council of Europe published an updated version of the CEFR in which they highlighted that the 2001 version of the CEFR "does not develop the concept of mediation to its full potential" (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 33), because mediation was mostly based on interpretation and translation and the main focus was on language. Consequently, the concept was reframed and the Council of Europe outlined that mediation takes place in a social, pedagogic, cultural, linguistic or professional context in which the user or learner becomes an indispensable social agent who facilitates connections and aids in the construction or transmission of meaning.

In addition, the 2018 version of the Companion Volume asserts that the mediation process can encompass a single language or different languages. This is a process that the Council of Europe names as *cross-linguistic mediation*, though linguistic studies which deal with discourse analysis in classroom settings refer to this process as *traslanguaging* (Lin, 2018). The latter was coined in Wales in 1994 when analysing the alternation between Welsh and English in a classroom setting and is currently used to refer to a multimodal process involving the alternation of different languages in the same communicative exchange. Translanguaging is commonly studied in conjunction with the theory of *trans-semiotizing*, a process where one semiotic mode is resemiotisised into another mode (Lin, 2018). In fact, the 2020 version of the Companion Volume added that, while mediating, users may need to deal with more than one modality (e.g., from visual to spoken). This process is named as *cross-modal mediation*. The fact that the Council of Europe (2020) underpin the relevance of several communicative modes and the possibility to categorise mediation as *cross-modal* brings us to analyse the relationship between mediation and multimodal literacies.

Mediation and Multimodality: The Linking Bridge

Multimodality is a multifaceted concept that acknowledges language as one of an infinite set of resources used to communicate and create meaning (Jewitt, 2008). As suggested by Kress (2010), multimodal communication

involves the integration of various modes such as layout, gestures, and facial expressions that interact within specific social and cultural contexts. The New London Group (NLG) played a pivotal role in advocating for a multimodal shift in education, emphasising the need for pedagogy to address the social and cultural changes of the 21st century through a multimodal lens (Loerts, 2013). While multimodality can be understood as a theory, a perspective, or a methodological application (Jewitt, 2008), this study specifically adopts the social semiotic multimodal analysis approach, which views sign-making as a social process. Despite the depth of this field, the primary focus of this paper lies in exploring mediation and its intricate relationship with multimodality rather than the broader aspects of multimodality itself. As stated in the previous section, an illustrating example of the interwoven relationship between mediation and multimodality can be *cross-modal mediation*, a concept to be explored in the following paragraph.

Cross-modal mediation (Council of Europe, 2020) takes place recurrently and is conceptualised through the principle of resemiotisation, which is based on the assumption that, when one semiotic mode is interpreted, its information can be conveyed by means of a different semiotic mode or a combination of several modes (O'Halloran et. al., 2016). For instance, when a student does not understand a concept read from a book (i.e., written mode) and the teacher explains it aloud (i.e., spoken mode) accompanied by a mindmap (i.e., visual and written modes), cross-modal mediation takes place. In fact, O'Halloran et. al. (2016, p. 202) claim that the "product" of any process involving resemiotisation is a multimodal text. The fact that the noun *product* is used in relation to the communication process brings us to link current communication practices to Cope and Kalantzis' (2009, p. 177) "pedagogy of design*",* in which learners are considered to be active agents able to represent, transform, and design new meanings made up of multiple meaning-making resources. In fact, this conception of agents as active designers of multimodal messages is what constitutes the basis of both contemporary communication (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) and the multiliteracies theory (Jewitt, 2008). Multiliteracies aim at adapting teaching and learning to the contemporary digitalized society by allowing educational curricula to be open to social and cultural requirements whilst

catering the diverse needs of contemporary learners (Lim et al., 2022).

In EOIs, learners are expected to understand, mediate, and (co-) produce complex multimodal texts according to the requirements of the communicative context. In the execution of such language activities, mediation is crucial to "linking to previous knowledge, adapting language, breaking down complicated information, amplifying a dense text and/or streamlining a text" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 35). In fact, these processes are classified as *mediation strategies*, a section in the Companion Volume which follows the section *mediation activities,* including activities such as *mediating a text*, also known as *textual mediation* (Council of Europe, 2020). It must be highlighted, though, that, as we live in a multimodal society where language is just one communicative tool, it is inconceivable to refer to the concept of mediation without taking into account multimodal literacies (Ciaramita, 2023). Therefore, our primary interest lies in exploring whether the legislation acknowledges texts used when mediating as sources consisting of more than one mode, that is, texts made up of a range of multiple resources that are meshed into a coherent whole (Jewitt, 2008).

The present study will analyse the role of multimodality in the legislation regulating mediation language activities in the Official Schools of Languages located in the Valencian Community (Spain), a context described in the following section.

Contextualisation

In Spain, according to Organic Law 3/2020, English can be learnt as a FL since the second cycle of early childhood education. From that stage, English is the compulsory first foreign language in primary education, secondary education, and upper secondary education. Additionally, English is taught in non-compulsory official educational institutions such as universities, centres of adult education, and Official Schools of Languages (European Commission, 2024), the latter being the focal point of the present analysis. The Spanish State Registration of Education Centres (2019) recognises a total of 280 Official Schools of Languages distributed into 19 regions.

According to Cervera Moya (2020), students in this setting are adult learners from eighteen to eighty years old, and the student body is

characterised by being heterogeneous in terms of age, nationality, culture, socioeconomic status, and motivation. In accordance with Regulation 3/2019 (Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, 2019b), at an EOI in the Valencian Community, one can learn the regional language (i.e., Valencian) and a wide variety of foreign languages such as English, French, German, Chinese, or Arabic.

If the focus is brought to the English Departments, language courses are divided into the three language proficiency levels (i.e., A, B, C) established by the Council of Europe (2020). Each of these levels consists of one or two subdivisions (e.g., C1 and C2) (Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, 2019b) and two language course sublevels (e.g., 1C1 and 2C1).

Legal Framework

The mentioned public education centres of special regime are based on Royal Decree 1041/2017, 22nd of December, which sets the core curriculum for EOIs in Spain and is regulated by Organic Law 8/2013, 9th December and Decree Law 242/2019, 25th of October, which establishes and regulates the teaching and official curriculum of EOIs in the Valencian Community.

One of the main differences between the specified national decree and the regional decree law is that, whereas both detail B and C-levels, the latter is responsible for establishing the core curriculum for A-levels. Despite this, in both legal documents it is asserted that the curriculum of each level must be divided into general objectives and specific objectives, which must refer to the competences (e.g., syntactic competence) that are necessary to develop the different language activities (e.g., comprehension of oral texts) set by the law and the descriptors of quality that define the evaluation criteria of each language activity.

In addition to the specified legislation, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages is a fundamental tool for EOIs. This document was published by the Council of Europe in 2001 (though the last update of its Companion Volume took place in 2020) and its main aims are to: (1) protect European linguistic and cultural richness; (2) facilitate

communication among European citizens; and (3) ensure transparency and coherence in national policies related to the teaching and learning of European modern languages.

The CEFR (2020) divides both communicative language activities and strategies into four main categories: reception, production, interaction, and mediation. The fourth category presented as a key communicative language activity and strategy is mediation, which "involves both reception and production plus, frequently, interaction" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 34). In other words, as illustrated in Figure 1, the four communicative language activities are interrelated, and the curriculum must place special emphasis on mediation because it is the one that needs to be frequently combined with the other three.

Figure 1

The Relationship Between Reception, Production, Interaction, and Mediation
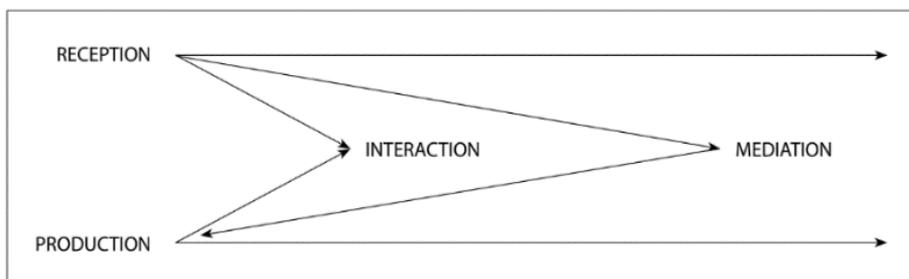
Note. From Council of Europe (2020, p. 34)

Having introduced the significant role of mediation and multimodality in the communication process, contextualised the setting of the present study, and outlined the legislation framework, the following section (i.e., Methodology) will now focus on the corpus and methodology employed in the study.

Methodology

In this section, the methodology employed to obtain the data of this study will be introduced and the documents that constitute the corpus will be

presented. Then, the focus will be brought to the thematic analysis carried out with the software for qualitative data analysis: ATLAS.ti 24.

The Corpus

The corpus of this study consists of four main legal documents which constitute the legal framework regulating language courses in Official Schools of Languages in the Valencian Community:

1. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Language, Teaching, Assessment (2001);
2. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Language, Teaching, Assessment. Companion Volume (2020);
3. Royal Decree 1041/2017, 22nd of December (2017); and
4. Decree Law 242/2019, 25th of October (2019).

Furthermore, two additional documents were considered to compare guidelines and evaluation criteria. These are the official evaluation charts used in the Valencian Community to evaluate (v) oral mediation tasks and (vi) written mediation tasks.

The selection of these six documents was made on the basis of their relevance in the organisation of language courses and examinations. The documents are open-access and are available on the official websites of each institution. Whereas the first two documents are available in the language of the present study (i.e., English), the other four documents have been analysed in Spanish because they have not been published in English.

Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis involves examining a data set by assigning codes to chunks of the text in order to identify recurring themes and patterns of meaning that are considered to be key ideas (i.e., themes) related to the research questions of a study. In this

study, data has been coded inductively. The study is corpus-driven and themes have been identified, coded, and analysed at an explicit level (i.e., semantic thematic analysis).

We have divided the study into the six different phases suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1) familiarising ourselves with our data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing themes; 5) defining and naming themes; and 6) producing the report. In each of these phases we have:

1. Exported the data set to ATLAS.ti 24 in order to identify key ideas and patterns that were coded and marked;

2. Generated a non-refined code system including the potential themes that align with the research questions based on the re-reading and note-taking processes of Phase 1;

3. Defined codes by writing brief descriptions to avoid misleading interpretations, classified codes into Code Groups together with their potential main themes (i.e., name of a Code Group) and subthemes, and assigned a code or more to the initially marked paragraphs, sentences, or individual terms on ATLAS.ti 24;

4. Revised the codes assigned during Phase 3, as well as validated, redefined, and/or discarded themes whenever necessary;

5. Re-examined the highlighted data for each theme thoroughly to ensure that the collated data was consistent with the core of each theme and that the names assigned to themes were precise enough; and

6. Analysed the refined and classified themes and data to interpret the results and answer the research questions.

In brief, this cyclical process involved reading the corpus repeatedly and analysing the data in increasing depth in order to identify key points and adapt the code system whenever required, turning out to be a result itself. The code system and results of the study will be presented in the following section.

Results and Discussion

The objective of the present study was to investigate the legal approach towards mediation in official non-compulsory language education centres of the Valencian Community and find out to what extent current policies consider multimodality and multimodal elements. In this section, we will discuss both the code system created to analyse the corpus and the overall results obtained from the thematic analysis.

Code System

As shown in Table 1, the code system created for this study consists of seven Code Groups and the titles of these Code Groups are related to the main themes analysed. In addition, each Code Group consists of several subcategories that can be referred to as subthemes. The code system is a result itself because it has been created purposefully and shaped throughout the whole thematic analysis process, unveiling the key results related to the three research questions of this study.

Table 1

Code System

CODE SYSTEM	
CODE GROUPS	**SUBCATEGORIES WITHIN CODE GROUPS**
1) COMPETENCES	1.1) Linguistic competence
	1.2) Pragmatic competence
	1.3) Sociolinguistic competence
2) MEDIATION	2.1) Mediation activities
	2.2) Mediation strategies
3) MEDIATION LEVEL DESCRIPTOR	3.1) Mediation general level descriptors
	3.2) A2 Level descriptor
	3.3) B1 Level descriptor
	3.4) B2 Level descriptor
	3.5) C1 Level descriptor
	3.6) C2 Level descriptor

CODE SYSTEM	
CODE GROUPS	**SUBCATEGORIES WITHIN CODE GROUPS**
4) MEDIATION RUBRIC DESCRIPTOR	4.1) Mediation general rubric descriptors
	4.2) A2 Rubric descriptor
	4.3) B1 Rubric descriptor
	4.4) B2 Rubric descriptor
	4.5) C1 Rubric descriptor
	4.6) C2 Rubric descriptor
5) SYNONYMS OF MEDIATION	5.1) Language activity
	5.2) Language competence
	5.3) Mode of communication
	5.4) Part of the exam/test/evaluation
6) RELATED CONCEPTS	6.1) Ability
	6.2) Competence
	6.3) Skill
	6.4) Strategy
7) REFERENCES TO MULTIMODALITY	7.1) Body language
	7.2) Linguistic mode
	7.3) Modes
	7.4) Paralinguistics
	7.5) Visuals

Mediation in Language Policies of Valencian EOIs

In this section, results related to RQ1 will be analysed. Figure 2 portrays a differentiation between two groups of results that have been divided into two different thematic units related to RQ1: (1) Lack of consistent terminology and (2) Contrast between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria. As Figure 2 shows, each group consists of several subcategories. Both the groups in the figure below and their subcategories will be detailed and discussed in the following sections. Particularly, the first section deals with the lack of consistent terminology, whereas its subsequent section analyses the contrast between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria.

Figure 2

An Overview of Results from Group 1 and 2

GROUP 1: Lack of consistent terminology	GROUP 2: Contrast between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria
A) "Mediation" and related concepts are vaguely defined	A) The A2 level requires more careful consideration
B) "Competence" should not be used as a synonym of mediation	B) Mediation is only described in relation to intercultural competence
C) Paralinguistics and paratextuals are unclearly framed and considered to be complementary	C) There is no differentiation of levels within official evaluation charts concerning mediation

Lack of Consistent Terminology

One of the main purposes of this study was to find out how mediation is referred to and described by language policies regulating EOIs. Consequently, we created the following three Code Groups: 2 (mediation), 5 (synonyms of mediation), and 6 (related concepts). Additionally, Code Group 1 in the code system (competences) will be analysed together with Group 1 of results because it originated when trying to frame the concept of mediation. We realised that, even though neither mediation nor competence are precisely outlined and differentiated from each other in their definitions, they consist of clearly distinguished subcategories, which have been also incorporated into our code system. The fact that improvement in precision is needed can be seen in the following quotation translated from page 127777 in the national decree:

In addition to the classification of GENERAL COMPETENCE, which will include the ACTIVITIES of comprehension of oral and written texts, production

and co-production of oral and written texts, and mediation for each level, it will also be possible to certify PARTIAL COMPETENCES corresponding to one or more of these LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, translated by Cervera Moya).

The quotation states that language activities include the comprehension of oral and written texts, the (co-)production of oral and written texts, and mediation. Despite this, the meaning of the word *competence* has not been clarified. In fact, it is understood that *general competence* is made up of the different language activities presented. Not until we reach Annex I of the same document do we find a distinction between some of these concepts:

> For each level and LANGUAGE ACTIVITY (comprehension of oral and written texts; production and co-production of oral and written texts, and mediation), what the students will be able to do in various contexts and situations (OBJECTIVES), the COMPETENCES and content—knowledge, skills or abilities, and attitudes—that they will need to acquire and develop for this (COMPETENCES and contents), and the level of proficiency with which they will be able to perform each ACTIVITY (Evaluation criteria) (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, p. 127780, translated by Cervera Moya).

Except for language activities, other terms used in the previous quotation from the national decree remain unclear. In fact, *competences* have not been even distinguished from *contents*. Besides, other concepts like *destrezas* in the original version (see Appendix 1), which have been translated as *skills* or *abilities* in the previous quotation, are introduced (though not defined), which becomes even more challenging. Similarly, on page 35 of the Companion Volume, the Council of Europe (2020) approaches mediation as an activity and underscores that it can be compared to what was known as a *skill* in the past. Despite that, another possible synonym of mediation is presented: "mode of communication". This can be seen in the following quotation:

As mentioned in discussing the CEFR descriptive scheme above, mediation was introduced to language teaching and learning in the CEFR in the move away from the four skills, as one of the four modes of communication, namely reception, production, interaction and mediation (see Figure 2). Very often when we use a language, several activities are involved; mediation combines reception, production and interaction (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 35).

As several concepts turned out to be so close to the concept of mediation, we created Code Group 5 to analyse potential synonyms and distinguish them from related concepts (Group 6). On the one hand, Code Group 5 (synonyms of mediation) includes (5.1) *language activity*, (5.2) *language competence*, (5.3) *mode of communication*, and (5.4) *part of the exam/test/evaluation*. Out of these subcategories, *language activity* is the most recurrent tag used to name mediation. There are at least 48 quotations including the concept *language activity*, whereas less than 10 quotations have been associated with each of the remaining possible synonyms.

A key finding has been detected when it comes to the evaluation system: one of the categories included in the official evaluation charts from certification exams includes the concept of *mediation competence* as one of the main areas to be evaluated. Conversely, this concept has not been found in the rest of the documents. Instead, the two European documents pay attention to mediation activities (e.g., acting as an intermediary in an informal situation) and mediation strategies (e.g., linking to previous knowledge), which are Subcategories 2.1 and 2.2 (i.e., respectively) of Code Group 2 (mediation). Thus, the highlighted finding of *mediation competence* can turn out to be controversial. If it is an independent language activity, and it is evaluated separately from other language activities such as the comprehension of written texts, why does *mediation competence* appear only in the evaluation chart? Why is mediation approached as a competence in the evaluation chart as in the Valencian Primary and Secondary Education curricula? As opposed to the legal framework of EOIs, Decree 106/2022 from the 5th of August and Decree 107/2022 from the 5th of August, which regulate primary and secondary

education curricula in the Valencian Community, recognise mediation as a competence to be developed in unison with the rest of competences, either linguistic or non-linguistic.

On the other hand, Code Group 6 includes concepts related to the concept of mediation: (6.1) *ability*, (6.2) *competence*, (6.3) *skill*, and (6.4) *strategy*. It must be underscored that these four concepts were initially part of Code Group 5 (synonyms of mediation). Nevertheless, during the refining phase of our thematic analysis, it was observed that these subcategories are not synonyms of mediation despite having a close relationship. Instead, Code Group 6 consists of concepts that are related to mediation. Firstly, as seen in the following quotation and according to Huang (2022), *ability* can be understood as the *capability* to do something: "Progress in language learning is most clearly evidenced in the learner's ability to engage in observable language activities and to operate communication strategies" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 57).

Then, Subcategory 6.2 (competence) led to the creation of Code Group 1 (competences), which consists of three main subcategories that will be examined in the following paragraph. When it comes to Subcategory 6.3 (skills), it has been acknowledged that, whereas this concept was used as a synonym of mediation and other language activities (e.g., oral production) in the past and, because of that, it is sometimes used to approach mediation, this should be avoided unless the adjective *traditional* is used before the noun *skill*. If this were not the case, the imprecise use of the term *skill* could lead to, at least, two different interpretations: *traditional skill* or what the Council of Europe (2001, p. 160) defined in 2001 as a "cognitive factor" that influences a learner when doing a task. Finally, the last subcategory of Code Group 6 in the code system (strategy) is related to Code Group 2 (mediation), which has been divided into two different subcategories: (2.1) mediation activities and (2.2) mediation strategies.

Moving on to Code Group 1 in the code system (competences), the concept of *competence* itself is not precisely defined, and there is a lack of cohesion in its use and definition. This can be linked to the fact that, as acknowledged by Kiessling and Fabry (2021), there is no uniform definition of the overall concept of *competence*. In modern linguistics, the term *competence*

was introduced by Noam Chomsky in 1965, who used it to describe the user's knowledge of grammatical rules. However, when it comes to the discipline of linguistics and the context of education in the contemporary era, if language is understood as a tool for communication (Rabiah, 2018) and the teaching-learning approach is communicative rather than grammatically focused, the concept of competence must be referred to as communicative language competence (Council of Europe, 2020). This concept was coined by Hymes in 1972, who strongly opposed to Chomsky's exclusively grammatical approach and stood up for the need to incorporate the sociocultural dimension (Hymes, 1972). Eight years later, Canale and Swain analysed the concept of *communicative competence* and proposed three different components necessary to make it possible: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980). In addition, Canale (1983) suggested that discourse competence had to be added to the 1980 model because cohesion and coherence are two key components of communication that cannot be overlooked in the understanding of communicative competence.

Even though the legal framework regulating EOIs in the Valencian Community seems to have been inspired by Canale and Swain's concept of communicative competence, the classification of competences presented by the European, national, and regional documents do not match the four components in this model.

One of the main findings regarding the concept *competence* and its derived subcategories is the fact that the regional and national decrees do not align with the categorisation and classification of the European documents published by the Council of Europe. On the one hand, the national and regional decrees present seven types of competences and include the concept *content* in their titles. In addition, none of them includes the main heading of *communicative competence* and *mediation competence* is not taken into account as in the official evaluation charts. This can be seen on page 46878 from the regional decree, where competences are presented in the regional language. When translated by Cervera Moya into English, these are:

(i) Sociocultural and sociolinguistic competence and content

(ii) Strategic competence and content

(iii) Functional competence and content

(iv) Discursive competence and content

(v) Syntactic competence and content

(vi) Lexical competence and content

(vii) Orthographic and phonetic-phonological competence and content

Conversely, since 2001, the Council of Europe embraces three main subcategories under the category *communicative language competences*: linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, and pragmatic competence. This can be seen in the figure below, which consists of a mind map of the latest Companion Volume portraying these three main subcategories deriving from the main head "communicative language competences" and together with their own components:

Figure 3

Communicative Language Competences
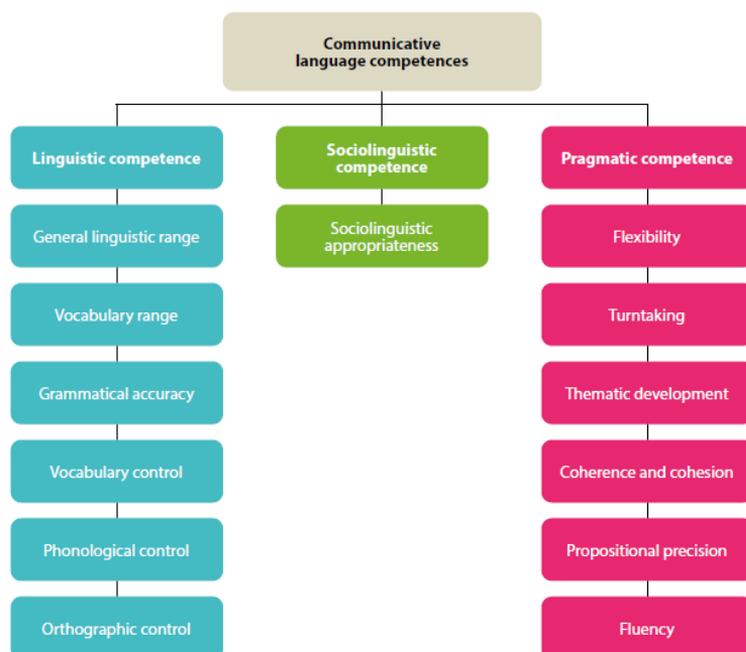
Note. From Council of Europe (2020, p. 129).

The present study has focused on the main classification of the Council of Europe. Despite that, during the third phase of the thematic analysis (see Thematic Analysis), the seven categories of the national and regional decrees have been classified into the three main categories of the Council of Europe, indicated in Figure 3. In addition to these seven categories, plurilingual and pluricultural competence has been added to sociolinguistic competence, even though it does not appear together with the rest of the competences in the documents of the corpus. In this study, we have considered that both the regional decree and the Companion Volume (2020) define it as a relevant competence to be developed in unison with the rest of the competences. Furthermore, Chapter 4 of the 2020 Companion Volume has been taken into account, which merges the concepts *plurilingualism* and *pluriculturalism* into a single competence. Recognising this competence as a subcategory of sociolinguistic competence ensures that plurilingualism and pluriculturalism are not overlooked and, as a result, the underlying similarities and differences between languages and cultures are acknowledged. In fact, plurilingual and pluricultural competence is indispensable when it comes to mediating between users who do not share a common language, dialect, or variety (Council of Europe, 2020).

Table 2

*Unifying Approaches Towards the Classification of Competence*s

Unifying approaches towards the classification of competences		
Linguistic competence	**Pragmatic competence**	**Sociolinguistic competence**
• Syntactic competence • Lexical competence • Orthographic and orthoepic competence	• Strategic competence • Discursive competence • Functional competence	• Sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence • Plurilingual and pluricultural competence

The detailed reorganisation was crucial when analysing the corpus with ATLAS.ti 24 because, due to the use of different terminology, categorisation, and classification of competences, it would not have been possible to carry out

the analysis in a precise way. In fact, the resulting classification (see Table 2) can be interpreted as a linking bridge between the different documents in the corpus when it comes to the concept *competence* because it links the European approach to the national and regional one, without overlooking any subcategory. This focus on competence was necessary in order to find out that, so far, except for official evaluation charts in certification exams, competence is not considered to be a synonym of mediation in the context of Official Schools of Languages in the Valencian Community. Furthermore, this analysis and classification are crucial in understanding an upcoming section dealing with Group 2 of results, which reveals that the national and regional decrees present mediation in relation to a single competence.

The last section of the first group of results related to RQ1 puts forward the fact that the terminology used in the corpus of this study remains unclear even when dealing with paralinguistics and paratextuals. This can be illustrated with a translated extract by Cervera Moya from pages 127785-127786 of the national decree:

> To compensate for linguistic deficiencies through linguistic (...), paralinguistic, or paratextual procedures (e.g., asking for help; pointing out objectives, using deictics or performing actions that clarify meaning; using culturally relevant body language (gestures, facial expressions, postures, eye or body contact, proxemics), or using extralinguistic sounds and conventional prosodic qualities).

As seen in the quotation above, the examples provided to illustrate the meaning of paralinguistics and paratextuals are varied and intermixed. It is not clear whether paralinguistics and paratextuals are the same concept and whether the examples provided are related to one concept or the other. Instead, examples are presented as belonging to both. However, this approach to paralinguistics and paratextuals does not correspond to what linguistic studies have demonstrated so far.

On the one hand, paratextuals, also known as paratexts, are the elements that surround a text used to evoke a sense of transition, ambiguity, or threshold (Genette, 1997). Paratextuals invite readers to engage

with the text in a deeper and more complex manner because they can carry pragmatic meaning. In fact, texts are so dependent on paratexts that, according to translators such as Yuste (2012), the term *paratranslation* has emerged recently in translation studies. This approach goes beyond the written word and, although not stated explicitly by Yuste (2012), texts are analysed from a multimodal perspective because more than one mode (e.g., written text, visuals, and layout) is involved in the written and interpretation process of a text (Villanueva-Jordán, 2021). Therefore, even though there are not appropriate examples and definitions of paratextuals in the legal framework examined, it is positive that concepts dealing with multimodal elements like paratexuals are taken into account because, when carrying out a language activity (e.g., mediation), considering other modes aside from the written one allows for an accurate interpretation that captures the multimodal reality (Kress, 2010). In fact, this can be also applied to paralinguistics, the concept to be analysed in the following paragraph.

Paralinguistics, also referred to as *paralanguage*, is an area of linguistics concerned with the non-linguistic messages that users of a language communicate when non-verbal qualities of our voice are produced in the following cavities: supraglottal, laryngeal, and infraglottic (Poyatos, 1993). As remarked by Poyatos (2018), any vocal emission produced or conditioned by our phonatory organs (e.g., rhythm, cough, momentary silence) is considered to be a paralinguistic element that cannot be separated from the verbal message and the movements or static positions involved (i.e., kinesics) in the communicative event.

In brief, paratextuals and paralinguistics are two different concepts that relate to the written and the spoken modes that can be classified as non-verbal elements (Hess, 2016) together with other categories implicitly mentioned in the previous quotation: body language and kinesics. However, these are four different categories of non-verbal communication. Therefore, examples in the last quotation such as gestures or facial expressions belong to the category of body language, whereas posture has to do with the category of kinesics, and other examples such as extralinguistic sounds have to do with the category of paralinguistics. In fact, if the mentioned quotation is re-read, one can note that there are no explicit examples of paratextuals.

Apart from proving that the lack of consistent terminology persists when it comes to non-verbal elements, Code Groups 3 and 4, which deal with mediation level descriptors and mediation rubric descriptors, have allowed for the identification of another underlining result. This result can be also inferred from the last quotation from the national decree, which portrays the fact that paralinguistics and paratextuals are considered "complements" of verbal messages and acknowledged to be used merely as clarifying and compensating elements of verbal and linguistic messages. This opposes Poyatos' basic triple structure of human communication, described as the inseparable link between words, paralanguage, and kinesics. This idea agrees with current multimodal studies that acknowledge communication as the sum of multiple semiotic modes (Stein, 2000). Furthermore, apart from recognising that paralinguistics and kinesics can be used when a specific word is not remembered or known, Poyatos (2018) remarked that non-verbal elements can play at least ten different functions in a communicative exchange. Among these functions, we can underline the use of non-verbal elements to substitute, contradict, and/or add information to what we know as the verbal and linguistic message. Taking that into account, it can be stated that multimodality is essential in contemporary communication (Coccetta, 2018).

So far, we have analysed and discussed the first group of results related to RQ1, illustrating that a more precise and consistent approach to key terminology is possible and necessary. The following section will focus on the second group of results related to RQ1.

Contrast Between Mediation Guidelines and Evaluation Criteria

Code Groups 3 and 4 in the code system deal with mediation level descriptors and mediation rubric descriptors. The main aim of creating these two code groups was to find out whether there was a parallelism between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria. As previously illustrated in Figure 2, data gathered from Code Groups 3 and 4 reveal that the description of mediation and its guidelines do not fit with the criteria taken into account to evaluate the mentioned language activity.

Firstly, it has been found out that the A2 level requires more careful consideration. As detailed in the contextualisation of this study (see Contextualisation), language courses at Official Schools of Languages are divided into five main language proficiency levels that are regulated by the national and regional decrees. Even though both decrees are expected to establish a curriculum with the basic requirements for each language proficiency level, key differences have been identified. On the one hand, the national decree states that such a document is vital to ensure a standardised curriculum and evaluation system around Spain. However, it is underscored that, when it comes to the A2 level, the onus is on the government of each community to elaborate its own curriculum, which can be interpreted as a contradictory fact. If each community sets its own requirements for the A2 level, the objectives can vary from one community to another. Thus, this level cannot be considered standardised. On the other hand, if the A2 level section in the regional decree is examined and compared to other levels, it becomes clear that there is no bullet point describing the general mediation aim to be achieved. In other words, the regional decree includes a summary of the main objectives to be achieved in each language proficiency level before analysing the level and the different language activities in depth. In the mentioned summary of the levels B1, B2, C1, and C2, there is one bullet point dealing with the general mediation goal of each level. Conversely, none of the bullet points summarising the main goals of the A2 level includes the verb *mediar*, which can be translated as *mediate*, as with the rest of the levels. If mediation is considered as a language activity to be evaluated at the A2 level, it should also be assigned its own overall goal.

Secondly, the analysed documents concerning EOIs curricula present mediation only in relation to intercultural competence. Particularly, as seen on page 127793 from the national decree, mediation consists of the following subsections: aims, intercultural competence and contents, and evaluation criteria. In contrast, other language activities such as the production and co-production of written texts include additional subsections as, for instance, sociocultural and sociolinguistic competence and contents or strategic competence and contents. This finding and comparison to other language activities lead us to question whether it is sufficient to describe mediation in

relation to a single competence if the general description of mediation includes elements related to other competences (e.g., pragmatic competence) and the official charts used to evaluate mediation in certification exams include more competences to be evaluated (e.g., linguistic competence). Furthermore, why is intercultural competence not explicitly included in the mediation evaluation chart and, instead, it is categorised as sociolinguistic competence as in the 2020 Companion Volume if the national and regional decrees do not use the latter designation? What is more, why does the official evaluation chart unify pragmatic and sociolinguistic competences under the same heading (i.e., "competencia pragmática y sociolingüística") if this is not specified in the national and regional decrees? Finally, why is pragmatic competence included in the evaluation chart in order to be evaluated if this competence is not a subcategory described in the section of the curriculum that deals with mediation?

The third and last result of both RQ1 and the second group of results will now be presented. Compared to other four language activities included in the curricula of EOIs in the Valencian Community, official evaluation charts concerning mediation include no differentiation of language proficiency levels. Whereas national and regional decrees specify the different mediation objectives and evaluation criteria for each language proficiency level, the official evaluation charts of oral and written mediation are exactly the same for all the levels. Considering that the official evaluation charts for other language activities (i.e., production and co-production of oral texts) are adapted to the needs of each language proficiency level, we question whether it is suitable to do something different with mediation. Apart from that, on page 127777 from the national decree, it is acknowledged that the regional decree must be taken as the main reference in order to design and evaluate certification exams. Thus, if official evaluation charts must be created in accordance with regional education policies, why do they not align with the evaluation criteria and categorisation of the regional decree? Last but not least, as underlined on page 46869 from the regional decree, language courses must focus on enhancing communicative competence through the action-oriented approach established by the Common European Framework of

Reference for Languages. This assertion is significant because the action-oriented approach implies:

> a "proficiency" perspective guided by "can do" descriptors rather than a "deficiency" perspective focusing on what the learners have not yet acquired. The idea is to design curricula and courses based on real-world communicative needs, organised around real-life tasks and accompanied by "can do" descriptors that communicate aims to learners (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 28).

Then, considering that official evaluation charts used in certification exams of the Valencian Community deal both with the candidate's positive achievements and negative "deficiencies", it cannot be concluded that current evaluation charts are designed according to the principles of the action-oriented approach. However, it would be worth considering the need to re-design the mentioned charts because can-do descriptors allow for the evaluation of the user's performance in a language activity (Council of Europe, 2020) and, as claimed by Canale and Swain (1980), competence cannot be directly measured. Instead, Canale and Swain stand up for the need of using evaluation tools that are designed in a way that capture the actual demonstration of one's knowledge while performing a communicative activity. Consequently, can-do descriptors are vital to know exactly what a user or learner is able to do. As a way of illustration, the can-do statement below is concerned with what a C2 user is expected to do while performing a mediation activity which requires the explanation of data from a graph:

> Can interpret and describe clearly and reliably (in Language B) various forms of empirical data and visually organised information (with text in Language A) from conceptually complex research concerning academic or professional topics (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 97).

In brief, the results of RQ1 have identified the use of inconsistent key terminology among the main documents that constitute the legal framework of Official Schools of Languages. Besides, the definition of mediation and its

guidelines do not align with the evaluation criteria, turning out to be a handicap for the teaching-learning process and the quality of its outcomes. Thus, unless legislation is reframed, misconceptions will persist inside and outside the language classroom.

Multimodality in Language Policies

RQ2 is the following: Is multimodality taken into account by language policies in this context? In order to answer this question, the qualitative and quantitative results from ATLAS.ti 24 have been taken into account and summarised (see Figure 4).

The analysis of the subcategories illustrated in Figure 4 below are divided into two sections: the current one and the following section (i.e., The Presence of Multimodal Aspects in the Corpus), which deals with RQ3. This is due to the fact that RQ2 and RQ3 are inextricably linked. Thus, whereas subcategory A in Figure 4 is deeply analysed in this section, the focus on subcategory C takes place in its subsequent section.

Figure 4

An Overview of Results from Group 3

GROUP 3:
REFERENCES TO MULTIMODALITY

A) Texts are described as "oral or written" regardless of their multimodal nature.

B) Reference to "modes" in relation to sign language competences.

C) Explicit references to multimodality within scales of online and creative texts.
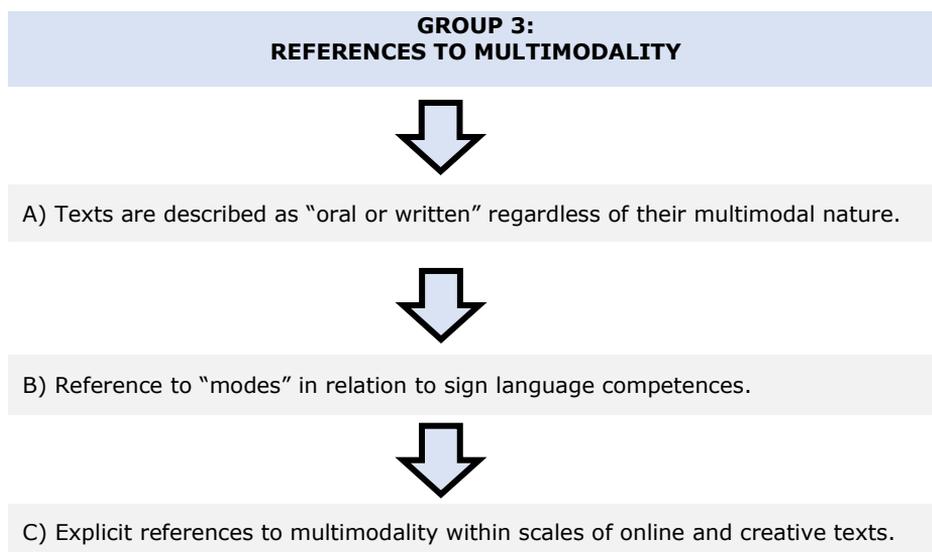
To begin with, Code Group 7 was created to provide an answer to RQ2 and RQ3. Code Group 7 was aimed at analysing possible references to multimodality, as well as the lack of these references, and was divided into five different subcategories: 7.1) Body language, 7.2) Linguistic mode, 7.3) Modes, 7.4) Paralinguistics, and 7.5) Visuals.

Firstly, whereas Subcategory 7.2 enabled us to identify the references of mediation as a purely linguistic activity, Subcategory 7.3 was added when other modes (i.e., non-linguistic) were concerned. These two subcategories allowed us to identify a steady reference to the adjectives *oral* and *written* when referring to texts regardless of their multimodal nature. As a way of illustration, the quotation below, which deals with the main objectives of mediation activities at the B1 level, refers to oral or written texts and the examples provided in parenthesis are not monomodal sources (e.g., leaflets, presentations, news):

> To orally convey to third parties the general idea, main points, and relevant details of information related to everyday matters and topics of general, personal, or current interest included in oral or written texts (e.g., instructions or notices, leaflets, brochures, correspondence, presentations, conversations, news) (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, p. 127793, translated by Cervera Moya).

In this study, we have used specific tags to identify references to multimodality, which have to do with Subcategories 7.1, 7.4, and 7.5 in the code system. These subcategories are: body language (e.g., gestures), paralinguistics (e.g., pauses), and visuals (e.g., graphics). They have enabled us to observe that the most considered subcategory in the documents is Subcategory 7.5 (visuals), as there are at least 106 quotations associated with visuals, followed by at least 87 quotations dealing with paralinguistics (Subcategory 7.4) and, finally, at least 20 quotations including references to body language (Subcategory 7.1).

In brief, it is highly beneficial that the documents in the corpus account for multimodal elements that allow for the incorporation of real-life tasks in the language classroom. However, as texts are named as *oral* or *written*, it appears

that agents implied in the teaching-learning process remain unaware that such elements are increasingly multimodal (Kessler, 2022, p. 551). Therefore, as put by Tardy (2005), multimodality should be considered as an essential element not only of teaching and pedagogy, but also of education policy. In fact, exploring possible strategies and guidelines for multimodal mediation, including specific strategies for integrating multimodality into lesson planning or assessments, is the central focus of our ongoing and future research.

The Presence of Multimodal Aspects in the Corpus

Finally, RQ3 looked into the specific references to multimodality within the corpus. Subcategory 7.3 (modes) has allowed for the analysis of non-linguistic modes and explicit references to multimodality. When it comes to non-linguistic modes, apart from the three references of non-verbal communication introduced in the previous section, the analysis of the 2020 Companion Volume has allowed for the identification of a relationship between modes and sign language competences. This means that, in the section dedicated to sign language competences, the Council of Europe (2020) has considered the need to deal with more than one mode and make the descriptors of this category *modality-inclusive*. For instance, although it is ascertained that the movements of hands and arms (i.e., gestures) are usually the main articulators of sign languages, other non-verbal elements like facial expressions or head movements are considered to influence the message to be conveyed. Furthermore, as seen in the following quotation from the B2 level, descriptors of sign languages repertoire recognise the possibility of adapting a message from one mode (e.g., written) to another (e.g., visual): "Can paraphrase lexical elements by using productive elements, e.g., by using depicting signs and other classifier constructions." (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 146).

The idea of adapting a message and creating a new one by means of other semiotic choices and resources can be related to the principle of resemiotisation and intersemiotic translation, two principles based on Kress' social semiotics that acknowledge other semiotic resources (i.e., apart from

language itself) as indispensable elements in the meaning-making process (O'Halloran et. al., 2016). In addition, even though resemiotisation is not explicitly recognised, this idea is reinforced in the 2020 Companion Volume when dealing with the section of mediation. Specifically, it is indicated that, when mediating, apart from adapting a message and conveying meaning within the same language (e.g., from English to English), communication and mediation can be also defined as *cross-linguistic* (e.g., from English to Spanish) and/or *cross-modal* (e.g., from written to oral). It can be pointed out that, although multimodality and resemiotisation are not explicitly mentioned when dealing with mediation activities, the latest Companion Volume is aware of the influence of several semiotic resources when creating meaning.

Finally, the scales concerning online and creative texts in the latest Companion Volume explicitly address multimodality. This can be seen in the following quotation: "A rigid separation between written and oral does not really apply to online transactions, where multimodality is increasingly a key feature and resource." (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 86). The Council of Europe acknowledges that multimodality is a phenomenon that cannot be overlooked in online activities (e.g., blogging) and creative texts (e.g., theatre). Nevertheless, whereas online transactions and creative texts are considered to be multimodal activities in the 2020 Companion Volume, mediation and other language activities have not been yet reconsidered as so. Therefore, even though it looks as if European lawmakers have started to consider the relevance of multimodal literacies, a step forward is not only possible, but also necessary.

Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

The objective of this paper was threefold. Our first objective was to examine the way mediation is conceived in the legal framework regulating Official Schools of Languages in the Valencian Community. Secondly, it was our goal to find out whether multimodality is taken into account by language policies and, finally, determine what multimodal aspects are contemplated in the documents that constitute the corpus of this study.

Considering the quantitative and qualitative results of our

investigation, findings related to RQ1 suggest that the terminology associated with the key concepts of this study is not used consistently, and that there is insufficient parallelism between mediation guidelines and evaluation criteria. Regarding RQ2, we have shed light on the fact that, although the examined documents include examples of multimodal sources and elements, they disregard their multimodal nature and focus primarily on the linguistic mode. Finally, the results of RQ3 put forward the fact that there are explicit references to multimodality when it comes to the scales of online and creative texts in the latest Companion Volume.

Consequently, to address the existing challenges related to RQ1, we suggest reframing education policies so that European, national, and regional laws refer to key terminology in a consistent manner. In addition, there is a need to re-evaluate the way in which mediation is approached so that there is a correlation between guidelines and evaluation criteria. Lastly, given that the results of RQ2 demonstrate the presence of multimodal elements in the examined legislation, and that the results of RQ3 reveal explicit references to multimodality in some scales, why is mediation not reconsidered as a multimodal activity? Integrating multimodality into the syllabus can enhance learners' communicative competence (Coccetta, 2018), which is one of the main goals of the Council of Europe (2001; 2020) and moves away from "one-size-fits-all" approaches that do not cater the needs of the diverse student body and their learning styles (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009, p.188).

Regarding limitations, it is important to note that the Council of Europe has not updated the original CEFR since 2001, in contrast to its Companion Volume, which has undergone more recent revisions. Similarly, the regional decree has not been updated since its publication in 2019, when mediation was introduced for the first time. Additionally, the national royal decree dates back to 2017. Therefore, an update and/or modification of both the regional and national decrees could be reconsidered, particularly since the 2020 Companion Volume is the official document which recognises multimodality for the first time in language education and includes updated scales for mediation activities. These improvements could lead to a more cohesive and standardised education and evaluation system around Europe. Therefore, future research could focus on analysing similar education contexts to see whether there is

a closer relationship between more updated laws and multimodal literacies. Indeed, replicable methodology can overcome limitations regarding the scope of the study and pave the way for future studies either in the described context or different educational scenarios in Spain and/or Europe. Nevertheless, our main goals in our ongoing and future research include the identification of the gaps in education policy that impact both teaching practices and student outcomes. Ethnographic studies with teachers will shed light on the challenges derived from the mentioned gaps, and subsequent studies can focus on how to overcome them in order to successfully integrate multimodal mediation in the language classroom.

To conclude, the findings of the present analysis are significant to outline the fact that mediation should be properly examined and reconsidered by language policy makers and educators, particularly since its key role in contemporary communication and advantages in the education landscape. There is an urgent need for research on both mediation and multimodality. This study is part of a larger research project aimed at developing a unified approach to multimodal mediation within the context of Official Schools of Languages—one that aligns with European standards proposed by the Council of Europe and fosters an inclusive teaching-learning environment that meets the needs of today's language users and students.

Declarations

Funding: Not applicable.

Conflicts of interest/Competing interests: Not applicable.

Data availability (data transparency): The documents that make up the dataset for this study are open-access and can be accessed through their official institutions' websites, as outlined in the methodology section.

Authors' contributions:
Julia Cervera Moya contributed to study conception and design, data collection, analysis and interpretation of results, and manuscript preparation.
Julia Valeiras-Jurado contributed to study design, analysis and interpretation of results and manuscript preparation.
Both authors have reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript and agree to be held accountable for the content.

References

Alfonso-Lozano, R., & Giralt-Lorenz, M. (2014). Comunicación multimodal y aprendizaje de la lengua oral en E/LE. *Cauce: Revista de filología y su didáctica*, *36*, 117–133.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Calatayud-Díez, A. P. (2019). La mediación lingüística y otras mediaciones. Aspectos clave para las escuelas del siglo XXI. *Supervisión 21. Revista de Educación E Inspección*, *52*.

Canale, M. (1983). From communicative competence to communicative language pedagogy. In J. C. Richard & R. W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and communication* (pp. 2–14). Longman.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1* (1), 1–47. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/applin/I.1.1

Cantero Serena, F. J., & De Arriba García, C. (2004a). Actividades de mediación lingüística para la clase de ELE. *Revista Electrónica de Didáctica ELE, 2*.1

Cantero Serena, F. J., & De Arriba, C. (2004b). La mediación lingüística en la enseñanza de lenguas. *Didáctica. Lengua y Literatura*, *16*, 9–21.

Cervera Moya, J. (2020). *Multimodality in the EFL classroom a proposal to improve Spanish EFL students' oral skills* (Master's Dissertation, Universitat Jaume I). http://hdl.handle.net/10234/189788.

Ciaramita, G. (2023). *Mediation in language teaching and learning in secondary education* [Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Jaume I]. UJI Campus Repository. Programa de Doctorat en Llengües Aplicades, Literatura i Traducció Collection. http://hdl.handle.net/10803/689517

Coccetta, F. (2018). Developing university students' multimodal communicative competence: Field research into multimodal text studies in English. *System, 77*, 19–27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2018.01.004

Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport (2019a). DECRET 242/2019, de 25

d'octubre, d'establiment dels ensenyaments i del currículum d'idiomes de règim especial a la Comunitat Valenciana [2019/10415]. *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana*, 8672, 46866-48006. https://dogv.gva.es/datos/2019/11/07/pdf/2019_10415.pdf

Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport (2019b). ORDRE 3/2019, de 2 de juliol, de la Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, per la qual s'estableix la distribució geogràfica de les escoles oficials d'idiomes i es regulen les seccions i altres ubicacions per als seus ensenyaments [2019/6814]. *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana*, 8585, 30852–30855. https://dogv.gva.es/es/eli/es-vc/o/2019/07/02/3/vci

Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport (2023). RESOLUCIÓN de 18 de julio de 2023, del secretario autonómico de Educación y Formación Profesional, por la que se dictan las instrucciones en términos de ordenación académica y organización de las escuelas oficiales de idiomas valencianas durante el curso 2023-2024 [2023/8218]. *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana*, 9645, 46835–46852. https://dogv.gva.es/datos/2023/07/21/pdf/2023_8218.pdf

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2009). "Multiliteracies": New literacies, new learning. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, *4*(3), 164–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/15544800903076044

Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)*. https://rm.coe.int/16802fc1bf

Council of Europe (2018). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment, Companion Volume.* https://rm.coe.int/common-european-framework-of-reference-for-languages-learning-teaching/16809ea0d4

Council of Europe (2020). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR), Companion Volume with New Descriptors*. https://rm.coe.int/common-european-framework-of-reference-for-languages-learning-teaching/16809ea0d4

European Commission (2024). *Key features of the education system*. https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-education-systems/spain/overview.

Fernández de Casadevante-Mayordomo, M. (2023). Aproximaciones a un decálogo para la mediación lingüístico-cultural. *FITISPos International Journal: Public Service Interpreting and Translation (10)*1, 9–21.

Fortanet-Gómez, I. (2013). *CLIL in higher education: Towards a multilingual language policy*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847699374

Genette, G. (1997). *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*. Cambridge University Press.

Hess, U. (2016). Nonverbal Communication. In H. S. Friedman, *Encyclopedia of mental health* (2nd ed.), 208–218. Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-397045-9.00218-4

Ho, C. M. L., Anderson, K. T., & Leong, A. P. (Eds.) (2011). *Transforming literacies and language: Multimodality and literacy in the new media age*. Continuum. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474212014

Hymes, D. H. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics. Selected Readings,* 269–293. Penguin.

Huang, G. (2022). *A corpus-based study of English synonyms: Capacity, capability, and competence* [Doctoral dissertation, Thammasat University]. Thamasat University Campus Repository. https://doi.org/10.14457/TU.the.2021.769

Jefatura del Estado. Ley Orgánica 3/2020, de 29 de diciembre, por la que se modifica la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación [340]. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 340, 122868–122953. https://www.boe.es/eli/es/lo/2020/12/29/3

Jewitt, C. (2008). Multimodality and literacy in school classrooms. *Review of Research in Education, 32*(1), 241–267.

Kessler, M. (2022). Multimodality. *ELT Journal*, *76*(4), 551–554. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccac028

Kiessling, C., & Fabry, G. (2021). What is communicative competence and how can it be acquired? *GMS Journal for Medical Education*, *38*(3). https://doi.org/10.3205/zma001445

Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. Arnold Publishers.

Lim, F. V., Toh, W., & Nguyen, T. T. H. (2022). Multimodality in the English language classroom: A systematic review of literature. *Linguistics and Education, 69*, Article 101048. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2022.101048

Lin, A. M. Y. (2018). Theories of trans/languaging and trans-semiotizing: Implications for content-based education classrooms. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1515175

Loerts, T. (2013). *Multimodal literacy learning opportunities in one grade six classroom: Possibilities and constraints* [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Western Ontario]. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. Education collection. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/1735/.

Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (2017). *Real Decreto 1041/2017, de 22 de diciembre, por el que se fijan las exigencias mínimas del nivel básico a efectos de certificación, se establece el currículo básico de los niveles Intermedio B1, Intermedio B2, Avanzado C1, y Avanzado C2, de las Enseñanzas de idiomas de régimen especial reguladas por la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación, y se establecen las equivalencias entre las Enseñanzas de idiomas de régimen especial reguladas en diversos planes de estudios y las de este real decreto*. Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 311, 127773–127838. https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rd/2017/12/22/1041

Ministerio de Educación, Formación Profesional y Deportes (2019). *Enseñanzas de idiomas. Dónde estudiar*. Educagob. Portal del Sistema Educativo Español. https://educagob.educacionyfp.gob.es/ensenanzas/idiomas/donde-estudiar.html.

Nadales-Bonilla, R., & Valderrama-Molina, M. (2020). *La mediación y su impacto en las aulas de las escuelas oficiales de idiomas. e-CO: Revista Digital de Educación y Formación del Profesorado, 17*, 529–540.

North, B., & Piccardo, E. (2017). Mediation and the social and linguistic integration of migrants: updating the CEFR descriptors. In J. Beacco, H. Krumm, D. Little, & P. Thalgott (Eds.), *The linguistic integration of*

*adult migrants /L'intégration linguistique des migrants adultes: Some
lessons from research / Les enseignements de la recherche*, 83–90
(2017). De Gruyter Mouton.

O'Halloran, K. L., Tan, S., & Wignell, P. (2016). Intersemiotic translation as
resemiotisation: A multimodal perspective. *Signata, 3,* 199–229.
https://doi.org/10.4000/signata.1223

Piccardo, E., North, B., & Goodier, T. (2019). Broadening the *Scope of
Language Education: Mediation, Plurilingualism, and Collaborative
Learning*: The CEFR Companion Volume. *Journal of e-Learning and
Knowledge Society, 15,* 17–36. https://doi.org/10.20368/1971-
8829/1612

Poyatos Fuster, F. (1993). Paralenguaje y sonidos extrasomáticos en la novela:
perspectivas semiótico-comunicativas a través de los estudios de
comunicación no verbal. In *Semiótica(s). Homenaje a Greimas: actas
del III Seminario Internacional del Instituto de Semiótica Literaria y
Teatral: Madrid, UNED, 26-28 de abril, 1993,* 141–158.

Poyatos Fuster, F. (2018). Los estudios de comunicación no verbal como rama
interdisciplinar de la lingüística. *Linred: Lingüística en la Red, 16*.
http://hdl.handle.net/10017/34423

Rabiah, S. (2018). *Language as a tool for communication and cultural reality
discloser*. https://doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/nw94m

Sánchez-Rodríguez, T. M. (2020). Online teaching and assessment of linguistic
mediation in the Official School of Languages. *VII Jornadas
Iberoamericanas de Innovación Educativo en el Ámbito de las TIC y las
TAC (InnoEducaTIC 2020)*, 341–348.
http://hdl.handle.net/10553/76558

Sanz-Esteve, E. (2020). La mediación lingüística en el aula de lenguas
extranjeras. *El Español por el Mundo, 3,* 193–220.
https://doi.org/10.59612/epm.vi3.91

Stein, P. (2000). Rethinking resources in the ESL classroom: Rethinking
resources: Multimodal pedagogies in the ESL classroom. *TESOL
Quarterly*, *34*(2), 333–336. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587958

Tardy, M. C. (2005). Expressions of disciplinarity and individuality in
a multimodal genre. *Computers and Composition*, *22*, 319–336.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compcom.2005.05.004

Trovato, G. (2015). *Didáctica de la mediación lingüística: retos y propuestas para la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera en contextos italófonos* [Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Murcia]. Universidad de Murcia Campus Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10201/43526

Valeiras-Jurado, J. (2021). *Multimodal persuasive strategies in product pitches*. Text & Talk, 41(4), 561–584. https://doi.org/10.1515/text-2019-0254

Vila-Rubio, N. (2010). La mediación lingüística en España: construcción de un concepto difuso. In M. Carreras i Goicoechea & M. E. Pérez Vázquez (Eds.), *La mediación lingüística y cultural y su didáctica*, 25–45 (2010). Bononia University Press.

Villanueva-Jordán, I. (2021). Translation and telefiction: Multimodal analysis of paratextual pieces of HBO's Looking. *Language Value*, *14*(1), 33–59. https://doi.org/10.6035/languagev.5841

Yuste-Frías, J. (2012). Paratextual elements in translation: Paratranslating titles in children's literature. In A. Gil-Bajardí, P. Orero & S. Rovira-Esteva. (Eds.), *Translation peripheries. Paratextual elements in translation* (pp. 117–334). Peter Lang.

Appendix 1: Original Version of Quotations

Section	Original version of quotations
Lack of Consistent Terminology	Además de la clasificación de COMPETENCIA GENERAL, que incluirá las ACTIVIDADES de comprensión de textos orales y escritos, de producción y coproducción de textos orales y escritos, y de mediación para cada nivel, se podran certificar igualmente COMPETENCIAS PARCIALES correspondientes a cada una o más de dichas ACTIVIDADES DE LENGUA. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, p. 127777).
Lack of Consistent Terminology	Para cada nivel y ACTIVIDAD DE LENGUA (comprensión de textos, orales y escritos; producción y coproducción de textos, orales y escritos, y mediación) lo que el alumnado será capaz de hacer en diversos ámbitos y situaciones (OBJETIVOS), las COMPETENCIAS y contenidos - conocimientos, destrezas y actitudes - que habrá de adquirir y desarrollar para ello (COMPETENCIAS y contenidos) y el grado de dominio con el que podrá desenvolverse en cada ACTIVIDAD (Criterios de evaluación). (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, p. 127780).

Section	Original version of quotations
Lack of Consistent Terminology	Compensar carencias lingüísticas mediante procedimientos lingüísticos (...), paralingüísticos o paratextuales (p.e. pedir ayuda; señalar objetivos, usar deícticos o realizar acciones que aclaren el significado; usar lenguaje corporal culturalmente pertinente (gestos, expresiones faciales, posturas, contacto visual o corporal, proxémica), o usar sonidos extralingüísticos y cualidades prosódicas convencionales) (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, pp. 127785-127786).
Multimodality in Language Policies	Transmitir oralmente a terceros la idea general, los puntos principales, y detalles relevantes de la información relativa a asuntos cotidianos y a temas de interés general, personal o de actualidad contenida en textos orales o escritos (p.e. instrucciones o avisos, prospectos, folletos, correspondencia, presentaciones, conversaciones, noticias) (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2017, p. 127793).

Julia Cervera Moya
Chaume I universitetas, Ispanija
al393618@uji.es
Julia Valeiras-Jurado
Chaume I universitetas, Ispanija
valeiras@uji.es

MULTIMODALUMAS IR TARPININKAVIMAS OFICIALIŲJŲ KALBŲ MOKYKLŲ POLITIKOJE: VALENSIJOS REGIONO ATVEJIS

Anotacija. Tarpininkavimas šiuo metu yra įtrauktas į ugdymo programas kaip savarankiška kalbinė veikla, arba penktasis kalbinis gebėjimas, kurio mokomasi ir kuris vertinamas Valensijos autonominės srities oficialiosiose kalbų mokyklose (Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esport, 2019a). Tai galima laikyti teigiamu pokyčiu, atitinkančiu naujas pedagogines tendencijas (Catalayud-Díez, 2019), skatinančias daugiakalbiškumo ir daugiakultūriškumo kompetencijų ugdymą (Europos Taryba, 2020). Tačiau faktas, kad į tarpininkavimą žiūrima kaip į grynai lingvistinį gebėjimą, neatitinka XXI a. ypatumų ir poreikių, ypač raginimo ugdyti multimodalinį raštingumą (Jewitt, 2008). Šiame tyrime tarpininkavimas nagrinėjamas iš socialinės semiotinės multimodalinės analizės ir jos implikacijų perspektyvos, tiriant teisės aktus, reglamentuojančius Valensijos bendruomenės oficialiųjų kalbų mokyklų veiklą. Taigi pagrindiniai šio tyrimo tikslai yra šie: 1) išsiaiškinti, kaip tarpininkavimas suprantamas minėto konteksto teisės aktuose, 2) ar atsižvelgiama į multimodalumą ir, jei taip, (3) kokie multimodalumo aspektai pripažįstami. Pirmiausia apžvelgėme literatūros apie multimodalumo sąvoką ir jos ryšį su tarpininkavimu švietimo srityje. Atlikome teisinių dokumentų, reglamentuojančių šį oficialų neprivalomojo švietimo kontekstą, teminę analizę. Mūsų išvados atskleidė nenuoseklų terminologijos vartojimą, tarpininkavimo gairių ir vertinimo kriterijų nesuderinamumą bei ribotas ir nenuoseklias nuorodas į multimodalumą. Todėl šiame švietimo kontekste labai svarbu pereiti nuo tradicinio požiūrio į kalbinius gebėjimus prie multimodalinio požiūrio (Ciaramita, 2023), kuris atitiktų šiuolaikinės lingvistiškai įvairios ir technologiškai apsišvietusios visuomenės, kurioje gyvename, poreikius (Alfonso-Lozano ir Giralt-Lorenz, 2014).

Pagrindinės sąvokos: tarpininkavimas; multimodalumas; neprivalomasis ugdymas; oficialioji kalbų mokykla; kalbų politika; kalbiniai įgūdžiai.

SOCIETY. IDENTITY. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

VISUOMENĖ. TAPATYBĖ. KALBOS IŠLAIKYMAS

Alona Shyba
Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Ineta Dabašinskienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND ATTITUDINAL DYNAMICS AMONG UKRAINIAN FEMALE WAR REFUGEES IN LITHUANIA

Abstract. This article examines the change in language attitudes and practices among Ukrainian war refugees who arrived in Lithuania seeking for shelter. Russia's invasion into Ukraine forced thousands of civilians to seek asylum globally. Within the Baltic countries, Lithuania became an especially tempting locality for the refugees because of the language factor. Most Ukrainians are bilinguals, with Russian as part of their linguistic repertoire, which facilitated communication with Lithuanians due to their shared history of using Russian during the soviet era. The issue of language in Ukraine has deep historical roots. This study describes the way two main languages in Ukraine (Ukrainian and Russian) have coexisted during various stages of the nation's independent history. To understand the evolving language attitudes and preferences of Ukrainian war refugees, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Lithuania in the summer of 2023. It is noteworthy that all participants were women, reflecting the unique characteristic of the 2022–2023 Ukrainian refugee wave, which consisted predominantly of women and children. For the majority of the research participants— primarily from the eastern regions of Ukraine—Russian is their first language. The study results reveal that although many Ukrainian refugees initially rely on Russian to facilitate communication, the majority are gradually transitioning to Ukrainian. The data suggest that this shift cannot happen instantly, considering the diverse multinational and multilingual profiles of Ukrainians. However, the traumatic experiences of enemy's occupation, refuge, lost family members and homes have significantly impacted individuals' aspirations to undergo linguistic and identity transformations. Most of the participants stress an urgent need to preserve the Ukrainian language and culture, as the most powerful factors of their national identity.

Keywords: language attitude; language policy; language shift; Ukrainian; Russian; female war refugees.

Introduction

Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine destroyed cities, villages, homes, schools and the country's major infrastructure in 2022. As a result, citizens of Ukraine (eastern and southern parts predominantly) were forced to flee the country. According to the official data, more than 6 million refugees are recorded globally. In Lithuania around 86,000 refugees registered for temporary protection (UNHCR, n.d.), which constitutes 2.5% of the country's resident population.

Given the shared soviet history, Lithuania has become an attractive destination for Ukrainians. As an independent, democratic and economically developing member of the European Union, Schengen Area and NATO, Lithuania demonstrates strong solidarity and positive attitudes towards Ukrainian war refugees. In addition to a very strong state social support and public sympathy, language also plays a significant role: Russian is still widely comprehended in Lithuania, especially among the older generation, enabling easier communication. As many refugees hailed from Ukraine's Russian-speaking eastern regions, communication posed minimal challenges in their new environment.

Ukrainian war refugees are predominantly women, as men aged 18–60 are banned from leaving the country. According to the official data, 87% of those who fled Ukraine due to the war constitute women and children (UNHCR. Global Focus, 2022). The researchers (Andrews et al., 2023) claim that female migration is not the same as male migration, as it involves childcare, educational contexts, and full engagement in household responsibilities, thereby requiring a different set of resources and support systems to address the unique challenges faced by women. In case of Ukrainian female refugees, the decision to flee the country was made under the threat of atrocities of Russia's war. As a result, they are struggling to cope not only with social-economic challenges, but also with traumas, caused by the war experience, family separation, and the loss of their homes.

The language question is one of the crucial issues for Ukrainian war refugees today. Ukrainian has traditionally been an important element of national identity, but it has rarely been used in the public sphere and has

reflected a more ethnic than civic nature. The Soviet regime elevated the status of Russian, making it more prestigious. As a result, even in independent Ukraine inconsistent language policies prevented a radical shift toward Ukrainian, despite its recognition as a symbol of national identity. Comparing the post-soviet language situation in Ukraine and the Baltic states, where a lot of Ukrainian refugees found shelter after 2022, we can identify differences in language policies and their varying impacts on each country's future. For example, Lithuania, upon regaining independence in 1991, pursued a path toward linguistic homogeneity, excluding Russian from all spheres of life. The idea of using the state language for nation building was strongly supported (Dabašinskienė, 2022).

The language question for war refugees is nuanced and complex as a result of their traumatic experiences, integration attitudes or simple everyday communication needs. Some refugees express their strong intention to maintain the Ukrainian language as a symbol of national identity, others continue speaking Russian, and still another group of refugees feel the need to integrate by learning and communicating the host country language.

In order to understand the Ukrainian nation's balancing between Russian and Ukrainian, a short overview of the language policies is presented.

Language Policy Dynamics: Ukrainian, Russian or Both?

The language question in Ukraine dates back centuries, persisting even after the proclamation of independence in 1991. Since that time, gradual changes in the perception of the Ukrainian identity and language preferences have emerged. However, efforts to promote the Ukrainian language in independent Ukraine have been relatively moderate and inconsistent. Though the language was increasingly recognized as a crucial component of Ukrainian identity, many Ukrainians did not view speaking Ukrainian as essential to being a legitimate citizen of the state or a valued member of the nation (Kulyk, 2023). A nationwide survey conducted by the Razumkov Center in 2005 reported that "only 41% of respondents listed the exclusive use of the Ukrainian language among essential features of a Ukrainian patriot, a much lower level than for civic characteristics such as

work for Ukraine's good (81%), the wish to cultivate love for Ukraine in their children (78%), and the respect for Ukrainian laws and power institutes (75%)" (Kulyk, 2023, p. 6). The widespread use of Russian, especially in the eastern and southern regions of the country, made rapid linguistic changes unlikely. However, in response to Russia's aggression in 2014, most Russian speakers, even in historically pro-Russian regions, chose to stand with their fellow Ukrainians rather than side with Russia.

As the analysis by Kulyk (2023) demonstrates, this choice stemmed from subtle shifts in ethno-national identity over the last years. Instead of forming a community defined by language, many individuals gradually transitioned from a Soviet identity to a Ukrainian one without significantly changing their language use. While many continued to speak primarily Russian, they no longer saw it as a defining feature of their identity. Another study, conducted in 2020/2021 on attitudes and opinions regarding language use, policies, and identities in the Black Sea region (Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson), found that the respondents who strongly identified with Ukraine and the Ukrainian language expressed skepticism towards the Russian state. However, they did not exhibit hostility towards the Russian language itself (Zeller, 2022).

Since 1991, these gradual changes in the perception of Ukrainian identity and language preferences have been profoundly shaped by the country's leadership, particularly the serving president during different periods and his closer or more distant connections with Russia. While all Ukrainian presidents acknowledged the importance of the Ukrainian language, their attitudes and policies regarding its promotion varied significantly. For many years, the main task was to balance the advancement of Ukrainian while managing the continued notable presence of Russian in the country. Presidents Kravchuk and Yushchenko strongly supported Ukrainian as pivotal to national identity, while Kuchma adopted a more pragmatic, bilingual approach. During his presidency, Russian remained widely used, especially in urban areas and regions with Russian-speaking majorities. Kuchma even attempted to grant Russian the status of an official language in Ukraine, stating in his inaugural speech: "In the near future, I intend to propose changes to the current legislation with the aim of giving the Russian language

official status while preserving the Ukrainian language as the state language." (Lyzanchuk, 2008, p. 196). The most pro-Russian president Yanukovych also encouraged russification, while the most pro-Ukrainian president Poroshenko focused on unifying the nation through a shared Ukrainian identity and zealously promoted the Ukrainian language and culture.

Poroshenko's presidency was marked by a strong focus on fostering a distinct Ukrainian national identity. A key development during his tenure was signing the Language Law in 2019. The primary goal of the Law is to eliminate the remnants of a discriminatory approach to the Ukrainian language, which is the legacy of both the Russian Empire and the soviet era. Importantly, the Law does not discriminate against minority or foreign languages in Ukraine (Explanation on the Law of Ukraine, 2019).

The transformation of language policy in Ukraine, particularly during the presidencies of Poroshenko and Zelenskyy, underscores the intricate relationship between language and national identity. Poroshenko's pre-election presidential slogan "Army. Language. Religion" was highly criticized by Zelenskyy's team. However, soon after the beginning of a full-scale war, Zelenskyy embraced these very principles.

In November 2022, Zelenskyy declared, "Ukrainian is the language of freedom and will, a powerful weapon of the Ukrainian people in the struggle for our independence and victory. I am sure that the preservation of our identity, the revival of historical memory, the establishment of the Ukrainian language is a matter of national security of the state" (Dorosh, 2023). This shift in the president's stance aligns with the general nation's attitude. "What Ukraine had been striving for over 30 years of independence changed within a few days after February 24," noted Holovakha, director of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, relying on numerous sociological studies (Dorosh, 2023). Despite persistent Kremlin propaganda, many Ukrainians who had long shown loyalty to the Russian language began to distance themselves from it, refusing to use what they now saw as the language of the aggressor (Maxwell, 2023).

A nationwide survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in December 2022 revealed a significant increase in the use of Ukrainian. Moreover, a comparison of surveys conducted in 2012, 2014,

2017, and 2022 proves a gradual increase in the use of Ukrainian after the events of 2014 (Euromaidan and Russia's invasion in Eastern Ukraine). However, this steady growth fades in comparison to an "impressive upsurge" and a "drastic shift" from Russian to Ukrainian after the full-scale war in 2022 (Kulyk, 2023). The percentage of Ukrainians using Ukrainian rose by 8.7 percentage points, from 48.7% in 2017 to 57.4% in 2022, while the use of Russian declined by 11.0 percentage points, dropping from 25.8% to 14.8%. This decline was especially notable in the southeastern Ukraine, where reliance on Russian fell from 50.4% in 2017 to 27.2% after the invasion. Although some of these shifts may reflect aspirational reporting, qualitative research indicates multiple factors driving the increased use of Ukrainian (Kulyk, 2023, pp. 7–10). According to Arel (2017–2018), "a reconfiguration of the relationship between language and state loyalty ("state-building") has taken place". A full-scale invasion has led to an unprecedented revival of Ukrainian and a significant decline of Russian. As noted by Kudriavtseva, events like Euromaidan, followed by Russian aggression in the Crimea and the eastern parts of the country, and finally the outbreak of a full-scale war in February 2022 became a "turning point" that encouraged much more people to learn Ukrainian, or to switch more often to Ukrainian, if bilingual (Kudriavtseva, 2023, p. 12). Thus, the primary motivation was personal patriotism and contributing to nation building, linking language use with national identity. The belief that "real Ukrainians speak Ukrainian" became a key driver of this shift, making Ukrainian a symbol of national identification. Moreover, this shift underscores the idea that fluency in Ukrainian is a vital component of national identity and cohesion. People of various ethnic origins, eager to distance themselves from Russian identity, seek to disassociate from the connotations of being pro-Kremlin, which they find increasingly offensive due to geopolitical tensions and are motivated to learn Ukrainian.

The observed contexts have provided a basis to formulate the following research questions:

R.Q. 1: How do Ukrainian female refugees renegotiate their linguistic identity when transitioning from Russian to Ukrainian and what are their attitudes towards these languages?

R.Q. 2: In what ways do Ukrainian female refugees perceive the use of Ukrainian over Russian as a symbol of resistance or alignment with national identity?

Methodology

To explore the language dynamics among Ukrainian war refugees in Lithuania, the authors conducted a research initiative between July and August 2023 – 17 months after the commencement of an open-scale war. The study aimed to analyze refugees' language attitudes and usage, and to ascertain the emerging shifts in linguistic preferences.

Qualitative data for the research was collected through semi-structured, face-to-face interviews by the researchers in Lithuania's two biggest cities – Vilnius and Kaunas. The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they offer flexibility, allowing new questions to be introduced during the interview. The questions were predominantly open-ended, encouraging interviewees to share their thoughts and attitudes freely, without being constrained by predefined options or influenced by researcher bias. The interviewers followed an interview guide – an informal collection of topics and questions prepared in advance. Such guides enable researchers to focus on the topic without a constraint to a particular format, thus the interviewer has the freedom to tailor the questions according to the specific context of each interview (Ruslin et al., 2022, p. 24). The issues explored in our interviews can be broadly categorized into three thematic blocks:

1) personal information block (age, sex, education and family status);
2) language block (respondents' native language; their language attitudes and language preferences when living in Lithuania);
3) national identity block (self-identification and perceptions of national belonging).

Individuals who agreed to participate in the research were provided with information about the research objectives and scheduled for

an interview. Each interview, lasting approximately 45 to 60 minutes, was audio-recorded with participants' consent and subsequently transcribed by the authors. The interviewees were given the option to choose their preferred language of communication: Ukrainian, Russian, English, or Lithuanian. Interestingly, the majority of the respondents (13 out of 15 people) opted for Ukrainian, including several whose first language is Russian. Only two chose to be interviewed in Russian. The participants' responses were translated into English by one of the authors, who holds an MA degree in English Philology. In cases of uncertainty, a second translator was consulted. The final version of the translation was reviewed and refined by a native English speaker.

The research participants were Ukrainian women currently residing in Lithuania, originating from various regions of Ukraine (see Table 1). This geographical diversity was essential for obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the language attitudes among Ukrainian war refugees. The participants ranged in age from 20 to 70 and had diverse educational backgrounds, including university students, college and university graduates[1], and holders of doctoral degrees. The majority of the interviewed women were married, all of them were either studying or working in Lithuania – mainly in the field of their specialization – or actively seeking employment (as in the case with the participant who had recently come to Lithuania). All the respondents were bilingual in Ukrainian and Russian, and most of them demonstrated their proficiency in one or more foreign languages: English, German, French, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, Romanian, Spanish, and Yiddish.

Table 1

Demographic Data of the Research Participants

Code of participants	Age	Education	Language of communication (interview)	Region of Ukraine the interviewee came from
Participant 1	44	Doctoral degree	Ukrainian	Western
Participant 2	38	Doctoral degree	Ukrainian	Eastern
Participant 3	40	Doctoral degree	Russian	Eastern
Participant 4	27	Higher, medical	Ukrainian	Western

---

[1] In Ukraine a college graduate obtains a Junior Bachelor's degree with the main focus on vocational or technical training, while a university graduate is usually qualified for advanced academic studies and holds a Bachelor's or Master's degree.

Code of participants	Age	Education	Language of communication (interview)	Region of Ukraine the interviewee came from
Participant 5	20	University student	Ukrainian	Eastern
Participant 6	28	Higher	Ukrainian	Eastern
Participant 7	25	College	Ukrainian	Southern – Eastern
Participant 8	47	Higher	Ukrainian	Northern
Participant 9	34	College	Ukrainian	Eastern
Participant 10	43	Higher	Ukrainian	Central
Participant 11	30	Higher	Ukrainian	Central
Participant 12	40	Higher	Ukrainian	Eastern
Participant 13	40	Higher	Ukrainian	Northern – Eastern
Participant 14	40	Higher	Ukrainian	Northern – Eastern
Participant 15	70	Higher	Russian	Central

In conducting our research, we employed thematic data analysis to examine in depth the interrelated concepts of language, identity and their broader implications. This methodology allows for a nuanced exploration of the participants' perspectives, as expressed through their comments, personal narratives, and the motivations underlying their linguistic attitudes. By analyzing personal information alongside language-related data, we aim to uncover the layers of meaning that the Ukrainian language holds in the current context of refuge. Through this approach, we seek to shed light on the roles Ukrainian, Russian and other languages play in the everyday lives of female refugees in Lithuania.

Research Findings and Discussion

Renegotiating Linguistic Identity (Ukrainian as "*ridna mova*")

Although the research participants represent all the regions of Ukraine, the majority originate from the eastern part of the country, where Russian was commonly the first language. While fluent in Ukrainian, many of them used Russian in their family and social settings as well as in educational contexts-both at school and university in Ukraine. However, after the onset of the full-scale war, when they were forced to flee their country and found

refuge in Lithuania, many participants reported a change in their linguistic attitudes. Many Ukrainian refugees feel the need to renegotiate their linguistic identity and transition from Russian toward Ukrainian. This decision has been deeply influenced by the traumatic experience of the war.

For those who endured the horrors of occupation and violence, Russian has become associated with trauma. As a result, it is no longer perceived as a neutral means of communication but rather as a reminder of suffering and loss. The relationship between trauma and language is complex and multifaceted, as traumatic experiences can influence a person's linguistic choices, preferences, aspirations to use – or to reject – a certain language (Busch & McNamara, 2020, p. 327). Biographical or other texts and interviews reveal links between trauma and language experiences. For instance, Lerner (1997) recounts her own experience of being a German refugee during the Second World War, describing how she gave up speaking her first language along with the ideologies embedded in it. "The truth was, I no longer wanted to speak German; I was repelled by the sound of it; for me as for other Americans it had become the language of the enemy. … I ceased speaking German altogether" (Lerner, 1997, p. 40). Traumatic events often evoke strong emotional responses, such as fear, distress, sadness, and anxiety or even anger; thus, it might lead to the desire to renounce the language. Researchers have noted that some bilinguals who have undergone negative or traumatic experiences in their first language may feel the urge to distance themselves from it. As Pavlenko (2002) states, such individuals "may experience detachment from it which, in some cases, leads to language loss" (p. 49; see also Lerner, 1997).

A similar example of emotional detachment emerged among the research participants – Ukrainian female war refugees. One participant, originally from a northern region of Ukraine, told a story of her 17-year-old daughter, who had witnessed Russian soldiers threatening her and her father in Russian before opening fire. Deeply traumatized by the event, the girl developed an aversion to the language of aggressors. "She has entirely renounced speaking Russian and has delved deeply into learning the Ukrainian history, literature, culture, and traditions" (Participant 8). The young female urges her whole family to stop speaking Russian at home.

Some participants expressed feelings of shame associated with the Russian language. A young female refugee, who endured all the horrors of Russia's occupation of the Lugansk region in Eastern Ukraine, shared: "I am a Russian-speaking Ukrainian citizen, but now, you know, I feel deeply ashamed of having spoken Russian all my life!" (Participant 9). During the interview, she reflected on the unresolved language issue in Ukraine, suggesting that it may have served as a pretext for the aggressor to start the war. She also criticized the government's weak position in addressing this problem and the inadequacies in legislative regulation. "Had Ukrainian been unequivocally established as the only state language after the collapse of the USSR," she argues, "I firmly believe the current war might have been averted!" (Participant 9).

For most participants the detachment from the Russian language led to a renewed embrace of Ukrainian, marking this shift in both attitudes and language preferences. As the findings will demonstrate, this transformation is closely related to the perception of language as a powerful symbol of resistance and national identity. Many participants – even those for whom Russian was the first language – identified Ukrainian as their native language during the interviews.

The analysis revealed a peculiar trend in how participants interpret the concept of "the native language, or *ridna mova*" (Ukrainian: рідна мова). It became evident that the participants' understanding of this concept is complex and multifaceted, shaped not only by linguistic experience but also by evolving personal and national identities. Although 11 out of 15 participants identified Ukrainian as their native language, follow-up questions revealed that Russian was actually the first language for the majority of them. This discrepancy is largely attributed to the fact that the majority of the interviewees came from the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine, where Russian has historically held linguistic and cultural dominance. A noteworthy insight from the interviews was the divergence in how the participants understood the terms "the first language" and "native language". This ambiguity stems from the different interpretations of the term "native language" ("*ridna mova*"), which is not uniformly synonymous with "the first language." According to a 2011 survey,

34% Ukrainians perceive the term "native" as the language enabling free thought and communication; 32% associate it with the language of their nationality; 24% link it to their parents' language, while 9% consider it the language they use most frequently (Olszański, 2012). The term "native language" might align with "the first language" or "mother tongue", but the concepts are slightly different. According to Pavlenko "the first language" denotes the initial language(s) learned, regardless of the current proficiency or dominance, while "second language" refers to languages acquired later in life, regardless of chronological order" (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 7). In Ukrainian, though, there is a nuanced difference: "native" (*рідна* – "*ridna*") can also figuratively denote closeness in spirit, habits, and views, or someone to whom one has grown accustomed to" (Busel, 2005, p. 1225). As a result, when asked about their native language, Ukrainians may at times combine emotional and cultural attachment with linguistic origin, identifying the language that is dear to them as "native" or "*ridna*" – even if it was not the first language they acquired. Thus, the majority of participants whose first language was Russian still identified Ukrainian as their native language.

For many Ukrainians from the eastern regions, Russian is the first language. They used to speak it in family, social and professional/educational contexts in Ukraine. A similar experience was shared by a young female refugee from Eastern Ukraine, who endured the impact of Russian aggression twice – first, in 2014, when the bombing of her native city, Donetsk, forced her to move to Mariupol, and then again in 2022, when Russia began a full-scale war and occupied Mariupol, compelling her to flee once more, this time to Lithuania. She recalled that the language shift began in 2014, when many of her colleagues and university staff started transitioning to Ukrainian. Although she had grown up bilingual, speaking both Russian and Ukrainian within the family since her birth, she reflected, "My native language is Ukrainian, but it seems to me I only firmly recognized it when all these events unfolded, sparking discussions about the national language in our regions" (Participant 2). Another Russian-speaking participant, who had communicated in Russian since birth, also referred to Ukrainian as her native language, explaining her reasoning this way: "Because I'm Ukrainian by nationality" (Participant 3).

A participant from the north-eastern Ukraine, whose school language of instruction and daily communication used to be Russian, described a sense of dissonance when identifying as Ukrainian while singing Ukrainian national songs. Over time, however, she came to embrace Ukrainian as her native language – not because it was her first language, but out of personal conviction. "It's by conviction, I feel it deep within me," she said (Participant 13). She underlined the importance of the role of language in shaping national identity: "Depriving someone of their language strips away their identity, their sense of belonging and personal territory" (Participant 13).

Another Ukrainian war refugee in Lithuania, who came from a southern region of Ukraine, spoke Russian as her first language but now identifies Ukrainian as her native language. She feels compelled to emphasize that Russian was imposed upon Ukrainians; in her small town, locals spoke in "*surzhyk*" – a blend of Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian. She reflected, "It even became embarrassing to speak Russian" (Participant 8). She continued: "We used to live our lives without much pride for our land. It was just a nice place with nice people. But after all the events in 2022, the Ukrainian language became my own. It awakened the feelings I had never experienced before, a newfound perspective on my own culture and language. And you come to realize that no one can destroy it now! They (the Russians) tried to eradicate it (the Ukrainian language), but the opposite happened: people began to cherish what they had once took for granted!" (Participant 8).

Thus, although Russian was the first language for many of the research participants, they now identify Ukrainian as their native language ("*ridna mova*"), due to recently rediscovered cultural and emotional ties. Initially, only four participants acknowledged Russian as their first language, however, further clarification revealed that, in fact, this number is higher – nine participants' mother tongue is Russian. The war has played a pivotal role in reshaping linguistic identities and many refugees report a shift towards Ukrainian in response to the Russian aggression.

The Ukrainian Language as a Symbol of Resistance

Languages play a crucial role in symbolizing individual and collective identities. They often serve as markers by which people are categorized by other individuals (Byram, 2006, p. 5). Edwards (1994) emphasizes that ethnicity is deeply rooted in shared bonds, such as language, race, religion (p. 125). For Ukrainian refugees, preserving their linguistic heritage has become an essential aspect of maintaining their identity in the face of displacement. Most of the participants interviewed admitted that the language of their motherland is their "true treasure", although some only realized it when Russian troops invaded their homes. One war refugee in Lithuania, originally from the central Ukraine, stressed the crucial role of language in the nation's identity development, referring to it as "the code of the nation". Although Ukrainian is her first language, upon moving to Kyiv in 2005, she quickly adapted to the dominant Russian-speaking environment and transitioned to Russian. However, Russia's aggression in 2014 marked a radical turning point in her attitude towards the language choice. She and her entire family underwent a profound transformation, adopting Ukrainian in all spheres of their lives – personal, professional, and social.

Being a war refugee in Lithuania since 2022, the woman firmly believes that it is the language that helps preserve national identity. As she explains, "The Ukrainian language is like a root, a foundation. Your native language, "*ridna mova*", is the code of your nation. No matter where you are, speaking your mother tongue, preserving it, communicating in it with your children and grandchildren – that's fundamental. To me it's not even a question of whether to do it or not – it's a must!" (Participant 10).

Admiring Lithuania's efforts to integrate its state language into all spheres of public life, the participant admits, "It's so sweet to see how Lithuanians cherish their language. I hope Ukrainians will do the same. It disappoints me to hear Ukrainian children speaking Russian here in Lithuania" (Participant 10). The woman is convinced that language choice remains a person's decision, but asserts that the state should encourage the use of the state language by increasing its prestige. This, she suggests, can be

achieved by promoting the Ukrainian culture and providing greater support for Ukrainian singers and artists.

While living abroad, many participants observe the attitudes of local citizens towards their national languages and express admiration for how the people of the Baltic States, though fluent in many languages, cherish and actively preserve their linguistic heritage. Recently a 30-year-old woman from Kyiv found her refuge in Lithuania. A lifelong bilingual, this research participant, has a passion for learning new languages and is fluent in English, German, Polish and Spanish. Reflecting on her past experiences, she recalls a visit to Estonia long before the war in Ukraine began. She vividly describes an incident in Tallinn where she was refused a purchase of a souvenir after addressing a shop assistant in Russian. Regarding the Ukrainian language, the interviewee firmly supports maintaining a clear distinction between the state language – which she considers obligatory for all residents – and the family language, which she believes should remain a matter of personal choice. "Being born in Ukraine and raised in a Russian-speaking family, I have never encountered any pressure or discomfort in the society because of it. But I know Ukrainian, the state language, very well. So, in all official moments, in all state institutions I speak only Ukrainian" (Participant 11).

Though Ukrainian is the only official state language in Ukraine, there have been instances where Russian was perceived as more dominant in certain contexts. Thus, a research participant from western Ukraine shares her experience of being denied a call center job in Kyiv due to her insufficient fluency in Russian. "I think that if people live in Ukraine, they must speak Ukrainian. Otherwise, it's not just the language at risk but also our culture and perhaps something more," Participant 4 contends. However, she advocates for a gradual approach rather than imposing state-enforced language policies: "Language should be esteemed through enhanced educational opportunities, improved life prospects, high-quality film dubbing, and good translations of the best books and textbooks into Ukrainian" (Participant 4).

Research participants see a very strong link between language and national identity. Thus, a 44-year-old female refugee originating from Ukraine's western region, whose mother tongue is Ukrainian, stresses its

significance: "Ukrainian holds a profound importance for me; it's intertwined with my identity. I cherish it deeply. It is an integral part of who I am, connecting it to my mother, grandmother, and my ancestral heritage. It is as the cornerstone of my ethnicity and identity" (Participant 1). She confesses that hearing Ukrainian immigrants speak Russian while residing in Lithuania disappoints her. This observation reflects her acute awareness of the language's pivotal role in preserving a nation. "In my opinion language is a very powerful tool that can either unite the nation or, as we are witnessing now, become a pretext of initiating a war" (Participant 1).

The same idea is supported by participant 14, a 40-year-old female from the southeastern region bordering Russia. Brought up in a Ukrainian-speaking family, the participant expresses deep love for her mother tongue and hopes her two children will preserve it even in exile. "I was born into a Ukrainian-speaking family. There is no other language so dear to me. It resonates deeply within me, connecting me to my Ukrainian identity with every fiber of my being!" (Participant 14). Her feelings about the Ukrainian language, both within Ukraine and abroad, are deeply emotional. She says that many of her relatives and acquaintances stopped speaking Russian after 2022, perceiving it as the aggressor's language. She staunchly asserts, "Every nation has its own language and history, which should be preserved and respected" (Participant 14).

Donbas – the eastern region of Ukraine currently occupied by Russia – is often considered Russian-speaking. Nevertheless, a 40-year-old research participant, who left the Donetsk region with her family in 2014, states that Ukrainian is her first language. She attributes this to the prevalence of Ukrainian among the rural population of Donbas, in contrast to the dominance of Russian in larger cities. The participant holds a deep appreciation for the Ukrainian language and culture. She compares the language to a traditional Ukrainian costume: "It (speaking Ukrainian) is like wearing a national costume: you need to put it on to truly feel it, to immerse yourself in it. Speaking the language is the essence of the culture. You can't convey culture through a different language" (Participant 12).

Recognizing that language is a powerful symbol of the national identity, a 20-year-old female refuge from Mariupol strives to embrace

Ukrainian, despite Russian being her first language. She and her family were fortunate enough to escape the Russian occupation of their native city. In an effort to identify herself as a "non-Russian" citizen, she speaks Ukrainian whenever possible. "Language demonstrates your political stance", Participant 5 asserts. She is convinced that Ukrainians should transition to speaking Ukrainian, and feels a personal responsibility to set an example, "As someone from a heavily russified region, I must demonstrate: don't be afraid, if I can transition to Ukrainian, you can do it too!" (Participant 5). The same idea is supported by another female refugee from the southeastern part of Ukraine, now residing in Vilnius: "It is even inappropriate to speak Russian in Ukraine now. And speaking Russian abroad isn't good either, because it blurs the distinction between Ukrainian identity and that of other nationalities!" (Participant 7).

The attitude of a representative from an older generation, a 70-year-old female refugee originating from Kyiv, who prefers speaking Russian as it is her mother tongue, differs from the majority. Her mother was Russian, and the participant explains that she did not speak Ukrainian, because she "hadn't absorbed this language with mother's milk" (Participant 15). While the woman is fluent in Ukrainian, she preferred to be interviewed in Russian. Although her Ukrainian friends have tried to communicate with her in Ukrainian since the full-scale war began, she continues to respond in Russian, as she says, "This language (Russian) is dear to me. It's because of my origin, my roots" (Participant 15).

Nevertheless, most of the participants express their intention to distance from Russian, transitioning to Ukrainian. They heatedly emphasize the importance of preserving their heritage language and culture, recognizing it as essential for the nation: "Language is a nation's identity. Without a language, a nation cannot truly exist. Language upholds traditions; through it, we become part of a culture" (Participant 5). The importance of preserving Ukrainian while in exile is further confirmed by a research participant originally from the East of Ukraine. Being a volunteer at the Ukrainian Center in Vilnius, she teaches Ukrainian to children. Initially, her aim was to preserve her own children's heritage language. Gradually, more refugees began showing interest and bringing their children to the Ukrainian Centre for

language and cultural education. "The majority of war refugees hail from the East. They speak Russian at home, yet they bring their children here for Ukrainian instruction. They lack the strength to switch to Ukrainian themselves, but they want their children to embrace it" (Participant 12). Although children mainly encounter Ukrainian at the Centre and continue speaking Russian at home, the parents' efforts to recognize the importance of Ukrainian and encourage their children to learn their nation's state language demonstrate a conscious family decision regarding languages.

The results of our research indicate that the majority of Ukrainian female refugees in Lithuania regard the Ukrainian language as a key means of maintaining their national identity and fostering a sense of belonging within their community. Beyond the communicative function, Ukrainian also serves as a vital instrument in the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage. Speaking the Ukrainian language became an assertion of identity, a deliberate act of resilience and resistance for many participants.

Conclusions

In our research, we explored the language dynamics among Ukrainian female war refugees who found shelter in Lithuania after the full-scale war in Ukraine was launched. The Ukrainian case today provides valuable insights into the role of language in shaping national identity and loyalty to the state. The analysis of the sources relevant to our research revealed that the development of the Ukrainian language and identity has been profoundly influenced by the country's historical struggles for independence and recent geopolitical events. Ukraine's post-independence language policy has been shaped by a complex interplay of national identity, political leadership, and regional loyalties. Initially characterized by an ethnic revival, the policy did not aggressively advance the transformation needed to establish Ukrainian as the dominant state language. It was only with the onset of the full-scale war in 2022, which forced millions of Ukrainian citizens to flee the country, that the role of language in the formation of the national identity and state building was reconsidered.

Lithuania welcomed thousands of Ukrainian war refugees, with language emerging as one of the decisive factors, as Russian often serves as the *lingua franca*. The majority of these refugees are women, who are not only struggling to overcome the trauma of war but also reassessing their cultural and linguistic preferences. In these changed contexts, some Ukrainians feel an urgent need to preserve their language identity and express their solidarity with their state and nation, while others continue to use Russian out of habit or for personal reasons. Still another group of refugees opt for learning the host country's language (Lithuanian), recognizing it as one of the key factors of social integration in a new context.

Emotional experiences have had a significant impact on language preferences, with many research participants experiencing a sense of detachment from Russian due to the trauma of the war. Many believe that the Ukrainian language is crucial for preserving national identity, calling it "the code of the nation". Moreover, they view Ukrainian as a unifying force, important for the nation's solidarity. However, they also identify the need for a thoughtful, voluntary transition from Russian to Ukrainian, particularly given the deep historical and emotional contexts that influence language choice. Although the shift to Ukrainian as the language of state-building, solidarity, and the cultural identity was noticeable in our study, we observed that this tendency differs from the patterns within Ukraine itself. This can be explained by the presence of an environment that favors Russian, including its use in schools and daily communication, which has helped sustain its prevalence. Although the female refugees try to teach and maintain Ukrainian for their children, success is not always guaranteed, as the majority are accustomed to speaking Russian at home.

Thus, this research allowed us to explore the language attitude of Ukrainian war refugees and observe shifts in their linguistic preferences. Although the majority of Ukrainian war refugees are Russian-speaking, their attitudes towards Ukrainian and Russian have changed greatly since the full-scale war began in 2022. The participants express their willingness to distance themselves from Russian, as it has become associated with negative emotions and many find it inappropriate to speak the language of the aggressor. Even though Russian was their first language, Ukrainian war

refugees in Lithuania now consider Ukrainian their native language. Since the onset of the war and the relocation to Lithuania, there has been a noticeable shift, with many now embracing Ukrainian as their "*ridna mova*" (native language). This change reflects a deeper cultural and emotional connection and a desire to maintain their rediscovered linguistic identity.

The analysis of the perceptions concerning language use revealed that the shift toward Ukrainian among Ukrainian war refugees is driven by personal, cultural, and political factors. Ukrainian has emerged as a key marker of solidarity with the nation and a rejection of Russian dominance. Ukrainian has become a powerful symbol of national identity, reinforcing ties to national roots and resilience in the face of aggression. Ukrainian female refugees emphasize the importance of preserving their heritage language for future generations, describing the Ukrainian language as their "genetic code" and linking it to the traditional Ukrainian national costume. The war has played a significant role in reshaping linguistic identities, with many refugees reporting a shift towards Ukrainian as a response to the Russian aggression. Our findings highlight the dynamic nature of linguistic identities among female refugees, shaped by individual and collective agency, external factors and the symbolic power of language as both a tool for resistance and an expression of national identity.

Limitations

The presented study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted with 15 Ukrainian female refugees in Lithuania. While these data provide valuable insights into the topic, a larger participant pool would enhance the accuracy and depth of the findings. Expanding the scope of future research to include a broader and more diverse group of participants, particularly in terms of their numbers and educational backgrounds, would allow for a deeper understanding of attitudinal and language shift processes among Ukrainian refugees. Additionally, it would be important to investigate refugees' attitude towards the host language, as well as practices related to its learning and use. Given the significance of the topic, such studies would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of refugee experiences

and their integration into host societies, such as Lithuania and other countries.

References

Andrews, J., Isanski, J., Nowak, M., Sereda, V., Vacroux, A., & Vakhitova, H. (2023). Feminized forced migration: Ukrainian war refugees. *Women's Studies International Forum, 99*. https://portal.findresearcher.sdu.dk/en/publications/feminized-forced-migration-ukrainian-war-refugees

Arel, D. (2017–2018). Language, status, and state loyalty in Ukraine. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies. The Journal of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, 35*(1–4), 233–264. https://www.husj.harvard.edu/articles/language-status-and-state-loyalty-in-ukraine

Busch, B., & McNamara, T. (2020). Language and trauma: An introduction. *Applied Linguistics*, *41*(3), 323–333.

Busel, V. T. (Ed.). (2005). *Comprehensive explanatory dictionary of modern Ukrainian language* (with additions and supplements). VTF "Perun"

Byram, M. (2006, October 16-18). *Languages and identities*. Intergovernmental Conference Languages of Schooling: Towards a Framework for Europe, Strasbourg, France.

Dabašinskienė, I. (2022). Understanding the post-Soviet nuclear locality through language policy orientations. *Journal of Baltic Studies, 53*(3), 398–493. https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2022.2086278

Dorosh, S. (17 січня, 2023). «Армія. Мова. Віра.» як гасла Порошенка стали гаслами Зеленського ['Army. Language. Faith.' How Poroshenko's slogans became Zelenskyy's slogans]. *BBC News Україна*. https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-64175314

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism.* Routledge.

Explanation on the Law of Ukraine "On ensuring the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the state language". (January 16, 2019). Embassy of Ukraine in Hungary. https://hungary.mfa.gov.ua/news/72567-explanation-onthe-law-of-

ukraine-on-ensuring-the-functioning-of-the-ukrainian-language-as-
the-state-language

Kudriavtseva, N. (2023). Motivations for embracing the Ukrainian language in
wartime Ukraine. *Ukrainian Analytical Digest, 1*, 12–15.
https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000623475

Kulyk, V. (2023). Ukrainians now (say that they) speak predominantly
Ukrainian. *Ukrainian Analytical Digest, 1*, 6–11.
https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000623475

Lerner, G. (1997). *Why history matters: Life and thought*. Oxford University
Press.

Lyzanchuk, V. (2008). *Геноцид, етноцид, лінгвоцит української нації:
хроніка [Genocide, ethnocide, linguicide of the Ukrainian nation:
Chronicle]*. Ivan Franko LNU Publishing Center.

Maxwell, O. (March 27, 2023). In Russia's war against Ukraine, one of
the battlegrounds is language itself. *The Conversation.*
https://theconversation.com/in-russias-war-against-ukraine-one-of-
the-battlegrounds-is-language-itself-201170

Olszański, T. A. (2012). The language issue in Ukraine. An attempt at a new
perspective. *OSW Studies, 40.* Warsaw.
https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/prace_40_en_0.pdf

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Bilingualism and emotions. *Multilingua – Journal of
Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, *21*(1), 45–78.
https://doi.org/10.1515/mult.2002.004

Pavlenko, A. (2007). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge University
Press.

Ruslin, R., Mashuri, S., Rasak, M, Alhabsyi, F., & Syam, H. (2022). Semi-
structured interview: A methodological reflection on the development
of a qualitative research instrument in educational studies. *IOSR
Journal of Research & Method in Education (IOSR-JRME), 12 (01),*
22–29. https://doi.org/10.9790/7388-1201052229

UNHCR. (n.d.). *Ukraine refugee situation: Operational data portal*.
https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine

UNHCR. Global Focus. (2022). *Ukraine situation*.
https://reporting.unhcr.org/ukraine-situation-global-report-2022

Zeller, J. P. (2022). Attitudes on languages, identities and politics at the Ukrainian Black Sea coast in 2020/21. *Russian Linguistics*, *46*, 291–311. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11185-022-09264-7

Alona Shyba
Jurijaus Fedkovičiaus Černivcų nacionalinis universitetas, Ukraina
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
a.shyba@chnu.edu.ua
Ineta Dabašinskienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
ineta.dabasinskiene@vdu.lt

KALBŲ KAITA IR NUOSTATŲ DINAMIKA TARP UKRAINOS KARO PABĖGĖLIŲ MOTERŲ LIETUVOJE

Anotacija. Straipsnyje nagrinėjama Ukrainos karo pabėgėlių, radusių prieglobstį Lietuvoje, kalbinių nuostatų ir kalbos pasirinkimo dinamika. Prasidėjęs plataus masto Rusijos karas prieš Ukrainą privertė tūkstančius civilių gyventojų ieškoti prieglobsčio visame pasaulyje. Lietuva šiems pabėgėliams tapo ypač patrauklia šalimi, o lemiamas veiksnys buvo kalba. Nemažai ukrainiečių yra dvikalbiai, gerai mokantys rusų kalbą, ir tai palengvino jų bendravimą su lietuviais, sovietmečiu išgyvenusiais panašią rusų kalbos vartojimo istoriją. Kalbos klausimas Ukrainoje turi gilias istorines šaknis. Šiame tyrime aprašoma, kaip dvi pagrindinės Ukrainos kalbos (ukrainiečių ir rusų) koegzistavo įvairiais tautos istorijos etapais. Siekiant suprasti besikeičiančias ukrainiečių karo pabėgėlių kalbines nuostatas ir kalbos pasirinkimą, 2023 m. vasarą Lietuvoje buvo atlikti pusiau struktūruoti interviu. Pažymėtina, kad tyrime dalyvavo tik moterys, ir tai atspindi unikalią Ukrainos pabėgėlių bangos (2022–2023 m.) ypatybę – ją daugiausia sudaro moterys ir vaikai. Dauguma respondenčių, ypač iš su Rusija besiribojančių rytinių regionų, yra dvikalbės, o jų gimtoji kalba – rusų. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė: daugelis ukrainiečių pabėgėlių Lietuvoje remiasi rusų kalba ir vartoja ją bendravimui palengvinti; bet noras pereiti prie ukrainiečių kalbos bendraujant privačioje aplinkoje ar socialiniuose tinkluose yra neaiškus. Kaip rodo duomenys, šis perėjimas negali būti itin greitas, atsižvelgiant į įvairialypį daugiatautį ir daugiakalbį ukrainiečių profilį. Tačiau trauminė patirtis, susijusi su okupacija, pabėgimu iš gimtosios šalies, šeimos ir namų praradimu, padarė didelę įtaką siekiui pereiti prie kalbos ir tapatybės transformacijos. Dauguma tyrimo dalyvių pabrėžia, kad būtina skubiai išsaugoti ukrainiečių kalbą ir kultūrą, kaip galingiausius jų tautinio tapatumo veiksnius.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: kalbinė nuostata; kalbų politika; kalbos kaita; ukrainiečių kalba; rusų kalba; karo pabėgėlės.

Omar Mohammad-Ameen Ahmad Hazaymeh
Al-Balqa Applied University, Jordan
Al-Huson University College, Jordan

BILINGUALISM IN THE JORDANIAN-RUSSIAN FAMILY RESIDING IN JORDAN AND ITS IMPACT ON COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ITS MEMBERS

Abstract. This research examines bilingualism in Jordanian-Russian families in Jordan, focusing on its impact on family interaction, cultural identity, and everyday communication. Using a qualitative approach that included interviews, participant observation, and language diaries, the study analyzed language use patterns within the family. The results showed that intersentential code-switching was the most common strategy, with children frequently alternating between Arabic and Russian within the same sentence. This strategy aligns with the Equivalence Constraint Theory, which posits that switching occurs at points where the grammatical structures of both languages align. For example, one child reported starting a sentence in Arabic and ending it in Russian due to the deeper meaning certain words convey in each language. Additionally, situational code-switching was observed, as children adjusted their language use based on the context, particularly when accommodating their parents' varying proficiency levels, reflecting Communication Accommodation Theory. The study also found that bilingualism significantly affects the formation of children's cultural identity, with some children developing a dual affiliation while others lean toward a single cultural identity. For example, children immersed in Jordanian society and Arabic-dominant settings identified more closely with Jordanian culture, while those with stronger ties to their Russian-speaking mothers and frequent visits to Russia maintained a deeper connection to Russian culture. The research highlights the challenges faced by Russian mothers in maintaining their native language at home and the importance of a supportive environment for bilingualism. It recommends enhancing parents' understanding of the impact of bilingualism on their children, promoting balanced educational methods for integrated language development, and developing educational resources to support learning Russian alongside Arabic in the Jordanian context.

Keywords: Bilingualism; cultural identity; family interaction; Jordanian-Russian families; language switching; mother tongue retention.

Introduction

Language is one of the most important components of the cultural and social identity of any society. It is not just a means of communication, but rather an expression of thought, belonging, and life experience. In light of the rapid global changes and the spread of mixed marriages between individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, bilingualism has become an increasing phenomenon within many families, as the interaction between two different languages affects communication patterns, identity formation, and family relationships (De Houwer, 2015; Lanza, 2007). Among the models that reflect this phenomenon, Jordanian-Russian families residing in Jordan stand out, where one parent speaks Arabic and the other speaks Russian, leading to a multifaceted linguistic environment within the home.

Code-switching, the practice of alternating between languages within discourse, is explained through various linguistic theories. Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint Theory posits that switching occurs at points where the grammatical structures of both languages align. Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language-Frame Model differentiates between the matrix language, which provides the grammatical structure, and the embedded language, which supplies lexical items. Giles's (1977) Communication Accommodation Theory suggests that speakers switch codes to adjust to their interlocutors, either converging for solidarity or diverging for distinction. Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model argues that code-switching reflects speakers' social intentions, selecting marked or unmarked language choices based on context. Gumperz's (1982) Functional Approach highlights that code-switching serves conversational functions such as clarifying meaning, expressing identity, or managing discourse.

Family members live in a complex linguistic environment, where Arabic and Russian are used in different ways, depending on the social and cultural contexts surrounding them (De Houwer, 2020). Factors such as education, media, and interaction with friends and the outside community play a crucial role in determining the preferred or most commonly used language by family members, especially children who grow up in a bilingual environment (King & Fogle, 2013).

The phenomenon of bilingualism within the Jordanian-Russian family goes beyond the daily use of the two languages; it directly affects the nature of relationships between family members and the way in which children's cultural identities are constructed. Children may face challenges in defining their linguistic identity as they navigate a cultural and linguistic overlap between belonging to the Arabic-speaking Jordanian community and their mother's Russian heritage. Communication between spouses may also be affected by the difference in their mother tongue, which sometimes leads to misunderstandings or difficulties in expressing different feelings and life situations.

In addition, the nature of language use within the family is not subject to a fixed rule, but is affected by multiple factors such as the level of proficiency of each parent in the other's language, the degree of their involvement in the local community, and the extent of their desire to maintain the mother tongue (Hoff, 2006; Place & Hoff, 2011). On the other hand, the linguistic interference that occurs within the family may lead to the emergence of special linguistic patterns, such as code-switching, where one moves between Arabic and Russian within the same sentence, or borrowing vocabulary from one of the two languages when speaking the other.

In light of these linguistic and social complexities, this study seeks to explore the impact of bilingualism on communication between members of the Jordanian-Russian family residing in Jordan. The focus will be on understanding the patterns of linguistic communication between spouses and between parents and their children, in addition to exploring how this phenomenon affects the formation of children's cultural identity. The study relies on a qualitative methodology, aiming to obtain in-depth insights into the linguistic experiences of members of these families through in-depth interviews and analysis of their linguistic diaries.

Research on this topic is gaining increasing importance in light of the increasing migration and cultural interaction that the world is witnessing today. Understanding the impact of bilingualism on multicultural families can contribute to developing strategies that help improve family communication, enhance understanding between spouses, and support children in dealing with the linguistic and cultural challenges they may face. This study also highlights

the importance of family language planning and its role in achieving a healthy balance between preserving cultural identity on the one hand, and integration into the local community on the other.

Theoretical Framework

Bilingualism is a complex linguistic and social phenomenon that arises when individuals or communities are able to use two or more languages in their daily lives, with these languages intermingling in different communication patterns according to social, cultural, and educational contexts. Bilingualism is a central issue in the sociology of language, as it has profound effects on individual and collective identity, social interaction, learning, and integration into society (Shin, 2017; Norton & Toohey, 2011).

A common phenomenon in the context of bilingualism is code-switching, where a speaker switches between languages during a conversation according to the context or to facilitate understanding (Duran, 1994; Zano & Sibanda, 2024). This switching can be between single words, sentences, or even entire thoughts, and may reflect a level of linguistic comfort, emphasis on a particular meaning, or interaction with the recipient's cultural background (Zakaria & Ab Rahman, 2022). Linguistic interference may also appear in the form of borrowing vocabulary or grammatical structures from one language to the other, leading to the formation of new linguistic patterns in society.

Bilingualism directly affects the cultural identity of individuals, as speakers may feel a sense of dual belonging, allowing them to navigate between two different cultural identities. In some cases, this phenomenon may cause feelings of linguistic alienation, especially if one of the languages is not officially recognized or supported in educational and community institutions (Crawford, 1995; Akintayo, et al., 2024). In contrast, bilingualism can enhance cultural understanding and openness to others, contributing to building more diverse and tolerant societies.

In the family context, bilingualism plays a major role in shaping individuals' relationships within the family, especially in families where the parents speak two different languages. The success of transmitting two languages to children depends on several factors, such as parents' strategies

for speaking with children, the availability of a supportive environment, and the educational system followed. If there is no balance between the two languages, children may face challenges in acquiring the second language, which may lead to the gradual decline or loss of one of the languages (Farahi, 2009). In some cases, the second language may become limited to certain situations, such as speaking with only one parent, while the language most commonly used in school and society becomes the dominant language (Al-Suqayr, 2024).

Bilingualism is not just a linguistic phenomenon but rather a vital element in shaping the identity of individuals and societies, as it plays a fundamental role in social interaction, learning, cultural belonging, and professional opportunities. It represents both a challenge and an opportunity, which requires awareness of its different dimensions to enhance its benefits and deal with its challenges more effectively.

Marriage between Jordanians and foreign women is an interesting social and cultural phenomenon, reflecting the diversity of contemporary societies and the intermingling of cultures in our world today (Al-Hilalat, 2023). This type of marriage has increased in recent years as a result of economic factors, educational opportunities, and various cultural influences (Kowalska, 2017). Through these marriages, Jordanian society meets Russian culture, resulting in linguistic, social, and human interactions that greatly affect the life of the family and society (Musleh, 2024).

The ways in which a Jordanian man gets to know a Russian woman vary, as a Jordanian man may have met his Russian wife during his travel to Russia, either for study or work, or through social media platforms that facilitate meeting between individuals from different parts of the world.

Methodology and Data Collection

This research relied on the qualitative approach, which was used to study social and cultural phenomena in depth, by analyzing personal experiences, attitudes and behaviors in their natural context. The research aimed to explore how bilingualism affects communication within Jordanian-

Russian families residing in Jordan, with a focus on the subjective experience of the members of these families, through understanding the meanings of language and its role in building family relationships and cultural identity. The qualitative approach provided an opportunity to explore the experiences of the participants in depth, allowing for an understanding of the nuances that could not be measured by traditional quantitative methods.

Data were collected using a variety of tools such as interviews, participatory observations, and language diaries, and both Arabic and Russian were used in this process. Interviews were conducted in the language that participants were most comfortable with, with some speaking Arabic, while others chose Russian. Observation notes were taken in Arabic, with any use of Russian carefully documented.

Regarding the language diaries, participants were instructed in advance on how to record them by writing down the words and expressions they used in notebooks, and an orientation session was held explaining the importance of recording everyday situations and the language used in them in a natural and honest manner. Some participants wrote their diaries in Arabic, while others preferred to write in Russian, and some even used a combination of these languages, which clearly demonstrated the phenomenon of code switching.

The diaries showed that participants often switched between languages while documenting their experiences, with code switching being particularly common in situations that reflected different cultural or social contexts. For example, Arabic words or phrases were used when referring to events related to school or friends in Jordan, while Russian was used when describing their feelings towards family or talking about their visits to Russia.

Code-switching was evident in the language diaries, as participants used the language that best expressed their experiences or that fit the situation, confirming that multilingualism can be not just a linguistic phenomenon, but a tool for expressing multiple cultural identities within the same family.

The choice of this approach came in response to the nature of the research topic, as it required a detailed analysis of how Arabic and Russian languages are used within the family, and how this use affected patterns of

family interaction. By collecting qualitative data, emotional and social aspects were highlighted that would not have been apparent through quantitative methods, which contributed to providing a comprehensive view of the dynamics of communication within these families.

The sample was chosen intentionally, as it included families living in Jordan in which the father was Jordanian and the mother was Russian, to ensure that the sample was consistent with the objectives of the research. Ten Jordanian families were selected to ensure representation of a variety of personal experiences that reflected different patterns of bilingualism. The sample included individuals of different ages and backgrounds within the family, including fathers, to study the impact of the linguistic background of each spouse on daily communication, mothers, to understand their role in transmitting the Russian language to children and the extent of their impact on the linguistic balance within the home, and children, to explore how they deal with the two languages in their daily lives, and whether they faced challenges in using one or both of them.

Three main tools were adopted to collect data to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of bilingualism and its impact on family communication. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with family members to collect rich qualitative data on their opinions and experiences related to the use of Arabic and Russian at home. These interviews included multiple axes, including the extent of use of each language within the home, the impact of bilingualism on the relationship between spouses, the role of language in shaping children's cultural identity, and the challenges faced by family members due to language differences. These interviews allowed for flexibility in exploring different topics, as the interviewer was able to modify the questions based on the participants' answers, which helped uncover subtle details about their personal experiences.

The research relied on participant observation by attending some family gatherings and informal events, such as meals or family gatherings, to observe how the two languages are used in everyday situations. This tool aimed to observe how the two languages switch in family conversations, analyze body language and tone of voice when using each language, and monitor any special linguistic patterns that emerged as a result of the overlap

between Arabic and Russian. This method helped capture details that were not mentioned in the interviews, as some aspects of communication were unconscious or intangible to the participants themselves.

The sample members were assigned to write a language diary documenting their daily experience using the two languages, for a period of twelve weeks. These diaries included notes on the language used in specific situations, such as talking to a parent, watching television, or doing homework, as well as the challenges children faced when using either language, and the feelings associated with using each language, such as feeling comfortable, integrated, or alienated. This method allowed participants to express their experiences over time, allowing for changes in language use patterns and interactions that were not apparent in face-to-face interviews.

The research sample was selected from ten Jordanian-Russian families, each consisting of four to five members, including parents and children aged 8 to 21 years. Two members of each family kept daily language diaries throughout the study period. This sample represents demographic diversity in the length of residence in Jordan, which ranged from 5 to 20 years, reflecting varying degrees of cultural and linguistic integration. In terms of gender, the sample included 22 females and 18 males, which allowed for exploring linguistic interactions across different social roles within the family.

As for mother tongues, 90% of the participants considered Arabic their mother tongue, while 10% considered Russian their mother tongue. As for second language, 20% of the participants indicated that Russian is their second language, and 80% indicated that Arabic is their second language. Regarding bilingual first languages, 50% of the participants indicated that they use Arabic and Russian equally in their daily lives. Participants' exposure to and control of everyday languages was measured using a scale of 0% to 100%, with participants indicating that they had 80% to 90% daily exposure to Arabic and 10% to 20% daily exposure to Russian. In terms of language control, participants showed an average of 85% control of Arabic and 75% control of Russian, reflecting high levels of language proficiency in both languages.

Participants were asked to write a language diary documenting their daily experiences using the two languages, over twelve week's period. There were 20 diary entries, two for each participant's family. These diaries included

notes on the language used in specific situations, such as talking to a parent, watching television, or doing homework, as well as the challenges children faced when using either language, and feelings associated with using each language, such as feeling comfortable, integrated, or alienated. This method allowed participants to express their experiences over time, enabling changes in language use patterns and interactions that were not evident in face-to-face interviews.

After collecting the data, thematic analysis was used as the main tool to analyze qualitative data derived from interviews, observations, and language diaries. It is a method that relies on organizing and classifying data into specific themes and categories to extract recurring patterns and interpret them analytically, which helps in answering the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis showed that language switching patterns within the family were among the most prominent themes, as children were observed switching between Arabic and Russian depending on the situation, in addition to the challenges faced by parents, especially Russian mothers, in maintaining the Russian language at home (Wei, 2018).

Other themes also emerged, such as linguistic and communicative challenges that affect daily interaction between family members, the impact of bilingualism on the identity and cultural belonging of children who find themselves divided between two cultures, in addition to its impact on marital relations and communication methods between parents (Grosjean, 2010).

The use of this qualitative methodology contributed to providing a comprehensive understanding of the interaction of Jordanian-Russian families with the two languages, the challenges they face, and the opportunities that bilingualism provides in shaping their cultural and social identity (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Ethical standards were observed in the research by obtaining prior consent from participants to ensure their complete satisfaction with participating in the study, ensuring data confidentiality and non-use of personal information outside the scope of the research, and providing the option for participants to withdraw at any time without any obligation.

As mentioned earlier, the data were analyzed using qualitative analysis, which enabled the extraction and categorization of data into main themes including patterns of language switching within the family, linguistic

and communication challenges, the impact of language on identity and cultural belonging, and the impact of bilingualism on family relationships. This methodology provided a robust framework for exploring the impact of bilingualism on communication within Jordanian-Russian families, by collecting in-depth qualitative data using interviews, observation, and language diary analysis, which helped provide a close understanding of how members of these families interact with Arabic and Russian, and the resulting challenges and opportunities in shaping their cultural and social identity.

Results

The research results revealed a set of patterns and trends related to bilingualism within Jordanian-Russian families residing in Jordan, as data extracted from interviews, participant observation, and language diaries showed the impact of bilingualism on family relationships, cultural identity, and daily social interaction.

The results showed that there is a clear disparity in the extent of the use of Arabic and Russian languages within the family, based on several factors, such as the cultural background of the parents, the extent of their familiarity with each other's language, and the language upbringing style followed by the parents.

In terms of language use patterns within the family, some families showed a pattern of constant language switching between Arabic and Russian within the family, reflecting the impact of bilingualism on their daily interactions. One Russian mother said, "I try to speak to my children in Russian as much as possible, so that they do not forget my language and culture, but they respond to me in Arabic most of the time."

Concerning the role of each language in family interaction, a Jordanian father said, "I understand some Russian words that my wife uses with the children, but I do not use them, so communication between me and my children is always in Arabic," indicating the dominant role of Arabic in communication within the family, with limited use of Russian.

Regarding linguistic and communication challenges, many Russian mothers spoke about the difficulties and challenges they face in trying to maintain the Russian language within the home. One of them said, "Sometimes I feel that I am losing control of the Russian language with my children because of the influence of Arabic on them at school and with their friends."

As regards the challenges faced by Jordanian parents, some of them reported difficulty using the Russian language with their children due to their limited proficiency. One parent explained, "I understand some Russian, but I cannot speak it fluently, so my participation in the dialogue is limited to simple words only."

As for the impact of language in preserving identity and cultural belonging, Russian mothers emphasized the importance of maintaining the Russian language as a means of preserving their children's cultural identity. As one of mother said, "I consider the Russian language an important part of our identity, and I want my children to feel connected to our culture even if they live in a different country."

Regarding cultural belonging and social interactions, some participants talked about the difficulties children face in interacting with other children from different cultural backgrounds due to the mixture of languages. One mother said, "Sometimes my children feel confused when talking to their peers who do not speak Russian, and they prefer to speak Arabic so that they feel like they are part of the group."

As for the impact of bilingualism on family relationships, some participants reported that using two languages at home affected their daily interactions. "Russian gives me the opportunity to talk to my children more deeply about our culture, but ultimately we use Arabic more in everyday conversations," said one mother. The data showed that children in bilingual families tend to use both languages in different ways depending on the context, preferring to speak Arabic with their fathers in everyday situations, while speaking Russian with their mothers. This pattern of language use reflects the role of each language in family relationships and different social contexts.

In the literature on bilingualism, it is clear that children in families with multiple linguistic backgrounds usually choose the appropriate language based on social and emotional situations, relying on the cultural values associated

with each language (Fishman, 2001). In the context of the relationship between children and parents, most families treat Arabic as the primary language of communication in social situations, given that it is the local and dominant language in the community (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). As for the relationship between children and mothers, it was found that Russian is often the preferred means of communication, as is the case in many families that are keen to preserve the mother tongue as part of their cultural identity (De Houwer, 2009).

One child noted in his language diary: "I speak Arabic with my father and with my friends at school, but with my mother, I sometimes mix Arabic and Russian." This statement reflects the social and cultural influences that bilingualism imposes on children, as they choose the most appropriate language for each context based on the social and cognitive expectations that are formed in their environment. Based on the theoretical framework of code-switching, this study predicts that speakers are likely to take Arabic as the matrix (frame) language, providing the grammatical structure, while embedding Russian lexical items within Arabic structures, as suggested by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language-Frame Model. Additionally, according to the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1977), it is expected that code-switching will also depend on the context, with speakers adjusting their language choices based on social interactions, converging to accommodate interlocutors or diverging to express distinctiveness. The Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) further supports the prediction that speakers will switch codes strategically to reflect social intentions, choosing either marked or unmarked language forms depending on the communicative context.

The data revealed that speakers predominantly used Arabic as the matrix language, with Russian lexical items embedded within Arabic grammatical structures, aligning with Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language-Frame Model. This pattern was evident across various interactions, supporting the initial prediction that Arabic would serve as the primary grammatical framework while Russian elements were inserted lexically.

Furthermore, the data demonstrated that code-switching varied depending on social context, consistent with Giles's (1977) Communication Accommodation Theory. Speakers were observed to switch codes in response

to their interlocutors, converging by incorporating more Russian terms when interacting with Russian speakers or those familiar with Russian culture, and diverging by maintaining Arabic dominance when addressing Arabic-speaking audiences.

Additionally, the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) was reflected in the data, as participants strategically used code-switching to signal social intentions. For example, the use of Russian terms in Arabic sentences often indicated prestige, modernity, or affiliation with Russian culture, while maintaining Arabic signaled a stronger connection to local identity. Thus, the results fulfilled the initial predictions, highlighting the interplay of linguistic structure and social context in Arabic-Russian code-switching.

Some children reported that they use code-switching when speaking with their parents in certain situations, such as asking for something or discussing a complex topic. One said, "Sometimes I start a sentence in Arabic, but I end it in Russian, because some Russian words are easier to express." Some parents also indicated that they use Russian words in some situations, such as simple commands or emotional expressions, with one mother saying, "I always say (давай) to my children when I want them to hurry, even when I speak to them in Arabic."

The data showed that families had different levels of language proficiency, which led to communication challenges. Some Russian mothers had difficulty expressing their feelings and thoughts to their children due to their limited Arabic vocabulary, with one participant saying, "I sometimes feel like I can't fully explain my feelings to my children because I don't have enough Arabic vocabulary." In contrast, some children reported difficulties interacting with their Russian relatives while visiting Russia, with one child saying, "When we visit Russia, I don't understand everything my grandparents say because I don't use Russian very often."

The interviews also showed that some couples preferred to speak in the language they were most comfortable with, which sometimes led to misunderstandings due to varying proficiency. For example, one father said that he sometimes had to rephrase his words so that his Russian wife could understand him, while another mother said that she relied on her eldest son to translate between family members. These examples reflect the language gap

within bilingual families, and show how differences in proficiency levels are not limited to communication difficulties only, but extend to affect family relationships and the roles of individuals in them, confirming the study's expectations about the diversity of language use among individuals based on their proficiency and the communication context. The results indicate that bilingualism has both positive and negative effects on the formation of children's cultural identity, with some children experiencing dual affiliation, while others lean toward a single cultural identity. For example, one child stated, "I feel more Jordanian because I live here and speak Arabic all the time," indicating the influence of the surrounding environment on cultural identity. In the other side, another child expressed a strong connection to Russian culture, saying, "I like being part of both cultures, but I feel Russian when I'm with my mom and her family" which might suggest that maternal influence plays a crucial role in maintaining cultural ties.

To explore these identity patterns further, children aged 8 to 12, with varying levels of language proficiency, were asked to draw their typical day, indicating whom they communicate with and in what language. They were also asked to illustrate their vacation time, identifying their interactions and the language used. Data analysis revealed that children who spent more time with their Russian-speaking mothers and visited Russia frequently demonstrated a stronger attachment to Russian culture, whereas those more immersed in Jordanian society and Arabic-dominant settings identified more closely with Jordanian culture.

Regarding heritage language status, the mothers can be considered native Russian speakers, but their proficiency in Arabic varies. The children, however, can be classified as heritage speakers of Russian, as they acquire it at home from their mothers but do not necessarily use it as their dominant language in social and educational settings. Their Russian proficiency depends on the extent of exposure and practice, with some maintaining strong bilingual abilities and others showing signs of language attrition due to Arabic dominance in their daily lives. For example, one girl said, "I love being part of both cultures, but I feel Russian when I'm with my mother and her family."

The results showed that bilingualism affects the nature of family relationships in different ways. Some parents indicated that the language

difference can sometimes cause misunderstandings between spouses, with one saying, "Sometimes there are misunderstandings between me and my wife because some words have different meanings in our cultures." Some children also indicated that language serves as a bridge to communication with both sides of the family, with one participant saying, "I like that I can speak Arabic with my dad's family and Russian with my mom's family. I feel like I'm part of both worlds."

Based on these results, it can be said that bilingualism within Jordanian-Russian families is a complex experience that is affected by several factors, such as each individual's level of proficiency in both languages, daily interaction patterns, and cultural orientations. The study showed that bilingualism is not just a means of communication, but rather an important element in shaping identity, belonging, and family interaction.

These results emphasize the importance of providing a supportive environment that helps children develop their skills in both languages, taking into account the challenges that may arise as a result of linguistic variation within the family. The study also recommends the need to enhance parents' understanding of the impact of bilingualism on their children, and to encourage educational methods that balance the two languages in order to preserve cultural heritage and enhance effective communication within the family.

Discussion

This study revealed the complexities of bilingualism within Jordanian-Russian families. Data collected through interviews, participant observation, and language diaries showed that the experience of living in a bilingual environment goes beyond the use of two different languages to its profound impact on family relationships, cultural identity, and everyday social interaction. While some participants believed that multilingualism was an advantage that gave children the opportunity to acquire broad language skills and enhance their cultural understanding, others felt that it could lead to difficulties in communicating and adapting within the wider community, especially when there was a disparity in the proficiency of the two languages among family members.

One striking aspect that emerged from the analysis was the difference in the use of the two languages within the family. It was found that children tended to use Arabic at school and with friends, while they relied on Russian to communicate with their mother, making Arabic the language of the public sphere and Russian the language of the private sphere within the home. However, this pattern was not consistent, as some children were observed to prefer speaking Arabic even to their Russian mothers, raising questions about the ability of a non-Arab parent to maintain their mother tongue in an Arabic-dominant environment.

The results indicated that inter-sentential code-switching dominated, as children frequently switched between Arabic and Russian within the same sentence, particularly when expressing complex concepts. For example, one child mentioned starting a sentence in Arabic and finishing it in Russian due to the perceived depth of meaning certain words carry in each language. Additionally, situational code-switching was evident, as children adapted their language use to match their parents' proficiency levels, often switching languages to ensure better understanding within the family context. As for the Jordanian fathers, they used this approach in specific situations such as joking, expressing feelings of affection, or giving quick instructions, reflecting the dynamic nature of communication within these families.

Although many participants saw multilingualism as an advantage, the challenges it posed were clear. Some Russian mothers expressed frustration at feeling unable to clearly communicate their feelings to their children due to their poor command of the Arabic language. The children themselves also had difficulty communicating with extended family members on the Russian side, especially grandparents who did not speak Arabic. This created a communication gap that affected the depth of the relationship between different generations within the family, as one child said: "I love my grandparents, but when we visit them, I don't understand much of what they say, so I stay silent most of the time."

An important theme extracted from the data was the role of language in shaping cultural identity. The study showed that some children felt a strong sense of belonging to Jordanian culture, especially since they live in a predominantly Arab environment, while others felt that they had a dual

identity, seeing themselves as part of both Russian and Jordanian cultures. This division was evident in the children's language diaries, as one child wrote: "I am Jordanian because I live here, but when I speak Russian with my mother, I feel like a slightly different person." On the other hand, some children indicated that they face a kind of confusion in determining their identity, as they do not feel a complete belonging to either culture, indicating that bilingualism may create a state of cultural alienation for some individuals.

With regard to family relationships, it was found that the difference in language level between spouses may sometimes lead to misunderstandings, especially when the father's Russian is weak, or when the mother's Arabic is not proficient. Some spouses indicated that this affects the way they express their feelings, as one participant said: "I sometimes feel that I cannot accurately communicate my thoughts to my husband, because he does not understand all the details that I try to explain in Russian." Conversely, some spouses indicated that this linguistic difference has enhanced their new ways of communicating based on non-verbal expression, gestures, and everyday situations that help them understand each other without the need for many words.

In addition to its impact on marital relationships, the study revealed that bilingualism has direct effects on the relationship between parents and children. In some cases, the weakness of one of the two languages in one of the parents reduced the opportunities for emotional communication between him and his children, which made the relationship between the child and the parent who speaks his language fluently stronger and more open. Some Russian mothers also expressed their concern that their children might move away from their original culture due to the influence of the surrounding environment that promotes the use of Arabic at the expense of Russian.

On the other hand, the participant observation revealed that language was not the only factor affecting family dynamics, but that the socio-economic context also played a role. Some families living in conservative Jordanian communities faced greater challenges in maintaining the Russian language, compared to families living in more open and culturally diverse environments. Moreover, families with educational resources that supported the teaching of Russian, such as books, films, and regular trips to Russia, were able to promote

bilingualism more effectively than families without such resources.

Based on these findings, it is clear that bilingualism within Jordanian-Russian families is not just a linguistic issue, but rather a complex experience that affects identity, belonging, and family relationships. Despite the challenges that accompany this phenomenon, there are significant opportunities that can be exploited to support children in developing their linguistic and cultural skills. Therefore, educational programs directed at bilingual families, in addition to community initiatives that support cultural diversity, can contribute to creating an environment that helps children achieve a balance between the two languages and cultures, which enhances their sense of belonging and communication within and outside the family.

Finally, this study confirms that bilingualism within the family is not just a linguistic condition, but rather a social and cultural phenomenon with multiple dimensions, which requires further research to understand its long-term effects. The biggest challenge may be how to achieve a balance that allows children to benefit from both languages, without feeling pressured to choose one cultural identity over the other.

Conclusion

This study shows that bilingualism within Jordanian-Russian families is not merely a linguistic phenomenon, but a complex experience in which cultural, social, and psychological factors intertwine—profoundly influencing family relationships and the formation of identity and belonging. By analyzing the linguistic patterns within these families, it becomes clear that language is not only a tool for communication, but also a means of reshaping family ties and negotiating multiple cultural identities within an environment where the Arab and Russian heritages are mixed. The nature of the use of Arabic and Russian in these families varies according to a set of factors, including the extent to which each individual is proficient in the other's language, the influence of the social environment, and the extent to which the parents are determined to pass on their language and culture to the new generations.

A striking aspect of the study is that children often find themselves in a flexible linguistic situation that allows them to move between the two

languages according to the context and the person they are speaking to, which makes them adopt a variety of linguistic strategies ranging from code-switching and mixing vocabulary from the two languages to choosing one language over the other based on the situation. Although some children show the ability to speak both languages easily, others face challenges related to the imbalance in their proficiency in both languages, which may have an impact on their communication with a parent or with extended family members in the other country. In addition, the child's surrounding environment plays a major role in shaping his or her language usage patterns, as children are influenced by the requirements of the school community, their peers and colleagues more than they are influenced by the parents' desire to promote a particular language at home.

Perhaps one of the most prominent challenges facing these families is finding a balance between preserving the Russian language and culture, on the one hand, and integrating into Jordanian society, on the other—a tension that prompts some families to adopt educational strategies aimed at promoting bilingualism in their children. However, these efforts sometimes face practical difficulties related to the availability of educational resources, such as schools that support the learning of both languages in a balanced manner, or the presence of a social environment that encourages the child to practice the Russian language outside the family setting. Some children also express feelings of confusion in determining their cultural identity, as some feel a stronger sense of belonging to the Arab culture as a result of living in Jordan and daily interaction in the Arabic language, while others see themselves as closer to the Russian culture due to the family and emotional ties that connect them to their mothers and relatives in Russia. This state of cultural hesitation may lead to situations that require the child to provide continuous explanations of their belonging or justify their use of the two languages in front of others, especially in light of the presence of social expectations that may tend to favor one language over the other.

In the same context, the impact of bilingualism on relationships between parents cannot be overlooked, as it requires each party to make an additional effort to understand the language and culture of the other, especially in cases of mixed marriages in which one partner is less familiar with the other's

language. Although some couples find in this linguistic diversity an opportunity to enrich their personal experience and learn about a different culture, some face challenges related to linguistic misunderstandings or cultural differences in expression and communication patterns, which may affect the level of understanding between spouses and the way children are raised. Grandparents and relatives from the Russian side often find it difficult to communicate with grandchildren who grew up in a predominantly Arab environment, which can sometimes lead to some family members feeling emotionally distant due to language barriers.

This study also reflects that language is not only a tool for communication but a key element in building social relationships and enhancing a sense of belonging. For many mothers, Russian is a means of conveying their culture and values to their children, while some Jordanian fathers see Arabic as the primary link between them and their children. While some children try to benefit from their bilingualism by moving between them easily, others find themselves in a situation that requires them to justify their linguistic choices or face social pressures that urge them to prefer one language over the other. This, in turn, raises important questions about the future of these families and the ability of the new generation to maintain a linguistic and cultural balance that ensures they benefit from their linguistic heritage without feeling the burden of difference or the need to prefer one aspect of their identity over the other.

Based on these results, it can be said that bilingualism in Jordanian-Russian families represents a unique experience with multiple dimensions that go beyond merely possessing two languages, where cultural, social and psychological factors intertwine to form a complex reality that requires thoughtful strategies to support children and enable them to benefit from this linguistic diversity without it being a source of anxiety or distraction to their identity. Therefore, promoting an educational environment that allows the child to practice both languages freely and provides them with resources to develop in both languages in a balanced manner is essential to preserving this linguistic and cultural heritage in a positive and sustainable way.

References

Akintayo, O. T., Atobatele, F. A., & Mouboua, P. D. (2024). The dynamics of language shifts in migrant communities: Implications for social integration and cultural preservation. *International Journal of Applied Research in Social Sciences*, *6*(5), 844–860.

Al-Hilalat, H. M. I. (2023). Factors Leading to the Marriage of Jordanian Youth to Foreign Women in the Tourist Areas (Petra as a Model). *Central Asian Journal of Literature, Philosophy and Culture*, *4*(3), 13–25.

Al-Suqayr, Khalid. (2024). Bilingualism and Teaching Arabic as a First and Second Language: Bilingualism and Teaching Arabic as a First and Second Language. *Journal of the Saudi Scientific Association for the Arabic Language*, *(34),* 7–35.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101*.*

Crawford, J. (1995). Endangered native American languages: What is to be done, and why? *Bilingual Research Journal*, *19*(1), 17–38.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage Publications.

De Houwer, A. (2009). *Bilingual first language acquisition*. Multilingual Matters.

De Houwer, A. (2015). Harmonious bilingual development: Young families' well-being in language contact situations. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *19*(2), 169–184.

De Houwer, A. (2020). Harmonious bilingualism: Well-being for families in bilingual settings. In A. C. Schalley & S. A. Eisenchlas, *Handbook of home language maintenance and development: Social and affective factors*, *18,* 63–83.

Duran, L. (1994). Toward a better understanding of code switching and interlanguage in bilinguality: Implications for bilingual instruction. *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, *14*(2), 69–88.

Farahi, D. (2009). Bilingualism: Concepts and Implications. *Al-Makhbar Journal: Research in Algerian Language and Literature*, *6*(1), 281–288.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Multilingual Matters.

Giles, H. (1977). *Language, ethnicity, and intergroup relations*. Academic Press.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality*. Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press.

Hoff, E. (2006). How social contexts support and shape language development. *Developmental Review*, *26*(1), 55–88.

King, K. A., & Fogle, L. W. (2013). Family language policy and bilingual parenting. *Language Teaching*, *46*(2), 172–194.

Kowalska, B. (2017). The dream of citizenship: mixed marriages in Jordan: challenges, obstacles and struggles. *Studia Migracyjne*, *166,* 183–199.

Lanza, E. (2007). Multilingualism and the family. *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication, 5,* 45–68.

Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (Eds.). (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages,* 62. Multilingual Matters.

Musleh, C. S. (2024). *Practices and influencing factors of code switching among Russian Arabic bilinguals in Jordan* [Master's thesis, Middle East University, Jordan].

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for code-switching: Evidence from Africa*. Clarendon Press.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching, 44*(4), 412–446.

Place, S., & Hoff, E. (2011). Properties of dual language exposure that influence 2-year-olds' bilingual proficiency. *Child Development, 82*(6), 1834–1849.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, *18*(7–8), 581–618.

Shin, S. J. (2017). *Bilingualism in schools and society: Language, identity, and policy*. Routledge.

Wei, L. (2018). *Translanguaging as a practical theory of language*. *Applied Linguistics, 39*(1), 9–30.

Zakaria, N., & Ab Rahman Muton, N. (2022). Cultural code-switching in high context global virtual team members: A qualitative study. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 22*(3), 487–515.

Zano, K., & Sibanda, J. (2024). Code-switching-normal oversight on the part of bilingual speakers: A review of literature. *International Journal of Research in Business & Social Science, 13*(7), 500–507.

Omar Mohammad-Ameen Ahmad Hazaymeh
Al-Balkos taikomųjų mokslų universitetas, Jordanija
Al-Husono universitetinė kolegija, Jordanija
omar1972@bau.edu.jo

DVIKALBYSTĖ JORDANIJOJE GYVENANČIŲ JORDANIEČIŲ IR RUSŲ MIŠRIOSE ŠEIMOSE IR JOS POVEIKIS NARIŲ BENDRAVIMUI

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjama dvikalbystė Jordanijoje – mišriose jordaniečių ir rusų šeimose; daugiausia dėmesio skiriama dvikalbystės poveikiui, sąveikai, kultūriniam identitetui ir kasdieniam bendravimui. Taikant kokybinį metodą – interviu, dalyvių stebėjimą ir kalbos dienoraščius – išanalizuoti kalbos vartojimo šeimoje modeliai. Rezultatai parodė, kad dažniausiai pasitaikanti strategija buvo sakinio kodų kaita, kai vaikai tame pačiame sakinyje kaitaliojo arabų ir rusų kalbas. Ši strategija dera su Ekvivalentiškumo apribojimo teorija, teigiančia, kad kodų kaita vyksta ten, kur abiejų kalbų gramatinės struktūros sutampa. Pavyzdžiui, vaikas pradėjo sakinį arabų kalba, o baigė rusų kalba dėl to, kad tam tikri žodžiai abiejose kalbose turi gilesnę prasmę. Be to, buvo pastebėtas situacinis kodų keitimas, kai vaikai pritaikė savo kalbą atsižvelgdami į kontekstą, ypač derindamiesi prie skirtingo tėvų kalbos mokėjimo lygio; tai atspindi Komunikacijos pritaikymo teoriją. Tyrimu taip pat nustatyta, kad dvikalbystė daro didelę įtaką vaikų kultūrinio tapatumo formavimuisi: vieni vaikai išsiugdo dvigubą tapatumą, kiti yra linkę išlaikyti vieną kultūrinį tapatumą. Pavyzdžiui, vaikai, gyvenantys visuomenėje ir aplinkoje, kurioje dominuoja arabų kalba, labiau tapatinosi su Jordanijos kultūra, o vaikai, kurių ryšiai su rusakalbėmis motinomis buvo glaudesni ir kurie dažnai lankėsi Rusijoje, palaikė glaudesnį ryšį su rusų kultūra. Tyrime pabrėžiami iššūkiai, su kuriais susiduria rusakalbės motinos, norėdamos išlaikyti gimtąją kalbą namuose, bet suprasdamos dvikalbystei palankios aplinkos svarbą. Straipsnio autoriai rekomenduoja išsamiau aiškinti tėvams apie dvikalbystės poveikį jų vaikams, skatinti subalansuotus ugdymo metodus, skirtus integruotam kalbos plėtojimui, ir kurti švietimo išteklius, padedančius Jordanijoje mokytis rusų kalbos kartu su arabų kalba.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dvikalbystė; jordaniečių ir rusų šeimos; kultūrinis tapatumas; sąveika šeimoje; kalbų kaita.

Angelica Peccini
Vilnius University, Lithuania

A PRISM OF IDENTITIES IN MOTION: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND *SELF-REFLECTION* IN IMMIGRANT WOMEN THROUGH THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE

Abstract. Whilst the social integration and sociolinguistic state of Lithuania's largest national and ethnic minorities have received considerable academic attention in recent decades, studies on first-generation adult immigrants from all over the world have primarily discussed their challenges, motivations, and attitudes towards the Lithuanian language or learning it. However, a holistic investigation into first-generation adult immigrants' *self-reflection* on their migration story, identity development, and interpersonal relationships through the Lithuanian language is currently overlooked. The article aims to explore language attitudes and identity as intertwined elements in first-generation adult immigrants' understanding of themselves and Lithuanian society. Ten first-generation adult immigrant women were recruited for a pilot study and completed a questionnaire consisting of four sections: personal biography, language repertoire, Lithuanian language learning, and identity in transformation. Then, they participated in semi-structured interviews to share memories and future projections. Language attitudes are discussed in the article following the theoretical framework of three dimensions: cognitive, affective, and behavioral attitudes. The data show that the Lithuanian language is necessary to feel integrated and show respect to the country, however, the process of reevaluation of identity requires not only the learner's efforts but also the encouragement of a supportive network of peers and relatives. Overall attitudes are positive, and learning Lithuanian, together with codifying cultural constructs, helps achieve the women's feeling of personal independence to function in society as active citizens, not as temporary guests. Experiences with the COVID-19 outbreak, the importance of using digital learning tools, and the role of the acquired family are some of the factors influencing the development of new identities that emerged as a result of the research.

Keywords: identity; language attitudes; Lithuanian language; migration; oral narratives.

Literature Review

The societal structure of Lithuania, as any other multicultural nation, encompasses the country's major national group, other smaller national

minorities, and immigrants; the composition is the result of socio-economic developments in Lithuania since the restoration of its independence established in 1990. According to the latest published governmental statistics of the *2021 Population and Housing Census*, 15.4% of the population in Lithuania is not ethnically Lithuanian (Statistics Dissemination and Communication Division of Statistics Lithuania, 2021). When examining the ethnic makeup of the population, among the largest historically ethnic minorities are Poles, Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians. Furthermore, around 16,200 "people of other ethnicities" (p. 13) dominate the lower end of the results. Although the final figures may be the results of incomplete information or irrelevant for public disclosure, they signify a considerable number of individuals whose ethnic identity or nationality remains unknown. The missing information, consequently, challenges the study of immigrants' integration and language learning, and a potential societal change in Lithuania is overlooked. The largest national minority groups in Lithuania have been extensively investigated over the past two decades from a sociological perspective, especially by the Department of Ethnic Studies at the Institute of Sociology at the Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences (see, for example, *Ethnicity Studies* by Pilinkaitė-Sotirovič & Šliavaitė, 2012) and from a (socio)linguistic perspective (see the collective monographs *Cities and Languages* by Ramonienė, 2010, 2013).

The current situation of immigrants and refugees in Lithuania provides a foundation for exploring the reasons of inbound mobility, immigration policies and practices in the country, and in literature several studies explore related topics. Despite the significant collection of data, primarily through surveying and semi-structured interviews, participants seem to be mainly non-EU or with refugee status. For instance, researchers have examined refugees in Lithuania regarding their access to social assistance among women granted asylum (Užkurienė, 2008), their relation to health care in the host country (Bartušienė, 2011), perceived societal attitudes towards vulnerable Muslim women (Jakucevičienė, 2022), and developed social networks through media communities to seek help among Ukrainian women refugees after the Russian invasion in 2022 (Pavlova et al., 2023). In the studies, the relationship between the refugees and the host country was analyzed; nonetheless, an investigation into personal stories within a case study engaging a diverse group of immigrant

people is needed to broaden the discussion on immigrants in Lithuania. As outlined previously, studies on immigrants in Lithuania primarily focused on the social conditions of refugees; however, some insights into Lithuanian language learning were also provided. In a 2009 research on non-EU immigrants, half of the respondents reported that they did not comprehend Lithuanian, yet they were aware of possible negative reactions from the society, as they lacked language skills (Beresnevičiūtė et al., 2009). In the case of Russian and Afghan refugees, the Lithuanian language was described as *difficult* due to its complex grammar and, unfortunately, the one-year integration program at the municipalities was insufficient for learning the national language well enough to seek and obtain better financial opportunities in the country (Muravina, 2012). Other studies, involving both students learning Lithuanian and adults found that (socio)linguistic competence and *personal motivation* play a key role (Kubś & Michałowska-Kubś, 2020; Ramonaitė, 2020; Zygmantas, 2011). Non-native Lithuanian speakers in Kaunas showed positive attitudes towards the Lithuanian language, seeing it as useful for work and social interaction (Urbaitytė, 2018). However, immigrants living in Vilnius and Klaipėda counties did not perceive Lithuanian as necessary compared to Russian or English, and they only began to speak and appreciate it when they wanted to *feel* part of society (Ramonaitė in Hilbig et al., 2023). While previous studies have explored motivation, ethnicity, and language learning, limited scholarly attention has been given to adult immigrants' understanding of *the self* in migration through the Lithuanian language. Therefore, this article addresses the following research question: Which topics related to their identities do first-generation adult immigrants find relevant when reflecting on their migration experience and their encounter with the Lithuanian language?

Language Attitudes in Sociolinguistics

Considered the father of sociolinguistics, William Labov suggested in the early 1970s that research should move beyond assessing linguistic performance alone to investigating linguistic competence, stressing the importance of speakers' experiences in the learning process and in social

contexts (Labov, 1972). An effective framework to analyze the experience of language learners or speakers is by measuring their *language attitudes*. As stated by Garrett (2010), language attitudes can be defined as the perception and opinion on a language or its features and are traditionally categorized into three components: *cognitive* (the beliefs system), *affective* (emotions), and *behavioral* (practical actions). When analyzing the three aspects, similarities shall not be predicted to agree, as actions may differ from thoughts and *vice versa*. In this article, direct measures such as a written questionnaire and *oral narratives* collected through semi-structured interviews were coded based on four parts presented in the next chapter. In sociological and sociolinguistic research, oral narratives and biographies support self-reflexivity and reveal interesting aspects of immigrants' identities. As per Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), *identities* are the way people categorize themselves, and through oral interaction, identities are positioned, and thus negotiated. Indeed, working with language attitudes involves working with people, and researchers shall consider selecting the most appropriate strategies, which limit the *observer's paradox* in the data collection and analysis processes. It is important to emphasize that researchers must be aware that they may have potential influence not only during data collection but also in the interpretation of data, where unconscious bias may lead to interpretations aligned with the desired outcomes. In this study, the author—herself an immigrant—was aware of this challenge and drew on personal experience to contextualize the questions and discuss real-life problems. The narratives were coded and summarized analytically as discussed in the next chapter.

Methodological Framework

The article aims to discuss the identity of ten first-generation immigrant women living in Lithuania. The data presented are the results of a pilot test conducted to assess the reliability of a methodological design, and it was launched in spring 2023. Sampling the population started with the author's network, but it also attracted additional participants who joined the study through calls disseminated via online social networks. Developing

a questionnaire for descriptive statistics, completing the interviews for qualitative analysis, and transcribing the data took approximately four months. The online questionnaire in English presented around 60 open, closed, and Likert-scale questions covering four parts: personal biography, language repertoire, Lithuanian language learning, and identity in transformation. Around 8 hours of semi-structured interviews in English were digitally recorded and transcribed following an adaptation of the Lancaster Spoken Language Transcription Guidelines (Gablasova et al., 2019) with added metadata, including ethnographic notes from observing the interview setting, and personal impressions from the author. The interviews were designed to position the interviewee within an imaginative timeline of memories and future projections. The transcribed texts underwent a content-based analytical approach, in which coding was employed to identify and summarize themes relevant to the research question.

The responses related to Lithuanian language learning shed light on immigrants' language attitudes, whilst the remaining responses contribute to the narrative of each immigrant's perception of the *self*. It is assumed that different levels and uses of the language, together with their attitudes, can enrich the sociolinguistic analysis of contemporary Lithuania and broaden the discussion of identity change in migration. In selecting participants, individuals born or raised in Lithuania and belonging to national minorities in the country— whose identities have been vastly covered in literature—were deliberately excluded. Instead, the study involved immigrants from countries within and beyond Europe. All respondents provided written consent to be recorded and to have their stories disseminated with accurate anonymization and guaranteed confidentiality.

Results and Discussion

The following section presents data extracted both from the questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews. As shown in Table 1, all participants self-identified as women and were biologically female, yet the group is varied in age (between 29 and 61 years), country of origin (Egypt, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Turkey, Ukraine, U.S.) years spent

in Lithuania (between 2015 and 2023) and self-reported Lithuanian language competence (basic, independent, fluent). They moved to Lithuania after the country's accession to the European Union in 2004, do not have any Lithuanian origin, and might have visited Lithuania before it adopted the Euro in 2015, but eventually settled down after that. Out of 10 women, 5 are in a relationship with a Lithuanian male partner, 1 has a newborn child, and 2 have grown-up children with a non-Lithuanian partner. Their language repertoire is worth noting: they all share an incredible bilingual or multilingual background. Within this plurality of languages, Lithuanian is the latest language they have learned or are immersed in. As reported in the questionnaire, on average, they started to learn the Lithuanian language as soon as they moved to the country and the learning process lasted between 1 and 8 years. For half of the group, Lithuania is the first country to relocate abroad, whilst the other half has already experienced living abroad between 2 and 4 years. The participants are listed in Table 1 in chronological order according to their year of relocation in Lithuania.

Table 1

Biographical Data about the Participants N=10

Pseudonym	Age	Civil status	Child	Country of origin	L1	L2	L3	Year of arrival	Relocated abroad for the first time	City of residency	Level of Lithuanian language (self-reported)
Himari	33	Single	-	Japan	Japanese	English	Spanish, German	2015	No	Kaunas	Basic
Olivia	61	Married to a Lithuanian	1	U.S.	English	French	Spanish, Russian, German	2015	Yes	Kaunas	Independent
Maria	31	Single	-	Ukraine	Ukrainian	English	Russian, Italian	2016	Yes	Kaunas	Fluent
Sofia	45	Married to a Mexican	2	Mexico	Spanish	English	French	2018	No	Kaunas	Basic
Aya	29	Single	-	Egypt	Arabic	English	French	2019	Yes	Kaunas	Independent
Bhavika	30	Married to a Lithuanian	-	India	Tamil, Hindi	English		2019	Yes	Kaunas	Basic
Zeynep	32	Married to a Lithuanian	-	Turkey	Turkish	English		2019	No	Vilnius	Independent
Rosa	29	Married to a Lithuanian	-	Peru	Spanish	English	French, Japanese	2020	No	Kaunas	Fluent
Klara	33	Partnered with a Lithuanian	1	Germany	German	English		2021	No	Vilnius	Basic
Vittoria	61	Married to an Italian	-	Italy	Italian	English		2022	Yes	Kaunas	Basic

Language Use and Attitudes towards the Lithuanian Language

All women have higher education or a university degree and are fluent in between two and four languages, excluding Lithuanian. They are all

employed in the private or public sector, except for Olivia, who is a retiree, and Vittoria, who is a freelancer. As shown in Table 1, a significant factor can be observed: despite similar years of arrival or age, various levels of Lithuanian are achieved. A longer period lived in Lithuania does not guarantee an extended time dedicated to learning the language. Some women who have been living in Lithuania for a short period seem to have reached a higher proficiency level than those who moved before. Having a rich multilingual background and linguistic sensibility seems to be a *catalyst* to acquiring Lithuanian easily. Maria, Aya, Rosa, Olivia, and Zeynep, whose language proficiency ranges from independent to fluent demonstrated enthusiasm for speaking foreign languages and showed comparison examples during the interview. Among all, Zeynep is the only respondent having a negative attitude towards Lithuanian, as she dislikes its grammar and does not see any positive applications of the language in the global economy.

The women's L1 serves as a communicative bridge to stay in contact with the family of origin (80%) yet, none of them rarely use it regularly in education, local cultural activities, or in governmental institutions and public administration in Lithuania. Very often or sometimes, L1 turns into a passive activity of using social media, blogs, online podcasts (80%) and reading online or paper magazines/newspapers (60%). L2, mainly indicated as English, connects them with neighbors and friends (80%), it is used at work (90%), in education (60%), during cultural activities (80%) and helps them navigate the public administration (60%). The languages listed under L3 are limited in their use and, similar to L1, serve as a passive tool for personal hobbies, following the news, or social media. From the perspective of maintaining one's L1, the risk of not actively practicing it and replacing it with English or Lithuanian may lead not only to a potential *language attrition* or loss, but also to disconnection from their cultural identity, which may already be influenced by their lifestyle in the host country. As shown in Figure 1, on average, most of the respondents have positive attitudes towards Lithuanian, as they find it both *useful* (cognitive dimension) and *beautiful* (emotional dimension). As for its application, results show contrasting trends: Lithuanian is not *easy* (behavioral dimension), which confirms the results presented in previous investigations (Kubś & Michałowska-Kubś, 2020; Ramonaitė, 2020; Zygmantas, 2011). Those

two women who agree or partially agree that Lithuanian is easy are language lovers with a major in education or linguistics, and it is thought that their comment may be the result of having developed learning strategies to overcome second language acquisition challenges.

All the respondents who live in Kaunas, a city whose Lithuanian ethnic composition is around 96.2%, acknowledge the usefulness of the Lithuanian language. where immigrants may find themselves in circumstances requiring exclusive communication in Lithuanian. As a result, they are often encouraged to learn the language and use it regularly. However, doubts come from the respondents living in Vilnius, a more multicultural and multilingual city with around 70.4% of Lithuanian population and a higher percentage of other ethnicities, such as Poles, Russians, and Belarusians. Considering that the Lithuanian capital city has a more heterogeneous society, the preference of English or Russian as *lingua franca* may prevail over Lithuanian. Such phenomenon can be observed in Vilnius and Klaipėda counties, where some immigrants might prioritize English or Russian while only acquiring a basic variety of Lithuanian to meet their practical needs (Ramonaitė, 2020).

Figure 1

Attitudes towards the Lithuanian Language
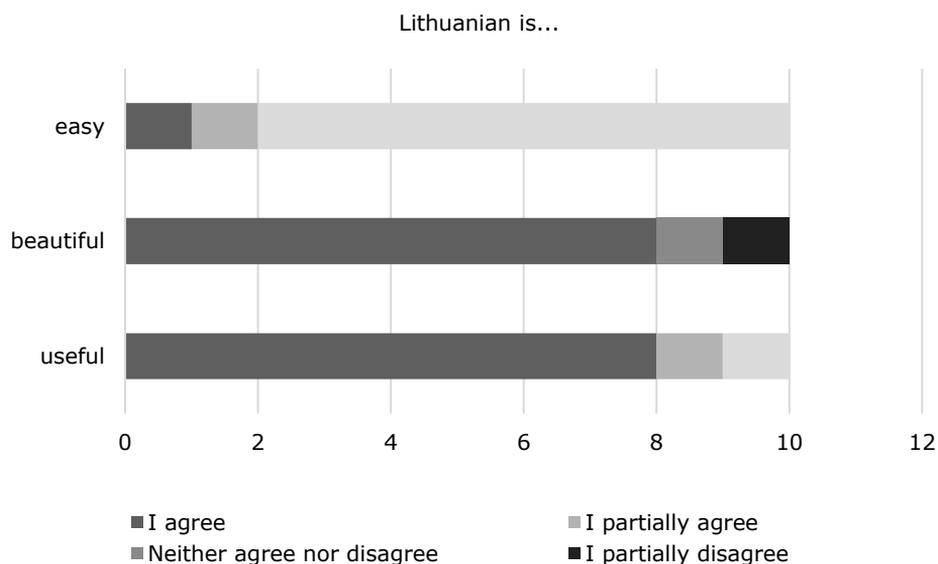
Learning the Lithuanian Language

The process of learning Lithuanian does not begin at the same time for everyone. Some women, in preparation for their move to Lithuania, started to learn basic words either independently or with the help of their Lithuanian partner. When examining immigrants' attitudes towards the Lithuanian language, it is fundamental to recognize that their first encounter with the language may not necessarily begin once they migrate to the host country; it could begin prior to their arrival in the host country. However, as far as active learning is concerned, women decided to attend courses after settling down in Lithuania. When looking for Lithuanian language courses, they found formal classes, usually held by recognized language institutes or professional and qualified instructors trained at the university, and informal learning solutions with either language specialists or volunteers adopting a peer-to-peer approach. Professional instructors are considered a key to guaranteed learning and engagement in small groups or one-to-one classes, as they know how to organize lectures and use relevant learning resources:

> I was happy because we were really lucky because *this teacher was a real teacher* <unclear> with *proper education* because some of my friends who went according to this volunteering program to other countries they faced another experience, for example, they had classes of course of the local language, but the teachers were volunteers like, I mean usual people who just helped foreigners to learn local language, and we in Kaunas, *we had a real professional teacher*. (Maria, Ukraine)

> Yes, one-to-one *teacher*, but not for like a three months less than three months. And not every day. […] Some printed out forms and yeah, it *was based on a book*. […] Yeah, it was hard for me, you know, because it was hard as we were getting involved in the language. (Sofia, Mexico)

Instead, volunteers may not have enough resources to manage free classes, and quality is influenced by factors such as the number of students or lack of training:

I went to course, but *it was very crowded* not much attention. […] we were twenty-twenty people around something like that and you know in language courses you need to practice *you need to have time* you need to speak, teacher has to listen you something - something but we didn't have chance. […] it was face to face at the beginning then they turn to online and especially online *I lost my interest you know*. (Zeynep, Turkey)

Amateur tutoring presents similar challenges. Language exchanges or local friends involved in explaining complex grammar rules of the language can be appealing, but being a native speaker does not imply excelling in linguistic skills, nor does it mean replacing a language teacher:

Well, I asked maybe. Two or three friends to do so, and then we had the three-or four-times lessons in total, like for each person, but those kind of informal tutoring problems were. And like the *lack of the knowledge* like, because even they could manage Lithuanian language, *it was very hard for them like to explain* why and how that the grammar goes so. (Himari, Japan)

Mediatization in Learner-Oriented Language Teaching

Lithuanian is one of the most recent languages they have learned, which means that a more modern and learner-oriented teaching could have been adopted. For example, in the last 5 years, songs and videos have mainly been used in language teaching, and they seem to have been positively appreciated:

…she was taking us to these like sides of like the city and explaining to us that this is called an <foreign=alija> [alėja; avenue], this is called <foreign=skveres> [skveras; square]. So, the class *was not all the time theoretical*. It was like *game-based and media-based* and that has kind of facilitated the learning experience for us. […] more *interactive* way and that has introduced the language for me as a kind

of a mean of communication rather than a theoretical language that I have to pass a test for you know, yeah. (Aya, Egypt)

It was always-always *interactive classes* with many with a lot of practice. Always interactive with *listening Lithuanian music, Lithuanian songs, very interactive*. And since we were only three people, sometimes even two sometimes four huh, we were really happy to have this full-full-full *involvement and engagement*, let's say. So, I'm-I'm very happy about it. (Maria, Ukraine)

No, we actually did start face-to-face, but we had like three four classes and then the lockdown came on. So, we continued online. […] We had *some videos sometimes*, but it was mainly theoretical. We were mainly based on what the-the book lessons. […] I also took some like private classes also. But just speaking online as well. […] She did use a lot of like *multimedia*. […] So, it-it was interesting because it was more applied, there was more bits I would say of like *current culture Lithuanian culture* and so on, so that that I really enjoyed. (Rosa, Peru)

On the other hand, reflecting on previous experiences from early 2010, one woman struggled to learn the language properly, as the teacher failed to provide clear explanations in a language that was understood by all:

Those classes *were not really interactive*, of course, like a teacher always like a gave us some like a speaking task or practice. […] And one teacher was not speaking English very well and then *I really did not understand what she was trying to say*, so I asked many questions to my friends and then they helped me and also sometimes *she explains the grammar based on the Russian grammars*. (Himari, Japan)

Some of the participants moved quite shortly before the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, which set an additional challenge in early adaptation and Lithuanian language learning. At that stage, it was challenging to learn the language in an in-class environment and practice it naturally in a serene

context conducive to integration. Online classes were soon available; nevertheless, such solutions were not favorable. Bhavika and Zeynep say:

> I did go for a three-week course out of which like one and a half week… […] So I have downloaded all the videos, and I have not watched it yet. As […] but I feel like *online class is something not for me*. I could easily drift off, put off my camera… […] I don't think I am built for going to an online class. (Bhavika, India)

> You need high motivation and if it is online […] I don't know *I cannot focus*. (Zeynep, Turkey)

Solutions for Self-taught Learning of Lithuanian

Some women could not attend courses or find suitable solutions to their needs. Under these circumstances, alternative strategies reflect their current lifestyle and cognitive abilities, such as using textbooks, apps, or interacting with people from their job or neighborhood:

> I have *no institutional language*. Everything I've taught I've learned is *self-taught*. […] So, from books I do have quite a few books, but *I have never been to any Lithuanian classes*. […] to get out to the county does not permit me, and especially at nighttime, does not permit me to be able to go and participate in anything that would be productive. Most classes that I've seen are like at five or seven o'clock. (Olivia, U.S.)

> But language is something that I struggle with that *I cannot learn from books and theory*. I think it would be something that I would like to learn, very practical and not just have you know these. *I did have these words written down* like alphabetically and like for a is as in Apple a is an Ant like that it was in Lithuanian. (Bhavika, India)

> […] from the interviews, *from the meeting with other people* who were speaking just Lithuanian, and *I am listening to the to the people*

speaking. So, I understand some-some words. […] Just a very simple conversation I don't know, about coffee, about tea and for-for food or with my neighbors about weather. (Vittoria, Italy)

I hear my partner speaking Lithuanian with my kid, and then it's why I'm asking like, oh, what is this? What's this word? What does that mean? Or something like that. So, I'm at least picking up like a few words. […] *I was starting with an app* which I, which I found that was like kind of maybe-maybe that could be a thing because *I can do it in my own time*. […] Now *I also often read books Lithuanian books to my child* sometimes I have like a book where you press the button and then it's reading for you. So, I-I can read this with the lines. And then *I ask my partner what it means* then I kind of you know, like, learn how it's like pronounced different words. (Klara, Germany)

A Supportive Network is Key to Integration

Encouragement and motivation in learning come from several domains. The priority of learning is for one's *personal development*, which may be justified by the surrounding environment. In one case, learning is seen as an investment for the future, but in some job positions, Lithuanian is not necessary:

But if we are going to stay for more years, I think I should be. *Pushing myself to improve*. But the point is that I don't even work in the environment that-that the people talking Lithuanian when that's the other point. (Sofia, Mexico)

In another instance, colleagues are happy to interact in Lithuanian:

For me it was, probably the reason I learned the most Lithuanian was because *my coworkers pushed me to it*. Which at the beginning I was a bit shocked maybe about. Because, like, why are you talking to me in Lithuanian, they know I'm a foreigner, right? But after that, *I was super thankful*. (Rosa, Peru)

Both the partner and family provide great support in language learning:

> I mean, *my husband does encourage me* and from the very beginning he was like the-the main like, oh, *you should take classes* and <unclear> like look I saw this teacher and so on. (Rosa, Peru)
> My partner *is always encouraging* me also, because like, he says, like, oh, even when you say it, like in your funny accent or not the correct way like people just appreciate that you try. (Klara, Germany)

> But my parents-in-law, yes. [...] They every time I see them, which is like twice a month, the least *they have always been encouraging me to speak in Lithuanian*. They ask me questions in Lithuanian and if I'm like, looking like deer in headlights, they translate it for me, so I understand. (Bhavika, India)

Also, support comes from local friends:

> Every, every, every friend, *all my Lithuanian friends encourage me every time*, every time when we meet. [...] For example, one of my friends he-he wrote a book in Lithuanian, and I was very happy to-to-to-to buy his book and to read it and in Lithuanian and I mean for me it's. [...] Like a big-a big step and also, I appreciate his-his artwork and improve my Lithuanian. (Maria, Ukraine)

Even strangers can contribute to individual's motivation:

> Mother-in-law [...] and relatives [...] and neighbors, and the people the most encouraging, honestly, most encouraging of me have been to the women at <foreign= Šilainių turgus> [market at Šilainiai district]. [...] They're always telling me how wonderful my Lithuanian is. And I'll tell you *the encouragement of those words keeps me going*. Otherwise, I would have gotten frustrated a long time ago. (Olivia, U.S.)

> But *when people find you like knowing some words, they encourage you* to, like, use the rest. So, for example, when I use to go to like

the <foreign=turgus> [market] instead of saying like <foreign=aš norėčiau> [I would like] maybe <foreign=penki šimtai gramo> [penki šimtai gramų; five hundred grams] of something they just were telling me like just say <foreign=pusė kilo> [half a kilo]. (Aya, Egypt)

Based on their experience, they feel motivated to encourage others to learn Lithuanian as well. Among a set of suggested inputs, the most selected categories are friends (40%), partner and/or children (40%), foreign neighbors (30%), course mates (10%), and colleagues (10%). As reported in the questionnaire, women decided to learn Lithuanian for integration purposes, particularly to enhance their social life (80%), respect and sense of curiosity towards Lithuania (60%), better results at work (40%), better results in studies (10%), to support their own child in educational institutions (10%), and to function in society without relying on their partner's assistance (10%). Those women who have an unclear picture of their future life in Lithuania have basic Lithuanian skills. Nevertheless, they know well what they should learn if they decide to start learning soon:

Yeah, I will go one-to-one, but trying to get not theoretical things, *I will try to do more practical things* that I need to learn. (Sofia, Mexico)

I-I think *both classes in person and also some lessons online*. And I think it's important to-to *listen some-some videos or some podcasts* in Lithuanian. But not now, in-in-in second step. (Vittoria, Italy)

Yeah, I found some like *I am going to take an online class* which will be held during summertime this year because I have been interested in the *Lithuanian summer course*, but usually like I spend time like to work in Japan like during summer and then winter vacation. So, like I really, I have missed to-to participate, but my friend told me like *I could take it online* as well. And so, *I applied for that*. (Himari, Japan)

The (Socio)Linguistic Role of Lithuanian Partners

Half of the women's group has a Lithuanian male partner, either married to them or in a relationship. Except for the Turkish participant who met

her husband in Lithuania, others moved to the country together; therefore, love and family projects, among other reasons, motivated them to follow their partners. The decision was taken positively, and for some women, the role of the partner soon changed into a cultural and linguistic mediator to help them navigate Lithuanian society. From family reunions to official documents, the Lithuanian partner becomes a *translator*:

> But I do not speak to my in-laws. It's always like them passing their regards or when they come, they are speaking in Lithuanian and I'm just like standing there and *my husband translates*. (Bhavika, India)

Additionally, partners could be in the position of correcting mistakes like a language editor. For example, Zeynep's husband corrects her Lithuanian expressions, and she remembers vividly how she learned to use them properly for the future:

> One time sometimes my husband said to me <foreign=varyk varyk varyk> [go!] and like go to-to kitchen something-something, one time I said to <foreign=močiutė> [grandmother] <foreign=varyk varyk> [go!] and everybody looked at me very weirdly because <foreign=varyk> [go!] for saying animal for horse like *go fast* or something like that in but in slang like *street language* you can say to your friends something-something but not to <foreign=močiutė> [grandmother], if you use <foreign=jus> [you] to somebody you cannot say <foreign=varyk> [go!] so it was <foreign=močiutė> [grandmother] looked at me like that and husband and <foreign=mama> [mom] said *you need to say like* <foreign=einam> [let's go!] <foreign=ateisit> [you will come] something like that, not <foreign=varyk> [go!]. It is very rude to say, and I felt embarrassed that time, it was bad. (Zeynep, Turkey)

However, receiving corrections or help with Lithuanian does not happen to many. Olivia wishes she could spend more time with her husband practicing the language.

… when he gets off the phone, *he has no desire to listen* to bad Lithuanian. He wants me to speak. Say what I have to say and be done with it. He will help me to a very limited degree, and I do try to talk to him in Lithuanian. But when I start making mistakes, he'll tell me would just-just say it in English, when he doesn't understand. (Olivia, U.S.)

Despite their efforts, taking on the responsibility to help their partner learn the language can create tension within the relationship and it foster psychological dependence on the Lithuanian partner. Such a habit may damage any attempt at self-determination or ruin the well-being of the couple. Learning Lithuanian and the country's customs represent a tool to gain independence from the Lithuanian male partner. Rosa knows that well, in fact, she reports:

The being also dependent on my boyfriend or husband, the because of the language barrier. I didn't understand how things work so. I had to go back to. Okay. *I'm depending on one person. It can be frustrating*. What tools do I need in order to regain *my-my independence*? […] Learn the language. Okay. First thing, *first thing first*, learn the language. Get a job. Just feeling that if anything would happen, I could still, you know, get *through things by myself*. (Rosa, Peru)

New Surnames as Strategies for Inclusion?

Lithuanian surname-taking is a fascinating linguistic practice in the Indo-European language family. Married women can decide to keep their maiden surname or register a new one, which consists of taking their husband's surname and traditionally adding the suffix *-ienė* or *-uvienė* (Ramonienė et al., 2020). Additionally, the recent trend of adding a hyphen to the maiden surname followed by the married one is widely accepted. Without a doubt, it could lead to some misunderstandings internationally. For instance, in India, a married woman's surname should be identical to the husband's one, without any suffixes. As Bhavika says:

One of the things that will-will kind of stop me from people recognizing me as a Lithuanian is that *my name is masculine*, which is <Lithuanian

surname in -as> and anyone who marries is a <Lithuanian surname in
-ienė>, and every time I go to the hospital or like a clinic, and they ask
me my name *they immediately know* that I am not. (Bhavika, India)

Numerous international law acts can collide with one another and cause
hostile situations within the public administration. It is then the choice of
the woman to accept or improve the perception others have about her, as
Zeynep discusses her thinking on changing her surname or not:

But if I'm going to different doctor, it is the hard and could be racist
sometimes. Because before I didn't change my surname before after
marriage. Then we saw that it's not a good idea. Then we change and
now it is a bit better in official centers and hospitals. (Zeynep, Turkey)

Changing the surname may bring additional benefits in daily life and
during emergencies. Being considered Lithuanian perhaps could bring better
job opportunities, and in extreme situations, the surname could be enough to
prove kinship without further documentation, as Rosa believes:

I guess so, I mean. For example, by just my name, if I would be
<Lithuanian surname in -ienė> you will not tell that I am not
Lithuanian. So, it-it could give my chances, I don't know if when it
comes to like *job opportunities* or whatever, maybe. But we also
discussed this when the war started. If the if the borders were closed
or something like that and I had to go back to my country. Unless I
have my marriage certificate, *no one would know that I am married* to
a Lithuanian. (Rosa, Peru)

A Prism of Identities in Motion

Migrating to Lithuania has prompted women to reflect on their present
identities and their journey so far. When asked about their current sense of
self, three primary perspectives emerged. First, some women are aware of
living a new version of themselves, which is given by a new lifestyle, habits,
and, for one woman, motherhood.

… I shouldn't get offended by all these things, because this is the culture, and I need to change myself and now I feel *I have changed myself and made myself acquainted* to how to behave around Lithuanian strangers. (Bhavika, India)

So, if we put it on a scale of like empowerment, then definitely it has risen like before I came here. And after I came here. Why? Because this has given me an access to a new opportunity or many new opportunities and therefore *it has definitely risen the self-confidence level.* (Aya, Egypt)

But I think *more changes came from motherhood* and my-my time how I spend my time, than actually because of the place. (Klara, Germany)

I think I always expected something external to entertain me. And I have *my identity crisis has come in.* You know, if I am by myself and depending on me, what do I need to do to make me content? (Olivia, U.S.)

Second, other women do not perceive a notable change, and maintain a neutral approach to their journey without questioning who they are or who they have become:

No, no*, I feel I adapt*. If I don't speak. I feel like I adapt. Because I look like Lithuanian, you know, so you know, like, *I like this feeling*. (Zeynep, Turkey)

I don't consider myself as a migrant. Let's say, I mean, literally. And according to the documents, let's say, yeah, I am like, I'm working here. Like I'm I have a temporary residence permit but, in my heart, […] I feel myself like a such a traveler […]. (Maria, Ukraine)

… *I do appreciate a lot the fact of being adaptable* […]. I think this like maybe yeah *not that strong identity* just as it is, did help me. Help me

taking other things and. Just being open-minded and just understand that things can be different elsewhere and not doesn't mean that it's better or worse, just *different*. (Rosa, Peru)

I am always curious to discover this country, and I want. I would like to to-to know better people, especially different people, not just single group or other and my curiosity about Lithuania is always big. (Vittoria, Italy)

Third, for two women, living in the country as a minority has solely accentuated cultural differences and strengthened their national or ethnic identity:

We eat the food from here but *that does not change my roots*. You know my identity. It's I know, my kids really know also myself, like myself. That it's-it's we are from Mexico and-and Mexican. (Sofia, Mexico)

Yeah, while living in Lithuania, *my identity as a Japanese person is relatively emphasized* because some people ask me like question asked me to share the opinion *like as a Japanese person*. (Himari, Japan)

Lithuanian: A Gateway to Integration

What does integration mean to immigrants? Those who speak Lithuanian fluently feel positively integrated, as they can express themselves in the society and reclaim independence:

Yes, *I feel very integrated*, yes. […] integration is when I'm really involved in the -*involved in the local community* and I communicate, do-do and do some things with them, activities. […] when we are discussing something, *I can-I can express what I think in Lithuanian* […] and I feel really good of course because of language. (Maria, Ukraine)

Feeling like you are part of the society like that, *you bring some value to it and that the society has also some support for you* in return. […] I do know foreigners that live here for years and don't speak the language. […] If you are always depending on someone else to do those things for you, I don't think you can ever feel fully integrated. You're like an annex, you know, to someone else. Or like always, like a guest. (Rosa, Peru)

Integration is somehow linked to the way the majority treats the minority group. Being fully accepted or not has to do with the extent women understand and are understood:

Now my first goal is to-to learn Lithuanian, and I think when I-I-I have learned a bit Lithuanian I-I can understand better this country <unclear> today. *Integration is when people don't-don't look at me as a foreign*. I am a foreign, of course I am Italian, but for the other people it's not important and I-I-I like when people on in the street. Huh. Ask the ask me some information about the city in Lithuanian. Unfortunately, I-I don't speak Lithuanian. So, I-I hope in in the in the future in the closer future to-to-to have *the opportunity to-to answer to those people that ask me about in Lithuanian.* (Vittoria, Italy)

I knew the local places where the local people go to get their like essentials and essential items and definitely in such places you need to use the language, so it's not only about knowing the place where you get to the item, but *knowing how to get the item from there,* how to sometimes bargain. […] *I'm in the grey zone* because I still feel like as long as I cannot develop a conversation that includes, like, my personal experiences, my opinion and my thoughts and feelings, I still and also understand the other sides. (Aya, Egypt)

Well, I really don't have a very positive image like about that the word itself cause integration the most cases *are forcing the social minorities to become the like the same way like to the majority group*. […] Maybe

I really don't think like I-I could be successfully integrated like in the future, but *it doesn't mean like a very negative way.* (Himari, Japan)

When language skills are missing or lacking, integration is compromised, but together with that, collective values and lifestyle must be shared to really feel a sense of belonging within the Lithuanian community:

To be part of the community. But *for that you need to know the language* and not knowing the language, I don't feel that I am part of the-the community. Honestly, even though I'm trying and sometime. With few words you can see that the people is like, oh, nice, you talk Lithuanian, no I don't talk. I just know a few of words, you know. (Sofia, Mexico)

I don't because I think it's completely age-related <pause=7> I will never. I miss my own holidays. I miss my ways of celebrating my holidays. *I will never be completely comfortable speaking Lithuanian* with Lithuanians because I like to have deep conversations. […] If I had <pause=3> friends relatively available that *I could talk to without having any anxiety and any frustration*, *I would feel integrated*. (Olivia, U.S.)

I believe that *integration is not only speaking same language you need to share your same goal and feelings* also. So, If I could speak Lithuanian, I could understand them, but it doesn't mean *I could be fully integrated* because most of the time I'm not supporting their ideas and thoughts. (Zeynep, Turkey)

So, I think *integration is definitely having a social life* now. […] Yeah, the fact that I don't know Lithuanian plays a very, very negative part in my life because *I can't go up to someone and just have a conversation*. And most of the time, the people that I ride in the cabs with are very friendly and I can't really talk to them, and *I feel not integrated because of these reasons*. (Bhavika, India)

I'm not kind of necessarily bound to anything and I don't feel yet that maybe that's why I miss *missing this feeling of like actually being fully integrated*. […] Integration. *It's a sense of belonging for me*, like kind of to, like integration for me it's not-not just about language, but also like kind of, can, can you *unfold your lifestyle* if that country in that country, with the people there and not just like, for example, with other foreigners, right, like, kind of, but like kind of *being integrated in, in the current society can you can take part of it*. Also voting actually. Actually, also voting for me as a part of integration. (Klara, Germany)

Conclusions

The study sought to explore the role of the Lithuanian language in shaping the identities of ten first-generation immigrant women, which can be positioned in three scenarios: experiencing crisis and adaptation, remaining neutral, or reinforcing one's national roots. In these stages, higher competence in Lithuanian facilitates *integration*, because Lithuanian helps navigate the new culture, gain acceptance in the society, or achieve independence from the partner, who temporarily plays the role of a linguistic mediator.

In response to the research question, it was found that first-generation immigrant women discussed the topics of motherhood and kinship, marriage and surname changes, education, professional careers or retirement, community participation, adaptation, and national identity. Throughout these stages, Lithuanian is present, and those who have basic communication skills are aware of missing an enormous opportunity to feel a sense of belonging in Lithuanian society. Nevertheless, the Lithuanian society seems to react positively when immigrants are speaking the national language and encouragement comes from everybody: family, colleagues, friends, and even strangers. In accordance with the results, the women who self-reported a higher level of Lithuanian language skills are grateful for a supportive network of coworkers, family members and friends, who helped them during their learning journey.

Despite several proficiency levels, *cognitive* and *emotional* attitudes linked to their identity development are overall positive. The *behavioral*

attitudes are positive in recalling the past and projecting the future (almost all the respondents plan to improve some aspects of their Lithuanian), but no proactive actions are found in the present. First-generation adult immigrant women hardly invest in improving their Lithuanian due to commitments at work and challenges in finding flexible language solutions adapted to their lifestyle and integration purposes. Most immigrant women studied Lithuanian through formal learning in accredited schools or with professional teachers and appreciated the use of media resources and innovative approaches oriented to enhance their plurilingual competencies. However, professional teachers should also be involved in improving informal learning, considering the tendencies of immigrants seeking alternative methods, such as language exchanges or digital apps, as well as the prospect of national emergencies like the COVID-19 outbreak.

As for the methodology implied, the results suggest that adopting a mixed-methods approach is necessary because *overt* data from the questionnaire do not fully represent the *covert* attitudes expressed during the semi-structured interviews. This pilot study provides the first steps in further exploring the identities of first-generation adult immigrants in Lithuania. Future research should focus on gathering a larger sample of respondents from all over Lithuania, potentially encompassing a diverse range of genders, cultural backgrounds, and linguistic repertoire.

References

Bartušienė, D. (2011). *The ehnography of asylum: Refugees'experiences with health care in Lithuania*. Vytautas Magnus University.

Beresnevičiūtė, V., Leončikas, T., & Žibas, K. (2009). Migrants' life in Lithuania: Public attitudes and experiences of migrants. *Ethnicity Studies*, *2*, 77–110.

Gablasova, D., Brezina, V., & McEnery, T. (2019). The Trinity Lancaster Corpus: Development, description and application. *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research*, *5*(2), 126–158. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijlcr.19001.gab

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge University Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511844713

Hilbig, I., Jukaitė-Bulbukienė, K., Žurauskaitė, E., & Daraškienė, I. (2023). *Terp taikamosios kalbotėros barų. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys profesorės Meilutės Ramonienės jubiliejui*. Vilnius University Press.

Jakucevičienė, R. (2022). Muslim refugee women as "others" in Lithuania: Applying intersectional approach. *OIKOS: Lietuvių migracijos Ir diasporos studijos*, *2*(34). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7220/2351-6561.34.1

Kubś, J., & Michałowska-Kubś, A. (2020). Motivation of foreigners to learn the Lithuanian language. *Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis*, *5*, 167–195. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22601/PET.2020.05.06

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguist patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Muravina, O. (2012). *Refugee challenges of integration in Lithuania*. Vytautas Magnus University.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Multilingual Matters Ltd. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853596483

Pavlova, O., Rohozha, M., & Maslikova, I. (2023). Media communities of Ukrainian migrant women (Refugees from War) in Lithuania and Germany: Approaches to studying. *Topos*, *2*, 89–115. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61095/1815-0047-2023-2-89-115

Pilinkaitė-Sotirovič, V., & Šliavaitė, K. (2012). *Ethnicity Studies* (1st–2nd ed.). https://lstc.lt/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Etniskumo-studijos_2012_1_2.pdf

Ramonaitė, J. T. (2020). Do I ~~need~~ want to speak? Foreigners in a "small" language country. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, *51*(1), 35–50. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2019.1623828

Ramonienė, M. (2010). *Miestai ir kalbos* (1st ed.). Vilnius University Press.

Ramonienė, M. (2013). *Miestai ir kalbos II. Sociolingvistinis Lietuvos žemėlapis* (2nd ed.). Vilnius University Press.

Ramonienė, M., Pribušauskaitė, J., Ramonaitė, J. T., & Vilkienė, L. (2020). *Lithuanian: A comprehensive grammar*. Routledge.

Statistics Dissemination and Communication Division of Statistics Lithuania. (2021). *Results of the 2021 Population and housing Census of*

the Republic of Lithuania. https://osp.stat.gov.lt/documents/10180/ 10439642/Results_2021_Population_Housing_Census_LT.pdf/662c72 e3-845c-4a37-aa64-71eb65fe73b6

Urbaitytė, K. (2018). *Linguistic provisions and identity of non-native speakers in Kaunas* [Vytautas Magnus University]. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12259/35646

Užkurienė, O. (2008). *The experience of foreign women granted asylum* [Vytautas Magnus University]. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12259/121598

Zygmantas, J. (2011). *Adult newcomers' difficulties in learning Lithuanian: An ethnographic case study* [Vilnius University]. https://epublications.vu.lt/object/elaba:1889537/

Angelica Peccini
Vilniaus universitetas, Lietuva
angelica.peccini@knf.stud.vu.lt

TAPATYBĖS PERKAINOJIMAS: KALBINĖS NUOSTATOS IR IMIGRANČIŲ MOTERŲ SAVIREFLEKSIJA PER LIETUVIŲ KALBĄ

Anotacija. Pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais didžiausių Lietuvos tautinių ir etninių mažumų socialinė integracija ir sociolingvistinė būklė susilaukė nemažai mokslininkų dėmesio, bet tyrimuose apie pirmosios kartos suaugusius imigrantus iš viso pasaulio pirmiausia aptariami jiems kylantys iššūkiai, motyvacija ir požiūris į lietuvių kalbą ar lietuvių kalbos mokymąsi. Šiuo metu pasigendama holistinio tyrimo, kuriame būtų nagrinėjama pirmosios kartos suaugusių imigrantų *savirefleksija* apie jų migracijos istoriją, tapatybės raidą ir tarpasmeninius santykius per lietuvių kalbą. Straipsnyje siekiama ištirti požiūrį į kalbą ir tapatybę kaip susipynusius elementus pirmosios kartos suaugusių imigrantų savęs ir Lietuvos visuomenės suvokime. Bandomajam tyrimui buvo atrinkta dešimt pirmosios kartos suaugusių imigrančių, kurios užpildė klausimyną, sudarytą iš keturių dalių: asmeninės biografijos, kalbinio repertuaro, lietuvių kalbos mokymosi ir tapatybės transformacijos. Vėliau pusiau struktūruotuose interviu jos dalijosi prisiminimais ir ateities prognozėmis. Straipsnyje kalbinės nuostatos aptariamos remiantis trijų dimensijų teorine sistema: kognityvinės, afektinės ir elgesio nuostatos. Duomenys rodo, kad lietuvių kalba būtina norint jaustis integruotam ir rodyti pagarbą šaliai, tačiau tapatybės perkainojimo procesas reikalauja ne tik besimokančiojo pastangų, bet ir palaikančio bendraamžių ir artimųjų tinklo paskatinimo. Bendras požiūris yra teigiamas, o lietuvių kalbos mokymasis kartu su kultūrinių konstruktų kodifikavimu padeda pasiekti, kad moterys jaustųsi asmeniškai savarankiškos ir galėtų funkcionuoti visuomenėje kaip aktyvios pilietės, o ne kaip laikinos viešnios. Patirtis, susijusi su COVID-19 protrūkiu, skaitmeninių mokymosi priemonių naudojimo svarba ir įgytos šeimos vaidmuo – tik keli veiksniai, darantys įtaką naujų tapatybių formavimuisi, išryškėję kaip tyrimo rezultatas.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: identitetas; kalbinės nuostatos; lietuvių kalba; migracija; žodiniai pasakojimai.

LANGUAGE USE AND EDUCATION IN MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL SETTINGS

KALBOS VARTOJIMAS, MOKYMAS IR MOKYMASIS DAUGIAKALBĖJE IR DAUGIAKULTŪRĖJE APLINKOJE

Sibel Aybek
Cukurova University, Türkiye
Cem Can
Cukurova University, Türkiye

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL BUNDLES IN ACADEMIC WRITINGS BY NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND TURKISH EFL LEARNERS

Abstract. Authentic language use frequently consists of repeated expressions called multiword units or formulaic utterances (Byrd & Coxhead, 2010), which serve as essential "building blocks of discourse in both spoken and written registers" (Biber & Barbieri, 2007, p. 263). Lexical bundles, a subset of formulaic sequences, are defined as "recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status" (Biber et al., 1999, p. 990). This study investigates the use of the most frequent 3- and 4-word lexical bundles in the TICLE, the Turkish component of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), and the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) as the control parallel corpus. The lexical bundles are classified according to their structural and functional characteristics based on the taxonomy developed by Biber et al. (2003; 2004). An interpretative contrastive analysis was conducted between the native (LOCNESS) and non-native (TICLE) data sets. The findings reveal that Turkish EFL learners overuse verb phrase fragments while underusing noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments. Furthermore, texts in TICLE exhibit a lower lexical variety compared to those in LOCNESS. Regarding functional classification, although Turkish EFL learners produce fewer functional bundles overall, they tend to overuse a limited subset of them. These results suggest underlying issues in EFL pedagogy, particularly the need for explicit instruction on multiword units.

Keywords: corpus linguistics; learner corpora; lexical bundles; multiword units; Turkish EFL learners.

Introduction

Multi-word units "are important building blocks of discourse in spoken and written registers" (Biber & Barbieri, 2007, p. 263). These lexical sequences are integral to both oral and written language production and processing,

providing "a steppingstone into language development" (Chenu & Jisa, 2009, p. 27). It is emphasized that the studies on the use of multi-word units in the written performances of English language learners have significantly influenced lexicography and English language textbooks. These studies shed light on the authentic uses of multi-word units, providing insights into their structures and functions within discourse, and inform learners, teachers, and material developers alike.

From a psycholinguistic perspective, formulaic utterances offer "a processing advantage over creatively generated language" for non-native speakers (NNS) and native speakers (NS) (Conklin & Schmitt, 2008, p. 72). Similarly, Jiang and Nekrasova (2009) present "prevailing evidence in support of the holistic nature of formula representation and processing in second language speakers" (p. 433).

Learner corpus studies, which involve the systematic analysis of language produced by learners, have provided invaluable insights into second language acquisition and usage patterns. Lexical bundles, a specific focus within this field, are recurrent sequences of words that serve key functions in discourse, despite not always being idiomatic or syntactically complete. Pioneering research by Biber et al. (2004) and Granger (1998) has highlighted the importance of these sequences in understanding language proficiency.

The current research provides many insights for both SLA researchers, English language teachers, instructors, material developers and publishers as it explores how Turkish EFL learners produce multiword units in their written performances, providing English language teachers with insights into the nature of these units. These structures not only reflect EFL learners' English proficiency levels but also offer teachers valuable input for creating effective materials and activities to enhance Turkish EFL learners' lexical competences.

Present study offers interpretations on how Turkish EFL learners produce multiword combinations in their written performances and helps English language teachers understand the nature of these lexical bundles. Acquisition and production of these items also reveals the necessity of using corpora and authentic data both in and out of the classroom as recommended by Sinclair (1998) underlining that, "[c]orpora will clarify, give priorities, reduce exceptions and liberate the creative spirit" (p. 38) for the learner.

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the use of 3- and 4-word lexical bundles in the TICLE learner corpus, which contains argumentative essays written by Turkish EFL learners. The study focuses on the most frequently used expressions, examining their structures and functions in the written performances of Turkish university students. The goal is to deepen our understanding of the use of these units. Following the identification of the structural and functional features of the lexical bundles used by Turkish EFL learners, similarities and differences are analyzed through a comparison with the use of these sequences by native speakers in LOCNESS, a reference corpus containing written essays by American university students (Granger et al., 2009).

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the most frequent 3- and 4-word lexical bundles found in argumentative essays of Turkish EFL learners in the TICLE and LOCNESS corpora?

2. How are these lexical sequences in the TICLE and LOCNESS corpora classified based on their structural and functional characteristics?

3. How do the most frequent 3- to 4- lexical sequences used by Turkish EFL learners compare to those found in the LOCNESS corpus in terms of structure, function, and diversity in their use?

This study makes a significant contribution to sustainable multilingualism by addressing the challenges and potential solutions for enhancing academic writing skills among non-native English speakers, specifically Turkish EFL learners. By examining the structural and functional characteristics of lexical bundles, the research uncovers patterns of overuse and underuse that reveal critical gaps in learners' language proficiency. These insights are directly relevant to developing pedagogical strategies that support the acquisition and development of plurilingual competence. The findings emphasize the importance of targeted, corpus-based instruction that not only addresses linguistic gaps but also fosters a more nuanced understanding of multilingual dynamics. Aiming to promote language-sensitive teaching, this study advocates for instructional approaches that embrace cross-linguistic influences and intercultural dialogue. The research aligns with the goals of

sustainable multilingualism by offering data-driven insights that can inform language policy, curriculum design, and didactic practices aimed at preserving linguistic diversity while equipping learners to navigate multilingual environments effectively.

Lexical Bundles

Biber et al. (1999) describe lexical bundles as "recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status" and as "simply sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse" (p. 990). Examples of lexical bundles include expressions such *as a result of*, *take a look at*, *on the other hand*, *and I don't know*, *to be able to*, *are you going to*, *I don't know if*, *at the same time, have a lot of,* and *you know it was*.

Despite numerous studies on formulaic language over the past decade, Nekrasova (2009) suggests that further research is required to closely examine the structural and functional characteristics of lexical bundles. Most of studies on lexical bundles have compared their usage in expert and non-expert writing, with a particular focus academic writing.

Previous research has established that conversation and academic prose exhibit distinct patterns of lexical bundles (Biber & Barbieri, 2007; Biber, Conrad, & Cortes, 2003, 2004; Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999). These studies revealed that while most bundles in conversation are clausal, many bundles in academic prose are phrasal. Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) argue that everyday language comprises multi-word prefabricated expressions (e.g., *if you see, in a nutshell, what I mean*) and that language is not "strictly compositional" (p. 372).

Biber, Conrad, & Cortes (2004) have categorized lexical bundles according to their structures and functions within discourse. This present study adopts the structural and functional taxonomy developed by Biber, Conrad, & Cortes (2004, p. 381–396) as summarized in Table 1.

The first structural type includes verb phrase fragments. These bundles begin with a subject pronoun followed by a verb phrase, as in *I'm not going to, that's one of the, it's going to be,* and *this is a*. Alternatively, these bundles

may begin directly with a VP, such as *take a look at, is going to be,* or question fragments like *how many of you* and *are you going to.*

The second major structural type resembles the first category in incorporating verb phrase elements, however, these bundles also contain dependent clause fragments. Examples include *I want you to, what I want to,* and *if we look at.* An additional sub-category has been propounded to the existing classification by the researchers, which is *other adverbial clause fragments* added to the dependent clause fragments category.

Table 1

Structural Classification of Lexical Bundles

Verb Phrase Fragments	a. 1st/2nd/3rd person pronoun + VP fragment b. Discourse marker + VP fragments c. Verb phrase with non-passive verb d. Verb phrase with passive verb e. Yes/no question fragments f. WH-question fragments	*I'm/it's going to* *I mean I don't* *have a lot of* *is based on* *do you want to* *what do you think*
Dependent Clause Fragments	a. 1st/2nd/3rd person pronoun + dependent clause fragments b. WH-question fragments c. *If*-clause fragments d. *To*-clause fragments e. *That*-clause fragments **f. Other adverbial clause fragments**	*I don't know if* *what I want to* *if you want to* *want to do this* *that I want to* **as I know**
Noun Phrase and Prepositional Phrase Fragments	a. Noun phrase with of-phrase fragment b. Noun phrase with another post-modifier frr. c. Other noun phrase expressions d. Prepositional phrase expressions e. Comparative expressions **f. Quantifier expressions**	*one of the things* *those of you who* *and stuff like that* *at the end of* *as well as the* ***more important than***

Note. Adapted from Biber et al., 2004, p. 381–396.

The last main structural type includes only phrasal components. Most of these bundles comprise noun phrase (NP) components preceding a post modifier, as in *the end of the, the way in which, those of you who* and *a little bit about.* The remaining bundles in this type consist of prepositional phrase (PP) components with embedded modifiers, such as *of the things that, as well as the, at the end of*. In addition, another sub-category has been added to the NP fragments, which is *quantifier expressions.*

In their study, Biber et al. (2004, p. 389–396) identified three primary discourse functions for lexical bundles in English: 1) stance expressions, 2) discourse organizers, and 3) referential expressions.

According to Biber et al. (1999), stance bundles form a frame for expressing attitudes or assessment of certainty and can be categorized into two*; epistemic* or *attitudinal / modality*. Discourse organizers coordinate the flow of ideas by establishing relationships between preceding and forthcoming discourse, assisting in the introduction, elaboration, and clarification of topics. Examples include *I want to talk about, if you look at* and *going to talk about*. These bundles serve two primary functions: topic introduction/focus and topic elaboration/clarification (Biber et al., 1999). Lastly**,** referential bundles encompass a wide range of lexical bundles that typically refer to textual context or physical or abstract entities, such as *the nature of the* and *that's one of the.* This category includes four sub-categories: *identification/focus, imprecision, specification of attributes,* and *time/place/text reference* (Biber et al., 2004).

Table 2

Functional Classification of Lexical Bundles

Stance bundles	A. Epistemic stance	*I don't know what*
	B. Attitudinal/Modality stance	
	a. Desire	*I don't want to*
	b. Obligation/Directive	*It is important to*
	c. Intention/Prediction	*I'm not going to*
	d. Ability	*to be able to*
Discourse organizers	A. Topic introduction	*if you look at*
	B. Topic elaboration/Clarification	*on the other hand*
Referential bundles	A. Identification/ Focus	*of the things that*
	B. Imprecision	*or something like that*
	C. Specification of attributes	
	a. Quantity specification	*there's a lot of*
	b. Intangible framing	*in the form of*
	c. Tangible framing	*in the case of*
	D. Time/ Place/ Text reference	
	a. Place reference	*in the United States*
	b. Time reference	*at the same time*
	c. Text-deixis	*as shown in figure*
	d. Multi-functional reference	*the beginning of the*

Note. Adapted from Biber et al., 2004, p. 381–396.

Previous Studies on Lexical Bundles

Studies on lexical bundles have focused on both written and spoken discourse (Biber et al., 1999; Biber, Conrad & Cortes, 2004). The T2K-SWAL Corpus, compiled from TOEFL 2000 corpus, consists of texts from academic

life, including classroom teaching, textbooks, study groups, and university catalogues, sampled from six major academic disciplines: business, engineering, humanities, social and natural sciences, and education (Biber et. al, 2004). Their study revealed that lexical bundles were used twice as often in classroom teaching as in conversation and four times as often as in textbooks. Lexical bundles are much more common in both conversation and classroom teaching than in the written registers.

Biber & Barbieri (2007) found that lexical bundles differ from other lexico-grammatical structures in their physical mode (spoken/written). Other studies focused on bundles in professional and novice writings. For example, Cortes (2004) examined the bundles in the written production of published authors and student essays in the fields of History and Biology. She found that students could not effectively use lexical bundles in their written productions, despite being taught these expressions in reading materials. Similarly, Hyland (2008) identified significant differences between student and professional written performances regarding the structure and functions of lexical bundles, noting that "the research articles contained far fewer clusters and far fewer different clusters overall …. they revealed more participants strings and included a far higher proportion of text-oriented clusters" (Hyland, 2008, p. 59).

Other studies have investigated the usage of bundles between native and non-native writings (Chen & Baker, 2010; Ädel & Erman, 2012). These studies revealed that lexical bundles in non-native students' academic writing contained more VP-based bundles and discourse markers than in native academic writing, which appears to indicate "immature writing" (Chen & Baker, 2010, p. 44). In contrast, native academic writing included more NP-based and referential bundles. Moreover, non-native writers underused some high-frequency bundles found in native academic writing and overused certain lexical bundles that native writers rarely used.

In a study comparing non-native academic writing by L1 speakers of Swedish and undergraduate native speakers of linguistics, Adel and Erman (2012) concluded that non-native speakers use a limited and less varied range of lexical bundles including "unattended *this'* constructions, existential *there'* constructions, hedges and passive constructions" (Adel & Erman, 2012, p. 90).

Wei and Lei (2011) examined the use of lexical bundles in advanced Chinese EFL learners' academic writings and observed advanced learners used "similar number of prepositional phrases, noun phrases, be+ noun/ adjectival phrases and other structures of bundles as professional writers" (p. 164). Functionally, advanced Chinese EFL learners produced a similar amount of research-oriented and text-oriented bundles and fewer participant-oriented bundles compared to published writers.

Additionally, Karabacak and Qin (2013) compared the use of reference bundles in the argumentative essays of Turkish, Chinese, and American writers. They concluded that the majority of the bundles found in American writers' papers were absent from non-native speakers' essays due to differences in essay topics, lack of lexical bundle knowledge, and failure to produce correct bundles. In a similar vein, Muşlu (2018) investigated the stance lexical bundles in the argumentative essays by native English speakers and Turkish and Japanese EFL learners. It was concluded that native speakers use less but various lexical bundles. While lexical bundles have been used higher in Japanese and Turkish corpora, lexical variety is lower than the native data.

Uçar and Zarfsaz (2022) compared 80 argumentative essays written by Turkish EFL learners with 50 essays from native speakers in the British Academic Written English (BAWE) corpus. The analysis focused on three-word lexical bundles, with a frequency cut-off point of 20 occurrences in at least 5 different texts. The study found that Turkish students used a less diverse and more limited number of lexical bundles compared to their native English counterparts. English students employed a broader variety of structural types. Functionally, English students used more referential and stance bundles, while Turkish students relied more on discourse organizers (Uçar & Zarfsaz, 2022).

Methodology

Frequency Approach

This study employs a frequency-based (corpus-driven) approach, an inductive method as described by Sinclair (1987) and Nesselhauf (2004), to

extract lexical bundles from both corpora. Using frequency as the basis is an effective means of identifying usage patterns that "often go unnoticed by the researchers" (Biber et al., 2004, p. 376). As Tognini-Bonelli emphasizes (2001, p. 87) "linguistic categories are systematically derived from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distributions that emerge from language in context" within grammatical framework.

Research Design

The research design of this study is structured to provide a comprehensive analysis of lexical bundles in learner and native corpora. The steps of the data analysis followed in this study are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Research Types and Stages of the Study

Stages	Process	Research Type
Stage 1	Automatic generation of frequency lists	Descriptive analysis
Stage 2	Selection of meaningful LBs manually	Corpus-based approach
Stage 3	Application of statistical analysis across corpora	Quantitative corpus analysis
Stage 4	Analysis of LBs structurally and functionally	Descriptive analysis
Stage 5	Comparison of LBs between 2 corpora	Interpretative analysis

The research design follows a systematic and structured approach. Initially, all the 3 and 4-word sequences were extracted from LOCNESS and TICLE using Antconc (version 3.5.9 for Windows) (Anthony, 2020). The sequences that appeared in at least three different texts were selected to ensure the accuracy of the identified bundles. This criterion helps in filtering out idiosyncratic or text-specific combinations, focusing instead on recurrent patterns.

Among these sequences, meaningful multiword items were manually identified. Overlapping bundles, as well as repetitive and erroneous ones, were removed from the list. This manual filtering ensures that only relevant and accurate lexical bundles are included in the analysis, enhancing the reliability of the findings. In the context of lexical bundle research, the issue of

overlapping bundles—where shorter expressions are embedded within longer ones—presents a significant challenge in both structural and functional analyses. The recent study by Cortes and Lake (2023) offers a solution to this problem by introducing the Lexical Bundle Identification and Analysis Program (LBiaP). This tool is specifically designed to identify and differentiate between overlapping bundles, ensuring that each identified bundle is treated as an independent observation. Their research emphasizes the importance of addressing complete overlapping, complete subsumption, and interlocking bundles, which are often overlooked in traditional analyses that focus solely on 3- or 4-word bundles. By accounting for these complexities, the LBiaP tool enhances the accuracy of lexical bundle categorization and classification.

Subsequently, the bundles in each corpus were categorized based on their structural and functional characteristics. The categorization process followed Biber et al.'s (1999; 2003; 2004) framework, which provides a comprehensive taxonomy for analyzing lexical bundles. This framework was chosen for its robustness and widespread acceptance in corpus linguistics research. The systematic categorization it provides enables a detailed and nuanced analysis of the structural and functional properties of lexical bundles. Additionally, the study examined the similarities and differences in frequent 3- to 4-word formulaic patterns between Turkish EFL learners and native speakers of English.

This comprehensive analysis allows for a detailed comparison and understanding of the use of lexical bundles in the written performances of both groups, identifying specific areas of divergence and convergence in the use of lexical bundles between the two groups. Thus, it aims to provide valuable insights into their writing proficiency and usage patterns.

Corpora

The Turkish International Corpus of Learner English (TICLE)

The Turkish International Corpus of Learner English (TICLE) was selected as the primary corpus for this study. TICLE is the Turkish sub-corpus of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), designed by the Centre

for English Corpus Linguistics at the University of Louvain. TICLE consists of 280 essays totaling 199,532 words, all adhering to an argumentative style. Essays were collected from three Turkish universities, with an average word count of 713 per essay. The participants, predominantly female (81%) with an average age of 22.08, are university undergraduates still learning English as a foreign language. The representativeness of TICLE makes it an ideal corpus for analyzing the writing proficiency of Turkish EFL learners.

Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS)

The Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) serves as the native speaker reference corpus, compiled by the Centre for English Corpus Linguistics at the Catholic University of Louvain. Covering the period from 1991 to 1995, the LOCNESS includes British and American university and A-level student essays, totaling 324,304 words. For this study, only the argumentative essays by American university students were used, encompassing 149,574 words from 175 essays. The age range of these participants (17–28 years) matches the TICLE participants, ensuring comparability. Topics in these essays cover a broad spectrum, including sex equality, water pollution, gender roles, and violence, among others. The comprehensive nature of LOCNESS ensures that it is a suitable parallel corpus for contrastive interlanguage analysis with TICLE.

Data Analysis Tools and Statistics Used

Cut-off Point

Formulaic sequences have to meet a set of criteria to be considered as bundles or multiword items such as identifying these items by corpus analysis tools (e.g., AntConc, Lancsbox) by using the criterion of frequency cut-off; and assigning functions to the sequences identified by frequency and range criteria.

The frequency cut-off point varies in each study. The actual frequency cut-offs in lexical bundle research vary from ten occurrences per million words (Biber et al., 1999; Biber, 2006), to forty occurrences (Biber, Conrad, & Cortes,

2004). Lower cut-offs may be used in smaller corpora (Biber et al., 1999) and determining the frequency cut-offs base on the earlier researchers rather than a statistical and empirical set of standards. Some other researchers such as Hyland (2008) employed a percentage criterion that required a sequence to appear in at least 10 percent of the texts in a corpus. Additionally, these MWIs have to appear in at least three to five different texts (Biber & Barbieri, 2007). This way, focusing on idiosyncratic uses by the authors is prevented. The cut-off point for the TICLE corpus was set as 10, while for LOCNESS it was set at 7. These cut-off points were determined to balance the need for capturing frequent patterns while avoiding noise from less common sequences. The cut-off points in the analysis of both corpora have been determined with the aim of increasing the accuracy and reliability. Also, the sequences which were seen in at least 3 different texts have been chosen during the identification of sequences in order to make the analysis more accurate.

Type/Token Ratio

In lexical frequency research, type-token ratio (T/t) is calculated in both native and learner corpora in order to reveal the lexical variety. T/t counts the number of different words in a text. Williamson (2013) emphasized that T/t ratio is a helpful measure of vocabulary variation in a written text or a speech. The T/t results are used to draw conclusions on lexical richness in learner texts (Granger, 2002) and it is computed by means of the following formula:

$$\text{T/t ratio} = \frac{\text{Number of word types} \times 100}{\text{Number of word tokens} \times 1}$$

T/t is obtained by dividing the type count by the token count, which is always <=1. While a high T/t score indicates a high degree of lexical variation, a low T/t indicates a low degree of lexical variation. T/t can also be expressed as a percentage, multiplying the ratio by 100. T/t ratio of MWIs represents the percentage of each item within all words in a corpus, which is the actual number of MWIs that fall into per 100 words. Tokens are the number of words

in a text. Yet, many of these tokens are repeated in corpora. In the study, the very same formula was utilized in the data analysis.

Log-likelihood

In corpus-based studies, frequency distribution of the corpora needs to be tested since the differences found between the frequencies of the items in corpora may be random or chance happening. In order to find out whether the differences are statistically significant, some tests are carried out. One of them is Log Likelihood (LL) analysis which helps us to normalize the sizes of the corpora we compare and reveal the significant differences between frequencies. LL may also be called as G-square or G-score. If results are significant, we are reasonably certain (usually 95% certain, sometimes 99% certain) that these results are not due to chance.

The observed and expected values are compared with LL in two datasets. While the observed values are the actual frequencies extracted from corpora, expected values are the frequencies that one would expect if no factor other than chance were affecting the values. The greater the difference between the observed and the expected values, the less likely it is that the difference has arose by chance. When the frequencies for corpus searches are obtained, the results are made comparable by converting frequencies to percentages or per million words. This process is referred to as normalizing the frequencies. However, normalized scores do not necessarily indicate statistical significance. Based on the provided information, data analysis was conducted using the Log-Likelihood (LL) method in the study.

Findings

Introduction

The overall descriptive results of the lexical bundles are presented in Table 4. The TICLE corpus consists of 280 texts with 199,532 words, while the LOCNESS corpus has 175 texts with 149,574 words. Turkish EFL learners

used 340 multiword items (MWIs) in their written productions, whereas native speakers used 349 MWIs. When examining their percentages, only 0.17% of Turkish learners' productions are considered bundles, compared to 0.23% of native speakers' production. The overall descriptive results indicate that while the overall number of lexical bundles used by Turkish EFL learners and native speakers is relatively close, the percentage of bundles in the total word count is higher for native speakers, suggesting a higher integration of multiword units in their writing. This aligns with Granger's (1998) findings that native speakers tend to use a wider variety of lexical bundles.

Table 4

The Bird-eye View of the Findings

Corpus texts	Total number of texts	Total number of words	Total number of LBs	% of LBs	of
TICLE	280	199,532	340	0.17	
LOCNESS	175	149,574	349	0.23	
TOTAL	**455**	**349,106**	**689**	**0.40**	

Lexical Diversity

To reveal the lexical diversity in each corpus, the type/token ratios of lexical bundles were calculated, as shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5

Type/token Ratio Results

	TICLE Type/Token	LOCNESS Type/Token	Type/Token Ratio Results
Verb Phrase Fragments	145/3466	105/1350	4.1% / 7.7%
Dependent Clause Fragments	84/1855	90/1132	4.5% / 7.9%
Noun Phrase and Prepositional Phrase Fragments	111/3174	154/2247	3.4% / 6.8%
TOTAL	**340/8495**	**349/4729**	**4% / 7.3%**

Note. T/t ratio= Type/token ratio; percentage of number of lexical bundles (types) in total of words (tokens) in each corpus.

The breakdown of each fragment type is presented in Table 5. The TICLE corpus has 340 types and 8495 tokens, while LOCNESS has 349 types and 4729 tokens. The type/token ratio reveals a significant

difference in lexical diversity between TICLE and LOCNESS. Native speakers exhibit a higher lexical diversity (7.3%) compared to Turkish EFL learners (4%). This supports the findings of Nesselhauf (2005) and Hyland (2008), which highlight the limited lexical range in non-native writing.

Research Question 1: What are the most frequent 3- and 4-word lexical bundles used in argumentative essays of Turkish EFL learners in TICLE and native speakers in LOCNESS corpora?

The first 100 most frequent LBs have been chosen in order to answer the first research question in each corpus, respectively. Out of 100 most frequent expressions, the following 40 were common in both corpora: *men and women, a lot of, it is not, in order to, on the other hand, they do not, the most important, in the world, there is no, most of the, there is a, it is a, do not have, it is the, they are not, that it is, there are many, because of the, to have a, should not be+V3, that they are, is not a, the right to, according to the, they want to, in the past, is one of the, to be a, in the future, look at the, this is a, as a result of, part of the, because they are, the fact that, all of the, you do not, do not want, this is not, the number of.* These bundles are used more frequently in the TICLE compared to the LOCNESS. The most common 10 bundles may be seen in the table below.

Table 6

The most Common 10 Bundles in both Corpora

TICLE		LOCNESS	
LBs	**Freq.**	**LBs**	**Freq.**
men and women	*126*	the death penalty	*71*
a lot of	*123*	*the fact that*	*71*
it is not	*120*	one of the	63
in order to	*119*	in the united states	53
on the other hand	*119*	*the right to*	*51*
they do not	*119*	**in order to**	50
the most important	*109*	the united states	48
in the world	*108*	*because of the*	*47*
there is no	*106*	*that it is*	*47*
most of the	*98*	the use of	45

As can be seen from the table, the only common bundle among the most frequent 10 bundles seems to be *in order to* which is in bold. What is obvious in the table is the frequency of the bundles in both groups. Tokens of the bundles in the TICLE are considerably more than the token in the LOCNESS. The most frequent bundles used by Turkish EFL learners include *men and women* (f: 126)*, a lot of* (f: 123), *it is not* (f: 120), *in order to* (f: 119), *on the other hand* (f: 119), *they do not* (f: 119), *the most important* (f: 109), *in the world* (f: 108), *there is no* (f: 106), *most of the* (f: 98). These ten most frequent bundles, totaling 1,147 occurrences, represent 13% of the total number of bundles within the TICLE corpus.

In contrast, in the LOCNESS corpus, the most frequent expressions in the LOCNESS corpus include *the death penalty* (f: 71)*, the fact that* (f: 71), *one of the* (f: 63), *in the United States* (f: 53) *the right to* (f: 51), *in order to* (f: 50), *because of the* (f: 47), *that it is* (f: 47), *the use of (*f: 45), and *it is a* (f: 40). These ten most frequent bundles occur 546 times, constituting 11% of all the tokens in the LOCNESS. Some of these expressions such as *in order to* (f: 119), *one of the* (f: 63), *the use of* (f: 45), *the fact that* (f: 71), *there is a* (f: 86) are among Biber et al.'s (1999) most common 3-word lexical bundles found in the expert academic writing. This suggests that native speakers use constructions more similar to expert academic writing than Turkish EFL learners.

The comparison of the most frequent lexical bundles indicates that Turkish EFL learners frequently use conversational-type bundles such as a lot of and men and women, which are less common in academic writing by native speakers. This is consistent with the observations of Chen and Baker (2010) and Bychkovska and Lee (2017), who noted the overuse of conversational bundles in learner writing.

The findings suggest that Turkish EFL learners overuse verb phrase fragments while underusing noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments, in line with Biber et al. (1999). The presence of lexical bundles like in order to and the fact that in both corpora suggests some commonality in academic writing patterns, but the overall usage reflects the greater proficiency of native speakers in producing structurally varied bundles.

Research Question 2: How are these lexical sequences found in TICLE and LOCNESS corpora classified based on their structural and functional characteristics?

To address this research question, the two corpora were first compared based on their structural classification.

Comparison of the Structural Classifications in Two Corpora

Figure 1 indicates the distribution of the structural types of both corpora.

Figure 1

Structural Classifications in Both Corpora
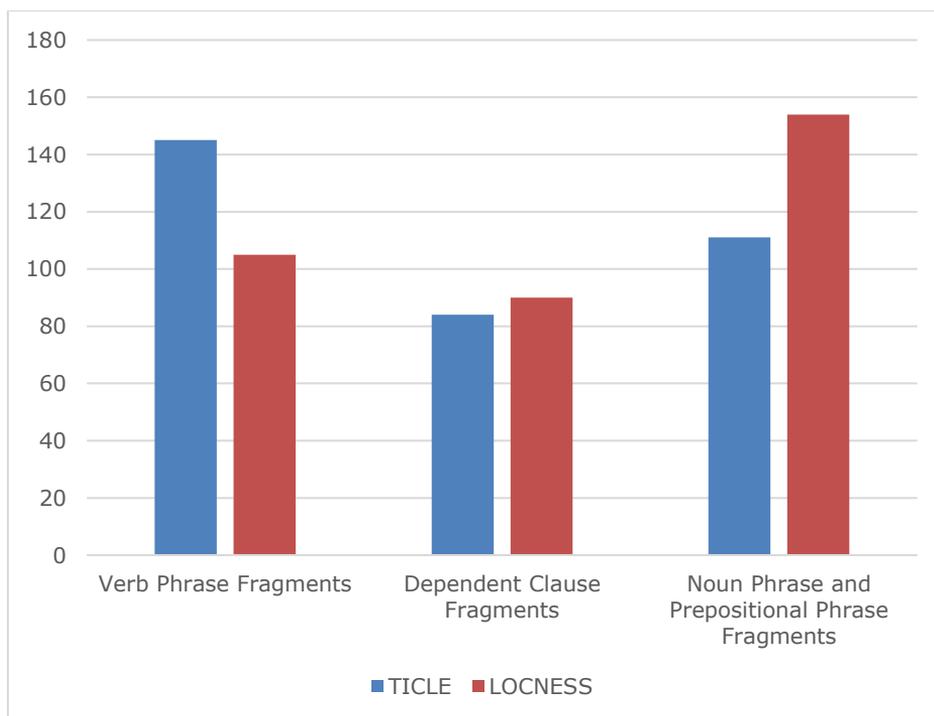
Analysis of the structures used in both corpora reveals that while Turkish EFL learners predominantly use verb phrase (VP) fragments, native speaker students frequently use noun phrase (NP) and prepositional phrase

(PP) fragments. NP and PP fragments are the second most frequent category used in TICLE, constituting 33% of the classification, whereas VP fragments are the second most frequent structures in LOCNESS, constituting 33% of all the bundles. Dependent clause fragments are the least frequently used fragments in both corpora.

The findings align with Biber et al. (1999) and Granger (1998) in highlighting that Turkish EFL learners predominantly use VP fragments, which is characteristic of learner language. The underuse of NP and PP fragments suggests a limited structural range in the learners' writing.

When examining the sub-categories of these fragments in detail, personal pronouns+VP fragments is the only category constituting 42.4% of all structures in TICLE, these structures constitute only 32% in LOCNESS. Two examples are provided below:

(12)   In conclusion, **I can say that** we cannot limit education of [TRME3026]

(62)   The only problem is that **they do not** give any data that provides [USARG_0047]

Within the VP fragments, a significant number of phrases produced by Turkish EFL learners report negative states, as illustrated by examples such as *students/universities/people/I/you/they/we/it   do(es)   not* (f: 214), *they/we/people are not* (f: 90), *they/it should not be* (f: 25), *they should not* (f: 11), *I/they/you/we/he/women cannot* (f: 194)…etc. These negative structures constitute 22.6% of the personal pronouns + VP fragments category. This pattern is not observed in the native speakers' usage.

(10)   **Women cannot** make a stand against men. [TRKE2025]

(14)   is not an help to their friends and **they should not** consider it as a way to [TRKE2026]

The frequent use of negative structures in TICLE suggests a limited variety in expressing negation, aligning with findings from Nesselhauf (2005) and Hyland (2008). This repetitive usage underscores the need for teaching more varied and nuanced expressions of negation.

Additionally, it was revealed in TICLE that many of the fragments within the personal pronouns + VP fragments include bundles with embedded *be*-verbs. Turkish EFL learners also use these existential *there*-constructions, as shown in examples like *there are some/many/a lot/lots of/many people/ also/so many* (f: 215), *there is a/an* (f: 108)*, there is no* (f: 89), *there is no need* (f: 17), *there is not* (f: 26), *there is nothing* (f: 20). Examples include:

(7)   we can realize that **there are lots of** things became a part of [TRCU1018]

(8)   So, **there is no need** for male dominance. [TRCU1115]

(9)   **there is a** balance between school community and individual [TRKE2011]

The patterns observed in TICLE are not mirrored in LOCNESS. The analysis revealed that non-native speakers used a significantly higher percentage of existential *there* bundles than their native speaker counterparts. Additionally, the research found that Turkish L1 learners used more evaluative bundles, such as *anticipatory it patterns* like *it is easy to, it is a fact*… etc. than native speakers.

The overuse of existential *there* constructions and *be-verbs* in TICLE indicates a reliance on simpler grammatical structures, a finding consistent with Chen and Baker (2010). This overreliance may point to gaps in learners' grammatical competence, highlighting areas for targeted pedagogical intervention.

Another frequent usage in VP fragments is the structures with modals used by Turkish EFL learners, constittuting 35.1% of all VP fragments. Examples include; *they should not, I can say that, you can see, it can be*…etc.

(19)   To all human life **should be given** equal protection under the law. [TRCU1091]

(21)   Cheating **cannot be annihilated** completely. [TRCU1162]

(22)   Euthanasia **should not be allowed** since it has many objections [TRCU1140]

The preference for evaluative bundles and modals reflects the learners' attempt to convey stance and modality, albeit repetitively. This echoes findings

by Bychkovska and Lee (2017) and suggests the need for more explicit instruction on diverse evaluative expressions and modal usage.

Turkish EFL learners did not produce *"discourse marker + VP fragment"* bundles such as *I mean you, you know it was and I mean I don't* and *"WH-question fragments"* including *what do you think, how many of you, what does that mean…etc*. Similarly, NS did not used *"discourse marker + VP fragment"* or *Yes/no question fragments,* and they used only one wh-question fragment in the entire dataset. In this regard, the usage patterns are similar.

Another notable finding is that while Turkish EFL learners frequently use *who*-relative clauses with VP bundles, and LBs containing embedded *who*-clauses such as *people/students/women who are, the people who are, people who have,* these structures are not found in the native corpus.

(26)   Today there are a lot of successful **women who are** leading whole companies and even whole [TRCU1035]

The frequent use of who-relative clauses in TICLE, absent in LOCNESS, indicates learners' preference for certain syntactic structures possibly due to L1 transfer, as discussed in Granger and Paquot (2008). This finding highlights the importance of addressing relative clause usage in EFL instruction.

Additionally, another significant finding is the underuse (35.64- LL value) of *to-clause fragments* (copula be+adjective/noun phrase) within the dependent clause fragments by Turkish EFL learners in comparison to the native speakers. And lastly, the noun phrase with of-phrase fragments have significantly underused in TICLE with 40.54- LL ratio. Some of these phrases used by native speakers are *the number of, the amount of, the use of, because of the, one of the, invention of the, the idea of, out of the, this type of*. These bundles were not observed in TICLE.

Comparison of Functional Classifications in Two Corpora

When comparing the productions in terms of functional properties in discourse, there is not much difference between the two corpora. The functional classification revealed that 67% of bundles in TICLE and 64% of the bundles

in LOCNESS did not have any functional properties. This significant portion indicates a dominance of structural rather than functional roles within the texts. This aligns with Granger and Paquot (2008), which highlight the need for more nuanced use of functional language in EFL learners. The classifications of both corpora may be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Functional Classifications in Both Corpora
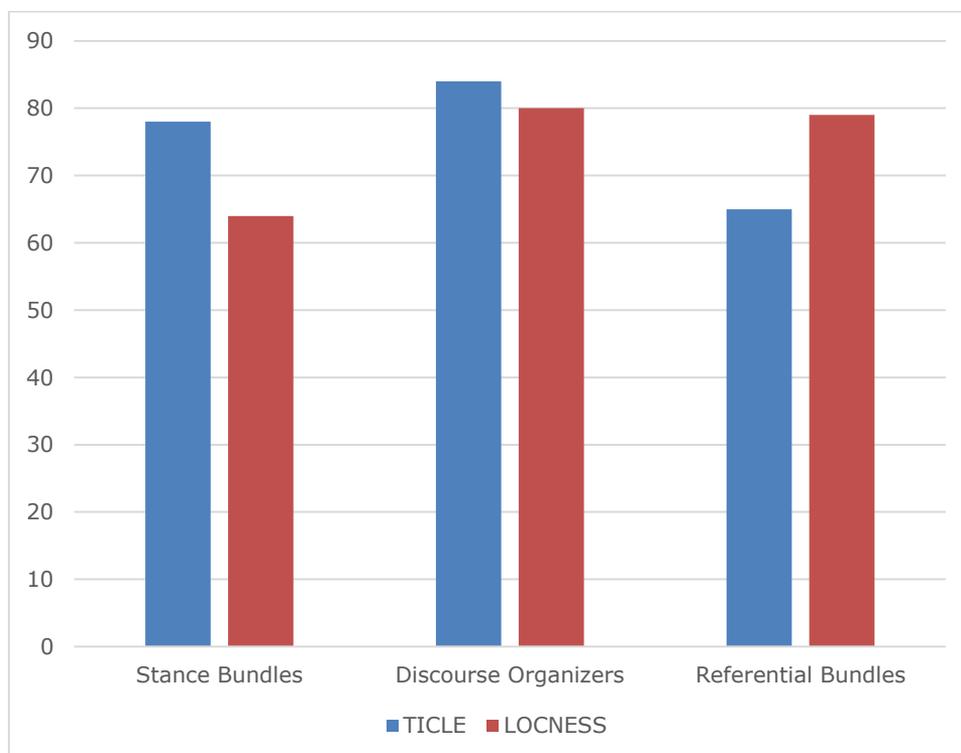
Both Turkish EFL learners (36%) and native speakers (35%) predominantly used discourse organizers. Some of the most common examples include *on the other hand* (f: 119), *as you see* (f: 86), *in order to* (50), *that it is* (47), *that they are* (33). These discourse organizers help in structuring the text, guiding the reader through arguments and discussions. The high use of discourse organizers by both Turkish EFL learners and native speakers indicates their crucial role in structuring argumentative essays. This

corroborates findings from Hyland (2008) and Chen and Baker (2010), emphasizing the importance of teaching effective use of discourse organizers to improve coherence and cohesion in learner writing.

(135) **If we look at** this subject from another aspect, [TRCU1038]

(136) Secondly, **when we think** about psychological situation and future life [TRCU1158]

(165)   twenty one are considered to be minors, **when it comes** to drinking alcoholic beverages in [USARG_0163]

Stance bundles were the second most frequently used function in TICLE (35%), while referential bundles were the second most common function in LOCNESS (34%). The preference for stance bundles by Turkish EFL learners and referential bundles by native speakers suggests differing strategies in academic writing. This indicates that Turkish EFL learners often use stance bundles to express opinions, beliefs, and attitudes, while native speakers more frequently use referential bundles to provide context, specify attributes, and refer to time, place, or text. This finding supports Biber et al. (2004) and Ädel and Erman (2012), which point to the importance of teaching a balanced use of stance and referential bundles to enhance argumentation and description in EFL writing.

Some of the stance bundles in TICLE include *I believe that* (f: 43), in my opinion (f: 70), *I/they/you/he want(s) to* (f: 139), *the fact that* (f: 31). Example sentences include:

(121) **I believe that** euthanasia should be legalized albeit be [TRCU1176]

(122) about the capital punishment should be **the fact that** murder is a crime punishable by [TRCU1103]

Some of the most common referential bundles in LOCNESS include *at the end of* (f: 9), *at the beginning of* (f: 8), *the most important* (f: 18), *the number of* (f: 26), *a lot of* (f: 29). Example concordance lines from LOCNESS are:

(173) This would save the government **a lot of** money and make people support [USARG_0152]

(180) They do this because **at the beginning of** the next fiscal year [USARG_0146]

Referential bundles were the least common category used by Turkish EFL learners (29%). Examples of referential bundles from TICLE include *the people who* (f: 67), *this is a/the* (f: 60), *in the past* (f: 41), *in the world* (f: 108), *in terms of* (f: 18). These bundles often refer to people, time periods, or broad concepts, indicating a reliance on general terms rather than specific, context-driven references. The absence of imprecision bundles *like* or *something like that* in both corpora indicates an area where learners may benefit from explicit instruction to enrich their use of vague language for generalization and hedging. Example sentences are:

(145)   have to be dependent especially **in terms of** money on their family. [TRME3001]

(146)   die can determine to apply to euthanasia as **the result of** a violent pain or a sudden [TRCU1076]

In contrast, stance bundles were the least frequently used function in LOCNESS (28%). Examples include *the fact that* (f: 71), *I would like to* (f: 7), *I believe that* (f: 12), *I think it* (f: 7), *I think that* (f: 9). These bundles allow writers to assert their viewpoints or present subjective statements, which are less prevalent in native speakers' academic writing, potentially due to a more objective and detached writing style. Example concordance lines are:

(153)   often stand by its use based on **the fact that** it is provided for in [USARG_0012]

(154)   Life is considered unquestionable, but **I would like to** give it more scrutiny. [USARG_0037]

Regarding the referential bundles, these are the least frequently used expressions by Turkish EFL learners, while native speakers used them as

the second most frequent bundles. Within the referential bundles, one sub-categories is imprecision which include bundles like *or something like that.* These were produced in neither TICLE nor LOCNESS, indicating a potential area of underuse that could be targeted in instructional materials.

Research Question 3: How similar or different are the frequently used 3- to 4- lexical sequences used by Turkish EFL learners from those found in native English speakers' (LOCNESS) corpora in terms of structure, function, and diversity in their use?

To determine the similarities and differences between the frequently used lexical sequences in TICLE and LOCNESS, a log-likelihood analysis was conducted. The analysis focused on three aspects: structure, function, and diversity of use.

a. Log-likelihood Results of Structural Classifications in Both Corpora

The structural classifications of lexical bundles in both corpora are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7

Log-Likelihood Results of Structural Classifications in Both Corpora

Structures	Freq. in Corpus TICLE	Freq. in Corpus LOCNESS	Log-likelihood	Sig.
Verb Phrase Fragments	145	105	0.07	0.787 +
Dependent Clause Fragments	84	90	5.54	0.019*-
Noun Phrase and Prepositional Phrase Fragments	111	154	24.88	0.000***-
TOTAL	340	349	16.97	0.000***-

Note. **+ indicates overuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS, **- indicates underuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS

The log-likelihood analysis reveals that all structural categories, except for verb phrase (VP) fragments, were significantly underused in TICLE.

The total LL value of 16.97 indicates a significant underuse overall. The most notable difference was observed in noun phrase (NP) and prepositional phrase (PP) fragments, with an LL value of 24.88-, suggesting a marked underuse by Turkish EFL learners. Dependent clause fragments also showed a significant underuse, with an LL value of 5.54-. The insignificant difference in VP fragments indicates similar usage frequencies between the two corpora. This underuse of types highlights a lower lexical variety and richness among Turkish EFL learners compared to native speakers. The total number of tokens in both corpora is shown in the following table.

The insignificant difference in the usage of VP fragments suggests a similar preference for these structures in both corpora. This aligns with findings by Biber et al. (2004) and Chen and Baker (2010), indicating that learners and native speakers both heavily rely on verb phrase fragments in their writing. Further, Granger's (1989) work highlights the importance of these fragments in learner language, often as formulaic expressions used for syntactic simplicity.

The significant underuse of NP and PP fragments by Turkish EFL learners suggests a need for focused instructional strategies to enhance their usage. According to Granger (1998), native-like proficiency in academic writing involves a substantial use of NP and PP structures, which contribute to syntactic complexity and lexical richness.

Table 8

Log-Likelihood Results of Structural Tokens of LBs in Both Corpora

Structure	Freq. in Corpus TICLE	Freq. in Corpus LOCNESS	Log-likelihood	Sig.
Verb phrase fragments	3466	1350	452.05	0.000***+
Dependent clause fragments	1855	1132	30.20	0.000***+
Noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments	3174	2247	4.32	0.038 *+
TOTAL	8495	4729	275.81	0.000**+

Note. **+ indicates overuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS, **- indicates underuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS

The number of tokens in each structural category shows a significant overuse in TICLE across all categories. The VP fragments exhibit the most considerable overuse, with an LL value of 452.05+, far exceeding the values of other categories. Dependent clause fragments also show significant overuse, with an LL value of 30.20+. Even though the variety of bundles (types) is limited in TICLE, the repetitive use of a few bundles (tokens) is markedly higher. This indicates that Turkish EFL learners rely heavily on a restricted set of bundles, using them repeatedly in their writing.

The repetitive use of a limited number of bundles in TICLE highlights a potential area for pedagogical intervention. Encouraging learners to expand their repertoire of lexical bundles through exposure to diverse academic texts and targeted exercises could foster greater lexical variety.

b. Log-likelihood Results of Functional Classifications in Both Corpora

The log-likelihood (LL) ratio of functional types in TICLE and LOCNESS is presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9

Log-Likelihood Results of Functional Types in Both Corpora

Functional Structures	Freq. in Corpus TICLE	Freq. in Corpus LOCNESS	Log-likelihood	Sig.
Stance bundles	78	64	0.29	0.593 -
Discourse organizers	84	80	2.34	0.126 -
Referential bundles	65	79	8.38	0.004 ** -
TOTAL	227	223	8.19	0.004 ** -

Note. **+ indicates overuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS, - **indicates underuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS

According to the functional classification, all of the categories have been underused by Turkish EFL learners in terms of the LL measurement of types. This suggests that most of the structures used by Turkish EFL learners do not have functional properties. Two of these structures have been

significantly underused. The most significant difference is in the referential bundles category, with an LL value of 8.38-, indicating a significant underuse compared to native speakers. The second most significant difference is in discourse organizers, with an LL value of 2.34-, also underused in TICLE. Other differences are not considered significant according to LL measurement ($p < 0.05$). There is a significant underuse of functional properties in TICLE compared to LOCNESS. The total difference is 8.19-, indicating that lexical variety and richness in TICLE are less than in native speakers in terms of using functional bundles.

The LL ratio of tokens of these functional categories is shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Log-Likelihood Results of Functional Tokens in Both Corpora

Functional Structures	Freq. in Corpus TICLE	Freq. in Corpus LOCNESS	Log-likelihood	Sig.
Stance bundles	1768	804	145.70	0.000 ***+
Discourse organizers	2182	965	197.52	0.000 ***+
Referential bundles	1775	1167	12.22	0.000 ***+
TOTAL	5725	2936	289.77	0.000 ***+

Note. **+ indicates overuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS, **- indicates underuse** in TICLE relative to LOCNESS

When examining the LL ratio of tokens in the functional classification, all categories have been extremely overused by Turkish EFL learners, with a total LL value of 289.77+. This indicates that even though all types of these categories have been significantly overused in TICLE, the number of tokens shows an extreme overuse. In other words, the same structures have been produced numerous times in TICLE.

Discourse organizers are the most overused structures among functional structures with an LL value of 197.52+, representing the most significant difference in the entire functional classification. The significant overuse of discourse organizers in terms of tokens suggests that Turkish EFL

learners frequently use these bundles to manage discourse flow. However, the underuse in type frequency indicates limited variety. This finding is consistent with studies by Chen and Baker (2010) and Adel and Erman (2012), who noted similar trends among EFL learners.

Stance bundles are the second most significant difference in comparison to LOCNESS. While Turkish EFL learners underuse stance bundles in terms of types, the token frequency indicates a significant overuse. This suggests a reliance on a few familiar bundles, possibly due to a lack of exposure to a broader range of stance expressions. Aligning with Granger and Paquot (2009), it is essential to encourage learners to diversify their use of stance bundles to enhance their argumentative writing.

The least significant difference belongs to referential bundles with an LL value of 12.22+. The underuse of referential bundles in terms of types and their overuse in tokens highlights a gap in learners' ability to use these bundles effectively. This aligns with Hyland (2008) and Shin's (2018) findings, emphasizing the need for targeted instruction on referential expressions to improve lexical diversity and precision.

Discussion

Discussion for Research Question 1

The underuse of certain bundles (e.g., to-clause fragments, of-phrase fragments) by Turkish EFL learners compared to native speakers aligns with the findings from previous studies, which assert that novice writers infrequently use academic-register lexical bundles. Chen and Baker's (2010) study supports this, showing that native speakers exhibit a wider diversity in their use of bundles compared to their non-native counterparts, a trend also reported by Bychkovska and Lee (2017).

The presence of 40 out of 100 common bundles in both corpora is consistent with Adel and Erman's (2012) research, which identified 60 shared bundles among a total of 130 within their dataset. Conversely, these results contrast with Chen and Baker's (2010) study, which reported a higher shared bundle rate, with 54 shared instances out of a total of 78 bundles. They also

noted that "the use of lexical bundles in nonnative and native student essays is surprisingly similar" (p. 44).

Examining the most frequent items in TICLE, bundles such as *a lot of, the most important, in the world* are considered to be conversation-type bundles, commonly used by learners. This finding is consistent with research by Staples et al. (2013), Chen and Baker (2010), and Bychkovska and Lee (2017). The frequent use of these types of bundles is often cited as a distinctive feature of learner writing. Additionally, Shin (2018) observed a significant presence of these types of lexical bundles in her study, suggesting that their usage is not confined to a specific learner population but rather indicative of novice academic writing, irrespective of the first language.

Furthermore, the structures of the bundles extracted from both TICLE and LOCNESS are not complete grammatical units, as illustrated in the examples provided. This finding is consistent with Biber et al.'s (1999) study, which found that more than 95% of lexical bundles were not complete units in academic writing. Cortes (2004) supports this argument, stating that "lexical bundles are identified empirically, rather than intuitively, as word combinations that recur most commonly in a register, and therefore, lexical bundles are usually not complete structural units, but rather fragmented phrases or clauses with new fragments embedded" (p. 400).

Granger (1998) highlights the role of cross-linguistic influence and transfer in the use of lexical bundles by non-native speakers, which might explain the frequent use of certain conversational bundles in TICLE. Additionally, Paquot (2010) emphasizes the importance of discipline-specific corpora in identifying the functions of lexical bundles, which can provide a more nuanced understanding of their use in academic writing.

Discussion for Research Question 2

Structural Characteristics

Lexical bundles in both the TICLE and LOCNESS corpora were classified according to their structures and functions using Biber et al.'s (2004) taxonomy. Out of 340 distinct bundles, the initial category of the structural

classification pertains to verb phrase fragments, represented by 145 types and 3466 tokens, comprising 42.4% of all structures in the TICLE corpus. A comparison of the structures used in both corpora reveals that while Turkish EFL learners predominantly employed *verb phrase fragments*, native students leaned more towards *noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments*. This implies that Turkish EFL learners produce more VP-based bundles relative to native speakers, corroborating the findings of Chen and Baker (2010) and Shin (2018), who highlighted that student writings typically contain more *VP*-based bundles than those written by native speakers. This trend is especially evident in specific subcategories.

Our categorization scheme also identified this trend in the VP fragments subcategory of personal pronouns + VP fragments, which constituted a quarter of all entries in the structural classification. This finding aligns with studies by Bal Gezegin (2019) and Wei and Lei (2011), which revealed a strong preference for noun phrase structures among native speakers.

Additionally, the analysis uncovered that a substantial portion of the fragments in this subcategory include bundles incorporating embedded *be-verbs,* with 44 types constituting 38.2% of all verb phrase fragments. This finding aligns with Chen and Baker (2010), who reported that a third of the LBs incorporated *be*-verbs, rendering student writing "simplistic and verbose" (p. 866). The authors posited that this overuse might be attributed to the learners' extensive reliance on existential *there*-constructions. This pattern was markedly evident in the argumentative essays of Turkish EFL learners. Examples from our study include *there are some/many/a lot/lots of/many people/ also/so many* (f: 215), *there is a/an* (f: 108), *there is no (f: 89), there is no need* (f: 17), *there is not* (f: 26), *there is nothing* (f: 20).

Contrary to these findings, Ädel and Erman (2012) indicated that native students used more existential-*there* constructions and passives, while non-native students tended to initiate arguments with evaluative bundles like *anticipatory it* patterns (e.g., *it is easy to*). Our research, however, discovered that non-native speakers used more existential *there*-bundles at a significantly higher rate than their native counterparts.

Within the verb phrase fragments, *discourse markers+VP fragments, wh-question* and *yes/no question fragments* were absent in both corpora. This absence could be attributed to the types of corpora studied, as both consist of written registers made up of argumentative essays. Biber et al. (1999) noted that such expressions are more common in spoken registers. Notably, these two structure types were also absent in Elturki's (2015) study, which examined the development of LBs among learners at various proficiency levels over a one-year period.

Another noteworthy finding pertains to *dependent clause fragments*, where learners frequently use *who-relative clauses* with VP bundles, and LBs containing embedded who-clauses such as *people/students/women who are, the people who are, people who have*. These structures do not appear in the native speaker corpus. Moreover, most of these structures involve *people*, indicating an overuse of this somewhat vague word, a pattern characteristic of learner writing. Many of the LBs produced include or collocate with *people*, aligning with previous studies of Chen and Baker (2010) and Bychkovska and Lee (2017).

Within the verb phrase fragments category, a substantial proportion of the expressions produced by Turkish EFL learners encapsulate negative states. This trend is exemplified by phrases such as *students /universities /people /I /you /they /we /it do(es) not* (f: 214), *they/we/people are not* (f: 90), *they/it should not be* (f: 25), *they should not* (f: 11), *I/they/you/we/he/women cannot* (f: 194) …, etc. These negative structures account for 22.6% of the personal pronouns +VP fragments category. This observation stands in contrast with the findings of Shin (2018), who noted that the native writers exhibited a preference for negatively phrased expressions such as *disagree with the statement* and *do not agree with*. Conversely, learner writers tended to favor positively phrased expressions like *agree with the statement* or *so I agree with*, whereas native speakers address negative aspects.

The finding of underusing *to-clause* fragments by Turkish EFL learners diverges from Chen and Baker's (2010) earlier study, which found that both L1 Chinese student writers and NS used "to-clause fragments" extensively, showing a preference for the frame "in order to + Verb."

A quite significant underuse of noun phrase with of-phrase fragments in TICLE in relative to LOCNESS is in line with Shin's (2018) study which reported that the native writers used significantly more noun phrases with of-phrase fragments than their learner counterparts.

Functional Characteristics

The functional analysis revealed that not all the used structures serve a function in the discourse, 67% of bundles in TICLE and 64% of the bundles in LOCNESS did not have any specific functions. The nature of argumentative essays, the specific genre used in our study, could explain this outcome since the primary objective of such essays is "to express [one's] opinion about an issue" (Staples et al., 2013, p. 217).

Discourse organizers were most extensively used by both Turkish EFL learners (36%) and native speakers (35%). This aligns with findings from Chen and Baker's (2010) study, which concluded that both British and Chinese students also employed a significant number of discourse organizers in their writing, particularly to elaborate and/or clarify a topic. Most of the structures used are verb phrase-based bundles, such as *'this means that', 'that is to say', 'can be used'*, etc. Staples et al. (2013) also revealed that in their corpus of EAP texts, more than half of the LBs used functioned as discourse organizers.

In the TICLE corpus, stance bundles were the second most commonly used function (35%), while in the LOCNESS corpus, referential bundles filled this spot (34%). Referential bundles were the least used by Turkish EFL learners (29%), whereas stance bundles were the least frequently used by native speakers (28%). There is a slight underuse of the functional properties in the TICLE corpus compared to the LOCNESS corpus. However, the overall difference between the two corpora in terms of functional properties is significant with a LL value of 8.19-.

Referential bundles, the least frequently used expressions by Turkish EFL learners, were used as the second most frequent bundles by native speakers. Adel and Erman (2012) revealed that the largest proportion of LBs functioned as referential expressions in their study on LBs in academic writing,

attributing the differences between referential expressions and discourse organizers to the frequent use of prepositional phrase-bundles. The minimal use of referential bundles is also observed in previous studies by Shin (2018), Chen and Baker (2010), and Salazar (2014), which found that both native and non-native novice writers used only a few reference bundles, with natives using slightly more than non-natives. Chen and Baker (2010) also noted that using fewer referential bundles is characteristic of novice writers regardless of their first language. In all these studies, the variations in the proportions of bundles in terms of their functions might indicate the different features of different genres. In other words, genre plays an important role in the use of bundles.

The observed differences in structural and functional classifications could be attributed to several factors. First, our non-native speakers are learning English as a foreign language, whereas some studies, including Chen and Baker's (2010) study involving Chinese L1 students, explore contexts where English is a second language. Greater disparities are anticipated when comparing groups from EFL and ESL contexts.

Another factor could be the methodology itself, as ''larger corpora will generate fewer recurrent word combinations with the same cut-off normalized frequency, when compared with smaller corpora, because large corpora will elicit higher converted raw frequencies'' (Chen & Baker, 2010, p. 43; see also Biber & Barbieri, 2007, p. 269). While we employed different cut-off points for each corpus, smaller cut-off points might have revealed different bundle patterns. The differences may also stem from the nature and impact of the (non-disciplinary) argumentative essays, which require students to express their own ideas and opinions and often embody characteristics of spoken genres, such as personal declarations. Besides, the essays were compiled under exam situations in both corpora. The differences with other studies might also stem from learners' reliance on their native language (L1 transfer), where they "choose words and phrases closely resembling their first language or those learnt early or widely used" (Hasselgren, 1994, p. 237). Furthermore, cultural writing styles or habits could also influence the writers.

The similarities between the two corpora in terms of functional properties are not particularly substantial. This could be attributed to the nature of the (non-disciplinary) argumentative essays,

Finally, it should also be noted that we excluded the erroneous and repetitive structures from our analysis. We did not explore the impact of errors on learners' lexical bundle usage, a common phenomenon in learner writing. For instance, Karabacak and Qin's (2013) comparison of lexical bundles used by Turkish, Chinese, and American university students highlighted that the non-native students might possess partial knowledge of a bundle and attempt to produce it, though often unsuccessful. This finding indicates that the learners either lack complete knowledge of the bundles or are unfamiliar with them altogether. Therefore, had we included erroneous and repetitive structures in our analysis, the results might have differed, as learners' attempts to produce lexical bundles could go unnoticed in automatic data-driven and frequency-based approaches (Shin et al., 2018).

Discussion for Research Question 3

Log-likelihood findings of the structural classifications revealed that dependent clause and NP fragments are underused in TICLE, while VP fragments reveal an insignificant overuse in terms of type frequency. This underuse points to a deficit in lexical variety and richness compared to native speaker language use. Nevertheless, the LL values corresponding to the tokens of these structures indicate an overarching overuse by Turkish EFL learners across all three categories. The overuse of these bundles may be attributed to learners' tendency to opt for the safest lexical options labeled as "lexical teddy-bear tendency" by Hasselgren (1994). As a result, Turkish EFL learners underuse other potential alternatives for these existing bundles by clinging to a limited set of phraseological *teddy bears*.

Within the structural classification, the sub-category *verb phrases with passive verbs*, there were no significant differences between two corpora, despite a minor underuse (LL value 1.21-) in TICLE compared to LOCNESS. This aligns with findings from Ädel and Erman (2012), Wei and Lei (2011) and Chen and Baker (2010), who found that native speakers used passive structures more than EFL learners and L1 Chinese students.

Another significant discrepancy is observed in terms of *to-clause fragments,* which Turkish EFL learners underused substantially. This finding

diverges from Chen and Baker's (2010) earlier study, which found that both L1 Chinese student writers and NS used "to-clause fragments" extensively, showing a preference for the frame "in order to + Verb." Additionally, a significant underuse of noun phrase with *of-phrase* fragments in TICLE is observed relative to LOCNESS. This result aligns with Shin's (2018) study, which found that the native writers used significantly more noun phrases with *of-phrase* fragments than their learner counterparts.

An interesting finding is the overuse of *prepositional phrases* by Turkish EFL learners both in terms of type and token LL values. The common expression *in the world* used 19 times by native speakers, while Turkish EFL learners used this expression 109 times. This subcategory features expressions specific to Turkish L1 learners such as *all over the world* (f: 32), *around the world* (f: 12), *all around the world* (f: 18), *in real life* (f: 16), *in the real world* (f: 16), and *for real world* (f: 16). Learners often over-generalize the use of all over the world, classifying it as a 'learner bundle' frequently used in L2 academic writing but rarely in native English academic writing (Chen & Baker, 2010). However, this finding contradicts Shin's (2018) study, which found that native speakers used many idiomatic expressions such as *in the long run* (20) and *in the real world* (17) more than the learners.

A review of token counts reveals a statistically significant overuse of nearly all categories in the functional taxonomy by Turkish EFL learners. The higher number of tokens in TICLE can largely be attributed to the repetitive overuse of a few specific bundles, a finding that aligns with Salazar's (2014) study. The overuse of bundle tokens by non-native speakers is also observed in Wei and Lei's (2011) and Jalali et al.'s (2008) studies. This finding also aligns with Chen and Baker's (2010) research, which found that native speakers produced the broadest variety of lexical bundles, while non-native speakers employed the narrowest range.

Beginning with the stance bundles used by both groups, the log-likelihood value shows an underuse by Turkish EFL learners in terms of types, but a significant overuse in terms of the tokens. This somewhat contradicts with prior research indicating that native writers use proportionally more stance bundles than learners in terms of both types and tokens, as suggested by Ping (2009) and Bychkovska and Lee (2017). Overall, the usage percentages of

epistemic devices by native speakers and Turkish EFL learners are fairly similar, with native speakers employing epistemic bundles slightly more

Within the functional classification, the most significant difference lies in the underuse of *time/place/text reference* bundles by non-native speakers. This could be due to their avoidance of using prepositions for time, place, and text references. Morris and Cobb (2004) argue that L2 learners often resort to avoidance strategies when dealing with multi-word items. It has also been highlighted in the literature that Turkish EFL learners may avoid using certain prepositions when using multi-word items.

Conclusion

This study has revealed significant differences in the use of lexical bundles between Turkish EFL learners and native English speakers, highlighting areas where Turkish learners exhibit less variety and overuse certain bundles compared to their native counterparts.

The analysis shows that Turkish EFL learners predominantly use verb phrase (VP) fragments, accounting for 42% of structures, while noun phrase (NP) and prepositional phrase (PP) fragments are more common among native speakers, making up 46% of their structural classification. In TICLE, NP and PP fragments are the second most common category, comprising 33% of the classification, whereas in LOCNESS, VP fragments represent 33% of all bundles. Dependent clause fragments are the least common in both corpora. This limited use may be due to native speakers producing structures by reducing relative clauses in their essays, which were not apparent in the analysis. For Turkish EFL learners, avoidance of these expressions, particularly those with relative clauses, is likely due to their intermediate proficiency level.

The repetitive use of certain bundles by Turkish EFL learners suggests a reliance on familiar structures, which could be due to concerns about making errors or a preference for using known expressions. This pattern aligns with the "lexical teddy-bear tendency" (Hasselgren, 1994), where learners cling to a limited set of safe, familiar bundles. The overuse of certain bundles may

indicate a lack of exposure to a wider range of lexical items and insufficient practice with varied expressions.

The analysis found that many bundles in TICLE include embedded *be*-verbs and existential *there* constructions. This reliance on simple and familiar structures can render student writing "simplistic and verbose" (Chen & Baker, 2010, p. 866). The overuse of be-verbs and existential constructions like there is/are (e.g., there are some/many/a lot/lots of/many people) is markedly higher among Turkish EFL learners compared to native speakers.

Significant underuse of to-clause fragments and noun phrase with of-phrase fragments was observed among Turkish EFL learners. This finding contrasts with studies indicating a preference for these structures in native writing. The underuse of these fragments may reflect a gap in learners' proficiency and familiarity with more complex grammatical structures.

The functional analysis revealed that not all used structures serve a function in the discourse, with 67% of bundles in TICLE and 64% in LOCNESS lacking functional properties. This outcome can be attributed to the nature of argumentative essays, whose primary objective is "to express [one's] opinion about an issue" (Staples et al., 2013, p. 217). Both Turkish EFL learners (36%) and native speakers (35%) predominantly use discourse organizers, with stance bundles being the second most common in TICLE (35%) and referential bundles in LOCNESS (34%). Referential bundles were the least used by Turkish EFL learners (29%), while stance bundles were the least frequently used by native speakers (28%). Despite a slight underuse of functional properties in TICLE compared to LOCNESS, the overall difference is significant, with an LL value of 8.19-. This suggests that the lexical diversity and richness in TICLE are less than in native speakers in terms of functional bundles.

The study concludes that Turkish EFL students exhibit a restricted range of lexical bundles in their academic writing, relying on a limited set of repeated patterns compared to native English speakers. This may be attributed to limited exposure of the bundles and first language influence. Underusing certain structures in the study may also be attributed to the avoidance strategies learners apply. The study emphasizes the need for explicit instruction on lexical bundles in EFL curricula to enhance the academic writing skills of Turkish students. In conclusion, this study highlights the need for

a more varied and contextually appropriate use of lexical bundles among Turkish EFL learners. By addressing these areas, educators can help learners develop greater lexical diversity and proficiency in academic writing, aligning more closely with native speaker norms.

Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study provide valuable pedagogical insights for English Language Teaching as a Foreign Language. The lack of knowledge of bundles and overuse and underuse of the certain bundles implies some underlying problems in EFL teaching pedagogy in Turkish context. The learner corpus-based studies on the use of multiword items, as in this particular study, contributes to building learner profiles of the learners coming from various L1 backgrounds. The profiles of these learners offer significant insights that can guide the development of customized language teaching materials in ELT and inspire EFL teachers to design bespoke educational resources and corrective teaching activities, techniques, and methodologies. Some of the pedagogical implications are as follows:

Fostering learner awareness: Raising learners' awareness about the use of multiword items in their writings could serve as another effective strategy in teaching these constructs. The use of learner data in the classroom exercises such as comparing learner and native speaker data and analyzing errors in learner language has been suggested to raise awareness. To exemplify, one of the ways is *chunking of text* (Wood, 2015). In this teaching technique, sequences are highlighted and checked by means of online/offline tools or sources and learners begin to use more multi-word items in their writings. Also, activities such *as eliciting the collocations, completing collocations from memory, matching the words together, selecting the missing word* to teach collocations and MWIs are necessary for learners to acquire the required language items. All these help students become aware of gaps between their interlanguage and the language they are learning.

*Explicit Instruction***:** There is a need for explicit instruction on a wider variety of lexical bundles. Teachers should focus on increasing learners' awareness of different types of bundles in different genres and their

appropriate contexts. Explicit instruction on features specific to writing as well as essay-organizing structures would be beneficial for writers at all levels. In this way, learners may better understand the patterns and usages and integrate those patterns into their own productions.

Contextualized Practice: Providing learners with contextualized practice and exposure to authentic texts can help them understand and use a broader range of lexical bundles effectively. Learners can also compare their productions with that of native speakers, consult a learner corpus, and correct characteristic interlanguage issues such as underuse, overuse, misuse, all of which can enhance their writing skills. When learners refer to the concordance lines to see whether the structures they use are correct, concordances can reinforce the learning process.

Corpus-Based Learning: Using learner and native corpora in teaching can highlight gaps in learners' use of lexical bundles and provide models of native-like usage. Learners can also become aware of their errors and correct themselves thanks to various corpus tools provided. Data-Driven Learning (DDL) is a powerful approach that enhances language learning by providing learners with authentic language exposure, promoting self-correction, fostering discovery learning, and developing analytical skills (Gilquin & Granger, 2010). It transforms learners into active participants in their language acquisition process, making it a valuable method in language teaching. Several studies in the literature utilizing DDL in the teaching of lexical bundles in the classroom report positive findings.

The integration of the corpora applications into the English language teaching may be realized by using the freely available and user-friendly web-based tools that have become available such as Lancaster University BNClab (Gablasova, 2020), BNC (2014). Furthermore, some of the platforms are interactive such as FLAX (Interactive Language Learning: FLAX library (nzdl.org). As for the teachers who do not have any equipment and the Internet in their classrooms, some resources offer printed materials for DDL such as Tim Johns' Kibbitzers (https://lexically.net/TimJohns/). These software let students discover the language by themselves, see the words in their contexts, expose authentic language data, enabling them check their errors and use them while doing their homework. Teacher can make use of these tools in

the classrooms to see the number of occurrences of the words. They may also create their own corpus from their learners' writings or make their learners become aware of various text types and genres.

The results of these kind of studies should be integrated into ESL/EFL curriculums. Syllabus design can benefit from the use of specialized corpora in language teaching, tailored to students' proficiency levels and specific needs. Language teachers, ELT publishers and practitioners need to be enlighted about the utilization of corpus data and corpus-based teaching methods within their classrooms. Textbooks and other teaching materials should be prepared taking these frequently used structures into account. This can help students gain a deeper understanding of these structures and assist them in becoming more like native speakers. The incorporation of MWIs and bundles into the current syllabus should be promoted, and learners should be encouraged to verify their own language usage by referencing existing corpora. Last but not least, EFL teachers should be equipped with the skills of applying data-driven and corpus-based teaching techniques to use in their classrooms.

Future research should continue to explore the use of lexical bundles across different genres and proficiency levels and with learners from different L1 backgrounds. Additionally, investigating the impact of explicit instruction and corpus-based learning on learners' use of lexical bundles can provide valuable insights for language teaching.

Limitations of the Study

This study makes use of corpus-based techniques to analyze the use of lexical bundles in the written performances by Turkish EFL students and available in International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) as a sub corpus. Although the corpus data to be used for this purpose is the most suitable one available in the field, it is still limited to the ones included in the TICLE and the LOCNESS. Also, only 3 and 4-word bundles were analysed in the study, excluding the erroneous structures. In addition, the study has been carried out by limiting its scope to the structural and functional categorization of lexical bundles produced by Turkish EFL learners and native speakers.

References

Ädel, A., & Erman, B. (2012). Recurrent word combinations in academic writing by native and non-native speakers of English: A lexical bundles approach. *English for Specific Purposes*, *31*(2), 81–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2011.08.004

Anthony, L. (2020). AntConc (Version 3.5.9) [Computer Software]. Waseda University. https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software

Bal Gezegin, B. (2019). Lexical bundles in published research articles: A corpus-based study. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies, 15*(2), 520–534. https://doi.org/10.17263/jlls.586188

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English.* Longman.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Cortes, V. (2003). Lexical bundles in speech and writing: An initial taxonomy. In A. Wilson, P. Rayson & T. McEnery (Eds.), *Corpus linguistics by the Lune: a festschrift for Geoffrey Leech* (pp. 71–93). Peter Lang. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2006.08.003

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Cortes, V. (2004). If you look at ...: Lexical bundles in university teaching and textbooks. *Applied Linguistics, 25*(3), 371–405. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/25.3.371

Biber, D., & Barbieri, F. (2007). Lexical Bundles in University spoken and written registers. *English for Specific Purposes, 26,* 263–286. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2006.08.003

Biber, D., & Conrad, S. (2009). *Real grammar. A corpus-based approach to English*. Pearson Longman.

Bychkovska, T., & Lee, J. (2017). At the same time: Lexical bundles in L1 and L2 university student argumentative writing. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 30*, 38–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2017.10.008

Byrd, P., & Coxhead, A. (2010). On the other hand: Lexical bundles in academic writing and in the teaching of EAP. *University of Sydney Papers in TESOL,* 5, 31–64.

Chen, Y. H., & Baker, P. (2010). Lexical bundles in L1 and L2 academic writing. *Language Learning and Technology,* 14(2), 30–49.

http://dx.doi.org/10125/44213

Chenu, F., & Jisa, H. (2009). Reviewing some similarities and differences in L1 and L2 lexical development. A*cquisition et interaction en langue étrangère,* 17–38. https://doi.org/10.4000/aile.4506

Conklin, K., & N. Schmitt. (2008). Formulaic sequences: Are they processed more quickly than nonformulaic language by native and nonnative speakers? *Applied Linguistics, 29*(1), 72–89. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amm022

Cortes, V. (2004). Lexical bundles in published and student disciplinary writing: Examples from history and biology. *English for Specific Purposes, 23*(4), 397–423. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2003.12.001

Cortes, V., & Lake, W. (2023). A solution to the problem of attaining observation independence in lexical bundle studies. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 28*(2), 263–277. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.21100.cor

Elturki, E. (2015). *The development of formulaic sequences: A longitudinal learner corpus investigation.* Dissertation, Washington State University, Washington. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.18.1.07odo

Gablasova, D. (2020). *How corpus-based resources, BNClab and LancsBox, can be used by teachers to develop innovative classes that integrate digital technology.* Digital technology and innovation in teaching, Cork, Ireland.

Gilquin, G., & Granger, S. (2010). *How can data-driven learning be used in language teaching?* In A. O'Keeffe & M. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of corpus linguistics* (pp. 359–370). Routledge.

Granger, S. (1998). Prefabricated patterns in advanced EFL writing: Collocations and formulae. In A. P. Cowie (Eds.), *Phraseology: Theory, analysis and applications* (pp. 145–160). Clarendon Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198294252.003.007

Granger, S., Dagneaux, E., & Meunier, F. (2009). *The international corpus of learner English version 2. handbook and CD-ROM*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain. http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/75579

Hasselgren, A. (1994). Lexical teddy bears and advanced learners: a study into

the ways Norwegian students cope with English vocabulary. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 4*(2), 237–258. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.1994.tb00065.x

Hyland, K. (2008). Academic clusters: text patterning in published and postgraduate writing. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 18*(1), 41–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2008.00178.x

Karabacak, E., & Qin, J. (2013). Comparison of lexical bundles used by Turkish, Chinese, and American university students. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *70*, 622–628. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.01.101

Morris, L., & Cobb, T. (2004). Vocabulary profiles as predictors of the academic performance of Teaching English as a Second Language trainees. *System 32*, 75–87. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2003.05.001

Muşlu, M. (2018). Use of stance lexical bundles by Turkish and Japanese EFL learners and native English speakers in academic writing. *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences, 17*(4). https://doi.org/10.21547/jss.444386

Nekrasova, T. M. (2009). English L1 and L2 Speakers' Knowledge of Lexical Bundles. *Language Learning*, *59*(3), 647–686. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2009.00520.x

Nesselhauf, N. (2004). 'Learner Corpora and their Potential for Language Teaching'. In J. Sinclair (Ed.), *How to use corpora in language teaching* (pp. 125–52). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.12.11nes

Nesselhauf, N. (2005). *Collocations in a learner corpus*. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.14

Ping, P. (2009). A study of the use of four-word lexical bundles in argumentative essays by Chinese English majors—a comparative study based on WECCL and LOCNESS. *CELEA Journal, 32*(3), 25–45.

Salazar, D. (2014). *Lexical bundles in native and non-native scientific writing: Applying a corpus-based study to language teaching* (Vol. 65). John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.65

Schmitt, N., & Carter, R. (2004). Formulaic sequences in action: An introduction. In N. Schmitt (Ed.), *Formulaic sequences: Acquisition, processing, and use* (pp. 1–22). Benjamins.

https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.9.02sch

Schmitt, N., Dörnyei, Z., Adolphs, S., & Durow, V. (2004). Knowledge and acquisition of formulaic sequences: A longitudinal study. In N. Schmitt (Ed.), *The acquisition and use of formulaic sequences* (pp. 55–86). John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.9.05sch

Shin, Y. K. (2018). *Lexical bundles in argumentative essays by native and nonnative English-speaking novice academic writers.* Dissertation, Georgia State University. https://doi.org/10.57709/11994284

Sinclair, J. M. (Ed.). (1987). *Looking up: An account of the COBUILD project in lexical computing*. Collins ELT.

Staples, S., Egbert, J., Biber, D., & McClair, A. (2013). Formulaic sequences and EAP writing development: Lexical bundles in the TOEFL iBT writing section. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 12*, 214–225. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2013.05.002

Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). *Corpus linguistics at work.* Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.6

Uçar, S., & Zarfsaz, E. (2022). A corpus-based study: The employment of lexical bundles in Turkish students' academic writing. *Türkiye Bilimsel Araştırmalar Dergisi, 7*(2), 329–341.

Wei, Y., & Lei, L. (2011). Lexical bundles in the academic writing of advanced Chinese EFL learners. *RELC Journal, 42*(2), 155–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0033688211407295

Williamson, G. (2013). SLT info. http://www.sltinfo.com/type-token-ratio.html

Wood, D. (2015). *Fundamentals of formulaic language: An introduction.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Sibel Aybek
Čukurovos universitetas, Turkija
sibelaybek1@gmail.com
Cem Can
Čukurovos universitetas, Turkija
cemcan01@gmail.com

LYGINAMOJI LEKSINIŲ JUNGINIŲ ANALIZĖ AKADEMINIUOSE RAŠTO DARBUOSE, KURIUOS PARENGĖ GIMTAKALBIAI ANGLŲ KALBOS VARTOTOJAI IR TURKAI, BESIMOKANTYS ANGLŲ KAIP UŽSIENIO KALBOS

Anotacija. Autentiška kalbos vartosena dažnai susideda iš pasikartojančių junginių, vadinamų daugiažodžiais vienetais, arba formulinėmis frazėmis (Byrd & Coxhead, 2010), kurios yra kaip esminiai „diskurso statybiniai blokai tiek žodiniame, tiek rašytiniame registre" (Biber & Barbieri, 2007, p. 263). Leksiniai junginiai, formulinių frazių sekos dalis, apibrėžiami kaip „pasikartojantys išsireiškimai, nepriklausomai nuo jų idiomatiškumo ir nuo jų struktūrinio statuso" (Biber ir kt., 1999, p. 990). Tyrimas nagrinėja dažniausiai vartojamų 3 ir 4 žodžių leksinių junginių vartojimą Tarptautinio besimokančiųjų anglų kalbos tekstyno (ICLE) turkų kalbos dalyje (TICLE) ir Louvain (Luvėno) gimtakalbių anglų kalbos rašinių tekstyne (LOCNESS) kaip kontroliniame lygiagrečiame tekstyne. Leksiniai junginiai klasifikuojami pagal jų struktūrines ir funkcines charakteristikas remiantis Biber et al. (2003; 2004) sukurta taksonomija. Atliekama interpretatyvi kontrastyvinė gimtakalbių (LOCNESS) ir negimtakalbių (TICLE) duomenų rinkinių analizė. Rezultatai rodo, kad anglų kaip užsienio kalbos besimokantys turkai vartoja per daug veiksmažodžių frazių fragmentų, o daiktavardžių ir prielinksninių frazių fragmentų – per mažai. Be to, TICLE tekstuose pastebima mažesnė leksinė įvairovė, palyginti su LOCNESS tekstais. Kalbant apie funkcinę klasifikaciją, anglų kalbos besimokantys turkai linkę per dažnai vartoti tam tikrą apibrėžtą funkcinių junginių dalį, nors apskritai jų vartoja mažiau. Šie rezultatai atskleidžia esmines problemas, kylančias mokant anglų kaip užsienio kalbos, ypač poreikį išsamiai ir tiksliai mokyti vartoti daugiažodžius vienetus.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: tekstynų lingvistika; besimokančiųjų tekstynai; leksiniai junginiai; daugiažodžiai vienetai; turkai, besimokantys anglų kaip užsienio kalbos.

Nivedita Malini Barua
Gauhati University, India

ROLE OF COLLABORATIVE READING IN LEARNERS' HOME LANGUAGE(S) IN DEVELOPING READING COMPREHENSION IN ENGLISH

Abstract. This paper reports the findings of a study that the researcher undertook in order to develop the reading comprehension of a group of tertiary level ESL students. The researcher teaches in the department of English Language Teaching to a linguistically diverse class of thirty four students in an Indian university. It was observed that the students were not able to critically engage with the text, and the assignments that were submitted indicated a lack of understanding of the course materials. An intervention was planned which aimed to determine whether the use of home languages while making notes facilitates the comprehension of challenging academic texts. In the first stage of the study, the participants read the texts on their own and made notes on them based on which they wrote individual summaries in English. In the second stage, the participants discussed the content in English in groups of three and made notes based on which they wrote individual summaries in English. In the last stage, the participants discussed the content in their home language/s in the same groups and made notes in whichever language/s they were comfortable in. Then they wrote individual summaries in English based on the notes. The scores for each stage were compared. The findings revealed that the participants successfully produced more detailed notes and summaries when they worked collaboratively and used their own home language/s for discussion and taking notes.

Keywords: collaborative reading; home language; reading comprehension; summarization; translanguaging.

Introduction

Reading is a complicated process in which the reader engages actively with the text using their "cognitive and metacognitive skills" in order to understand the text (Kintsch, 2002). According to Bermillo, Lycel and Merto (2022), the ability to read with proper understanding is a *desideratum*

to academic success. The ability to read with proper understanding is of paramount importance for the academic progress of both foreign and second language learners (Grabe, 2009). However, tertiary level students are yet to master the skill of comprehending big chunks of academic texts in "a fast, efficient, and effective manner" (Trudell, 2019). Another reading challenge for English as a second language (ESL) readers is that most of the college textbooks and reading materials are in English (Van Weijen, Tillema, & Van den Bergh, 2012). Students have very little exposure to challenging academic texts in English and, therefore, they have very limited "reading expertise and background" to deal with the texts that they encounter in higher education (Beeker, 2012 as cited in Yapp, de Graaff, & van den Bergh, 2021). Though it is an important and relevant issue (Grabe & Stoller, 2011), research into second language (L2) reading strategies has been scant (Zoghi, Mustapha, & Maasum, 2014).

In India, at the primary and secondary levels of education, the language of instruction (LOI) may either be the local language or English. However, English predominantly becomes the LOI at the higher education level across most disciplines, and the prescribed course books are also in English. Consequently, students who have been educated in their home languages at the primary and secondary levels of education are often required to engage with academic texts in English at the tertiary level. This shift in the medium of instruction is frequently cited as a significant factor contributing to the challenges that many Indian students face in comprehending academic texts in English.

The researcher teaches English Language Teaching (ELT) to a linguistically diverse class of thirty four students in an Indian university. As part of the course requirements, students are expected to engage with a variety of academic texts in English. For classroom assignments, students are required to write essays, reports, and other types of written work in English, drawing upon their readings of the academic texts. The researcher observed that her students were finding it difficult to critically engage with the text and their written assignments indicated a lack of adequate reading comprehension. As a solution to this problem, the researcher decided to intervene by making her students discuss the content of the texts using all

the languages that they had access to including their home language(s). This approach was primarily implemented to accommodate students in a multilingual classroom who do not speak the majority language or the local language. Moreover, the language varieties that the students speak are sometimes mutually unintelligible. At times, they are seen to be resorting to the use of "link languages" (Chapia, 2020), such as Hindi and English to communicate with their fellow students.

Recent studies have highlighted the significant role of learners' home language or L1 as "resource for learning" (Omidire& Ayob, 2022, p.106). These studies have emphasized the importance of incorporating the home language as a scaffolding tool for learning in multilingual classrooms. A number of studies such as Garcia and Wei (2014), Makalela (2015b) and Mqijima and Makalela (2016), as cited in Omidire and Ayob (2022), have supported the shift from monolingual orientations in multilingual contexts where learners' entire linguistic repertoire is harnessed to achieve optimal learning. Although the study cites Duarte (2019) in support of the benefits of translanguaging strategies in multilingual classrooms, it also highlights the lack of sufficient research on how these strategies are implemented in multilingual classrooms. The present study investigates whether a translanguaging strategy, such as collaborative reading in learners' home language(s), can improve reading comprehension of challenging academic texts.

Son and Kim (2021) have defined translanguaging as the process in which speakers use the languages at their disposal without any restriction to create meaning according to "the communicative context". Wei and Garcia (2022) sought to clarify the misunderstanding that the term "translanguaging" is often interpreted as the use of the "first language" of multilingual students. However, they emphasized that in order to understand the concept of translanguaging one needs to go beyond the "socially constructed interpretation of language" (p. 314); instead, it should be regarded as "a unitary repertoire" (p. 322) enabling students to engage with the entire repertoire of language elements at their disposal.

The present study investigates whether peer discussions that draw on all the languages in learners' repertoire, including their home language(s),

facilitate the comprehension of challenging academic texts in English. For the purpose of the study, three sets of three different types of texts were identified from the prescribed course books. All three sets had a narrative text, an expository text, and an argumentative text each. The researcher instructed the students to discuss the texts in groups and take notes. This was followed by writing individual summaries based on these notes. The summarization technique was employed to determine whether there was any change in the learners' reading comprehension after using their entire linguistic repertoire to discuss the content of the texts. This technique was considered suitable because a summary demonstrates the extent of comprehension, as it requires students to rewrite or outline only the most important parts of a passage (Zafarania & Kabgani, 2014). The student's focus is on identifying the most important parts of the text. More importantly, it also enables them to realize how different parts of the text come together to form a cohesive whole and how they support the title or main topic of the text.

The two research questions were:

- Could participants produce better summaries when using all the languages at their disposal, including their home language(s), to discuss the provided texts?
- Were they able to comprehend all three types of texts equally well when using their full linguistic repertoire?

Literature Review

Academicians and English language teaching professionals involved in the field of English as a Second Language (ESL) have been attempting to develop effective second language (L2) programs, and one of the most challenging areas has been the use of the learners' first language (L1) in the second language (L2) classroom. The extant literature on strategic reading instruction in L2, especially in ESL contexts, is limited. There is a pressing need for more research on L2 reading instruction aimed at developing reading comprehension in ESL contexts (Young-Mee Suh as cited

in Grabe, 2004, p. 55).Though the use of L1 in the L2 classroom is a controversial one, and the use of L1 is usually not encouraged in the L2 classroom, research has shown that learners may benefit from the strategic use of the L1 in the L2 classroom (Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003).

An in-depth literature review follows that would help justify the need for the present study. The following six headings under literature review present the six research areas related to the present study.

Teaching of Reading Strategies

Though the burgeoning volume of research on teaching of reading strategies is proof of the importance attributed to developing learners' reading skills, it is still a neglected area in the ESL classroom. Some recent studies have explored various aspects of reading strategies and schema building, which also allow for the incorporation of strategies such as collaborative reading and the use of home language(s), as investigated in the present study. Studies such as Sengupta's (2002) highlight the necessity of going beyond simple strategies which is encouraging for the present study that explores the role of learners' home language in teaching reading. Although Shen's (2009) study investigates the role of discussions among learners in building their schema and increasing their motivation, it does not explore the use of learners' home languages in these discussions. It focuses more on relying on one's memory to search for items in L2 to express what learners have in mind. More recently, Stoller, Anderson, Grabe, and Komiyama's (2013) study further emphasized the importance of class discussions to understand the main idea and help learners to relate the text content to their background knowledge. Yang (2010) in her study examined the differences and similarities between L1 and L2 reading and explored the role of schema. The argument put forward was that if learners, irrespective of the language(s) they spoke, were acquainted with the content as well as the formal and linguistic schema, they could understand any text. These studies suggest that leveraging a learner's L1 could be an effective strategy for enhancing L2 reading comprehension.

Collaborative Reading

A number of studies have proven the efficacy of collaborative reading but, as the following discussion shows, only a handful of them have actually looked at the use of learners' home languages during class discussions. Modified Collaboration Strategic Reading (MCSR) combines collaborative learning and reading strategy instruction. Klingner and Vaughn (1996) in their study assessed the attitudes of the students towards the effectiveness of MCSR. Vaughn and Edmonds (2006) also showed how collaborative reading helps in comprehending the reading material better. Since then, a series of studies—such as those by Stoller et al. (2013), Zoghi, Mustapha, and Maasum (2014), and Bermillo (2022)—have revealed that Collaborative Strategic Reading (CSR) is effective in improving reading comprehension among various groups of learners, as well as enhancing their reading motivation. More recently, Turnbull and Evans (2019) found that the group using their L1 during discussions demonstrated higher recall.

Reading and Taking Notes

Though Özçakmak and Mustafa's (2019) study indicated that note taking did not affect comprehension, it was strongly refuted by other studies (Faber et al., 2000; Belet, 2005; Tok & Beyazıt, 2007). They also acknowledged that factors such as the nature of the text and the length and the interest factor of the content might have had an impact on the findings. While commenting on the dearth of literature on the effectiveness of note taking on listening and reading comprehension, they also noted that taking notes enables students to understand the content of the text better since they read more attentively.

Use of Home Language in L2 Classroom

Recent studies have emphasized the benefits of using the L1 as a scaffold for learning, as it facilitates better comprehension of content.

Storch and Wigglesworth's (2003) study explored an important aspect of L1 use in language learning, specifically focusing on learners' attitudes towards the use of their first language (L1) in the classroom. Their study found that although the learners were aware of the benefits of using L1 as a tool, they were reluctant to use it when completing the tasks. The researchers strongly advocate for allowing students to use their L1 during collaborative work (p. 768). They recommend follow-up research on the "potentially valuable role of the L1" (p. 768). Eisenchlas, Schalley, and Guillemin (2013) used the term "home language", which they defined as the language that is picked up by a child at home, and the language that the child knows best before their formal education begins. Although that study focused on young children, the term "home language" deemed most suitable for the present study, referring to the language(s) spoken at home in which the speaker feels most comfortable. Conteh (2018) highlights the "pedagogic potential" of translanguaging, noting that an increasing number of researchers working in multilingual teaching and learning contexts have begun to refer to "Translanguaging" as the practice of speaking and writing in different languages. Omidere (2019) comments that the use of home languages is instrumental in making classrooms more interactive and for learning to take place in the process.

Dougherty cites Celic and Seltzer's (2011) review of translanguaging strategies in classrooms that have been used successfully in places as varied as the UK and Africa. The process of planned and strategic translanguaging, or the strategic use of all the language varieties at the student's disposal, can be defined as pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz, 2017, p. 194). It has also been defined as "a theoretical and instructional approach" to improve students' linguistic and content competences through the use of all the language varieties in their repertoire (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021). Pedagogical translanguaging is also considered as an effective means for consolidating what has been learnt and offering opportunities for increased flexibility in language use by multilingual speakers (Duarte & Kirsch, 2020). Dougherty (2021) discusses translanguaging strategies in the language classroom, highlighting how a "translanguaging space" can be created either spontaneously or strategically to support both the academic and social

aspects of a lesson. Anderson (2024) acknowledges the growing interest in translanguaging as a theory and as a pedagogical tool. According to the weaker definition of translanguaging, any practices that draw on learners' broad linguistic repertoire to facilitate communication and understanding can be considered translanguaging, although this also depends in part on how it is implemented in the classroom. Although he acknowledges that translanguaging has long been prevalent in multilingual contexts such as India, researchers have a responsibility to observe, analyze and learn from these practices.

Use of Learners' Home Language(s) in Reading

The benefits of using the learners' L1 as an "essential tool" for reading was acknowledged as far back as the 1990s by Villamil and De Guerrero(1996) that listed five strategies used by Spanish college students during collaborative reading. Three of these five strategies that are of interest in the context of the present study are: using the L1, providing scaffolding, and resorting to interlanguage knowledge. Seng and Hashim's (2006) study showed that while reading texts in their L2, learners use their L1 to think about the content and to understand the text better. Garcia and Sylvan (2011) acknowledged the multilingual/ multicultural reality of today's classrooms, and how students' abilities can be developed by exploiting the different languages present in the classroom. Their paper presents translanguaging as an effective tool for enhancing understanding and addressing the needs of individual learners in multilingual classroom contexts. This is supported by studies such as Ocampo's (2023), which found a strong connection between translanguaging and reading comprehension. The conclusion drawn emphasizes the importance of increased group discussions and classroom interactions, as a high degree of correlation was found between reading comprehension and the use of translanguaging.

According to Hungwe (2019), translanguaging could be used to develop fluency in both L1 and L2. Moreover, it also aids in improving reading comprehension and in understanding various concepts more effectively. Ocampo (2023) interprets translanguaging as the technique in which learners

use all languages in their repertoire to learn concepts. The study also emphasizes the use of translanguaging to foster the development of higher-order thinking and highlights the crucial role of teachers in allowing and encouraging ESL students to express their thoughts in their native languages. A study conducted by Yapp, Graaff, and Bergh (2021) recommends further research on the use of various reading strategies in L2 reading, especially for vocational students. Several studies, including Li and Clariana's (2019), have acknowledged the lack of research on text-level reading on reading comprehension in a language that is not the reader's native language. Building on these findings, the present study seeks to bridge this research gap by evaluating the effectiveness of a translanguaging strategy implemented in a multilingual classroom.

Use of Summary to Assess Reading Comprehension

In the past few decades, a significant amount of research has been conducted on the relation between the summarization technique and reading comprehension. Asención Delaney's (2008) study suggested that there was a connection between summarizing and L2 reading. Summarizing and reading comprehension are strongly interlinked as in order to write a good summary the writer must first understand the text (Kintsch &van Dijk, 1978). This is the reason why summary writing is frequently used to measure the reading comprehension of participants (e.g., Cohen 1994; Yu 2008). Zafarania and Kabgani (2014) recognize summarization as a "complex process" (p. 1961) that requires readers to sift through and differentiate between the more important and less important ideas and then recreate them as a new text that could replace the original. In their study, the focus is more on what goes into writing a good summary and the emphasis is mainly on writing. In another study by Yamanishi, Ono, and Hijikata (2019), the summarization technique is a component of a larger reading comprehension assessment. The present study focuses exclusively on the summarization technique, as it aims to explore how summaries can be used to determine to what extent the reader is able to identify the main idea, supporting points, and related elements. The summaries were evaluated based on these comprehension criteria rather

than the conventions of summary writing. As a result, the writing process itself was not emphasized or assessed.

The relevance of the present study becomes particularly evident in the context of such studies, as it determines whether allowing learners to draw on all the language varieties in their repertoire enhances their ability to comprehend dense academic texts in a multilingual teaching-learning context. A significant portion of this literature review aims to underscore gaps that exist in the use of translanguaging strategies in complex multilingual teaching-learning settings. This gap, particularly evident in the researcher's own teaching-learning context, served as a powerful motivator for undertaking the present study.

Methodology

Participants

The researcher teaches a linguistically diverse group of students in an Indian university. The participants were a cohort of 34 postgraduate students in the department of English Language Teaching. They were selected using a convenience sampling method. Convenience sampling or availability sampling is a method that involves collection of data from participants who are available to participate in the study (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012). For the present study, 34 participants attending the English for Specific Purposes course taught by the researcher were selected. The mean age of this group was 20 years. The majority of them were speakers of different varieties of Assamese (the dominant indigenous language in the region), but there were also speakers of based on (another indigenous language spoken in Assam), Naga (spoken in the neighboring state of Nagaland), varieties of Bengali (spoken in Assam and West Bengal) and a variety of Bihari (spoken in the state of Bihar). All of them had similar levels of proficiency in English. It is important to note that all the participants in the study took part voluntarily. Their involvement was based on informed consent, ensuring that they were fully aware of the study's objectives and procedures.

Data Collection and Procedure

Although the participants' reading proficiency was already known to the researcher, as she had taught them for nearly one and a half years prior to conducting the experiment, the individual summaries written by the participants following the discussions were used as a tool to assess their reading comprehension. These summaries provided valuable insights into how well the participants understood the academic texts and reflected their ability to synthesize and articulate key ideas from the material. This method of assessment allowed for a more nuanced evaluation of their comprehension beyond the researcher's prior knowledge of their abilities.

Three sets of three different types of texts were used for this purpose. They were mainly excerpts from two books on English for Specific Purposes (ESP) viz. *English for Specific Purposes: a learning centered approach* by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) and *Developments in English for Specific Purposes: A multidisciplinary approach* by Dudley Evans and Jo St John (1998). For the purpose of this study, three types of texts were identified: narrative, expository and argumentative. The extant literature on different types or genres of texts presents conflicting viewpoints on the criteria for classification of different types of texts. For ease of study, the following interpretations of the three types of texts were considered. A loose definition of a narrative text would be a text that presents a series of events arranged on a timeline of related elements (Brewer, 1980, as cited in Wannagat, Henkel, & Nieding, 2020). An expository text often contains ideas or information that is usually "new to the reader" (Mar, Li, Nguyen, & Ta, 2021, p. 733). Argumentative texts, on the other hand, are those texts that contain structured text content through "high level thinking skills" (Ozdemir, 2018, p. 112), where the argument is presented from different perspectives and where the arguments and the rebuttals may not be organized in an explicit manner.

All three sets of texts in all three stages included a narrative text, an expository text and an argumentative text. In each of the stages, the participants were first made to read the three different texts and write a summary for each of the passages. They were scored on the basis of

writing about the main idea and specific details from the original passage in their own words, including the important details from the original text in the summary. In the first stage (Stage 1) of the study, the participants read the first set of texts on their own and took notes based on which they wrote individual summaries in English. The participants were divided into groups of three for the next two stages of the study. According to Harvey and Goudvis (2000), organizing students into discussion groups enhances their understanding of texts. The groups were composed of students who spoke different language varieties. In the second stage (Stage 2), the participants discussed the content of the second set of texts in English in their groups and took notes. Then they wrote individual summaries in English based on these notes. In the final stage (Stage 3), the participants discussed the content of the third set of texts using all the languages that were available to them in the same groups and took notes in whichever language(s) they were most comfortable with. Then they wrote individual summaries in English based on the notes. Students were required to write their summaries in English, as tertiary-level students are expected to demonstrate proficiency in academic writing skills and complete assignments in English after reading texts in the same language. Moreover, the primary objective of this study was to determine if students wrote better summaries after discussing the content of the academic texts in their home language(s). Since in the previous two stages they wrote their summaries in English, they were required to write the third set of summaries in English in order to maintain uniformity and for more reliability in scoring. The scores for each stage were compared.

The summary was used to determine the level of reading comprehension because numerous studies have proved that summaries measure and promote reading comprehension. As mentioned earlier, a good summary has been found to be a strong indicator of effective reading comprehension. Each summary written by the students was scored according to a holistic rubric that assigned grades based on a set of holistic criteria rather than on individual aspects of writing. In other words, the summaries were scored based on a set of holistic criteria and not on how the participants actually wrote their summaries. An analytical scoring rubric was used to evaluate participants' pre and post-intervention summary scripts. The four

different aspects included in the rubric were: identifying the central idea, finding the supporting details, understanding vocabulary, and making inferences (Sam & Rajan, 2013).The rubric for the summarization technique has been borrowed from Madnani, Burstein, Sabatini, and O'Reilly (2013), and is provided in the Annex. Although their study primarily focused on the use of automated scoring for summaries, they also recommended using summaries as an effective tool for assessing reading comprehension. It was believed that, to determine whether students were able to construct the mental models necessary for reading, they should be asked to identify the central idea of a text, locate specific information within it, and make connections between its different points. According to studies such as Yu (2008), these four cognitive functions are most effectively demonstrated through summary writing. The summaries were checked for the presence of these four aspects and each aspect was scored on a scale of 4 and the total scores were calculated. It is important to note that participants were asked to write summaries as a "performative activity" (Brown & Abeywickrame, 2018) to demonstrate their reading comprehension. As such, the summaries were evaluated not on the quality of writing, but for the extent to which they reflected the participants' understanding of the provided texts. The researcher scored the summaries using a scoring rubric. Intra-rater reliability was maintained by going through all the summaries once without assigning scores and then coming back to the same set and giving final scores or grades, as recommended by Brown and Abeywickrame (2018).

The participants were asked to complete the tasks as home assignments. They were instructed to read the text and then write a summary of not more than 500 words. The quality of writing was not checked since summarizing involves a set of writing skills that differ from, and may be more complicated than reading skills. Instead, the focus was on how well the student was able to convey their interpretation of the texts in their own words. The emphasis was placed on assessing how effectively participants could distill the main ideas and essential content from the text, rather than on the mechanics of their writing.

Data Analysis

One of the aims of this study was to determine if there is a difference in the scores obtained by the students between the three stages, and if there is a significant difference in Stage 3 in which the participants used their home language(s) to discuss the content of the three types of texts. The scores of Text 1 (narrative), Text 2 (expository) and Text 3(argumentative) for each stage were added and tested for the difference in the mean text scores between the three stages, i.e., Stage 1, Stage 2, and Stage 3. A single-factor ANOVA was conducted to compare the means of the three groups. Another aim of this paper was to investigate whether there was any difference in difficulty level among the three types of texts. In order to determine this, the average score of Text 1 overall (for Stages 1, 2 and 3) was taken and the same was done for Text 2 and Text 3. The average scores between Texts 1, 2 and 3 were compared.

Findings

The findings of this study are presented in two sections: (1) statistics illustrating score differences across all three stages, and (2) statistics comparing scores among the three types of texts.

Difference in Scores in All Three Stages

Table 1

Sample Summary Statistics (N=34)

Variables	Mean
No discussion (Stage 1)	4.30
Discussion in English (Stage 2)	5
Discussion in own language(s) (Stage 3)	8.35

The results, as shown in Table 1, indicate a significant difference in the means between the three stages as seen from the p-value which is less than 0.01. Discussion in own language (Stage 3) had the highest mean scores out of the three and this difference was statistically significant.

Table 2

Comparison between Students' Scores Obtained in Stage 1, Stage 2, and Stage 3

Source	SS	Df	MS	F	p
Between Groups	319.76	2	159.88	71.68	0.00
Within Groups	220.82	99	2.23		
Total	540.60	101			

Note: SS = Sum of Squares, df = degrees of freedom, MS = Mean Square, F = F-statistic, *p* = significance level.

The F-statistic of the ANOVA will be higher and the p-value will be lower if the variation in the between-group is high compared to the within-group. In such a scenario, the null hypothesis that the group means are equal can be rejected. In Table 2, since the p-value is less than 0.01, it can be conclusively proved that there is a significant difference between the mean scores of the three stages and Stage 3 has a significantly higher mean test score than Stage 1 and Stage 2.

Comparison of Scores Obtained for the Three Types of Texts

Table 3

Sample Summary Statistics (N=34)

Variables	Mean
Narrative	2.2352
Expository	2.1764
Argumentative	1.598

The present research also aimed to investigate whether certain texts are easier to comprehend. To determine this, the overall average score for Text 1(narrative), based on Stages 1, 2, and 3 was calculated. The same was done for Text 2 (expository) and Text 3(argumentative). The average scores of Texts 1, 2 and 3 were then compared.

Table 4

Comparison between Overall Average Scores in Narrative, Expository, and Argumentative Text Styles

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p	F crit
Between Groups	8.43	2	4.21	20.08	0.00	3.10
Within Groups	20.78	99	0.20			
Total	29.22	101				

Note: SS = Sum of Squares, df = degrees of freedom, MS = Mean Square, F = F-statistic, *p* = significance level, *F*crit = critical F-value

ANOVA results in Table 4 show that overall narrative texts were easier to comprehend compared to expository and argumentative texts and the difference is significant as seen from the p-value which is less than 0.01. The results also indicate that the argumentative texts were found to be most difficult to comprehend.

Discussion

The present study aimed to explore the role of home languages in facilitating better comprehension of academic texts in L2. The research used summarizing as a tool to assess how far the reading material could be comprehended. The results strongly indicate that appropriate translanguaging strategies can be effective in facilitating reading comprehension in L2. It was found that there was a positive correlation between group discussions in learners' home languages and a greater understanding of academic texts in English. The findings of this study align with several studies such as Turnbull and Evans (2017) who observed that use of learners' home language(s) in group discussions while reading led to greater engagement with the text.

The summaries of all three types of texts in Stage 1, where participants did not engage in classroom discussions, indicate a relatively low level of understanding of the text. On the other hand, the participants in Stage 2 in which they discussed the texts in English, displayed a better understanding of the text than in Stage 1, suggesting benefits of group discussion in general. This finding is consistent with those reported by studies such as Rizwanand Rachmijati (2021) and Ningsi, Amin, and Muhsin (2021)

which established that group discussions enable learners to read with better comprehension. The participants in Stage 3, who discussed the texts in all the languages that were available to them, wrote better summaries with the main idea and the supporting ideas that were intact and in their own words.

However, the summaries created for the argumentative texts indicated a lack of adequate understanding of the text. This trend was also evident in Stage 1 and 2 where, although the overall scores obtained by participants were lower in case of all three texts as compared to Stage 3, they were far lower in case of the argumentative texts. The reason for this may be because in argumentative texts, the main claim is not explicitly stated and readers are required to associate ideas across sentences (Diakidoy, Ioannou, & Christodoulou, 2017). In studies such as Larson, Hazlett, Chaparro, and Picard (2006), it was reported that readers could identify these argument elements with only 30% accuracy. The findings strongly suggest that the collaborative use of learners' home language(s) can yield similar results across various multilingual teaching learning contexts and teachers can plan and adopt such strategies in the classroom.

Conclusion

Although ELT practitioners are still divided about the use of learners' home language(s) in the teaching and learning of L2, the present study provides further evidence in support of the use of learners' home languages to facilitate their reading comprehension in L2. It was observed that participants were able to generate summaries that demonstrated better comprehension when they worked collaboratively by using the languages that they had in their linguistic repertoires. It proves that collaborative work and translanguaging techniques can facilitate meaning-making and deep understanding of texts. In other words, this paper has provided evidence to indicate how translanguaging can be a useful tool to understand academic texts in the L2. It is also noteworthy that although participants used different language(s) at their disposal to understand the text, they produced summaries in English which indicated that they could comprehend the texts

that they summarized. This confirms that, rather than causing confusion, the use of different languages leads to greater understanding. The use of their home languages or the language(s) that they have access to allows participants to engage with the text with more confidence and in greater depth. Therefore, the researcher recommends a translingual approach in classrooms to facilitate better comprehension of texts.

In the process of discussing and summarizing, the students drew on the different languages at their disposal to highlight, summarize, and review key ideas, while also relating them to their existing knowledge. Another important finding of this study was that ESL learners may require extra assistance to deal with complex academic texts, such as argumentative texts. Although adopting strategies such as collaborative reading and use of learners' home languages facilitates greater comprehension, there may be situations where teachers may have to provide additional scaffolding, such as training them in the use of graphic organizers in order to make more sense of complex academic texts where the main points and relevant details may not be explicitly stated.

The two major takeaways from this research would be: collaborative work assists in developing reading comprehension in an L2 class and appropriate use of learners' home language(s) can facilitate the development of L2reading skills. Opportunities for collaborative learning and speaking, as implemented in this research, are important ways through which extensive reading helps students to internalize and fully comprehend academic texts. The researcher acknowledges that the sample size in this study was too small to support broad generalizations. Further studies with a larger sample may yield results that are more widely applicable. Moreover, several important factors that could have a significant impact on the findings, such as potential biases in group dynamics during collaborative tasks, individual differences in linguistic repertoires, and the use of convenience sampling, were also not considered. These limitations, however, cannot undermine the significant changes in L2 reading behavior among students when they use their own language(s) to make sense of challenging academic texts. The present research strongly advocates for the incorporation of collaborative use of learners' home language(s) for better comprehension of academic texts. It

also highlights the need to raise awareness among teachers, learners, and other stakeholders about the benefits of adopting translanguaging pedagogy in multilingual classrooms.

References

Anderson, J. (2024). Translanguaging: A paradigm shift for ELT theory and practice. *ELT Journal, 78*(1). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccad057

Bermillo, J., & Merto, T. (2022). Collaborative strategic reading on students' comprehension and motivation. *European Journal of English Language Teaching, 7(1)*. https://doi.10.46827/ejel.v7i1.4148

Brown, H. D., & Abeywickrama, P. (2018). *Language assessment: Principles and classroom practices*. Pearson.

Chhapia, H. (2020). Study shows that English as link language is gaining strength. *The Times of India*. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/education/news/study-shows-that-english-as-link-language-is-gaining-strength/articleshow/77685180.cms

Cenoz, J. (2017). Translanguaging in school context: International perspectives: An introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education, 16*, 193–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2021). *Pedagogical translanguaging*. Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, E. (1994). Restructuring the classroom: Conditions for productive small groups. *Psychology, 64*(1). https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543064001001

Conteh, J. (2018). Translanguaging. *ELT Journal, 72*(4), 445–447. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccy034

Delaney, Y. A. (2008). Investigating the reading-to-write construct. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 7*(3), 140–150. https://doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2008.04.001

Diakidoy, I., Ioannou, M., & Christodoulou, A. (2017). Reading argumentative

texts: Comprehension and evaluation goals and outcomes. *Reading and Writing, 30*, 1869–1890. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-017-9757-x

Dougherty, J. (2021). Translanguaging in action: Pedagogy that elevates. *ORTESOL Journal, 38.* Western Oregon University.

Duarte, J., & Kirsch, C. (2020). Introduction: Multilingual approaches to teaching and learning. In C. Kirsch & J. Duarte (Eds.), *Multilingual approaches for teaching and learning: From acknowledging to capitalising on multilingualism in European mainstream education*, 1–12. Routledge. https://doi.10.4324/9780429059674

Eisenchlas, S. A., Schalley, A. C., & Guillemin, D. (2013). The importance of literacy in the home language: The view from Australia. *SAGE Open, 3*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013507270

García, O., & Sylvan, C. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95. https://doi.10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01208.x

Grabe, W. (2004). Key issues in L2 reading development. *CELC Symposium*. National University of Singapore.

Grabe, W., & Stoller, F. L. (2011). *Teaching and researching: Reading*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315833743

Harvey, S., & Goudvis, A. (2000). *Strategies that work: Teaching comprehension to enhance understanding*. Stenhouse Publishers.

Hungwe, V. (2019). Using a translanguaging approach in teaching paraphrasing to enhance reading comprehension in first-year students. *Reading & Writing – Journal of the Reading Association of South Africa*, *10*(1). https://doi.10.4102/rw.v10i1.216

Kintsch, W., & van Dijk, T. A. (1978). Toward a model of text comprehension and production. *Psychological Review, 85*(5), 363–394. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.85.5.363

Kintsch, W. A. (2002). The role of knowledge in discourse comprehension: A construction-integration model. In T. A. Polk & C. M. Seifert (Eds.), *Cognitive modeling* (pp. 5–47). Boston Review. https://doi.10.1037/0033-295X.95.2.163

Larson, K., Hazlett, R., Chaparro, B. S, & Picard, R. W. (2006). Measuring

the aesthetics of reading. *British HCI Conference*. Research Gate. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334549568_Measuring_the _Aesthetics_of_Reading

Li, P., & Clariana, R. B. (2019). Reading comprehension in L1 and L2: An integrative approach. *Journal of Neurolinguistics, 50*, 94–105. Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneuroling.2018.03.005

Madnani, N., Burstein, J., Sabatini, J., & O'Reilly, T. (2013). Automated scoring of summary-writing tasks designed to measure reading comprehension. *Proceedings of the 8th Workshop on Innovative Use of Natural Language Processing for Building Educational Applications*, 163–168. Atlanta, GA: Association for Computational Linguistics.

Mar, R. A., Li, J., Nguyen, A. T. P., & Ta, C. P. (2021). Memory and comprehension of narrative versus expository texts: A meta-analysis. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 28*(3), 732–749. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-020-01853-1

Ningsi, S., Amin, B., & Muhsin, M. A. (2021). The use of small group discussion in teaching reading comprehension at junior high school. *FOSTER JELT Journal of English Language Teaching, 2*(4). https://doi.org/10.24256/foster-jelt.v2i4.63

Ocampo, D. (2023). Translanguaging and reading comprehension of Filipino ESL intermediate learners. *Journal of Natural Language and Linguistics, 13*, 13–21. https://doi.org/10.54536/jnll.v1i1.1510

Omidire, M. F., & Ayob, S. (2022). The utilization of translanguaging for learning and teaching in multilingual primary classrooms. *Multilingua, 41*(1), 105–129. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0072

Özçakmak, H., & Mustafa, H. (2019). Impact of note-taking during reading and during listening on comprehension. *Educational Research and Reviews, 14*(16), 580–589. https://doi:10.5897/ERR2019.3812

Rizwan, M., & Rachmijati, C. (2021). Teaching reading comprehension using group discussion. *Professional Journal of English Education*, *4,* 185–192. https://doi.10.22460/project.v4i2

Turnbull, B., & Evans, M. S. (2019). The effects of L1 and L2 group discussions on L2 reading comprehension. *Reading in a Foreign Language, 29*(1), 133–154. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/66731

Van Silfhout, G., Evers-Vermeul, J., & Sanders, T. J. M. (2014). Establishing coherence in schoolbook texts: How connectives and layout affect students' text comprehension. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics, 3*, 1–29. https://doi.10.1075/dujal.3.1.01sil

Vaughn, S., & Edmonds, M. (2006). Reading comprehension for older readers. *Intervention in School and Clinic, 41*(3), 131–137. https://doi.org/10.1177/10534512060410030101

Wei, L., & García, O. (2022). Not a first language but one repertoire: Translanguaging as a decolonizing project. *RELC Journal, 53*(2), 313–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/00336882221092841

Yang, S. (2010). The influence of schema and cultural difference on L1 and L2 reading. *English Language Teaching, 3*(4).https://doi:10.5539/elt.

Yu, G. (2008). Reading to summarize in English and Chinese: A tale of two languages? *Language Testing, 25*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/0265532208094275

Zafarania, P., & Kabgani, S. (2014) Summarization strategy training and reading comprehension of Iranian ESP learners, *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier. https://doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.03.629

Zoghi, M., Mustapha, R., & Maasum, T. N. R. B. T. M. (2010). Collaborative strategic reading with university EFL learners. *Journal of College Reading and Learning, 41*(1), 67–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/10790195.2010.10850336

Nivedita Malini Barua
Guvahačio universitetas, Indija
niveditamalini@gmail.com

SKAITYMO BENDRADARBIAUJANT MOKINIŲ GIMTĄJA (-OSIOMIS) KALBA (-OMIS) VAIDMUO UGDANT SKAITYMO SUPRATIMĄ ANGLŲ KALBA

Anotacija. Šiame straipsnyje aptartas tyrimas, atliktas siekiant tobulinti aukštosios mokyklos studentų, besimokančių anglų kaip antrosios kalbos, skaitymo supratimą, ir pateikti jo rezultatai. Tyrėja Indijos Guvahačio universitete dėsto anglų kalbą lingvistiškai įvairiai trisdešimt keturių studentų grupei. Pastebėta, kad studentai nesugebėjo kritiškai analizuoti tekstų, o pateiktos užduotys rodė, kad jie nesupranta kurso medžiagos. Buvo parengta strategija, kuria siekta nustatyti, ar gimtosios kalbos vartojimas konspektuojant palengvina suprasti sudėtingus akademinius tekstus. Pirmame tyrimo etape dalyviai skaitė savarankiškai ir kai ką pasižymėdavo, vėliau remdamiesi šiais užrašais rašė individualias santraukas anglų kalba. Antrame etape dalyviai grupėse po tris anglų kalba aptarė tekstų turinį, taip pat konspektavo ir remdamiesi tais užrašais rašė individualias santraukas anglų kalba. Paskutiniame etape dalyviai tose pačiose grupėse aptarė turinį gimtąja (-osiomis) kalba (-omis) ir užsirašė pastabas ta kalba (-omis), kuri (-ios) jiems patogiausia (-ios). Tuomet remdamiesi užrašais rašė individualias santraukas anglų kalba. Kiekvieno etapo rezultatai buvo palyginti. Išvados atskleidė, kad dalyviai išsamesnius užrašus ir santraukas parengė bendradarbiaudami paskutiniame etape – grupėse aptarę turinį gimtąja (-omis) kalba (-omis), užsirašę pastabas ta kalba (-omis), kuri (-ios) jiems patogiausia (-ios) ir parašę individualias santraukas anglų kalba.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: skaitymas bendradarbiaujant; gimtoji kalba; skaitymo supratimas; apibendrinimas; vertimas iš vienos kalbos į kitą.

Guo Lichao
Universiti Malaysia Pahang Al-Sultan Abdullah, Pekan, Malaysia
Hebei Minzu Normal University, Chengde, Hebei, China
Nik Aloesnita Binti Nik Mohd Alwi *(Corresponding author)*
Universiti Malaysia Pahang Al-Sultan Abdullah, Pekan, Malaysia
Industrial University of Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam
Abdullah Adnan Bin Mohamed
Universiti Malaysia Pahang Al-Sultan Abdullah, Pekan, Malaysia
Li Changlin
Universiti Malaysia Pahang Al-Sultan Abdullah, Pekan, Malaysia
Hebei Minzu Normal University, Chengde, Hebei, China

A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW: INFLUENCE OF INTERMEDIATE-LEVEL LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES ON LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND WRITING COMPETENCE

Abstract. This article reviews existing literature on cross-linguistic influence (CLI) in additional language acquisition, focusing on how learners' awareness of differences between their primary and target languages impacts their writing competence. The study has its special focus on intermediate-level language differences, specifically expression patterns and usage preferences, and their influence on Chinese English learners' writing. A systematic search of recent studies (last 15 years) was conducted using Google Scholar and CNKI with keywords such as "cross-linguistic knowledge," "negative transfer," and "writing competence." The findings highlight significant CLI at the intermediate level, particularly in areas such as conjunction use, sentence structure complexity, avoidance of passive voice, and word repetition. These challenges stem primarily from differences in expression patterns between Chinese and English. Contrastive Analysis (CA) emerges as an effective tool for predicting errors, tailoring teaching materials, and explaining linguistic phenomena. However, research remains limited on how to enhance cross-linguistic awareness, especially in relation to intermediate-level features such as hypotactic and paratactic structures. The study underscores the need for more quantitative and empirical research to develop cross-linguistic competence and refine pedagogical strategies. Further exploration is essential to better understand how language differences influence writing performance and to create effective instructional approaches that address intermediate-level CLI.

Keywords: cross-linguistic influence; multilingualism; intermediate-level language difference; teaching strategy; writing.

Introduction

Language acquisition is influenced by various factors that shape learners' linguistic development and communicative abilities. Among these factors, the interplay between the learner's primary language and the new language plays a key role. Known as cross-linguistic influence (CLI), this interplay can either aid or hinder additional language acquisition (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; McManus, 2021).

Writing competence in an Lx (any language beyond the first (L1)) is not limited to mastering grammar or vocabulary. It also involves conveying meaning according to the structural and rhetorical conventions of the target language. In this context, cross-linguistic knowledge—awareness of the differences between primary language and subsequent language—can guide learners in making informed linguistic choices. With greater cross-linguistic awareness, learners may better understand how to avoid negative transfer and leverage positive transfer, thereby improving their writing performance (McManus, 2021; Van Dijk, Van Wonderen, et al., 2022).

However, much of the existing research focuses on CLI caused by surface-level or deep-level language differences, while less attention has been paid to the "intermediate-level" differences that lie between these two extremes (Lian, 2010; Liu, 1991). Differences at this level include the patterns of expression and structural preferences that influence how meaning is realized in writing, yet they are not fully explained by simple grammatical rules or broad cultural factors (Liu, 1991). Recent studies suggest that such intermediate-level differences can significantly affect how learners produce coherent, context-appropriate text (Peng, 2023). Understanding these mid-level contrasts may offer fresh insights into improving writing instruction and enhancing learners' performance in multilingual contexts.

This article seeks to address the current research gap by systematically reviewing literature related to intermediate-level language differences and their influence on target language writing competence. Specifically, it aims to:

1. Clarify the Role of Intermediate-Level Differences: Investigate how nuanced, mid-level linguistic contrasts—beyond surface-level grammar

and deep cultural factors—shape learners' writing performance in a second or additional language.

2. Analyze Teaching Pedagogy: Investigate how enhanced awareness of cross-linguistic differences between a learner's primary language and the target language can improve writing competence and identify teaching strategies that leverage this awareness to support effective language instruction.

In the following sections, the article outlines the research methods and criteria used for systematic review. It then presents key findings, identifies limitations in current research, and discusses implications for language pedagogy and future studies. By clarifying the role of intermediate-level language differences, this review aims to contribute to more effective teaching strategies, thereby supporting the development of learners' writing competence in a multilingual world. In doing so, it informs multilingual development by offering insights into how educators can foster learners' ability to navigate multiple languages over the long term, ensuring that multilingual competencies are maintained and reinforced rather than eroded as learners advance in their studies.

Research Methods

To systematically map and explore the relationship between cross-linguistic knowledge and writing competence, a scoping review method was employed, drawing on established frameworks for mapping research evidence across complex and heterogeneous fields. This approach has been widely used in language education and applied linguistics to identify research trends, gaps, and methodological practices (Amini Farsani et al., 2021).

The review began with an extensive keyword search on Google Scholar and CNKI using terms of "intermediate-level language difference," "preference, "cross-linguistic knowledge," and "writing competence." Owing to the limited research in this area, Lian's (2010) framework of 10 intermediate-level language differences between Chinese and English, as listed in Table 1, was employed to generate key search terms. These terms were combined with

others, such as "hypotactic vs. paratactic" and "writing", or "personal vs. impersonal" and "writing". This approach greatly enriched the body of literature reviewed in this study. Focusing on publications from the last 15 years ensured that the findings would reflect current trends in research on multilingualism development. Rigorous inclusion and exclusion criteria were then applied, excluding studies featuring participants who were simultaneous bilinguals, or research that did not directly address cross-linguistic knowledge in relation to writing competence. Articles meeting these criteria underwent an in-depth, full-text review to confirm their alignment with the research objectives and ensure that they offered insights relevant to both theory and practice in multilingual development.

Table 1

Intermediate-Level Language Difference Between Chinese and English

English	Chinese
Synthetic	Analytic
Rigid	Supple
Hypotactic	Paratactic
Complex	Simplex
Impersonal	Personal
Passive voice	Active voice
Static	Dynamic
Abstract	Concrete
Indirect	Direct
Substitutive	Repetitive

By following established scoping review protocols and integrating best practices from systematic reviews in the language education field, this study seeks not only to identify key themes and conceptual gaps but also to provide a solid foundation for understanding how cross-linguistic knowledge informs writing competence. This approach, shaped by prior methodological guidance, underscores the potential for future targeted research, improved pedagogical strategies, and refined theoretical frameworks in this critical area of multilingualism.

Research Background in Contrastive Linguistics

Contrastive linguistics is a field dedicated to the systematic comparison of two or more languages, examining both their structural features and cultural contexts (Gast, 2012; Ke, 2019). As a branch of comparative linguistics, it not only focuses on identifying differences and similarities between languages at a given point in time (synchronic comparison) but also explores how these findings can inform broader linguistic theories and practical language-related endeavours. By situating language study within a comparative framework, contrastive linguistics provides insights that can be particularly relevant in contexts where multiple languages coexist, thus supporting sustainable multilingualism.

Within this discipline, researchers distinguish between theoretical contrastive linguistics (TCL) and applied contrastive linguistics (ACL) (Gast, 2012; Mair, 2018). TCL, as a subfield of theoretical linguistics, concentrates on identifying universal categories and features across languages. It seeks to clarify what is comparable, and how, by establishing concepts such as congruence, similarity, and equivalence (Gast, 2012; Ke, 2019). These theoretical foundations help scholars understand language systems at a more abstract level, ultimately enabling them to explain why certain linguistic phenomena occur across diverse linguistic landscapes.

ACL, on the other hand, operationalizes these theoretical insights for practical applications, including language teaching and learning, translation, lexicography, and language policy (Mair, 2018). By drawing on TCL's foundational frameworks, ACL informs instructional strategies that guide learners in navigating cross-linguistic similarities and differences. This guidance becomes increasingly important as learners move beyond simple vocabulary and grammar, confronting subtler "intermediate-level" distinctions—patterns of language use and expression that are neither purely structural nor entirely cultural. Such insights can be essential for educators, curriculum designers, and policymakers working in multilingual settings, where awareness of these mid-level differences can support more effective and context-sensitive teaching practices (Woll & Paquet, 2021).

Figure 1 is a conceptual illustration of how TCL establishes universal features (e.g., A, B, C, D) and provides a model for comparison, while ACL applies these insights to specific languages (e.g., AL1, AL2 for Feature A in L1 and L2, and BL1, BL2 for Feature B in L1 and L2). This figure demonstrates how theoretical principles guide practical analysis, paving the way for improved language teaching and learning in multilingual contexts.

Figure 1

Relationship Between TCL and ACL
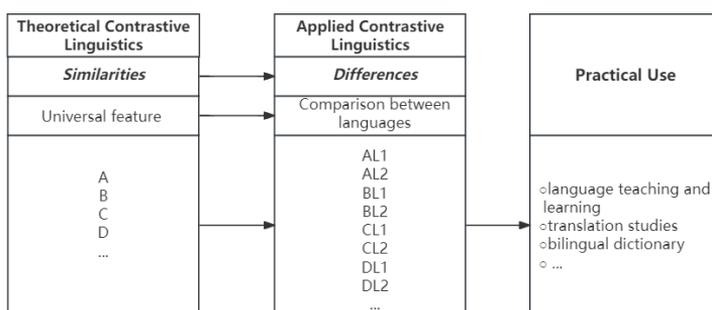
By integrating TCL's theoretical frameworks and ACL's practical orientation, contrastive linguistics helps researchers, educators, and learners better understand language interplay. This understanding extends beyond bilingual scenarios, informing sustainable multilingual education and fostering a richer comprehension of how learners from various linguistic backgrounds may experience and navigate language differences. As a result, contrastive linguistics serves as an essential tool for building knowledge that can improve educational outcomes in increasingly diverse linguistic environments.

Insufficiency of Language Comparison at Surface and Deep Level

Just as descriptive and historical linguistics rely on theoretical underpinnings, contrastive linguistics is rooted in theoretical linguistics. Without a foundational theoretical framework offering key concepts, hypotheses, and overarching theories, any in-depth exploration of linguistic facts would be imprecise and unreliable. Such a foundation aids researchers in

accurately documenting pertinent details and in deriving meaningful generalizations from them (Krzeszowski, 2011)

As previously noted, theoretical contrastive linguistics primarily focuses on two main areas: (1) the model of comparison, which involves determining what and how elements can be compared, and (2) a comprehensive description of the differences between languages and cultures. The subsequent sections will delve into the elements that can be compared, and the scope of comparison. On the other hand, the detailed exploration of the distinctions between languages and cultures will be elaborated in 3.3, with a focus on comparing Chinese and English.

Language Comparison at Surface Level

Traditionally linguists typically compare languages based on their structures, such as phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic aspects, mirroring the terms used in mainstream linguistic studies. However, a notable drawback of this typology is its failure to perceive language as a multifunctional system. This approach essentially leaves an analytical gap, resulting in a lack of insights into the language's role and operation within extralinguistic environments or settings that extend beyond purely linguistic contexts.

Further, some linguists voice criticisms, arguing that this method of categorization significantly undermines the vital communication function that language inherently serves (Kostova, 2022). This oversight, they contend, seriously limits the practical relevance and applicability of such comparative linguistic studies, thus calling into question the comprehensive validity of this traditional approach (Gast, 2012). Moreover, critics argue that this methodology neglects the essential communicative function of language, substantially compromising the practical applicability of such studies (Krzeszowski, 2011).

Language Comparison at Deep Level

Noticing the limitations of surface-level language comparisons, some researchers have endeavoured to provide a more comprehensive perspective

by delving into comparisons at a deeper linguistic level (Gast, 2012; Kostova, 2022). The discipline of contrastive linguistics is intimately tied to the socio-cultural connections inherent between the languages being studied (Gast, 2012; Kostova, 2022). Gast (2012) elucidates the interplay between the analysis of language and its practical applications.

This stage of study focuses on "macro-linguistics", which has a broader perspective of linguistic analysis, including contrastive sociolinguistics, cross-cultural pragmatics, and contrastive rhetoric. These studies probe into intercultural misunderstandings or errors based on a comparison between cultures.

The sociocultural perspective offers insights into the foundational aspects of thought processes for speakers of different languages, yet the influence of such thinking on language seems less pronounced. Apart from idioms and some culturally loaded words, the impact of sociocultural factors on language proficiency appears somewhat limited. This is exemplified by the fact that while many acknowledge that enhancing learners' understanding of target language culture and cultural differences could improve their language skills, teaching methods built explicitly upon this foundation remain rare. As highlighted by Peng (2023), it is only when students possess a substantial grasp of culture that they can perceive linguistic similarities and differences, potentially reducing errors. However, no one has explicitly outlined how cross-cultural competence enhances language proficiency, and few studies provide empirical evidence to indicate a direct impact of enhanced cross-cultural skills on language capabilities.

A New Perspective: Language Comparison at Intermediate Level

While previous research often focuses on either the surface-level structures of language (e.g., phonology, morphology, syntax) or deep-level sociocultural and conceptual factors, some scholars have started to acknowledge an intermediate layer of differences that do not neatly fit into these two extremes (Liu, 1991). This intermediate level encompasses those patterned ways of expressing thought that are not merely formal grammatical

structures, nor purely cultural concepts, but rather reflect distinct "expression modes" that guide how meaning is organized and conveyed (Lian, 2010; Liu, 1991). For example, studies on cross-linguistic rhetorical strategies and discourse organization, often referred to in the field of contrastive rhetoric (Fei, 2023; Peng, 2023), have highlighted differences in the preferred use of cohesive devices, sentence complexity, and rhetorical conventions—differences that fall between the surface structure and deep conceptual frameworks.

Traces of the recognition of intermediate-level differences can be found as early as in the Chinese Qin Dynasty (221–207 B.C.), when the Buddhist monk Daoan identified five types of adjustments—sentence order, language style, repetition, notes, and connections—that were necessary when translating texts between foreign and Chinese languages. These historical observations suggest that such differences, although not formally categorized at the time, have long been part of linguistic inquiry.

Table 2

Description of Comparison Levels (Liu, 1991)

Level	Description
surface level	the formal structure layer, which includes basic and syntactic means of expression
intermediate level	system of expression, the patterned means of expression when thought is transformed into language
deep level	thought patterns, the foundational structure layer, which is the philosophical mechanism of language

Liu (1991) formalized this perspective by introducing a three-level model (surface, intermediate, deep) for contrastive linguistics as in Table 2. According to Liu, language is governed by thought, and thought must engage with the heterogeneity of different languages. At the intermediate level, this manifests in patterned "expression rules" that transform abstract thought into concrete linguistic forms. Such rules govern elements like the use of hypotactic versus paratactic constructions, preferences for active or passive voice, and tendencies in cohesive device deployment. Although many of these differences have been studied under labels such as "contrastive rhetoric" or "discourse-level comparisons" as deep level of language Liu's model provides a systematic framework for recognizing them as an integral, intermediate layer of linguistic comparison.

By highlighting these intermediate-level differences, researchers can move beyond focusing solely on discrete syntactic or lexical items and instead consider how languages guide speakers and writers in structuring and conveying meaning. This perspective encourages a more comprehensive approach to understanding cross-linguistic influence, one that acknowledges that not all difficulties or divergences are purely grammatical or deeply cultural. Rather, some lie in the realm of expression modes, where subtle patterns— once identified and understood—can significantly shape target language writing performance and overall communicative competence.

Figure 2

Example of Language Levels
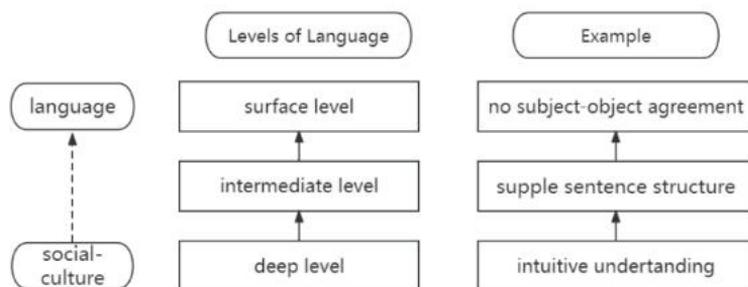
For example, as it is shown in Figure 2, Chinese classical philosophy emphasizes the intuitive understanding of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, focusing on the intuitive grasp of content (Lian, 2010). This cultural aspect is reflected in the language as an emphasis on semantics and a relative disregard for linguistic structure (Lian, 2010). As a result, Chinese is less bound by formal structures, has a higher degree of ambiguity, and exhibits more instances of polysemy; the same semantic structure can be expressed through various syntactic structures, and different semantic structures can be manifested in the same syntactic structure (Lian, 2010).

Numerous comparisons have been made at this level to discern differences in the preferred patterns of expression across languages. Researchers delve into disparities in the usage of noun phrases, active and passive sentence constructions, impersonal subjects and habits in using cohesive devices, among other aspects.

However, when it comes to comparing the preferences and conventions of speakers from various linguistic backgrounds concerning specific language structures, there has been a noticeable scarcity of systematic studies aimed at making such comparisons. This gap in research highlights the need for a more comprehensive exploration of language preferences and conventions across different languages.

Application of Contrastive Linguistics in Multilingual Acquisition

Research on cross-linguistic influence (CLI) in Lx acquisition has provided valuable insights into how prior language knowledge and experience can shape and impact the process of learning a new language (McManus, 2021). In their meta-analysis, Van Dijk et al. (2022) found that the average effect size for CLI is small to moderate, indicating that this influence plays a crucial role in SLA.

The process of acquiring a new language is fundamentally grounded in a learner's pre-existing experiences, with the learner's previous language repertoire playing a pivotal role (McManus, 2021). Unlike the acquisition of one's L1, which typically occurs naturally in infancy, the journey to L2 or Lx proficiency often begins later in life, at a stage when the language system is already firmly established in the learner's cognitive framework (McManus, 2021). Studies have shown that when bilinguals process spoken language tasks, both language systems may be simultaneously activated, affecting their language processing both in speaking and writing. This proves that L1 plays a significant role in Lx production.

Cross-linguistic influence refers to the process of establishing connections and relationships between different languages during the learning process (McManus, 2021). Learners, by comparing and analyzing aspects such as grammar and vocabulary across different languages, can identify commonalities and similarities between them, thereby enhancing their understanding and proficiency in language usage (Woll & Paquet, 2021).

McManus (2021) explains that CLI can manifest in both positive and negative ways during language learning. Bell et al. (2020) pointed out that

when the patterns between a learner's primary language and new language are similar, the influence tends to be positive, facilitating the acquisition of the new language, while when the two languages exhibit distinct differences in linguistic patterns, such as in syntax, phonology, or word order, CLI can become negative. In these cases, learners may struggle due to interference from their L1, which complicates the process of acquiring the correct structures or usage patterns in the Lx (Bell et al., 2020).

When individuals learn a new language, they often draw upon the language knowledge and skills they have already acquired in previously learnt language. Thierry and Wu (2007) drew from their experiment that during Lx comprehension, primary language knowledge is activated to facilitate the process. The language cognition and learning strategies developed previously can positively impact the learning of Lx, leading to the formation of cross-linguistic connections. These connections enable learners to transfer their knowledge and experiences from primary language to Lx, facilitating a faster understanding and acquisition of the new language.

However, cross-linguistic connections can also present challenges, particularly when there are significant differences between the new language and the language they already acquire. For example, research finds that Chinese EFL learners experience lexical, discourse, and syntactic interferences, encountering challenges in comprehending the different semantic systems of Chinese and English (Krish & May, 2020).

By recognizing these similarities and differences, learners can better understand and overcome these challenges, ultimately enhancing learning efficiency and accuracy. Bell et al. (2020) have found that when participants use cross-linguistic connections, they are more accurate, especially when they use a CLC with a verbalized rule and an explicit reference to L1.

Understanding cross-linguistic connections is crucial in language teaching and learning. Educators can utilize learners' previous language knowledge to aid their comprehension of new language rules and structures. Likewise, learners can leverage the connections between languages to enhance their understanding and application of new language knowledge, thereby accelerating their language proficiency. However, while the impact CLI is broadly recognized, the investigation in this domain remains insufficient and

inconsistent. Meta-analyses (Van Dijk, Van Wonderen, et al., 2022) suggest a notable absence of a cohesive theoretical framework in this field. There is a compelling need for a more standardized methodology when examining CLI.

Another notable deficiency in this area is that the bulk of CLI research concentrates on the existence of CLI (Van Dijk, Van Wonderen, et al., 2022), along with its cognitive impact on the acquisition of an additional language (Lx) on different language levels such as phonetics, lexis, syntax, grammar. However, until now, there have been scant studies dedicated to the development and evaluation of teaching strategies grounded in CLI. This constitutes a significant gap in the research landscape that requires more comprehensive investigation, ultimately enriching the pedagogical approaches to language teaching and learning.

Besides, research has been conducted to discuss the CLI caused by the subcategory of intermediate level, such as passive vs. active, rigid vs. supple, etc, that is the pattern of expression. Additionally, research in intermediate level of language difference is not yet discussed as an integrated system that influences learners' performance.

Figure 3

Focus of This Research
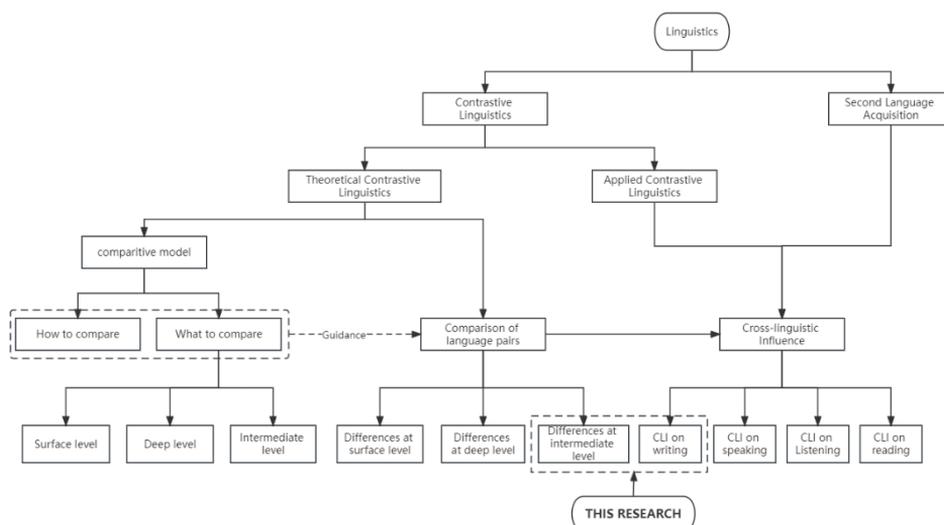
Building upon the previously established context, this study takes learners with L1 Chinese and English as their Lx as an example to examine in detail CLI on writing competence arising from intermediate-level language differences. Figure 3 shows the area that this paper focuses on.

Differences Between English and Chinese Languages

English and Chinese originate from distinct language families, each with a rich linguistic history. Specifically, English is rooted in the Indo-European language family and belongs to the Germanic branch. In contrast, Chinese finds its place within the Sino-Tibetan language family. As a result, these two languages exhibit profound differences.

Numerous research endeavors have delved into the contrasts between English and Chinese on a surface level. These studies primarily center on comparing the two languages in terms of phonetics, morpheme, lexicon and syntax.

Some scholars have adopted a socio-cultural perspective in the comparative analysis of English and Chinese (Dai, 2024). With the development of fields like cultural anthropology, pragmatics, and sociocultural linguistics, research has increasingly focused on how language is used in different social and cultural contexts and how it reflects unique social dynamics and cultural characteristics, such as comparison in cross-cultural rhetorics, discourse (Dai, 2024).

At the intermediate level, much research has identified differences in patterns of expression and usage preference (Kaimana et al., 2021). Among these studies, Lian (2010) focused on the intermediate-level comparisons and outlined ten major differences between English and Chinese in his book, as shown in Table 1.

Lian's analysis of Chinese and English language differences on intermediate level is considered an important work in the field of contrastive linguistics in China. Since its publication in 2010, it has consistently received a high number of citations in the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database, with a growing trend each year.

However, an analysis of the distribution of literature that cites Lian's work reveals that most references focus on topics such as corpus linguistics and translation. The literature related to English learning based on Lian's theory is limited to specific grammatical features, such as the use of the passive voice or auxiliary verbs. What is neglected is that the teaching principles and strategies derived from these differences can also be beneficial for EFL learners.

Findings

The following sections summarize the various manifestations and underlying causes of writing problems experienced by intermediate-level Chinese EFL learners due to mother tongue influence, as identified in existing studies. In addition, a comprehensive overview of related teaching methods and approaches will be provided.

CLI Caused by Chinese and English Differences at Intermediate Level

The exploration of CLI at an intermediate level is a valuable area of study. This is exemplified by the studies outlined in Table 3.

Table 3

Studies on Writing Problems of Chinese EFL Learners Caused by CLI at Intermediate Level

Language differences	Problems observed	Research method
Rigid vs. Supple	Errors in subject-predicate agreement	Error analysis
Hypotactic vs. Paratactic	Misuse and inappropriate choices of conjunctions	Literature review
	Ignoring the use of conjunctions	Corpus-based research
	Using commas instead of proper conjunctions	Literature review
	Neglecting conjunctions	Error analysis
	Underuse of compound and complex sentences; overuse of simple sentences	Literature review
Complex vs. Simplex	Underuse of compound and complex sentences; overuse of simple sentences	Literature review
Impersonal vs.	Underuse of the "There be" sentence	Corpus-based

Language differences	Problems observed	Research method
Personal	pattern	research
Passive vs. Active	Underuse of passive voice	Literature review/ Comparative study
Static vs. Dynamic	-	-
Abstract vs. Concrete	Underuse of abstract language	Comparative study
Indirect vs. Direct	-	-
Substitutive vs. Repetitive	Overuse of repeated words	Literature review

It can be concluded that Chinese learners' English writing is significantly influenced by the differences between English and Chinese at intermediate level, leading to various writing issues, as proved by previous studies. These issues are specifically manifested in the misuse or omission of conjunctions, insufficient complexity in sentence structures, underuse of passive voice, neglect of specific sentence patterns, inadequate use of abstract language, and overuse of repetitive words.

These findings indicate that CLI plays a significant role in multilingual acquisition, posing new demands on Lx teaching strategies and methods. But it is also obvious that certain CLI at this level is not studied, including CLI caused by static vs. dynamic and indirect vs direct. Besides, these findings indicate a clear need for instructional adjustments to help learners recognize and address these mid-level linguistic differences. A deeper, more systematic investigation of these areas could further enhance the practical implications for language instruction, equipping teachers with a fuller range of CLI-related strategies.

Approaches Mitigating Negative CLI

Learners, by comparing and analyzing aspects such as grammar and vocabulary across different languages, can identify commonalities and similarities between them, thereby enhancing their understanding and proficiency in language usage (Woll & Paquet, 2021). Saliyevic (2023) argues that to overcome the negative influence of primary languages, the learners should have a thorough understanding of all the aspects through comparison between the two or more languages.

One of the major tools used to mitigate negative CLI is comparative analysis (CA). It focuses on differences and similarities in linguistic structures and has been a crucial tool in Lx acquisition to help learners understand how the previous language interferes with or facilitates Lx acquisition, including syntactic, phonetic, and morphemic elements. By integrating CA-based exercises into writing tasks—such as parallel text analysis and targeted error-correction drills—teachers can systematically direct students' attention to specific structural contrasts and thereby reduce negative transfer. Table 4 are some usages of CA in mitigating negative CLI:

Table 4

CA in Mitigating Negative CLI

Aim	Process
Identification and Prediction of Errors	Teachers use the CA to analyze the structural differences between a learner's L1 and L2, predicting possible errors that learners may make in phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, or syntax.
Correction and Prevention of Errors	Teachers can use CA to identify typical errors students make in speaking or writing and provide targeted exercises to correct and prevent these errors.
Customization of Teaching Materials	Drawing on the findings of CA, educators can develop teaching materials and activities that focus on key linguistic areas where notable differences exist between L1 and L2.
Explanation of Linguistic Phenomena	When students encounter difficulties in the learning process, teachers can use CA to explain why certain language structures, usages, or pronunciations are different in the target language compared to the students' native language.
Enhancing Language Awareness	By conducting CA, students can become more aware of the differences between different languages. This can contribute to enhancing their awareness and understanding of the language learning process.

Contrastive Analysis (CA) plays a significant role in multilingual acquisition through its various applications. It helps in identifying and predicting potential errors by analysing structural differences between learners' primary language and target language, particularly in areas such as phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, and syntax. CA also facilitates the correction and prevention of errors by enabling teachers to pinpoint common issues in students' speaking or writing and design targeted exercises to address them. Moreover, educators can use findings from CA to customize teaching materials and activities that focus on critical linguistic differences between languages

(Wardhaugh, 1970). Additionally, CA serves as a tool for explaining linguistic phenomena, helping teachers clarify structural, usage, or pronunciation differences that learners may find challenging (Zhang, 2023). Finally, CA enhances students' language awareness by increasing their understanding of linguistic differences and the overall language learning process (Ruzhekova-Rogozherova & Kableshkov, 2014). These applications underscore the theoretical and practical importance of CA as an efficient tool in multilingual development. In practical classroom settings, designing lessons around these CA principles can provide a clear path toward minimizing negative CLI and enhancing learners' overall writing fluency and accuracy.

Prior Knowledge and CLI

Research on CLI has provided valuable insights into how previous language knowledge and experience can shape the process of learning a new language (McManus, 2021). When learning a new language, most adults already possess a solid framework of linguistic knowledge (McManus, 2021). The accumulated exposure to and use of their precious languages can greatly affect their ability to acquire a new language, with both facilitating and inhibiting effects (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). This is how CLI mechanizes: learners consult their knowledge and experience from primary languages and their learning strategies to facilitate their new language learning (McManus, 2021).

But what researchers neglect is the fact that learners, besides consulting primary knowledge and learning strategies, tend to compare different language systems in the process of acquiring a new language. One study found that higher proficiency learners are more adept at metacognitively overseeing and managing the transfer of rhetorical structures from their primary to new language. This advanced level of metacognitive control is characterized by their ability to compare and evaluate rhetorical conventions across languages. This shows correlation between learner's comparative awareness and their English proficiency, indicating that comparative awareness facilitates the development of a multilingual repertoire. Consequently, pedagogical interventions aimed at sharpening this comparative awareness—

through explicit mini-lectures or guided discussions on interlinguistic contrasts—can empower students to self-monitor and refine their writing choices.

CLI Among Chinese EFL Learners

Research has shown that Chinese EFL learners tend to rely on their Chinese language in the process of learning English (as L2 or Lx), regardless of their English proficiency. This reliance on the native language serves as a common compensatory strategy when learners face difficulties in producing unfamiliar Lx structures (Zhu, 2014). Even advanced learners often construct sentences that closely mirror the syntactic patterns of Chinese (Zhu, 2014).

CLI at surface language level is widely observed among Chinese EFL learners. Ren (2022) concludes CLI that is observed at surface level of language, manifesting at the lexical, syntactic, and discourse levels. A meta-analysis revealed that CLI among Chinese EFL learners primarily occurs in the areas of phonetics, decoding, vocabulary, and morphological awareness. This often leads to a variety of linguistic challenges such as errors in spelling, semantic and lexical collocation, inappropriate usage of prepositions, errors in word order, incorrect application of tenses and number. These tendencies can greatly affect the clarity, precision, and overall fluency of their English communication.

The limitation of studying CLI at a surface level is obvious. Much of the research on CLI in Chinese EFL learners has focused on specific linguistic elements. Although these areas are crucial, they do not encompass the entirety of language learning. Key linguistic aspects such as pragmatics, the application of language in various social contexts, and complex syntactic structures may not have been adequately examined.

Besides CLI caused by the differences of language forms, other scholars have explored errors caused CLI among Chinese EFL learners at a deep level. This stage of study focuses on "macro-linguistics", which has a broader perspective of linguistic analysis, including contrastive sociolinguistics, cross-cultural pragmatics, and contrastive rhetoric. These studies probe into intercultural misunderstandings or errors based on cross-

cultural comparisons. However, what they often overlook—when viewed through the lens of the 3-level language comparison structure—is the intermediate level of language differences that influence the process and outcomes of SLA. Future classroom-based studies exploring this specific level could lead to more targeted teaching approaches—such as explicit instruction in rhetorical contrasts or structured practice in integrating simple and compound sentence forms—that address learners' needs more holistically.

Limitations in the Study of Language Difference and Writing Competence

Cross-Linguistic Knowledge as Prior Knowledge

While the prevailing body of research primarily centers on investigating how students establish connections across languages during the writing process, a significant gap exists in recognizing the potential significance of language-difference knowledge as prior knowledge.

The recognition of learners' primary language knowledge and their learning experiences as part of their prior knowledge in Lx acquisition has gained widespread acceptance (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Notably, the emphasis often leans towards the positive influences that arise when language patterns bear similarities between the languages (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; McManus, 2021). However, the impact of differences between different language, and how these differences might pose obstacles to SLA, are often less discussed.

What these studies tend to overlook is a comprehensive examination of how learners' knowledge of language differences affects their writing competence. Fundamental questions remain unanswered: Is there a positive correlation between learners' writing competence and their understanding of language differences? Can their knowledge of language differences predict their writing performance? Moreover, how does the enhancement of learners' knowledge of language differences influence their writing outcomes?

These inquiries hold profound implications for the teaching and learning of a new language, yet empirical research has yet to provide clear answers.

Addressing these questions can potentially offer educators insights into how to harness learners' awareness of language differences to optimize their writing abilities, and consequently enhance the efficacy of language instruction. By delving into the empirical realm, researchers can provide practical guidance for educators and learners navigating the intricacies of CLI on writing competence.

Furthermore, a more precise understanding of how language-difference knowledge functions as prior knowledge is critical for designing pedagogical interventions that support sustainable multilingualism. Learners who effectively leverage cross-linguistic awareness tend to retain stronger, more enduring multilingual abilities, underscoring the need to integrate research findings into long-term educational policies.

Influence of Intermediate-Level Language Differences

Despite the concerted efforts of researchers to delve into the impact of language disparities on writing outcomes, the existing exploration has primarily concentrated on the surface and deep levels of linguistic differences. Yet, a noticeable gap remains in the comprehension of how language distinctions at the intermediate level specifically influence individuals' approaches to their writing tasks. While some scholars have begun to recognize the potential influence of language differences at this intermediate level, the research conducted thus far has been relatively limited in quantity, scope and research methods.

However, a notable limitation inherent in these studies lies in their narrow scope, as they merely address a subset of the ten differences identified within Lian's (2010) framework. For instance, the work of Shi (2015) predominantly centers on the observation that Chinese EFL learners tend to exhibit a preference for theme-structured sentences rather than subject-structured sentences. Similarly, Peng's study (2023) delves into the concept of "parataxis vs. hypotaxis" as a manifestation of distinct thinking patterns, suggesting that this contrast contributes to challenges in writing. Although Shi and Peng's contributions offer valuable insights, they serve as a reminder that a more comprehensive investigation of the full spectrum of cross-linguistic difference is yet to be undertaken. The current research landscape within Lian's

framework (2010) remains largely unexplored beyond these two areas of focus. This gap highlights the need for more extensive empirical studies that encompass the entirety of Lian's proposed differences, aiming to uncover their varied effects on writing competence within the context of SLA.

Furthermore, the research at this level conducted so far tends to be largely observational in nature without much quantitative study to support their views. This lack of empirical rigor represents a shortcoming in scientifically examining the extent to which these language differences truly influence writing competence. The depth of this influence remains uncharted territory, necessitating a comprehensive investigation that not only observes outcomes but employs systematic empirical methods to quantify the impact.

Besides, the current state of research lacks the necessary depth to comprehensively explore the full extent of the impact stemming from these language differences. Notably, studies conducted by scholars like Shi (2015) and Peng (2023) have predominantly aimed at identifying factors that contribute to difficulties in writing, rather than thoroughly examining the scope to which these language disparities exert influence over writing competence. As a result, the existing study has not provided a holistic understanding of the magnitude of these CLI on the development of effective writing skills.

Crucially, filling these gaps can also inform how teachers and policymakers support multilingual learners in a sustainable manner. By detailing the intermediate-level differences more comprehensively and examining their effects quantitatively, future research can offer data-driven guidelines that foster long-term multilingual proficiency, rather than short-term achievement alone.

Insufficiency in Cross-Linguistic Pedagogy Research

Despite the comprehension of CLI on the process of language acquisition, the current body of research concerning effective teaching methods aimed at heightening learners' awareness of language differences remains inadequate. This limitation becomes particularly evident in the absence of robust empirical studies centered around pedagogical approaches for cultivating cross-linguistic competence. One notable instance is when studies

primarily focus on establishing a relationship between language differences and writing competence, relegating discussions on teaching and learning strategies to the concluding remarks or treating them as tangential components within the article. Remarkably, there is a dearth of research specifically designed to create tasks that foster learners' cross-linguistic competence or to evaluate the efficacy of these aforementioned "strategies."

Furthermore, there exists another scenario where the methods aimed at enhancing learners' cross-linguistic knowledge are treated merely as experimental elements within a broader study rather than being the central objective (Woll et al., 2022; Woll & Paquet, 2021). In such cases where pedagogy is not the primary aim of the research, minimal attention is allocated to thoroughly assessing the effectiveness of these pedagogical approaches.

Addressing these gaps is essential to the advancement of the field. By conducting deliberate pedagogical research that systematically examines the impact of various strategies on learners' cross-linguistic competence, educators and researchers can better equip themselves to design more effective and targeted interventions. Ultimately, through a more comprehensive exploration of pedagogical methodologies, we can contribute to enhancing learners' language learning experiences and improving their overall language proficiency.

Additionally, more robust and sustained cross-linguistic pedagogy research can yield concrete classroom strategies that reinforce learners' multilingual identities in the long run. By nurturing cross-linguistic competence, students are more likely to maintain and further develop their diverse language skills, thus directly contributing to sustainable multilingualism.

Conclusion

This review set out to clarify how heightened awareness of intermediate-level cross-linguistic differences—patterns of expression that lie between surface-level forms and deep cultural frameworks—can shape learners' writing competence in additional language acquisition. Throughout the synthesis of recent studies, it became evident that the influence of these mid-level contrasts, such as preferences for hypotactic or paratactic structures

and varying degrees of complexity or abstraction, extends well beyond isolated error patterns. Instead, these differences represent a critical, yet underexplored, dimension of how learners conceptualize and produce written text, affecting their ability to construct coherent, context-appropriate discourse in the target language.

In addressing this gap, the review highlights the limitations of current research, which often concentrates on surface or deep-level discrepancies at the expense of intermediate-level considerations. While scholarship on Chinese-English contrasts has identified recurring issues—like underusing the passive voice, overreliance on simple sentence structures, and inappropriate conjunction use—these insights have yet to be fully integrated into a systematic understanding of how learners can leverage cross-linguistic awareness to enhance writing outcomes. Furthermore, empirical studies dedicated explicitly to developing and assessing pedagogical strategies informed by these intermediate-level insights remain scarce.

Moving forward, the research agenda should broaden in scope and depth. Studies that employ robust quantitative methodologies and large-scale empirical designs are needed to measure the precise impact of intermediate-level differences. Such endeavors should not only confirm the existence of these differences across diverse language pairs but also evaluate instructional approaches that explicitly foster learners' cross-linguistic competence. For instance, teacher-guided contrastive analysis, targeted consciousness-raising tasks, and curriculum designs that integrate explicit comparisons of expression patterns may better equip learners to navigate linguistic complexities.

Ultimately, refining our understanding of intermediate-level language differences and embedding this awareness into pedagogical practice can support sustainable multilingual development. By helping learners move beyond superficial mastery to a more nuanced grasp of language-specific norms, this approach has the potential to enhance writing proficiency, inform more responsive curricular policies, and enrich the theoretical landscape of SLA research. In doing so, it lays the groundwork for more effective, informed, and enduring multilingual education.

Importantly, refining our understanding of intermediate-level language differences and embedding this awareness into pedagogical practice can be

a powerful driver of sustainable multilingual development. By helping learners move beyond superficial mastery to a more nuanced grasp of language-specific norms, this approach supports the maintenance and growth of multilingual competence over time. As language learners become more adept at recognizing and managing cross-linguistic influences, they not only improve their immediate writing skills but also fortify their long-term ability to operate effectively in multiple languages.

Several limitations should be acknowledged in this study. First, although this review offers a comprehensive examination of intermediate-level language differences and their impact on writing competence, it focuses primarily on one dimension of cross-linguistic influence (CLI), largely overlooking other areas where CLI may also play a significant role. As a result, the study provides a less encompassing perspective on the broader landscape of CLI. Second, the review relies heavily on Liu's language comparison framework, which, while theoretically insightful, may restrict the range of analytical perspectives. Other theoretical models or approaches could illuminate different facets of language contrast that remain unexplored here. This reliance potentially limits the generalizability and applicability of the findings across diverse language contexts and learner populations. Third, the study is based mainly on extant literature rather than large-scale empirical or quantitative data, making it challenging to precisely measure the scope and intensity of CLI on writing development. Fourth, although potential pedagogical implications are identified, specific instructional interventions have not been systematically designed or empirically validated. Lastly, due to constraints in time, scope, and keywords, some relevant studies may not have been identified or included, leaving the review potentially incomplete. Addressing these limitations in future research—by exploring other facets of CLI, applying alternative theoretical frameworks, conducting rigorous empirical investigations, and designing targeted pedagogical interventions—will be essential for achieving a more comprehensive and widely applicable understanding of how cross-linguistic differences shape Lx writing competence.

Addressing these limitations in future research—by exploring other facets of CLI, applying alternative theoretical frameworks, conducting rigorous empirical investigations, and designing targeted pedagogical interventions—

will be essential for achieving a more comprehensive and widely applicable understanding of how cross-linguistic differences shape Lx writing competence. In doing so, researchers and educators will be better positioned to foster durable, sustainable multilingualism, wherein learners preserve and continually refine their ability to communicate effectively across multiple languages.

References

Amini Farsani, M., Jamali, H. R., Beikmohammadi, M., Ghorbani, B. D., & Soleimani, L. (2021). Methodological orientations, academic citations, and scientific collaboration in applied linguistics: What do research synthesis and bibliometrics indicate? *System*, *100*, 102547. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2021.102547

Bell, P., Fortier, V., & Gauvin, I. (2020). Using L1 knowledge about language during L2 error correction: Do students make cross-linguistic connections? *Language Awareness*, *29*(2), 95–113. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2020.1729783

Dai, S. (2024). Experiences of a Chinese English learner in the framework of sociocultural theory: An autoethnography. *Science, Technology and Social Development Proceedings Series*, *1*, 185–191. https://doi.org/10.70088/1h8z0931

Fei, Y. (2023). The differences in thinking patterns between English and Chinese in Chinese students' English writing. In *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Education, Language and Art (ICELA 2022)* (pp. 277–285). Atlantis Press SARL. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-004-6_36

Gast, V. (2012). Contrastive linguistics: theories and methods. In B. Kortmann & J. Kabatek (Eds.), *Dictionaries of linguistics and communication science: linguistic theory and methodology*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Jarvis, S., & Pavlenko, A. (2008). *Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203935927

Ke, P. (2019). *Contrastive linguistics* (1st ed). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1385-1.

Khakimjanova, Y., Khairullina, N., & Nesterenko, E. (2021). Comparative

analysis of English and Chinese languages. *East European Scientific Journal*, *4*(10), 65–68. https://doi.org/10.31618/ESSA.2782-1994.2021.4.74.147

Kostova, B. (2022). The potential of contrastive analysis in the study of discourse. *Studies in Linguistics, Culture, and FLT*, *10*(2), 66–80. https://doi.org/10.46687/YROL6006

Krzeszowski, T. P. (2011). *Contrasting languages: The scope of contrastive linguistics* (2nd ed.). Walter de Gruyter. https://thuvienso.hoasen.edu.vn/handle/123456789/10253

Krish, P., & May, O. C. (2020). A case study of L1 interference in speech acts among Chinese L2 students. *3L The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, *26*(1), 106–118. https://doi.org/10.17576/3L-2020-2601-08

Lian, S. (2010). *English-Chinese comparative studies: Expanded edition*. Higher Education Press.

Liu, M. (1991). Theoretical issues in comparative Chinese-English Studies (Part 2). *Foreign Language*, *5 (46–50)*. https://doi.org/CNKI:SUN:WYXY.0.1991-05-009.

Mair, C. (2018). Contrastive analysis in linguistics. In M. Aronoff (Ed.), *Oxford bibliographies in linguistics*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199772810-0214

McManus, K. (2021). *Crosslinguistic influence and second language learning*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429341663

Peng, N. (2023). Problems in English writing caused by differences between Chinese and English thinking patterns and coping strategies for Chinese. In *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Education, Language and Art (ICELA 2022)* (pp. 286–294). Atlantis Press SARL. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-004-6_37

Ren, R. (2022). *A study of negative transfer of mother tongue in senior high school English writing learning* (Doctor's Dissertation, Hebei Normal University of Science & Technology). https://doi.org/10.27741/d.cnki.ghbkj.2022.000189

Ruzhekova-Rogozherova, B., & Kableshkov, T. (2014). Contrastive teaching, comparative teaching and language awareness enhancement: Analysis

of a contrastive and comparative teaching linguistic experiment. Foreign *Language Teaching, 41*(2), 170–183.

Shi, W. (2015). Types of Chinese negative transfer to English learning and the countermeasures. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *5*(6), 1226. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0506.15

Thierry, G., & Wu, Y. J. (2007). Brain potentials reveal unconscious translation during foreign-language comprehension. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *104*(30), 12530–12535. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0609927104

Van Dijk, C., Dijkstra, T., & Unsworth, S. (2022). Cross-linguistic influence during online sentence processing in bilingual children. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, *25*(4), 691–704. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728922000050

Van Dijk, C., Van Wonderen, E., Koutamanis, E., Kootstra, G. J., Dijkstra, T., & Unsworth, S. (2022). Cross-linguistic influence in simultaneous and early sequential bilingual children: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Child Language*, *49*(5), 897–929. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305000921000337

Wardhaugh, R. (1970). The contrastive analysis hypothesis. *TESOL Quarterly*, *4*(2), 123. https://doi.org/10.2307/3586182

Woll, N., & Paquet, P. L. (2021). Developing crosslinguistic awareness through plurilingual consciousness-raising tasks. *Language Teaching Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13621688211056544

Zhang, L. (2023). Native language transfer in vocabulary acquisition: An empirical study from connectionist perspective. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, *14*(2), 446–458. https://doi.org/10.17507/jltr.1402.21

Acknowledgement

郭立超

马来西亚彭亨阿尔苏丹阿卜杜拉大学，北根，马来西亚

河北民族师范学院，承德，河北，中国

pba22006@student.umpsa.edu.my

Nik Aloesnita Binti Nik Mohd Alwi (Corresponding author)

马来西亚彭亨阿尔苏丹阿卜杜拉大学，北根，马来西亚

胡志明市工业大学，越南

aloesnita@umpsa.edu.my

Abdullah Adnan Bin Mohamed

马来西亚彭亨阿尔苏丹阿卜杜拉大学，北根，马来西亚

adnan@umpsa.edu.my

李长林

马来西亚彭亨阿尔苏丹阿卜杜拉大学，北根，马来西亚

河北民族师范学院，承德，河北，中国

pba22007@student.ump.edu.my

系统综述：中层语差异对语言习得与写作能力的影响

摘要：本文综述了现有关于跨语言影响（CLI）在学习者习得附加语言过程中的研究，重点探讨了学习者对母语与目标语言差异的意识如何影响写作能力。本研究尤其关注中级层面上的语言差异，具体而言是表达模式和使用偏好，以及它们对中国英语学习者写作的影响。研究者利用 Google Scholar 和 CNKI 检索了过去十五年间相关文献，关键词包括 "跨语言知识" "负迁移" 和 "写作能力"等。研究结果表明，中层语言差异造成显著的跨语言影响，尤其体现在连词使用、句子结构复杂度、对被动语态的回避以及词汇重复等方面。这些写作挑战主要源于汉英在表达模式上的差异。对比分析（Contrastive Analysis, CA）被证明是一种有效的工具，可用于预测错误、调整教学材料并解释语言现象。然而，目前对于增强跨语言意识的研究仍然有限，尤其是在诸如主从结构和并列结构等中级层面特征方面。该研究强调，亟需更多定量和实证研究来培养跨语言能力并优化教学策略。进一步的探索对于深入了解语言差异如何影响写作表现，以及如何针对中级层面的跨语言影响设计有效的教学方法至关重要。

关键词：跨语言影响；多语言；语言中层差异；教学策略；写作。

Guo Lichao
Malaizijos Pahango sultono Abdula universitetas, Pekanas, Malaizija;
Hebėjaus Minzu mokytojų rengimo universitetas, Čengdė, Hebėjaus
provincija, Kinija
pba22006@student.umpsa.edu.my
Nik Aloesnita Binti Nik Mohd Alwi
Malaizijos Pahango sultono Abdula universitetas, Pekanas, Malaizija;
HCMC pramonės universitetas, Vietnamas
aloesnita@umpsa.edu.my
Abdullah Adnan Bin Mohamed *(Kontaktinis autorius)*
Malaizijos Pahango sultono Abdula universitetas, Pekanas, Malaizija
adnan@umpsa.edu.my
Li Changlin
Malaizijos Pahango sultono Abdula universitetas, Pekanas, Malaizija
Hebėjaus Minzu mokytojų rengimo universitetas, Čengdė, Hebėjaus
provincija, Kinija
pba22007@student.ump.edu.my

SISTEMINĖ APŽVALGA: VIDUTINIO LYGMENS KALBŲ SKIRTUMŲ ĮTAKA KALBOS ĮSISAVINIMUI IR RAŠYMO KOMPETENCIJAI

Anotacija. Šiame straipsnyje apžvelgiami literatūros šaltiniai, kuriuose nagrinėjama tarpkalbinė įtaka (angl. *cross-linguistic influence*, CLI) asmenims mokantis papildomos kalbos. Pagrindinis dėmesys skiriamas tam, kokią įtaką daro pagrindinės ir tikslinės kalbų skirtumų suvokimas besimokančiųjų rašymo kompetencijai. Analizuojami vidutinio lygio kalbų skirtumai, konkrečiai – raiškos modeliai ir jų vartojimo preferencijos bei įtaka kinų anglų kalbos besimokančiųjų rašymo kompetencijai. Sisteminė naujausių (pastarųjų 15 metų) tyrimų paieška atlikta naudojantis *Google Scholar* ir CNKI įrankiais, taikant tokius raktinius žodžius kaip „tarpkalbinės žinios", „neigiamas perkėlimas" ir „rašymo kompetencija". Rezultatai rodo ryškią vidutinio lygmens tarpkalbinę įtaką, ypač tokiose srityse kaip jungtukų vartojimas, sakinio struktūros sudėtingumas, pasyviosios kalbos vengimas ir žodžių kartojimas. Šiuos sunkumus visų pirma lemia kinų ir anglų kalbų raiškos būdų skirtumai. Tyrimai parodė, kad Kontrastinė analizė (KA) yra veiksminga priemonė, taikoma klaidoms numatyti, mokymo medžiagai pritaikyti ir kalbos reiškiniams paaiškinti. Tačiau vis dar nedaug mokslinių tyrimų, susijusių su tarpkalbinio sąmoningumo plėtojimu, ypač vidutinio lygio hipotaktinių ir parataktinių struktūrų atžvilgiu. Tyrime pabrėžiamas poreikis atlikti daugiau kiekybinių ir empirinių tyrimų, siekiant ugdyti tarpkalbinę kompetenciją ir išsamiau apibūdinti pedagogines strategijas. Tolesni tyrimai padėtų geriau suprasti, kokią įtaką kalbų skirtumai turi rašymo rezultatams, ir sukurti efektyvius mokymo metodus, skirtus vidutinio lygmens tarpkalbinės įtakos keliamoms problemoms spręsti.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: tarpkalbinė įtaka; daugiakalbystė; vidutinio lygio kalbų skirtumai; mokymo strategija; rašymas.

Jing Xuan Tian
The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

INVESTIGATING PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN L2 AND L3 AMONG MANDARIN SPEAKERS IN HONG KONG: A CASE STUDY

Abstract. This study aims to determine how Mandarin speakers (MS) in Hong Kong (HK) acquire English (L2) and Cantonese (L3) pronunciation features, how the three languages interact in their language learning process, and to identify the pronunciation-related adjustment approaches that MSs use to overcome L2 and L3 pronunciation challenges. Five MSs in HK who had learned L2 for around 15 years were recruited. Three of them were at the intermediate stage of L3 learning and had learned L3 for 4 years. Two participants were at the beginning stage of L3 learning and had learned L3 for less than 6 months. All participants performed Mandarin, English, and Cantonese speech tasks and answered a questionnaire investigating MSs' L2 and L3 pronunciation-related adjustment strategies and language learning experience. Acoustic results of the speech tasks identified cross-linguistic influence patterns from their first language (L1) to L3, from L2 to L3, and from L1 to L2 and then to L3. L3 beginners reported that they frequently used L2 sounds to learn L3 instead of using L1. However, MSs whose L3 was at the intermediate stage did not use their L1 or L2 features to learn L3, except for Cantonese tones. For the pronunciation-related adjustment strategies, the L3 beginners tended to rely on the assistance of other languages when communicating with HK Cantonese speakers using their L2 and L3. But the MSs who were at the intermediate stage of L3 learning rarely used other languages or code-mixing and tended to adjust their own speech (e.g., reducing accents, utilizing repetition, and embedding pausing).

Keywords: L2 & L3 acquisition; multilingualism; pronunciation-related adjustment strategies.

Introduction

The rapid pace of globalization has led to a growing number of individuals incorporating multiple languages into their daily routines or educational endeavors. Multilingualism is the norm nowadays. Recent reports indicate that the population of bilingual or multilingual individuals has exceeded

that of monolingual speakers (Cabrelli Amaro & Wrembel, 2016). This rise in multilingualism necessitates further research in the field. In HK, language policies promote "biliteracy and trilingualism" (e.g., Wang & Kirkpatrick, 2015), advocating for proficiency in Cantonese, English, and Putonghua (Mandarin) as the primary spoken languages. Cantonese is the main language used by residents in HK. Many undergraduate students whose L1 is Mandarin earn their bachelor's degrees in HK and would like to find a job there after graduation. To integrate into Cantonese-speaking society, university students whose L1 is not Cantonese need to master the language. Typically, students who are MSs have Mandarin as their L1, English as their L2, and Cantonese as their L3. Their English proficiency usually ranges from intermediate to upper-intermediate levels (e.g., IELTS 6.0 or above), which meets the university admission criteria in HK. Upon their arrival, mastering Cantonese as their L3 becomes imperative. This study seeks to explore the interactions among the three languages— Mandarin (L1), English (L2), and Cantonese (L3)—acquired by Mainland Chinese students in HK, and to identify the pronunciation-related adjustment strategies they employ in their daily L2 and L3 communication.

L3 Acquisition

In comparison to L1 or L2 acquisition, acquiring an L3 poses significantly greater complexities (Chen & Han, 2019). Learning any language within an L3 context can exert impact on other language systems (e.g., Flynn et al., 2004). Previous studies proposed different L3 acquisition models and patterns of interaction among languages in L3 acquisition. The L2 Status Factor (L2SF; Bardel & Falk, 2007) suggests that initial transfer in L3 learning predominantly originates from the learner's L2 due to the cognitive similarities shared between the L2 and L3. The Typological Primacy Model (TPM; Rothman, 2015) argues that the degree of transfer during L3 acquisition hinges on the typological relationships between the L3 and previously acquired languages. For the interaction patterns identified from previous studies, both progressive and regressive interactions were identified. Chen and Han (2019) noted instances of regressive transfer from L3 to L2 when learners' proficiency in L3 was higher than that of learners' L2. As language learners advance in

proficiency in both their L2 and L3, they tend to compartmentalize the three languages, leading to more balanced interactions among their L1, L2, and L3. Cal and Sypiańska (2020) stated that the language with higher proficiency had greater influence on other languages that they learn in L3 acquisition context. However, previous studies (e.g., Chen & Han, 2019) have relied on participants' self-reflections to identify interaction patterns, yet low linguistic awareness can hinder learners from recognizing these patterns.

This study aims to utilize acoustic data to validate potential interaction patterns in L3 acquisition. For MSs in HK, their language learning situation is quite unique—Mandarin is their L1; English is usually their L2, and they usually start to learn English from primary school; whereas Cantonese is their L3, and they learn it after entering HK. In terms of typological distance, their L1 Mandarin and L3 Cantonese are closer and belong to the same language family (e.g., Chen & Tian, 2024). According to the TPM, L1 Mandarin is expected to have a greater influence on L3 Cantonese. However, the phonetic features of L3 Cantonese also exhibit similarities with L2 English (e.g., both languages have [i] and [ɪ] contrast). The L2SF model also suggests the significant role of L2 in L3 learning. Previous studies have not considered the language acquisition sequence of multilingual learners such as MSs in HK. The learning of L2 and L3 by MSs in HK is worth investigating. The research findings can be applied to any multilingual societies similar to the situation in HK.

Pronunciation-related Adjustment Strategies

The Communication Accommodation Theory states that individuals adjust their behaviors in interactions with others (Coupland & Giles, 1988). When it comes to pronunciation, speakers often employ strategies, for example, speech rate modulation, as listed by Chen (2016). Previous research primarily focused on L1 and L2 contexts. In the L1 setting, studies (e.g., Yule, 2010) scrutinized mother-infant communication, while in L2 contexts, the emphasis was on interactions in English classrooms. Saito and van Poeteren (2012) explored how experienced instructors adapt their pronunciation to enhance mutual understanding and aid student learning in L2 environments. Their findings underscore that many skilled educators utilize

methods, such as slower speech and clearer articulation. Among the 44 surveyed teachers, strategies including avoiding assimilation, eschewing contractions, and inserting more pauses and repetitions were commonly reported. These approaches help delineate word and sentence boundaries, aiding student comprehension in L2 input. Björkman (2014) outlined a communication strategies framework, categorizing strategies into self-initiated and other-initiated forms. Self-initiated tactics involve speakers independently employing strategies to ensure clear communication, such as enhancing explicitness in statements or seeking clarification. On the other hand, other-initiated strategies are responses to communicative needs expressed by interlocutors, aiming to fulfill specific requirements including confirming information or requesting clarification. Chen (2016) compared pronunciation adjustment strategies among English teachers in Mainland China and HK, examining techniques, such as speech rate adjustment and stress on specific words. Conversely, HK teachers notably favored strategies, such as "contraction avoidance", "sentence stress emphasis", and "repetition". Song and Shan (2014) highlighted communication challenges faced by Mainland Chinese students in HK, emphasizing convergence (e.g., code-switching) and divergence (e.g., maintenance) accommodation strategies. However, only a few strategies related to pronunciation, such as code-switching and mediating, were reported by participants.

While existing studies have explored pronunciation adjustment strategies employed by teachers in educational settings, there is a gap in research concerning such strategies in L3 communication contexts by language learners. Apart from previously identified communication strategies, this study will also investigate the use of other languages and code-switching to align with the multilingual communication context.

Research Questions

Based on the identified gaps mentioned above, the following research questions have been raised:

1) What are the possible language interaction patterns among the L1, L2, and L3 produced by MSs in HK from different L3 learning strategies?

2) What pronunciation adjustment strategies do MSs in HK commonly use in their L2 English and L3 Cantonese communication?

Methodology

Participants

Five Mandarin-speaking participants in HK who were undergraduate students and had learned L2 English for around 15 years were recruited. Their L1 was Mandarin, and they did not speak any Chinese dialects. Their L2 English proficiency level was intermediate to upper-intermediate level and achieved 6-6.5 in their previous IELTS speaking test. The medium of instruction for their undergraduate study was English.

The five participants were at different L3 Cantonese learning stages. Three participants were at the intermediate stage of L3 learning. They had lived in a Cantonese-speaking society for over 3 years and had learned L3 Cantonese over 3 years. Two participants were at the beginning stage of L3 learning, who had lived in a Cantonese-speaking society for less than 6 months and had learned L3 Cantonese less than 6 months. Three native speakers (one from each language) were recruited as the baseline.

Target Features

Instead of focusing on all English and Cantonese segmental and suprasegmental features, this study only considered the challenging English and Cantonese vowels, and Cantonese tones (Ts) summarized from previous studies. MSs face challenges with differentiating between the English lax and tense contrast, such as [uː] and [ʊ] (Liang, 2014), as well as [e, æ, ʌ] (Chen et al., 2001). So and Attina (2014) stated that MSs found it challenging to grasp vowels that are absent in their L1 but have phonetically similar equivalents. Based on this study, the Cantonese [ʊ], [œ], [ɵ], and [ɐ] present challenges for MSs since they bear phonetic resemblance to Mandarin [u], [ə], and [a].

In summary, the English target features examined in this study are [ʊ], [u], [æ], [e], and [ʌ], while the Cantonese features encompass [ʊ], [u], [ɐ], [œ], [ɵ], and [ɛ].

Procedure

The present study encompassed two stages. The first stage was a production task. All 5 participants performed Mandarin, English, and Cantonese words reading-aloud tasks. To prevent participants from identifying the target features of this study, they read a Mandarin words-reading aloud task with 30 monosyllabic Mandarin words containing all Mandarin vowels and consonants, an English words-reading aloud task with 27 monosyllabic English words containing all English vowels and consonants, and a Cantonese words-reading aloud task with 20 monosyllabic Cantonese words containing all Cantonese vowels and consonants. All the words in the reading-aloud tasks were real words. The items containing the target English and Cantonese features are listed in Tables 1 and 2. Each case read each item three times. Totally, 20 tokens were analyzed for English, and 24 tokens were analyzed for Cantonese. Fricatives and affricates constituted the initial sounds of the tokens.

Table 1

Items Containing the Target English Features

Target English feature	English words
[ʊ]	foot
[u]	food
[æ]	had
[e]	head
[ʌ]	hut

Table 2

Items Containing the Target Cantonese Features

Target Cantonese feature	Words	Jyutping
[ʊ]	渴	hot3
[u]	呼	fu1
[ɐ]	盒	hap6

Target Cantonese feature	Words	Jyutping
[œ]	靴	hoe1
[ɵ]	出	ceot1
[ɛ]	車	ce1

The second stage involved self-reflection. All the participants self-reported the possible language interaction patterns in their L2 and L3 learning experiences.

The last stage involved a survey, in which all five participants self-report the pronunciation adjustment strategies of their L2 English and L3 Cantonese in their communication in HK. Based on previous studies (e.g., Chen 2016; Lim, 2023; Saito & van Poeteren, 2012), a 17-item questionnaire for English pronunciation adjustment strategies and a 14-item questionnaire for Cantonese pronunciation adjustment strategies were developed (Table 3.). The items were categorized into seven categories: speed adjustment, clear pronunciation, key information emphasizing, fluency modification, avoidance of advanced features, use of other languages, and code-switching. Among the seven items, two items, the use of other languages and code-switching, were developed to fit in the multilingual context. All participants reported the frequency of using each pronunciation adjustment strategy on a 5-point scale from "never" to "always".

Table 3

Categories of English and Cantonese Pronunciation Adjustment Strategies Investigated in This Study

Categories	Items
Speed adjustment	e.g., adjusting the speed of speech
Clear pronunciation	e.g., precise pronunciation of individual words
Key information emphasizing	e.g., highlight stress on key words in sentences
Fluency modification	e.g., utilizing repetition
Avoidance of advanced features	e.g., avoiding the use of contraction
Use of other language	e.g., using speakers' L1 (Mandarin) to explain because the speaker is more proficient in Mandarin

Categories	Items
Code-mixing	e.g., embedding Mandarin words in speech

Data Analysis

The first (F1), second (F2), and third (F3) formants of English and Cantonese monophthongs were measured using Praat, a software developed by Boersma and Weenink (2023). There exists an inverse relationship between vowel height and the F1 frequency, wherein vowel height corresponds to lower F1 frequencies, and vice versa. The F2 of vowels is generally associated with vowel backness, indicating that the more front the vowel, the higher the second formant frequency tends to be. F3 is related to lip rounding. As the formant frequency decreases, the lip shape tends to become more rounded. To mitigate the impact of consonant-vowel coarticulation and tonal influence on vowel articulation, the temporal midpoint of the steady-state portion of each monophthong was measured. Each participant read aloud each feature three times. The mean formant values of these three reading aloud times were considered as the representative formant values for that participant. The formant values were then converted to the Bark scale, using the framework established by Zwicker and Terhardt (1980). To control gender-related differences in formant frequencies, the Bark Difference Metric developed by Syrdal and Gopal (1986) was applied for normalization. The normalized F1 value was calculated as the Bark-converted F3 minus the Bark-converted F1, and the normalized F2 value as the Bark-converted F3 minus the Bark-converted F2.

Participants' self-reflection data were coded to identify the possible language interactions they reported. A top-down coding method was applied. When participants mentioned using one language to facilitate learning another (e.g., using Mandarin tones to learn Cantonese tones), their report on the possible language interactions was coded (e.g., L1 Mandarin influencing L3 Cantonese).

The mean frequency of each pronunciation adjustment strategy reported by all participants was calculated and reported.

Results

Possible Interactions Among L1, L2, and L3

To address the first research question "What are the possible language interaction patterns among the L1, L2 and L3 produced by MSs in HK from different L3 learning stages?", all five participants' production data were used.

The normalized F1 and F2 values are listed in Table 4. Participants whose L3 learning is at the intermediate stage produced English [ʊ] (F1: M = 9.27; F2 = 6.77) closer to that of the native speaker (F1: M = 9.88; F2 = 6.35). Their Cantonese [ʊ] (F1: M = 9.45; F2 = 8.77) was also closer to that of the native speaker (F1: M = 9.03; F2 = 7.91) with smaller F2 values. There is a possible interaction pattern from L2 to L3 (smaller F2 of English [ʊ] is transferred to smaller F2 of Cantonese [ʊ]). However, for participants whose L3 is at the beginner stage, their English [ʊ] and Cantonese [ʊ] had larger F2 values (English: 10.30; Cantonese: 10.02) which is closer to that of the Mandarin native speaker (F2 = 11.27 [largest among the three languages]). The large F2 value of Mandarin [u] influences L3 beginners' L2 English and then to L3 Cantonese. Their L2 English and L3 Cantonese F2 values of the four sounds are larger than those of participants whose L3 learning is at the intermediate stage. A possible interaction pattern from L1 to L2 and then to L3 has been identified.

Table 4

MSs and Native Speakers' Production on [u] and [ʊ]

Participants	Formants	English [ʊ]	English [u]	Cantonese [ʊ]	Cantonese [u]	Mandarin [u]
L3 learning at intermediate stage	F1 (Mean)	9.27	10.96	9.45	10.56	
	F2 (Mean)	6.77	10.43	8.77	10.01	
L3 learning at beginner stage	F1 (Mean)	9.20	11.55	9.44	11.37	
	F2 (Mean)	10.30	10.21	10.02	10.04	
Native speaker	F1	9.88	11.89	9.03	10.79	12.89
	F2	6.35	7.33	7.91	10.39	11.27

The normalized F1 and F2 values of English [æ] produced by L3 learning at the beginner stage (F1 = 6.94; F2 = 2.74) and L3 learning at the intermediate stage (F1 = 7.01; F2 = 2.67) were closer to the English native speaker's production (F1=2.89; F2 = 7.13). However, MSs' normalized F1 and F2 values of English [e] and Cantonese [ɛ] produced by L3 learning at the beginner stage (English: F1 = 6.05; F2 = 2.66; Cantonese: F1 = 6.13; F2 = 2.77) were closer to English native speaker's production of English [æ] (Figure 1). A possible interaction pattern from L2 English to L3 Cantonese was identified. MSs used L2 English sound to pronounce the L3 Cantonese sound.

Figure 1

MSs and Native Speakers' Production on [æ], [e], and [ɛ]
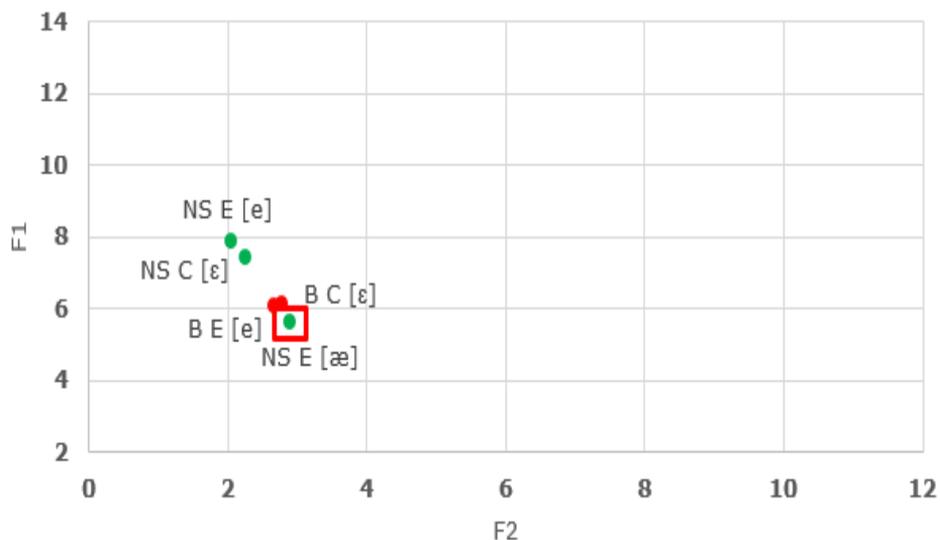
The normalize F1 values of English [ʌ] (beginner stage: F1 = 5.88; intermediate stage: F1 = 5.79) and Cantonese [ɐ] (beginner stage: F1 = 5.93; intermediate stage: F1 = 5.67) for two groups MSs were similar to that of their L1 Mandarin [a] (F1 = 6.03), but lower than that of native English speakers (F1 = 7.04). Possible interaction patterns from L1 to L2, and from L1 to L3 were discovered.

Figure 2

MSs and Native Speakers' Production on [ʌ], [ɐ], and [a]
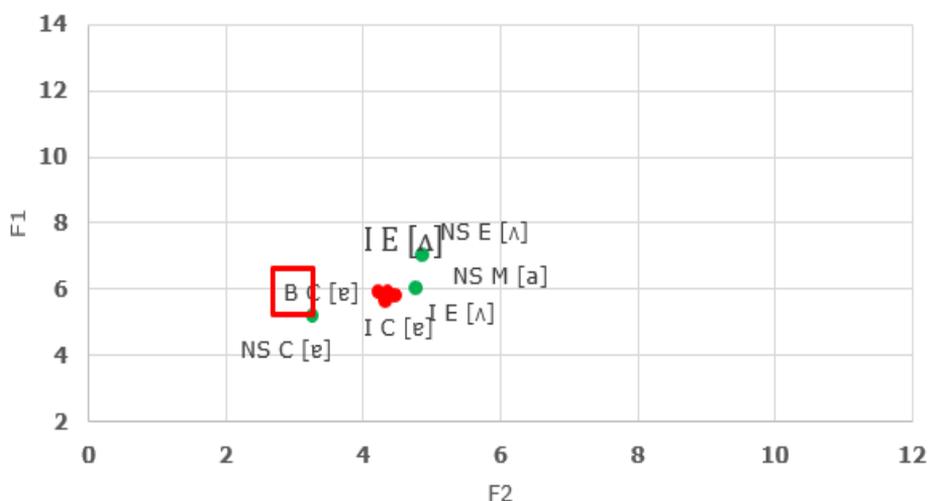
For Cantonese [œ] and [ɵ], MSs mispronounced these two sounds and used Mandarin [o] and [u] to replace respectively.

Self-reflection on Language Interactions

To address the first research question, "What are the possible language interaction patterns among the L1, L2 and L3 produced by MSs in HK from different L3 learning stages?", the participants' self-reflection on their L2 and L3 learning experiences was reported.

Participants from both groups reported that they did not use L1 Mandarin or L3 Cantonese to learn L2 English pronunciation. They explained that they learned English IPA instead of using other languages. Participants who were at the beginning stage of L3 learning used the languages that they learned to help them acquire the target language. For segments learning, they reported using L2 English sounds to learn L3 Cantonese sounds. For L3 tone learning, they learned with the help of L1 Mandarin.

Case (C) 1 (at the beginning stage of L3 learning):

I use the sounds of English to learn the sounds of Cantonese. I find that these two languages have more similarities, and I link English and

Cantonese. Despite sharing the same writing system as Mandarin, Cantonese has different pronunciations.

C2 (at the beginning stage of L3 learning):

I use English sounds to learn Cantonese sounds. For example, the English word "strawberry" and the Cantonese word "士多啤梨 (strawberry in Cantonese)" have similar pronunciations, so I use the English pronunciation to learn Cantonese. However, I only use Mandarin tones to learn Cantonese tones. I don't rely on Mandarin for other features of Cantonese pronunciation.

However, for the participants who are at the intermediate stage of L3 learning, they did not report any using the languages that they learned to acquire the target languages.

C2 (at the intermediate stage of L3 learning):

I rarely used L1 to learn L2 English or use L1 or L2 to learn L3 Cantonese. I think Chinese and English are two different language systems. It's hard for me to use Chinese to learn English. Although Mandarin and Cantonese both belong to Chinese, there are a lot of differences between the two languages.

Pronunciation Adjustment Strategies

To address the second research question, "What pronunciation adjustment strategies do MSs in HK commonly use in their L2 English and L3 Cantonese communication?", participants' survey data were reported.

Results of the frequent English pronunciation-related adjustment strategies were presented in Figure 3. The frequent English pronunciation-related adjustment strategies used by L3 beginners were to have precise pronunciation of individual words (M = 4.00), avoiding the use of advanced pronunciation features (e.g., assimilation, elision, and linking in connected speech) with M = 4.00, and using listeners' L3 (Mandarin) to explain because

the listener was more proficient in Mandarin (M = 3.50). For the participants who were at the intermediate stage of their L3 learning, they utilized repetition (M = 3.66), followed by reducing accents (M = 3.33) and embedding pausing (M = 3.33).

Figure 3

Frequent English Pronunciation-Related Adjustment Strategies by the two Groups
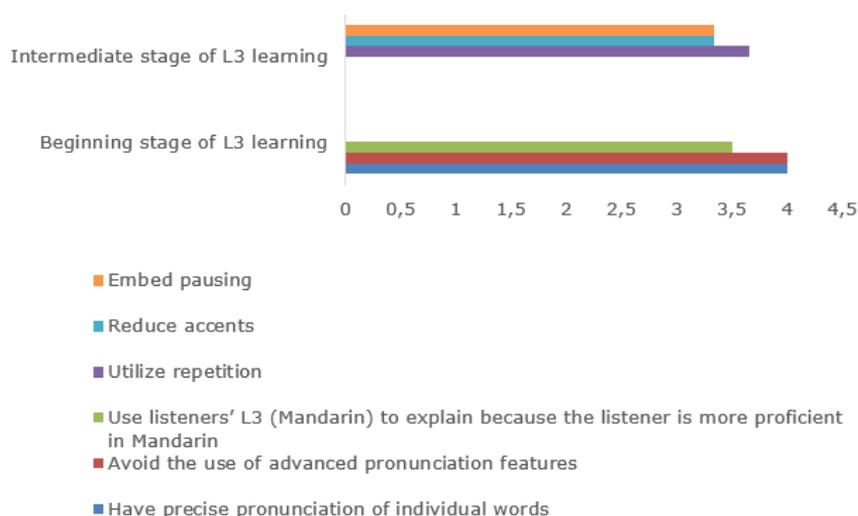
For Cantonese pronunciation-related adjustment strategies (Figure 4), L3 beginners adjusted the speed of their speech (M = 5.00), used listeners' L3 (Mandarin) to explain because the listener was more proficient in Mandarin (M = 4.50), used speakers' L2/listeners' L2 (English) to explain because the listener was more proficient in English (M = 4.50), and embedded English words in speech (M = 4.00). MSs whose L3 were at the intermediate stage reported that reducing accent (M = 4.00), utilizing repetition (M = 3.67), having precise pronunciation of individual words (M = 3.33), and highlighting stress on key words in sentences (M = 3.33) were the common pronunciation-related adjustment strategies that they used to form successful communication. However, they rarely used other languages or code-mixing when using L3 Cantonese to communicate. Participants reported that

the pronunciation-related adjustment strategies that came to their mind were all included in this questionnaire. No more pronunciation-related adjustment strategies could be added.

Figure 4

Frequent Cantonese Pronunciation-Related Adjustment Strategies by the two Groups

- ■ Highlight stress on key words in sentences
- ■ have precise pronunciation of individual words
- ■ Utilize repetition
- ■ Reducing accents
- ■ Embed English words in speech
- ■ Use speakers' L2/listeners' L2 (English) to explain because the listener is more proficient in English
- ■ Use listeners' L3 (Mandarin) to explain because the listener is more proficient in Mandarin
- ■ Adjust the speed of their speech
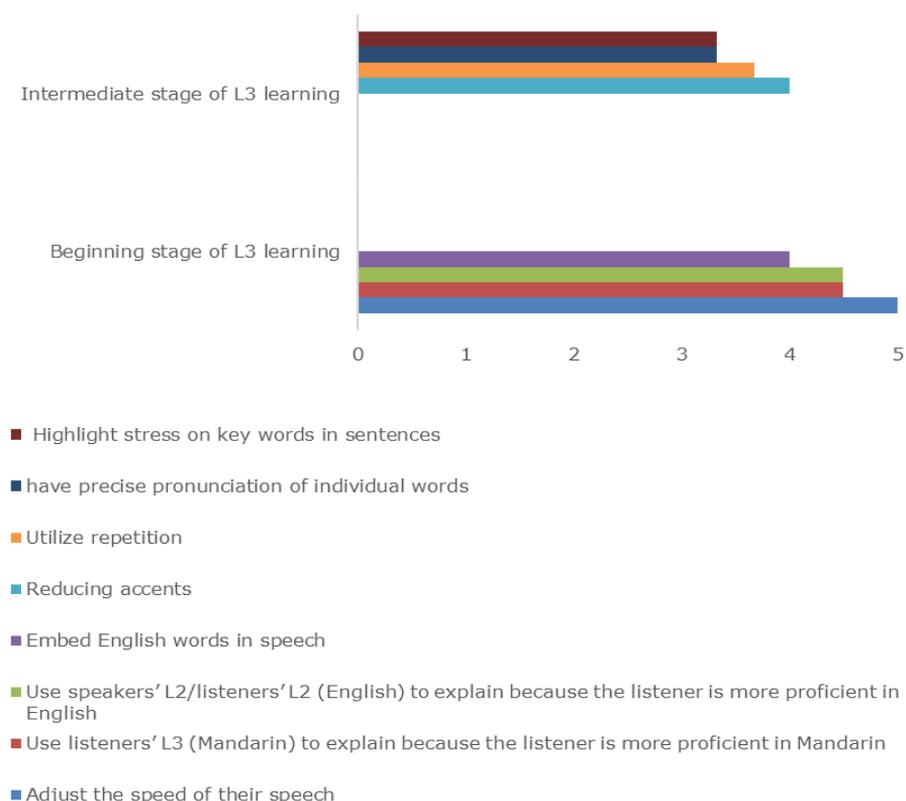
Discussion

Possible interaction patterns from L1 to L2 and then to L3, from L2 to L3, from L1 to L2, and from L2 to L3 have been identified. These findings are partially consistent with Cal and Sypiańska, (2020) and Chen and Tian (2024). Vowels that are absent in the language systems multilingual learners have

acquired—but have phonetically similar equivalents—can be challenging for MSs, who may be influenced by the sounds they already know. This finding is partially consistent with So and Attina (2014). Sounds that learners have previously acquired can influence the target language. For example, although the English [æ] does not exist in Mandarin, it still affects MSs' L3 Cantonese. This finding also supports Flynn et al. (2004). However, no regressive interaction patterns were identified in this study, possibly due to the limited sample size. If the MSs whose L3 is at an advanced level were recruited, a possible interaction pattern from L3 to L2 could be identified. In terms of speech production performances for L3 beginners, their L3 is influenced by both their L1 and L2. When communicating in L3 Cantonese, they also tend to use these two languages for support. However, whether MSs' pronunciation-related adjustment strategies are influenced by the cross-linguistic influence patterns needs further research for deeper exploration. The tendency to embed English in L3 Cantonese may be attributed to the speech habits of the native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers, who often mix English into their Cantonese. In contrast, the use of Mandarin for support may stem from a lack of knowledge of Cantonese pronunciation of certain words.

Participants' self-reports on language interaction support the L2SF (Bardel & Falk, 2007), which emphasizes the importance of L2 influence in multilingual contexts, as well as the TPM (Rothman, 2015), which emphasizes the role of typological factors. With the L2 English learning experiences, L3 learners in the multilingual context always acquire L3 features using their L2 learning experience (e.g., Bardel & Falk, 2007). In acquiring L3 Cantonese tones, learners relied on their L1 Mandarin, likely due to the typological affinity between two languages. However, L3 learners who were at the intermediate stage of L3 learning did not apply translanguaging, which aligns with Chen and Han (2019), who found that advanced language learners tend to compartmentalize the three languages and avoid cross-linguistic interaction.

The common L2 English pronunciation-related adjustment strategies reported by the participants in the two groups were also the common strategies reported in the previous studies (e.g., Chen, 2016; Lim 2023). However, previous studies did not compare the strategies used by multilingual learners who were at different L3 learning stages. Participants from both groups did not

tend to use L3 in L2 pronunciation-related adjustment strategies instead of using their L1 or adjusting their L2 feature to form successful communication. This is a new finding and could be attributed to learners' L3 proficiency. Participants in this study had lower L3 proficiency and their L2 proficiency was much higher. Under these circumstances, they did not use their L3 to support L2 communication. HK is a typical multilingual society, and the language policy follows "biliteracy and trilingualism" (e.g., Wang & Kirkpatrick, 2015). Cantonese native speakers in HK typically possess the ability to communicate in Cantonese, English, and Mandarin. In university learning environment, English is the predominant medium of instruction. When MSs and Cantonese speakers communicate in English, MSs often rely in their more familiar language, L1 Mandarin, for support. Since Cantonese is their L3 and the least familiar of the three languages, it is reasonable for them to default to the language they know best in a multilingual society such as HK.

The identified pronunciation-related adjustment strategies in L3 Cantonese are novel. Participants from the two groups reported different common pronunciation-related adjustment strategies. For the participants who were at the beginning stage of L3 learning tended to use other languages for support. Three out of the four common strategies were using other languages to explain. As mentioned above, HK is a multilingual society where the use of multiple languages in communication is common (e.g., Chen & Tian, 2024). Additionally, Cantonese speakers in HK have a habit of incorporating English while speaking Cantonese (e.g., Ng & Chen 2016). When MSs communicate in Cantonese, they also tend to embed English or explain in English, mimicking the habits of HK Cantonese native speakers. However, Cantonese speakers in HK rarely mix Mandarin into their Cantonese. Beginners have this habit because they may want to accurately express what they intend to say. Further research is needed to identify the reasons behind MSs using these pronunciation-related adjustment strategies. However, the participants who were at the intermediate L3 learning stage tended to adjust their own speech. A possible reason could be attributed to their L3 proficiency. They had learned L3 for more than three years, and they are more confident in using this language. But one thing that needs to be further improved is to have a clear definition of code-switching. Based on Abdul-Zahra (2010), code-switching is

the practice of switching between two or more languages or different variations of the same language by bilingual individuals in conversation, which means that 'embedding Mandarin words in Cantonese speech' is also a possible item for code-switching but has not been examined in this study. For further studies, this subject should be further examined.

Implications for Language Teachers in Multilingual Society

The current study identified some positive interaction patterns. Take the [ʊ] sound as an example. MSs who were at intermediate L3 learning stages positively transferred smaller F2 of English [ʊ] to their Cantonese [ʊ]. Their pronunciation was closer to that of the Cantonese native speaker. For these positive interactions, it is recommended that language teachers highlight them in language instruction especially for those teachers who are teaching in a multilingual society. Regarding negative interactions (e.g., English [ʌ] and Cantonese [ɐ] produced by both L3 beginners and intermediate learners receive negative influence from Mandarin), language teachers should provide more explicit instruction and practice on these features. Additionally, corrective feedback should be provided by the teachers when they find that their students mispronounced these features. Language teachers should also be equipped with basic phonetic knowledge of the languages that their students need to learn or usually use.

Conclusion

This study identified four types of interactive patterns: from L1 to L2 and then to L3, from L2 to L3, from L1 to L2, and directly from L1 to L3. It also highlights the adjustment strategies employed by multilingual learners, with a particular focus on L2 English pronunciation. Notably, participants tended to rely on their L1 or adjust L2 features to achieve successful communication, rather than incorporating L3 elements—likely reflecting differences in their language proficiency levels. The varied pronunciation-related adjustment strategies observed across learners at different stages of L3 acquisition underscore the complexity of language interactions within

multilingual contexts. Furthermore, the divergences in strategy use between beginners and intermediate learners—particularly in how they draw on other languages or adapt their speech for L3 Cantonese pronunciation—emphasize the significant impact of proficiency levels on language strategy selection. Future research should delve deeper into defining and exploring phenomena such as code-switching, particularly concerning the incorporation of Mandarin words in Cantonese speech to enhance our understanding of multilingual communication processes. These findings offer valuable insights for language educators and researchers grappling with the intricacies of pronunciation acquisition and language interactions in multilingual settings.

While this study contributed to understanding of L1 acquisition and pronunciation-related adjustment strategies, it also has several limitations. As a case study, it involved only five participants, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Future research should consider recruiting a broader and more varied sample to enhance statistical robustness.

References

Abdul-Zahra, S. (2010). Code-Switching in language: An applied study. *Journal of College of Education for Women*, 21(1), 283–296.

Bardel, C., & Falk, Y. (2007). The role of the second language in third language acquisition: The case of Germanic syntax. *Second Language Research*, *23*(4), 459–484. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658307080557

Björkman, B. (2014). An analysis of polyadic English as a lingua franca (ELF) speech: A communicative strategies framework. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *66*, 122–138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.001

Boersma, P., & Weeknink, D. (2023). *Praat: Doing phonetics by computer (version 6.3.1) [Computer program]*. http://www.praat.org/

Cabrelli Amaro, J., & Wrembel, M. (2016). Investigating the acquisition of phonology in a third language — A state of the science and an outlook for the future. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *13*(4), 395–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2016.1217601

Cal, Z., & Sypiańska, J. (2020). The interaction of L2 and L3 levels of proficiency in third language acquisition. *Poznan Studies in*

Contemporary Linguistics, *56*(4), 577–603. https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2020-0019

Chen, H. C. (2016). In-Service Teachers' Intelligibility and Pronunciation Adjustment Strategies in English Language *Classrooms. English Language Teaching (Toronto)*, *9*(4), 30. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v9n4p30

Chen, H. C., & Han, Q. W. (2019). L3 phonology: contributions of L1 and L2 to L3 pronunciation learning by Hong Kong speakers. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *16*(4), 492–512. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2019.1573901

Chen, H. C., & Tian, J. X. (2024). The roles of Cantonese speakers' L1 and L2 phonological features in L3 pronunciation acquisition. International *Journal of Multilingualism*, *21*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2021.1993231

Chen, Y., Robb, M., Gilbert, H., & Lerman, J. (2001). Vowel production by Mandarin speakers of English. *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics*, *15*(6), 427–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908310008666590

Coupland, N., & Giles, H. (1988). Introduction: The communicative contexts of accommodation. *Language & Communication*, *8*(3–4), 175–182. https://doi.org/10.1016/0271-5309(88)90015-8

Flynn, S., Foley, C., & Vinnitskaya, I. (2004). The cumulative-enhancement model for language acquisition: Comparing adults' and children's patterns of development in first, second and third language acquisition of relative clauses. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *1*(1), 3–16.

Liang, E. (2014). Pronunciation of English consonants, vowels and diphthongs of Mandarin-Chinese speakers. *Studies in Literature and Language*, *8*(1), 62.

Lim, S. M. (2023). ELF teacher talk: Examining speech modification in Japanese classrooms. *Asian Englishes*, *25*(3), 468–484. https://doi.org/10.1080/13488678.2022.2080425

Ng, T. D., & Chen, H. C. (2016). Phonological changes in Cantonese-English code-mixing for ESL learners in Hong Kong and their attitudes toward code-mixing. *Journal of Asia TEFL*, *13*(3), 162–185. https://doi.org/10.18823/asiatefl.2016.13.3.1.162

Rothman, J. (2015). Linguistic and cognitive motivations for the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) of third language (L3) transfer: Timing of acquisition and proficiency considered. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, *18*(2), 179–190. https://doi.org/10.1017/S136672891300059X.

Saito, K., & van Poeteren, K. (2012). Pronunciation-specific adjustment strategies for intelligibility in L2 teacher talk: Results and implications of a questionnaire study. *Language Awareness*, *21*(4), 369–385. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2011.643891

So, C. K., & Attina, V. (2014). Cross-language perception of Cantonese vowels spoken by native and non-native speakers. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, *43*, 611–630. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-013-9270-6

Syrdal, A. K., & Gopal, H. S. (1986). A perceptual model of vowel recognition based on the auditory representation of American English vowels. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *79*(4), 1086–1100. https://doi.org/10.1121/1.393381

Wang, L., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2015). Trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools: An overview. *Multilingual Education*, *5*(3), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13616-015-0023-8

Yule, G. (2010). *The study of language (4th ed.)*. Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511757754

Zwicker, E., & Terhardt, E. (1980). Analytical expressions for critical-band rate and critical bandwidth as a function of frequency. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *68*(5), 1523–1525. https://doi.org/10.1121/1.385079

Jing Xuan Tian
Honkongo edukologijos universitetas, Honkongas
s1126315@s.eduhk.hk

HONGKONGO MANDARINŲ KALBA KALBANČIŲ ASMENŲ K2 IR K3 FONOLOGINĖS RAIDOS TYRIMAS: ATVEJO ANALIZĖ

Anotacija. Šiuo tyrimu siekta nustatyti, kaip kalbantieji mandarinų kalba (MK) Honkonge įgyja anglų kaip antrosios kalbos (K2) ir kantoniečių kaip trečiosios kalbos (K3) tarimo ypatybių; kaip šios trys kalbos sąveikauja mokymosi procese. Kitas tyrimo tikslas – nustatyti, kokiais būdais kalbantieji MK siekia įveikti K2 ir K3 tarimo problemas. Tyrime dalyvavo penki Honkongo MK kalbantieji, K2 kalbos mokęsi apie 15 metų. Trys iš jų yra pasiekę vidurinį K3 mokymosi lygį (pažengusieji) ir K3 mokęsi 4 metus. Du dalyviai (pradedantieji) K3 mokosi pradiniame etape – tik 3 mėnesius. Visi dalyviai atliko kalbėjimo užduotis mandarinų, anglų ir kantoniečių kalbomis ir užpildė klausimyną, kuriuo buvo tiriamos su K2 ir K3 tarimu susijusios MK kalbančiųjų prisitaikymo strategijos bei kalbų mokymosi patirtis. Akustiniai kalbos užduočių rezultatai leido nustatyti tarpkalbinės įtakos modelius: iš pirmosios kalbos (K1) į K3, iš K2 į K3, iš K1 į K2 ir tada į K3. Pradedantieji nurodė, kad mokydamiesi K3 dažnai vartoja K2, o ne K1 garsus. Pažengusieji teigė mokydamiesi K3 nesirėmę savo K1 ar K2, išskyrus kantoniečių kalbos tonus. Kalbant apie su tarimu susijusias prisitaikymo strategijas, pradedantieji, bendraudami su Honkongo kantoniečių kalba kalbančiaisiais K2 ir K3, buvo linkę kliautis kitų kalbų pagalba. Pažengusieji retai naudojosi kitų kalbų ar kodų maišymo strategijomis ir buvo linkę koreguoti savo kalbą (pvz., mažinti akcentus, kartoti ir įterpti pauzes).

Pagrindinės sąvokos: K2 ir K3 įsisavinimas; daugiakalbystė; su tarimu susijusios prisitaikymo strategijos.

ISSUES IN TRANSLATION

VERTIMO KLAUSIMAI

Aurelija Leonavičienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva

CENZŪRA IR AUTOCENZŪRA TARPUKARIO IR SOVIETMEČIO VERTIMUOSE IŠ PRANCŪZŲ KALBOS Į LIETUVIŲ KALBĄ

Anotacija. Vertimas yra visuomenės polisistemos dalis, todėl jis siejasi su kitomis sistemomis: politinių ir ideologinių galių, ekonomikos, literatūros, sociokultūrine ir kitomis. Vystydamasis kartu su visuomene, vertimas nuolat kinta, patiria konkrečiam istoriniam laikotarpiui būdingų transformacijų ir atspindi šalies polisistemų ypatumus ir sociosemiotines normas. Pastarosios įvairiai reiškiamos vertimuose, įskaitant cenzūros ir autocenzūros formas. Straipsnyje aprašomo tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti ir palyginti tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos kanoninės prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą, aptarti tiriamosios medžiagos cenzūros ir autocenzūros priežastis, panašumus ir skirtumus platesniame kiekvieno tiriamojo laikotarpio polisistemų, sociosemiotinių vertimo normų ir politinių galių kontekste. Keliami keturi uždaviniai: 1) teoriškai aptarti cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą remiantis polisistemine vertimo teorija, sociosemiotinėmis normomis ir kitais dabartiniais cenzūros tematikos moksliniais tyrimais, 2) išnagrinėti 1918–1940 metų ir 1940–1990 metų Lietuvos leidinių atrankos ir vertimų cenzūros mechanizmus, 3) išanalizuoti tiriamosios medžiagos cenzūros ir autocenzūros apraiškas, 4) palyginti vertimų iš prancūzų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvoje bei nustatyti jų taikymo priežastis, panašumus ir skirtumus platesniuose politiniame, ideologiniame ir sociokultūriniame kontekstuose. Tyrimo tikslui ir uždaviniams įgyvendinti taikomi mokslinės literatūros analizės, lyginamosios tekstinės analizės ir aprašomasis metodai. Tiriamosios medžiagos imtį sudaro šie originalūs ir verstiniai tekstai: Stendhalio romanas „Rouge et noir" ir trys jo vertimai „Raudona ir juoda" (1939, 1949, 1976), François Mauriaco romanas „Le Nœud de vipères" ir jo vertimai „Gyvačių lizdas" (1934) ir „Gyvačių kamuolys"(1975), Prospero Mérimée „Colomba" ir du kūrinio vertimai „Kolomba" (1937, 1947), Guy de Maupassant'o romanas „Pierre et Jean" ir jo vertimai „Pjeras ir Žanas" (1937, 1988) bei Molière'o „Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur" ir du pjesės vertimai „Tartifas arba Veidmainys" (1928) ir „Tartiufas arba Apgavikas" (1967). Visos tiriamosios medžiagos prancūzų ir lietuvių kalba apimtis – 3 922 puslapiai. Atlikus lyginamąją prancūzų grožinės literatūros kūrinių vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūros ir autocenzūros analizę nustatyta, kad 1918–1940 metų ir 1940–1990 metų vertėjai siekė pritaikyti vertimus prie savo laikmečio visuomenės polisistemų ir suvaldyti vertimo nenuspėjamumą politiniame, ideologiniame ir sociokultūriniame vertimo normų kontekstuose. Surinkti kanoninės prancūzų literatūros kūrinių vertimų į lietuvių kalbą pavyzdžiai leidžia teigti, kad tarpukariu daugiau buvo cenzūruojamos revoliucines nuotaikas propaguojančios, politiškai nepriimtinos originalų vietos, o sovietmečiu plito religinė, politinė ir etinė cenzūra. Be to, tyrimas atskleidė, kad tarpukario vertėjai autocenzūrą rinkosi kur kas dažniau nei sovietmečio vertėjai. Tai sietina su akivaizdesniu 1918–1940 metų vertėjų polinkiu adaptuoti vertimus ir kiek įmanoma labiau juos pritaikyti prie daugumos tuometinių skaitytojų sisteminio kultūrinio pažinimo.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: vertimas; cenzūra; autocenzūra; polisistemų teorija; sociosemiotinės vertimo normos; praleidimas.

Įvadas

Šiuolaikiniame vertimo moksle į verčiamą tekstą žiūrima kaip į semantinę visumą, kurią vertėjas interpretuoja remdamasis savo hermeneutiniu pažinimu ir sisteminiu tarpkultūriniu ir kalbiniu išmanymu. Vertėjas, kaip pasakytų Paulis Ricœuras, gali rinktis vieną iš dviejų būdų: vertimą suvokti „siaurąja prasme – kaip žodinės žiniõs perkėlimą iš vienos kalbos į kitą" arba rinktis platesnį požiūrį ir traktuoti vertimą kaip visumos interpretaciją (2010, p. 17). Pasirinkęs antrąjį būdą, vertėjas interpretuoja tekstą atsižvelgdamas į istorinius, politinius, ideologinius, sociokultūrinius ir kitus originalo ir vertimo kontekstus. Pastarieji determinuoja vertėjo pasirinkimą, ką vertimo visuomenėje galima sakyti ir ko nereikia sakyti, kas toleruotina ir kas netoleruotina, nes kiekvienas tekstas ir kiekviena jo dalis, pasak Michailo Bachtino, yra „socialinis produktas" (Bachtinas, 1978, p. 85). Štai todėl, kaip teigia Michelis Foucault, „kiekviena visuomenė kontroliuoja, daro atranką, organizuoja ir perskirsto diskurso gamybą, atlikdama visa tai vienu metu ir pasitelkdama tam tikras procedūras, kurios turi prislopinti diskurso galias ir pavojus, suvaldyti jo įvykio nenuspėjamumą, išvengti jo sunkaus, gąsdinančio materialumo" (1998, p. 7).

Kas nutinka vertimams, kai vertėjas mėgina suvaldyti teksto nenuspėjamumą, kai siekia prislopinti vertimo „galias ir pavojus" ir „išvengti jo sunkaus, gąsdinančio materialumo" (Foucault, 1998, p. 7)? Kur veda šis siekis? Atsakymų į klausimą ieškodama Kanados rašytoja Kristjana Gunnars teigia, kad „autoriaus užnugaryje visada stovi kitas autorius, cenzūruojantis tekstą vos jam pasirodžius. Kitas autorius rašo: „Tu norėjai pasakyti visai ne tai" (2024, p. 34). Kas verčia vertėją imtis cenzūros ir autocenzūros? Kokiomis formomis ji atsispindi vertimuose? Straipsnyje nagrinėjami šie ir kiti aktualūs vertimo cenzūros ir autocenzūros klausimai, gilinamasi į prancūzų kanoninės literatūros kūrinių vertimus tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvoje. Tiriamąją medžiagą sudaro originalūs ir verstiniai tekstai: Stendhalio romanas „Rouge et noir" ir trys jo vertimai „Raudona ir juoda" (1939, 1949, 1976), François Mauriaco romanas „Le Nœud de vipères" ir jo vertimai „Gyvačių lizdas" (1934) ir „Gyvačių kamuolys"(1975), Prospero Mérimée „Colomba" ir du vertimai „Kolomba" (1937, 1947), Guy de Maupassant'o romanas „Pierre et Jean" ir jo

vertimai „Pjeras ir Žanas" (1937, 1988) bei Molière'o „Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur" ir du pjesės vertimai: „Tartifas arba Veidmainys" (1928) ir „Tartiufas arba Apgavikas" (1967). Vienas minėtų kūrinių vertimų priklauso 1918–1940 metų tarpukario Lietuvos laikotarpiui, kitas arba du kiti – 1940–1990 metų sovietiniam laikotarpiui. Bendra visų meninių tekstų prancūzų kalba apimtis – 1 173 puslapiai. Vertimai sudaro 2 749 puslapius, nes tyrime nagrinėjama mažiausiai po du kiekvieno kūrinio vertimus. Visos tiriamosios medžiagos apimtis – 3 922 puslapiai. Ši originalių ir verstinių tekstų imtis laikytina reprezentatyvia tyrimo objekto – vertimų cenzūros ir autocenzūros – lyginamajai analizei atlikti.

Straipsnio *tyrimo tikslas* – išanalizuoti ir palyginti tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos kanoninės prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą, aptarti tiriamosios medžiagos cenzūros ir autocenzūros priežastis, panašumus ir skirtumus platesniame kiekvieno tiriamojo laikotarpio polisistemų, sociosemiotinių vertimo normų ir politinių galių kontekste. Tyrimo tikslui įgyvendinti keliami keturi uždaviniai: 1) aprašyti cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą remiantis polisistemine teorija, sociosemiotinėmis vertimo normomis ir kitais dabartiniais cenzūros tematikos moksliniais tyrimais, 2) išnagrinėti tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos leidinių atrankos ir vertimų cenzūros mechanizmus, 3) išanalizuoti tiriamosios medžiagos cenzūros ir autocenzūros apraiškas, 4) palyginti vertimų iš prancūzų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą tarpukario ir sovietinėje Lietuvoje bei nustatyti jų taikymo priežastis, panašumus ir skirtumus platesniame politiniame, ideologiniame ir sociokultūriniame kontekste. Tyrimo tikslui ir uždaviniams įgyvendinti taikomi mokslinės literatūros analizės, lyginamasis ir aprašomasis metodai. Pirmiausia pritaikytas aprašomasis metodas kiekvieno tiriamojo laikotarpio leidybos, leidinių atrankos ypatumams nustatyti istoriniame ir politiniame kontekstuose. Vėliau, nagrinėjant tiriamosios medžiagos cenzūros ir autocenzūros faktus, taikytas lyginamosios tekstinės analizės metodas, t. y. originalo tekstas lygintas su mažiausiai dviem jo vertimais, kurių vienas priklauso tarpukario Lietuvos laikotarpiui, kitas(-i) – sovietinės Lietuvos laikotarpiui.

Cenzūros klausimus ne kartą aptarė įvairių mokslo sričių atstovai: Tomas Petreikis (2013) nagrinėjo spaudos cenzūrą tarpukario Lietuvoje, Andrius Vaišnys (1999) analizavo spaudos ir valstybės santykį bei kai kurių

užsienio spaudos leidinių cenzūros klausimus, Alvydas Noreika (2022) aptarė žiniasklaidos cenzūrą ir savicenzūrą, Arida Riaubienė (2005, 2020 ir kt.) tyrinėjo 1918–1940 metų administracinę valstybės ir vietinės cenzūros struktūrą ir procedūras, taip pat užsienyje leistų knygų, periodinių spaudinių ir smulkiosios spaudos cenzūravimą, draudžiamų įvežti į Lietuvą ir platinti knygų sąrašų sudarymą ir kt. Apie sovietmečio Lietuvos medijų, literatūros kūrinių, kino, vaizduojamųjų menų cenzūrą ir ideologinės cenzūros institutų raidą išsamiai rašė Arūnas Streikus (2018), sovietinio teatro cenzūros klausimus nagrinėjo Edgaras Klivis (2010), Goda Dapšytė (2015) ir kiti. Vertimų cenzūros ir autocenzūros problematiką analizavo kitų šalių vertimo mokslo atstovai (Even-Zohar, 1990; Toury, 1995; Gambier, 2002; Tomaszkiewicz, 2002; Brunette, 2002; Durand, 2006; Antoniou, 2014; ir kt.) ir Lietuvos tyrėjai (Streikus, 2018; Maskaliūnienė, Tatolytė, 2022; Valentinavičienė, 2022; Leonavičienė, 2024; Maskaliūnienė, Tatolytė, Černiuvienė, Keršytė ir kt., 2024; Ragaišienė, Raškauskienė, 2024; ir kt.). Su tyrimu susijusius minėtų tyrėjų teiginius aptarsime šio straipsnio teorinėje dalyje.

Kai kurie cenzūros ir autocenzūros klausimai jau buvo nagrinėti ankstesnių vertimo tyrėjų darbuose, tačiau šis tyrimas laikytinas *nauju* ir *aktualiu* dėl kelių priežasčių: 1) kitų šalių ir Lietuvos vertimo mokslo darbuose nebuvo išsamiau tyrinėta skirtingų visuomeninių santvarkų tarpukario ir sovietinės Lietuvos prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūra ir autocenzūra, 2) be to, iki šiol nebuvo lyginti minėtų laikotarpių keli to paties kūrinio vertimai cenzūros požiūriu, kuris leidžia visapusiškiau įvertinti 1918–1940 metų ir 1940–1990 metų politinę, sociokultūrinę, socialinių galių ir normų Lietuvos paradigmą, dariusią įtaką vertimo praktikai. Nesant išsamesnių tarpukario ir sovietinės Lietuvos lyginamųjų vertimo cenzūros ir autocenzūros tyrimų, VDU mokslo klasterio „Tarpkultūrinės komunikacijos ir vertimo problematikos taikomieji tyrimai" mokslininkų grupė įgyvendino 2024–2025 metų mokslo projektą „Meninių tekstų vertimo į lietuvių kalbą cenzūra tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos sociokultūriniame ir politinių galių kontekste". Šis straipsnis yra vykdyto mokslo projekto tyrimų dalis.

Cenzūra ir autocenzūra visuomenės galių ir normų kontekste

Tyrinėjant vertimus neretai tenka pastebėti praleistų originalo vietų: atskirų žodžių, sakinių ar net ištisų paragrafų. Ne vienam kyla klausimas, kodėl vertėjai praleidžia. Ar jie patiria vertimo kultūros, visuomenės santvarkos, politinių galių, ideologijos spaudimą, ar patys nusprendžia atsisakyti tam tikrų teksto vietų? Į šiuos ir kitus klausimus sieksime atsakyti siedami vertimą su visuomenės, kuriai kūrinys verčiamas, platesniu kontekstu.

2014 m. išleistame „Vertimo studijų žodyne" *cenzūra* apibrėžiama kaip „Vertimo teksto keitimas arba originalo teksto dalies praleidimas ideologiniais, politiniais, religiniais ar etiniais sumetimais" (p. 29), tačiau *autocenzūros* apibrėžimo žodynas nepateikia. Ieškant informacijos Valstybinės lietuvių kalbos komisijos puslapyje galima rasti paaiškinimą, kad *autocenzūra* yra tarptautinis žodis ir vartotinas „kaip šalutinis (dalinis, specialusis) normos variantas" vietoj pagrindinio (neutralaus) normos varianto – *vidinė cenzūra*.[1] Šis straipsnis skirtas mokslininkų bendruomenei, vertimo tyrėjams ir praktikams, tad nuspręsta jame vartoti tarptautinį *autocenzūros* terminą.

Pagal šalies, kurioje dirba, politinę santvarką vertėjas skirtingai balansuoja tarp Hermio, trokštančio perteikti kito žinią savajai kultūrai, ir Cerberio, neleidžiančio jam visko pasakyti, ribojančio jo raiškos laisvę ir akylai saugančio „savo gentį", kad neprasprūstų koks nors neatsargus žodis. Šią Hermio ir Cerberio metaforą vaizdingai aprašo Yves'as Gambier (2002, p. 216) nagrinėdamas vertėjo veiklos dvilypumą ir paradoksalumą. Kyla klausimas, kas išties varžo vertėjo raiškos laisvę? Kodėl, kaip rašo Paulis Ricœuras (2010, p. 35), vertimuose „egzistuoja ištisos pãraštės, kurias nuslepia cenzūra, draudimai – paraštės to, kas nepasakyta, išraižytos pavidalo neįgavusiais atvaizdais"? Į šiuos klausimus atsakymų ieško ne vienas vertimo tyrėjas. Štai, tarkime, Gambier teigia (2002, p. 204), kad visi autoritariniai režimai yra sukūrę kontrolės mechanizmus, kontroliuojančius idėjas, režimo ideologijai ir jų „tiesai" grėsmę keliančias publikacijas. Šių režimų sąrašas, kaip rašo tyrėjas, yra ilgas ir, deja, nebaigtinis: Sovietų Sąjunga, dabartinė Kinija, Pietų Afrikos

---

[1] Remiamasi Valstybinės lietuvių kalbos komisijos informacija:
https://www.vlkk.lt/konsultacijos/5600-autocenzura [Žiūrėta 2024-12-06].

respublikos apartheidas, Ruhollo Chomeinio valdomas Iranas, juodųjų pulkininkų režimas Graikijoje, Argentinos diktatūra, Vichy režimas Prancūzijoje (1940–1944) ir daug kitų. Siekdami apsaugoti savo šalies visuomenę nuo „žalingų" ir „priešiškų valstybių" idėjų, režimai kontroliuoja visas veiklos sritis, įskaitant ir vertimą. Apie tai, kaip vertimas priklauso nuo visuomenės sistemų – polisistemų, rašo Tel Avivo deskriptyvinės vertimo mokyklos atstovas Itamaras Even-Zoharas. Teoretikas apibūdina *polisistemą* kaip įvairių, hierarchiniais ryšiais susietų sistemų visumą, kurioje sistemos nepaliaujamai kinta ir lemia kitų, mažesnių ir didesnių sistemų pokyčius. Tai pasakytina ir apie grožinę literatūrą ar vertimą, kurie taip pat negali likti izoliuoti ir nesikeisti, jei kitose visuomenės sistemose vyksta pokyčiai (1990, p. 9–26). Pasak Even-Zoharo (1990, p. 27–31), grožinės literatūros polisistema glaudžiai siejasi su šalies ideologijos, ekonomikos, socialine ir kitomis sistemomis. Dėl šios priežasties grožinės literatūros tyrimai negali apsiriboti teksto analizės lygmeniu, bet privalo atspindėti kūrinio recepciją platesniame šalies polisistemų kontekste. Rašydamas apie grožinės literatūros sistemą Even-Zoharas iškelia binarinės opozicijos idėją, t. y. skirsto literatūrą į kanoninę ir nekanoninę, centrinę ir periferinę. Nuo to, kuriai opozicijos daliai priskiriamas literatūros kūrinys, priklauso vertėjo požiūris į verčiamą kūrinį: vertėjai paprastai būna atidesni kanoninei ir centrinei literatūrai, t. y. tarptautiniu mastu pripažintai ir pasaulyje plačiai paplitusiomis kalbomis rašytai literatūrai, nei nekanoniniams ir periferiniams kūriniams. Ši nuostata yra reikšminga analizuojant vertimus cenzūros ar autocenzūros požiūriu.

Nagrinėjant vertimą visuomenės galių kontekste negalima palikti nuošalyje Even-Zoharo (1990, p. 31–44) aprašytų vertimą veikiančių veiksnių. Teoretikas jų išskiria šešis: rinką, gamintoją, produktą, vartotoją, instituciją ir repertuarą. Minėtų veiksnių įtaka vertimui priklauso nuo visuomeninės santvarkos: vienose santvarkose išryškėja didesnė vienų veiksnių svarba, kitose – kitų. Tarkime, autoritarinėse valstybėse svarbiausią vaidmenį vaidina institucija, o demokratinių valstybių vertimo polisistemoje – rinkos ypatumai, vartotojo lūkesčiai, gamintojas ir produktas. Tai neabejotinai veikia vertėjų pasirinkimus ir sprendimus, taip pat ir teorines vertimo nuostatas (plačiau apie tai Leonavičienė, 2024, p. 140–141). Nagrinėdamas visuomeninę santvarką ir siedamas ją su cenzūra, prancūzų tyrėjas Pascalis Durand'as (2006, p. 10–11)

pastebi, kad cenzūra gali būti reiškiama įvairiais būdais: kūrinio uždraudimu, kai kurių jo vietų pašalinimu, teksto intencijos pakeitimu, citatų sutrumpinimu, tam tikrų teksto akcentų pakeitimu ir kt. Pasak Durand'o (2006, p. 12), pagal cenzūros griežtumą ir savivalės laipsnį galima nustatyti, kuo skiriasi totalitarinis režimas nuo demokratinės tvarkos ir koks skirtumas tarp *formalios* ir *realios* demokratijos. Kaip tik šie klausimai nagrinėjami tiriamojoje straipsnio dalyje, analizuojant cenzūros ir autocenzūros apraiškas.

Kitaip nei cenzūra, *autocenzūra* siejama su paties vertėjo inicijuotais vertimo pakeitimais, kurių nelemia išoriniai politiniai, ideologiniai ir kiti aptarti institucinės, sisteminės cenzūros veiksniai. Autocenzūrą, kai praleidžiamos arba keičiamos mažesnės ar didesnės teksto vietos, galima laikyti vertėjo kompromiso ieškojimu adaptuojant tekstą priimančioje kultūroje arba, kaip pasakytų Gambier (2002, p. 210), „prevencine cenzūra", kai vertėjas, siekdamas išvengti leidėjo ir redaktoriaus nurodymų, reikalavimų, iš anksto imasi autocenzūros. Pastarosios apraiškomis Gambier (2002, p. 210–214) laiko vertėjo siekį nerašyti „juodu ant balto" kultūriškai nepriimtinų žargonybių, vulgarizmų, įžeidžių posakių ar frazių, sušvelninti pasakymo toną, panaikinti kultūriškai netinkamą pabrėžimą, perfrazuoti, praleisti kai kurias metaforas, neigiamai žymėtus teksto vienetus ir kt., nes jų vertimas priimančioje kalboje ir kultūroje gali būti perdėm įžeidus, morališkai ir rinkos požiūriu nepriimtinas, gal net gerokai užgaulesnis nei originalo tekstas. Nagrinėjant išvardytas autocenzūros formas kyla klausimas, ar visi vertimo praleidimai ir perdaros, kuriais vertėjas įgyvendina savinimo strategiją (angl. *domestication*, Venuti, 1995, 1998) arba siekia „atvesti autorių pas skaitytoją" (Schleiermacher, 1985, p. 299), laikytini autocenzūros apraiškomis. Nereikia pamiršti, kad vertėjas ne tik cenzūruoja, bet ir adaptuoja kūrinį: atlieka daug kalbinių ir kultūrinių transformacijų, įvairiais būdais siekia teksto sklandumo ir tekstualumo. Autocenzūros atveju, vertėjas pats imasi tam tikrų vertimo sprendimų, vadovaujasi savo įsivaizdavimu, kas morališkai ir etiškai tinkama ar netinkama, ko tikisi vertimo skaitytojai, t. y. vertina, koks yra skaitytojų sisteminis kalbinis ir sociokultūrinis pažinimas, kad vertimas netaptų kalbiniu ir kultūriniu kliuviniu, nepakenktų skaitymo malonumui ir priimtinumui naujoje, kartais net kitos epochos, komunikacinėje aplinkoje. Apie tai yra rašęs Gideonas Toury (1995, p. 54–55, 250–252), analizuodamas sociosemiotines vertimo normas,

kuriomis intuityviai arba sąmoningai vadovaujasi vertėjas ir paiso nerašytų, bet visiems visuomenės nariams žinomų susitarimų ir vertybių.

Tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos vertimų cenzūra ir autocenzūra: prancūzų grožinės literatūros vertimų atvejis

Kiekvienoje šalyje ir konkrečiu istoriniu laikotarpiu polisistemos kitaip veikia vertimo sistemą, reguliuoja verstinų leidinių atranką ir determinuoja vertėjų pasirinkimus. Šioje straipsnio dalyje nagrinėsime tarpukario ir sovietinės Lietuvos valstybinės cenzūros ypatumus, vertimų iš prancūzų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą cenzūros ir autocenzūros apraiškas.

1918 m. vasario 16 d. Vilniuje Lietuvos Tarybai paskelbus Lietuvą nepriklausoma valstybe, buvo suskubta kurti valdžios institucijas, pasinaudoti Europos valstybių patirtimi, rūpintis kultūrine ir švietėjiška veikla, lietuvių kalbos norminimu ir kt. Užsienio kalbų mokymasis ir kitų šalių literatūros vertimai taip pat neliko nuošalyje. Vienas didžiausių tuomečių kultūrinės traukos centrų buvo Paryžius, todėl suprantama, kad kultūros veikėjai siekė skleisti prancūzų kultūrą, supažindinti Lietuvos skaitytojus su kanonine prancūzų literatūra ir publikuoti kuo daugiau jos vertimų į lietuvių kalbą. Nereikėtų pamiršti, kad įkūrus nepriklausomą Lietuvos valstybę vis tiek išliko tam tikrų grėsmių iš kaimyninių šalių. „Lietuvos kaimynės – Tarybų Rusija (nuo 1922 m. Sovietų Sąjunga), Vokietija, Lenkija ir Latvija po XX a. 3–4 dešimtmečiuose įvykusių perversmų suko nedemokratiniu keliu. Iš šių šalių į Lietuvą buvo įvežami spaudiniai, kurie mūsų krašte skleidė antilietuviškas idėjas, kurstė tautinę nesantaiką. Todėl, siekiant užtikrinti valstybės ir visuomenės saugumą, tarpukario Lietuvoje buvo pradėti cenzūruoti užsienyje leisti spaudiniai" (Riaubienė, 2020, p. 248–249). Cenzūra neaplenkė spaudos, įvairių sričių knygų, taip pat ir užsienio autorių literatūros kūrinių. Tarpukario laikotarpio cenzūros tyrėja Arida Riaubienė (2005, p. 111) teigia, kad „1918–1940 m. Lietuvoje buvo išplėtota cenzūros institucinė infrastruktūra, apėmusi du – valstybinį ir vietinį – lygmenis. Svarbiausias vaidmuo teko vidaus reikalų ministrui, kuris galėjo kontroliuoti bei prižiūrėti ne tik Lietuvoje, bet ir užsienyje išleistas knygas. Vidaus reikalų ministrui buvo pavaldūs 20 apskričių (be Klaipėdos krašto) viršininkai. Pastariesiems spaustuvės, prieš išleisdamos

spaudinį, privalėjo pristatyti nurodytą egzempliorių skaičių. Apskričių viršininkai taip pat turėjo teisę Lietuvoje pasirodžiusius spaudinius sulaikyti arba uždrausti juos platinti." Valstybės lygiu veikianti cenzūros sistema neabejotinai darė įtaką į lietuvių kalbą planuojamų versti leidinių atrankai.

Apie įvežamų užsienyje leistų knygų atranką Riaubienė (2005, p. 109) rašo: „1935 metų Spaudos įstatymo 42-asis paragrafas pabrėžė, kad užsienio spaudiniai turi būti tikrinami prieš juos įvežant į Lietuvą. Užsienio spaudinių tikrinimo tvarką nustatydavo vidaus reikalų ministras, susitaręs su finansų ir susisiekimo ministrais. Svetur leistos ir spausdintos knygos <...> buvo tikrinamos prie Lietuvos valstybės sienos. Tai liudija Piliečių apsaugos departamento Svetimšalių referento raštas Kauno centrinei muitinei, kuriame rašoma, kad iš užsienio įvežami spaudiniai turi būti tikrinami muitinės valdininkų, dalyvaujant geležinkelio policijai." Spaudinių tikrintojų darbą lengvino tarpukario Lietuvoje sudarinėjami draudžiamų knygų sąrašai. Pasak Riaubienės (2020, p. 243), „1926 m. lapkričio 5 dieną Vidaus reikalų ministerijos Piliečių apsaugos departamentas išsiuntė raštą Finansų ministerijos Prekybos departamentui, kuriame rašoma, kad be atskiro Piliečių apsaugos departamento leidimo negalima įvežti į Lietuvą Sovietų Sąjungoje ar Lenkijoje spausdintų leidinių, taip pat pateikiamas „Uždraustų įvežti ir platinti spaudinių sąrašas", kurį sudaro 188 leidiniai. Šį sąrašą iš dalies galime laikyti pirmuoju žinomu draudžiamų įvežti ir platinti Lietuvoje knygų sąrašu." Žinoma, vėliau būta ir daugiau sąrašų, tarkime, 1935 m. rugpjūčio mėn. 1 d. – 1936 m. birželio 1 d. sąrašas. Jame minima keturiolika lietuvių kalba publikuotų draudžiamų knygų, pavyzdžiui, Juozo Pranckūno „Dniepro statyba" (Minskas, 1932), Nikolajaus Oleinikovo „Kovos dienos" (Maskva, 1930), Anos Uljanovos „Lenino vaikystės ir mokslo metai" (Minskas, 1932), Aleksandro Jakševičiaus „15 metų proletarinės revoliucijos" (Minskas, 1932), Michailo Šeimano „Religinė dora ir proletarinė dora" (Minskas, 1932), Sofijos Zarečnajos „Vaikai kolchoze" (Minskas, 1932)[2] ir kt.

Riaubienės pateikta faktinė medžiaga ir aprašytas tarpukario Lietuvos cenzūros mechanizmas patvirtina Tel Avivo vertimo mokyklos polisisteminės

---

[2] Remtasi Lietuvoje draudžiamų leidinių sąrašų sąvadu (žr. Riaubienė, 2020, p. 253–258).

teorijos nuostatas ir sociosemiotines normas, pagal kurias originalių ir verstinių kūrinių atranka, leidyba ir platinimas priklauso nuo valstybės polisistemų: politinių nuostatų, ideologijos, ekonomikos, istorinio, sociokultūrinio gyvenimo kontekstų ir daug kitų veiksnių. Cenzūros vaidmuo įgyja griežtesnių formų totalitarinėse valstybėse. Kaip tik tuo pasižymėjo Sovietų Sąjungos knygų ir vertimų leidyba.

Nuo 1940 m. Lietuvos valstybę okupavus ir aneksavus Sovietų Sąjungai, šalyje, kaip ir kitose okupuotose sovietinėse respublikose, „kultūrinis gyvenimas tapo visiškai priklausomas nuo bendro Sovietų Sąjungos kultūrinio konteksto, šaliai iš anksto numatyto politinio scenarijaus ir TSRS siekio kurti bei propaguoti tarybinės liaudies meną, atmesti ir kritikuoti viską, kas buvo sukurta sovietų vadinamaisiais „buržuaziniais valdymo metais" (Leonavičienė, 2024, p. 228). Sovietų Sąjungos valdžia siekė indoktrinuoti visuomenę, kontroliuoti visas veiklos sritis, įskaitant ir vertimą. Dažniausiomis vertimų kontrolės apraiškomis galima laikyti cenzūrą ir grožinės literatūros vertimą iš tarpinės rusų kalbos „politiškai aprobuotų" vertimų. Apie sovietų valdžios įtvirtinimą ir cenzūrą pirmaisiais sovietiniais metais rašo tyrėjas Arūnas Streikus (2018, p. 287): „Stalininiu laikotarpiu, sparčiai sovietizuojant okupuotas Baltijos šalis, iš vietinių leidyklų buvo reikalaujama griežtai laikytis tvarkos, kad į nacionalines kalbas verčiami užsienio autorių tekstai prieš tai jau būtų išversti į rusų kalbą. Maža to, net ir verčiant iš originalo, galiojo nerašyta taisyklė orientuotis į kanoniniu laikytą rusišką vertimą, pagal jį atliekant atitinkamas kupiūras ir pateikiant slidesnių vietų redakcines formuluotes." Dauguma žymesnių sovietmečio vertėjų ir redaktorių kreipė dėmesį į vertimo tikslumą ir semantinį adekvatumą remdamiesi Andrejaus Fiodorovo, Jakovo Reckerio, Vileno Komisarovo, Leonido Barchudarovo ir kitų sovietinio laikotarpio struktūralistinės vertimo teorijos atstovų nuostatomis, „kukliai nutylėdami", kaip pastebi Streikus (2018, p. 287), „sovietines adaptavimo praktikas". Vertėtų paminėti, kad cenzūrą taip pat „kukliai nutyli" ir sovietinio laikotarpio vertimo teorijos atstovas, Lietuvos vertimo mokslo pradininkas Kazimieras Ambrasas-Sasnava. Prisiminęs tarpukariu išsakytą Sofijos Čiurlionienės poziciją, kad literatūros kūrinius reikia versti iš originalo, jis paremia jos nuomonę ir stebisi, kad vertimai iš tarpinės kalbos „ligi šiol nenustoja aktualumo" (1980, p. 66).

Žinoma, ne tik tarpinė kalba užtikrindavo sovietmečio vertimų cenzūrą, bet ir centralizuota versti planuojamų kūrinių atranka. Lietuvos leidyklų kūrinių atranka turėjo būti suderinta su Sovietų Sąjungos svarbiausia cenzūros mechanizmo institucija – *Glavlitu* (rus. *Главное управление по делам литературы и издателств*), t. y. Vyriausiąja literatūros ir leidybos reikalų valdyba; ji buvo įsteigta 1922 m. Rusijoje, vėliau veikė Sovietų Sąjungoje kitais atnaujintais pavadinimais.[3] *Glavlitas* kontroliavo ir cenzūravo visas kultūrinio gyvenimo sritis, įskaitant planuojamų versti knygų atranką. „Nors sąjunginių respublikų leidyklos ir redakcijos visų užsienio autorių vertimų į nacionalines kalbas publikavimą turėjo suderinti su centriniu Spaudos komitetu ir Glavlitu, šie, atrodo, gana palankiai žiūrėjo į pribaltų iniciatyvas. Galima manyti, kad suteikiant leidimus drąsesniems vertimams buvo atsižvelgiama į tai, kad šiose respublikose užsienio literatūros naujienos vėlyvuoju sovietmečiu buvo geriau prieinamos kitomis kalbomis: Lietuvoje – lenkiškai, Estijoje – suomiškai.“ (Streikus, 2018, p. 289–290). Kad ir kokios buvo taikytos kūrinių atrankos nuolaidos, daugelio vertimo cenzūros tyrimuose, kaip rašo Streikus (2018, p. 286), „jau yra rekonstruotos pagrindinės vertėjų ir redaktorių taikytos technikos, padėjusios kitokio tipo tekstus adaptuoti prie sovietinės reikšmių sistemos, perrašyti jų kalbą taip, kad ji nedisonuotų su sovietine semantika.“

Svarstant apie cenzūrą kyla klausimas, kurias kūrinių vietas iškarpydavo ideologinės cenzūros žirklės. Kuriose vertimų vietose pats vertėjas imdavosi autocenzūros? Šiuos ir kitus klausimus nagrinėsime lygindami 1918–1940 metų ir 1940–1990 metų prancūzų literatūros kūrinių vertimus į lietuvių kalbą, kurie kartu su originalais sudaro empirinę tyrimo medžiagą.

Tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūra

Kaip jau aptarta, tarpukariu užsienio autorių kūrinių atranką akylai kontroliavo valstybinė cenzūra, tačiau per dvidešimt dvejus nepriklausomos Lietuvos metus buvo išversta nemažai kanoninės prancūzų literatūros kūrinių, pavyzdžiui, Viktoro Hugo, Stendhalio, Molière'o, Guy de Maupassant'o,

---

[3] Remtasi Visuotine lietuvių enciklopedija: https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/glavlit/

Gustave'o Flaubert'o, François Mauriaco, Prospero Mérimée ir kitų garsių rašytojų, poetų ir dramaturgų veikalų. Žinoma, šalia neginčytinos meninės vertės kūrinių vertimų pasitaikydavo cenzūros institucijoms tikusių, bet menkaverčių leidinių vertimų. Apie pastaruosius tarpukariu rašė Čiurlionienė (1933, p. 17).

Nagrinėjant tiriamąją medžiagą, t. y. įvade minėtus Stendhalio, Molière'o, Guy de Maupassant'o, François Mauriaco, Prospero Mérimée kūrinius ir jų tarpukario vertimus lyginamuoju tekstinės analizės metodu, buvo rastas ne vienas vertimo cenzūros atvejis, liudijantis ideologiniais ir politiniais sumetimais praleistus sakinius. Pateiksime vieną rastų pavyzdžių:

(1) <...> Je vais chercher la solitude et la paix champêtre au seul lieu où elles existent en France, dans un quatrième étage, donnant sur les Champs-Élysées. **Et encore j'en suis à délibérer, si je ne commencerai pas ma carrière politique, dans le quartier du Roule, par rendre le pain béni à la paroisse.**
– Tout cela ne te fût pas arrivé sous Bonaparte, dit Falcoz avec des yeux brillants de courroux et de regret.[4] (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 270)

<...> Vykstu ieškoti vienumos ir laukų ramybės vieninteliame kampelyje, kurį dar galima rasti Prancūzijoje – ketvirtame aukšte, su langais į Champs-Elysees.
– Taip su tavim nebūtų atsitikę Bonaparto laikais, – tarė Falcozas, kurio žvilgsny buvo pyktis ir gailesys. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 349)

Cituotame Stendhalio „Raudona ir juoda" antros dalies skyriaus „Kaimo malonumai" (pranc. *Les plaisirs de la campagne*) pavyzdyje aprašoma, kaip karieta keliaujantys keleiviai kalbasi apie valdžios troškimą, veidmainišką XIX a. politiką ir kt. Pokalbio metu vienas keleivių Saint-Giraud teigia esąs nusivylęs politika ir grįšiąs į Paryžių ieškoti ramybės Elisiejaus laukuose, bet

---

[4] Šiame ir kituose sakiniuose aptariamas vietas pajuodino straipsnio autorė.

taip pat neatmeta galimybės pradėti politinę karjerą Roule'io kvartale ir, pirmiausia, imti dalyti šventintą duoną parapijiečiams. 1939 m. Petro Cvirkos ir Antano Šimėno vertime[5] šis netrumpas sakinys praleistas, todėl kyla klausimas, kuo vertėjams, o gal leidyklai jis netiko. Stendhalio kūrinio ištraukos sakinys (pranc. *Et encore j'en suis à délibérer, si je ne commencerai pas ma carrière politique, dans le quartier du Roule, par rendre le pain béni à la paroisse*) implikuoja 1789–1794 metų Prancūzijos revoliucijos įvykius. Iš istorijos žinome, kad Roule'io kvartalas buvo įkurtas 1790 m. vykstant Prancūzijos revoliucijai ir revoliucionierių pramintas Roule'io sektoriumi (pranc. *section du Roule*). Tik vėliau, 1811 m. gegužės 10 d. Prefektūros potvarkiu Roule'io sektorius, anksčiau buvęs 1-asis Paryžiaus rajonas, pervadintas Roule'io kvartalu (pranc. *quartier du Roule*).[6] Romano personažo Saint-Giraud užuomina apie politinę karjerą Roule'io kvartale implikuoja revoliucines nuotaikas, norą skatinti liaudies nepasitenkinimą, dalyti jai duoną ir priešintis esamai tvarkai. Turint omenyje tai, kad revoliucinių nuotaikų apraiškas akylai kontroliavo valstybinis tarpukario cenzūros mechanizmas, tikėtina, jog sakinį išbraukė vertėjai arba atsakingi leidyklos darbuotojai.

Kituose, vėlesniuose 1949 m. Antano Juškos ir 1976 m. Ramutės Ramunienės sovietmečio laikotarpio Stendhalio „Raudona ir juoda" vertimuose aptariamas sakinys buvo išverstas:

(2) <...> Ieškosiu vienatvės ir kaimiškos ramybės vienintelėje visoje Prancūzijoje vietoje – Paryžiuje penktame aukšte, kurio langai išeina į Eliziejaus laukus.[7] **Bet man dar reikia pagalvoti, ar nevertėtų pradėti politinę karjerą Rulio kvartale, dalijant pašventintą duoną parapijiečiams**.

– Bonaparto laikais tau nebūtų taip atsitikę, – tarė Falkozas degančiomis pykčiu ir širdgėla akimis. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 262)

---

[5] Abu vertėjai išvertė Stendhalio romano „Raudona ir juoda" pirmąją dalį ir tris antrosios dalies skyrelius. Ši išversta kūrinio dalis buvo publikuota 1939 m. leidime.
[6] Remtasi: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quartier_du_Roule [Žiūrėta 2024-12-12].
[7] Knygos pabaigoje esančiuose *Paaiškinimuose* vertėja pateikia informaciją: „Eliziejaus laukai (Champs Elysées) – puikus Paryžiaus parkas ir bulvaras." (1949, p. 577).

(3) <...> Nusprendžiau ieškoti vienatvės ir laukų ramybės vienintelėje
vietoje, kur ją galima rasti Prancūzijoje – penktame aukšte su langais
į Eliziejaus laukus. **Ir dar svarstau, ar nepradėti man politinės
karjeros Rulio kvartale, tiekiant parapijai šventintą duoną**.
– Viso šito tu nebūtum patyręs Napoleono laikais, – pasakė Falkozas,
ir jo akyse sublizgo pyktis ir gailestis. (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*,
1976, p. 213–214)

Nors nagrinėjamas Stendhalio „Raudona ir juoda" sakinys, menantis
Prancūzijos revoliuciją, sovietmečiu ir buvo išverstas, tačiau 1940–1990 metų
laikotarpio vertimus kontroliavo atsakingos Sovietų Sąjungos institucijos.
Kiekvieną vertimo frazę tikrino ideologinis cenzūros mechanizmas, siekiantis,
kad vertimuose neliktų nė mažiausios kapitalizmo apraiškos. Kolektyvizuojant
sovietinę mintį, reikėjo pritaikyti vertimus prie sovietinės semantikos,
laikmečio konteksto ir ideologijos. Analizuojant šią temą norėtųsi prisiminti
Mathieu Guidère'o įžvalgą apie įvairių epochų vertimams daromą politikos ir
ideologijos įtaką. Tyrėjo nuomone, niekam nekelia nuostabos tai, kad
romantizmo laikotarpio vertimai buvo vienaip ar kitaip „romantizuojami", o
komunistinės ideologijos šalyse – „taisomi" pagal komunizmo dogmas (2016,
p. 53).

Nagrinėjant, ką sovietiniuose prancūzų literatūros vertimuose ištrynė
akylasis Cerberis, pavyko rasti ne vieną tiriamosios medžiagos vietą, kurioje
neliko su religija, „priešiškų valstybių" ideologija ar politika susijusių sakinių.
Aptarsime François Mauriaco originalo „Le nœud de vipères" sakinį ir jo vertimo
sprendimus 1934 m. Jurgio Griškos vertime „Gyvačių lizdas" ir 1975 m.
Vytauto Girčio vertime „Gyvačių kamuolys":

(4) Dieu, considérez que nous ne nous entendons pas nous-mêmes et que
nous ne savons pas ce que nous voulons, et que nous nous éloignons
infiniment de ce que nous désirons. – Sainte Thérèse d'Avila (Mauriac,
Le nœud de vipères, 1933, p. 15).

„... Dieve, atsižvelk į tai, kad mes vienas kito nesuprantame ir
nežinome, ko norime, ir kad mes neapsakomai tolinamės nuo to, ko

trokštame." – Šv. Terezė iš Avilos (Mauriac, *Gyvačių lizdas*, 1934, p. 13).

Šv. Terezės iš Avilos citatą Mauriacas pateikė kūrinio pradžioje, prieš pirmąją romano dalį. Citata lyg iš anksto informuoja skaitytojus apie sudėtingus, tarsi apnuodytus romano veikėjų santykius, jų jauseną ir negebėjimą priartėti prie „to, ko trokštame". Kaip matyti pateiktame pavyzdyje, šv. Terezės iš Avilos citata tarpukario „Gyvačių lizde" buvo išversta, tačiau 1975 m. sovietiniame „Gyvačių kamuolyje" jos neliko. Sovietinio vertimo pirmoji dalis prasideda be šv. Terezės iš Avilos citatos. Kuo užkliuvo iš pirmo žvilgsnio nekalta citata? Ideologinės sovietmečio nuostatos pačios pateikia atsakymą: kiekvienas meno kūrinys privalėjo turėti auklėjamąjį, švietėjišką tikslą, todėl religinis požiūris ar religinis auklėjimas buvo laikomas nesuderinamu su marksizmo-leninizmo pažiūrų sistema, laikančia religingumą „buržuazinių pažiūrų ir papročių atgyvena". Tai įrodo „TSKP istorijos chrestomatijos" puslapiai: „Svarbiausiu dalyku ideologiniame darbe partija laiko dabartiniame etape – auklėti visus darbo žmones, kad jie būtų didžiai idėjiškai atsidavę komunizmui, komunistiškai žiūrėtų į darbą ir visuomeninį ūkį, visiškai įveikti buržuazinių pažiūrų ir papročių atgyvenas, visapusiškai harmoningai vystyti asmenybę, sukurti tikrus dvasinės kultūros turtus" (1984, p. 164). Cituotame leidinyje randame ir kitas prieš religiją nukreiptas eilutes: „Reikia sistemingai vykdyti plačią mokslinę ateistinę propagandą, kantriai aiškinti, kokios klaidingos yra religijos, atsiradusios praeityje, kai žmonės buvo prislėgti gaivališkų gamtos jėgų ir socialinės priespaudos, kai jie nežinojo tikrųjų gamtos ir visuomenės reiškinių priežasčių" (1984, p. 167). Ateistinė propaganda buvo skelbiama Sovietų Sąjungos komunistų partijos programose, suvažiavimuose, ją vykdė Lietuvos TSR miestų ir rajonų Vykdomieji komitetai, ugdymo ir kitų įstaigų politiniai vadovai. Net tuomečiame Vilniaus universitete buvo dėstomas *Mokslinio ateizmo pagrindų* studijų dalykas.

Pateikti ideologiniai sovietmečio kontekstai rodo, kaip nederėjo šv. Terezės iš Avilos mintys su antireligine marksizmo-leninizmo ideologija. Šioje nelygioje kovoje citata neišvengiamai turėjo pralaimėti cenzūrai.

Tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą autocenzūra

Nustatant tiriamosios medžiagos autocenzūros vietas buvo keliamas klausimas, kada vertėjo „įsikišimas" į tekstą laikomas autocenzūra. Daugelyje vertimo teorijų (nuo pirmųjų lingvistinių vertimo teorijų iki hermeneutinės vertimo sampratos) rašoma, kad vertimo proceso metu vertėjas atsižvelgia į vertimo kalbos specifiką, taiko leksines, morfologines, sintaksines transformacijas, vienur originalo vietas praleidžia, kitur – prideda. Be to, vertėjai imasi kultūrinės transpozicijos ir paiso komunikacinių vertimo skaitytojo lūkesčių. Atsižvelgęs į šiuos ir kitus veiksnius, vertėjas priima įvairius sprendimus, taiko vertimo perdaras, kurios anaiptol nėra nei cenzūra, nei autocenzūra. Apie cenzūros ir profesionalaus vertimo takoskyrą rašo Louise'a Brunette (2002, p. 223). Ji teigia, kad redaguoti, kritikuoti vertimus, universitetuose mokyti būsimus vertėjus redaguoti savo ir kitų vertimus – toli gražu nėra vertimo cenzūra, veikiau, vertimo objektyvumo ir kokybės siekis. Tyrėja retoriškai klausia, ar reikėtų smerkti vertimo dėstytojus, kalbos normintojus ir vertimo kritikus (2002, p. 226), siekiančius vertimo tinkamumo priimančioje kultūroje. Juk meninių ir dalykinių tekstų vertėjai nesirenka linijinio vertimo, o ieško tinkamiausių savo kalbos žodžių, kolokacijų, idiomų, terminų, vartoja realią vartoseną atitinkančias kalbos raiškos priemones, sprendžia, kaip geriau perteikti eksplicitines ir implicitines reikšmes, kaip sukurti koherentišką vertimo tekstą, kaip perteikti koheziją ir kitus tekstualumo kriterijus. Vadinasi, vertėjai neišvengiamai keičia originalą. Kitaip jie pateiktų kokybės kriterijų neatitinkantį pažodinį vertimą. Paminėtina ir tai, kad įgudęs vertimo praktikas nepalieka nuošalyje vertimo kalbos stiliaus, žanro reikalavimų, taiko vertimo kalbos normas, kurios yra jo kognityvinės ir profesinės patirties dalis. Vertimo tyrėja Brunette pastebi, kad vertimo proceso metu vertėjas vadovaujasi nerašyta „kalbine konvencija ir socialiniu konsensusu" (pranc. *de la convention linguistique et du consensus social*, 2002, p. 228), lemiančiais įvairias vertimo perdaras.

Nagrinėjant tiriamąją medžiagą lyginamosios tekstinės analizės metodu ir vertinant kiekvieną originalo semantikos neatitinkančią teksto vietą pastebėta, kad vertėjai linkę rinktis šias autocenzūros formas: *praleidimą* ir

pakeitimą. Pirmiausia aptarsime praleidimo atvejus analizuodami tiriamosios medžiagos asmenvardžių vertimo sprendimus tarpukariu ir sovietmečiu:

(5) Le vulgaire, aveuglé par l'amour de l'argent, n'était pas fait pour comprendre que c'était dans sa sincérité que l'abbé Pirard avait trouvé la force nécessaire pour lutter seul pendant six ans contre **Marie Alacoque**, le Sacré-Cœur de Jésus, les jésuites et son évêque. (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 246)

Nedorovingieji, apakinti pinigų godulio, negalėjo suprasti, jog tik ačiū kun. Pirardo nuoširdumui jis įstengė šešerius metus kovoti su jezuitiška Šv. Jėzaus širdies draugija, su visais jėzuitais ir su vyskupu. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 319)

Paprasti žmonės, pinigų meilės apakinti, negalėjo suprasti, kad tik nuoširdumas suteikė kunigui Pirarui jėgų, būtinų grumtis ištisus šešerius metus vienam su **Marija Aliakok**, su šv. Jėzaus širdies kongregacija, jėzuitais ir su savo vyskupu. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 236)

Eiliniai žmoneliai, apakinti meilės pinigams, negalėjo suprasti, kad tik širdies tyrumas teikė kunigui Pirarui jėgų vienam šešerius metus grumtis su **Mari Alakok**, su Jėzaus širdies garbintojais, jėzuitais ir su savo vyskupu. (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1976, p. 194)

(6) Un vapeur charbonnier de **Liverpool** était à l'ancre attendant la marée ; ils allèrent tourner par derrière, puis ils visitèrent, l'un après l'autre, les navires en rade, puis ils s'éloignèrent un peu plus pour voir se dérouler la côte. (De Maupassant, *Pierre et Jean*, 1982, p. 117)

Anglies prikrautas garlaivis buvo metęs inkarą, laukdamas potvynio; jie nuplaukė, apsukę iš užpakalio, po to jie aplenkė vieną po kito laivus reide, po to atsitolino truputį daugiau, kad matytų atsiskleidžiant krantą. (De Maupassant, *Pjeras ir Žanas*, 1937, p. 77–78)

> Apiplaukė iš užpakalio garlaivį angliavežį iš **Liverpulio**, išmetusį inkarą
> ir laukiantį potvynio, paskui apžiūrėjo vieną po kito visus laivus reide,
> paskui leidosi tolyn į jūrą pasigrožėti kranto panorama.
> (De Mopasanas, *Pjeras ir Žanas*, 1988, p. 334)

Cituoti pavyzdžiai rodo, kad 1918–1940 metų vertimuose vertėjai buvo
linkę adaptuoti vertimus ir praleisti tuometiniams skaitytojams menkiau
žinomus asmenvardžius, pavyzdžiui, *Marie Alacoque*, arba vietovardžius,
pavyzdžiui, *Liverpool*, o sovietmečio vertimuose juos buvo linkstama perteikti
manant, kad „verstinė literatūra turi atlikti švietėjišką vaidmenį" (Danytė,
2008, p. 52). Siekdami įgyvendinti švietėjišką vertimo vaidmenį 1949 m.
vertėjas Antanas Juška ir 1976 m. vertėja Ramutė Ramunienė ne tik išvertė
aptariamus tikrinius vardus, bet pateikė išnašas ir komentarus vertimo
pabaigos *Paaiškinimuose*. Štai, tarkime, Stendhalio kūrinio vertėjas Juška
tekste išlaikė asmenvardį *Marija Aliakok* ir pabaigos *Paaiškinimuose*, parašęs jį
be raidės „i", pakomentavo: „Marija Alakok (Marie Alacoque) (1647–1690) –
prancūzų vienuolė, katalikų bažnyčios paskelbta palaimintąja. Jos ir jėzuitų
pastangomis katalikų bažnyčioje paplito „Jėzaus širdies" garbinimas"
(Stendhal, 1949, p. 576). Vėlesniame Ramunienės vertime *Marie Alakok*
pavardė taip pat išliko, tačiau vertėja jos nepaaiškino. Tik vėlyvojo sovietmečio
pataisytame Ramunienės vertime prie *Marie Alakok* pavardės atsirado išnaša ir
Paaiškinimų informacija: „Mari Alakok (Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, 1647–
1690) – prancūzų vienuolė, mistikė, davusi pradžią Jėzaus širdies kultui"
(Stendalis, 1988, p. 463). Paminėtina, kad, be švietėjiško vertimų vaidmens,
praktinę vertimo paradigmą veikė sovietmečiu vyravusios struktūrinės
lingvistikos vertimo teorijos. Šiai krypčiai priklausė Fiodorovo, Reckerio,
Romano Jakobsono, Barchudarovo, Komisarovo ir kitų teorijos, ugdžiusios
tikslų, semantiškai ir stilistiškai ekvivalentišką vertimą. Leksinio, morfologinio,
sintaksinio ir stilistinio ekvivalentiškumo paieškos neretai vesdavo vertėjus
linijinio ar net pažodinio vertimo keliu. Pažodiškumu ypač pasižymėjo 1949 m.
Juškos „Raudona ir juoda" vertimas, kuriame vertėjas siekė perteikti kone
kiekvieną prancūzų kalbos žodį. „Antrojo vertimo vertėjas Antanas Juška, –
teigia Valdas Petrauskas (1980, p. 309–310), – vadovaujasi pasenusiu
požiūriu, jog kalbos skiriasi viena nuo kitos tik formaliu priemonių pasirinkimu,

o reikšmė yra nekintama, atseit reikšmė – tai universalios loginės ir psichologinės kategorijos, kuriomis žmogus atspindi aplinkinį pasaulį, todėl išdava logiška: jo vertimas – pažodinis, o mėginimas aklai nukopijuoti, atgaminti prancūzišką tekstą iš anksto pasmerktas, nes šis kelias veda tik į informacinio pobūdžio teksto sudarymą ir tinka nebent techniniam vertimui.“ Žinoma, ne tik Juška, bet ir kiti sovietmečio meninių tekstų vertėjai deklaruodavo tikslų ir ekvivalentišką vertimą, nors jų vertimuose buvo apstu pavidalo neįgavusių formų, slepiančių cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą.

Norėdami plačiau aptarti nagrinėjamų dviejų laikotarpių vertimų autocenzūrą, pateiksime daugiau tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžių:

(7) Du moment que Julien fut détrompé, les longs exercices de piété ascétique, **tels que le chapelet cinq fois la semaine, les cantiques au Sacré-Cœur, etc., etc.**, qui lui semblaient si mortellement ennuyeux, devinrent ses moments d'action les plus intéressants. (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 214)

Nuo to laiko, kai jis atsipalaidavo nuo klaidų, ilgi asketiško pamaldumo pratimai, anksčiau atrodę jam toki nuobodūs, pasidarė jo įdomiausiu užsiėmimu. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 274)

Nuo tos valandos, kai Žiulijenas įsitikino klydęs, ilgos askezės pratybos, **būtent, penkis kartus per savaitę ražančius, giesmės švenčiausiajai širdžiai ir t. t., ir t. t.,** – kurios anksčiau jam atrodydavo mirtinai nuobodžios, dabar jam pasidarė pats įdomiausias jo darbas. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 203)

Kai Žiuljenas suprato klydęs, ilgos asketinio pamaldumo pratybos, **pavyzdžiui, rožančiaus kalbėjimas penkis kartus per savaitę, giesmės, skirtos švenčiausiajai Jėzaus širdžiai, ir t. t., ir t. t.** – visa, kas jam atrodė mirtinai nuobodu, tapo pačiu įdomiausiu užsiėmimu. (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1976, p. 167)

(8) Que peut-on gagner, répétaient-ils souvent entre eux, à plaider contre un gros ?

C'est le mot des vallées du Jura, pour exprimer un homme riche. Qu'on juge de leur respect pour l'être le plus riche de tous : le gouvernement ! (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 216)

– Ką galima pelnyti bylinėjantis su turtuoliu? – dažnai jie kartodavo vienas kitam.

Pagal šį galima spręsti apie jų pagarbą turtingiausiam iš visų – valdžiai! (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 277)

„Ką gi laimėsi, – dažnai kalbėjosi jie tarp savęs, – bylinėdamasis su s t o r u l i u ?"

Tai Žiura slėnių gyventojų žodis, reiškiąs turtingą žmogų. Galima tad spręsti, kokią pagarbą jie jaučia visų turtingiausiajam: valdžiai! (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 205)

„Ką laimėsi, – kalbėjosi jie dažnai tarp savęs, – bylinėdamasis su stambia žuvimi?"

Šitais žodžiais Juros slėniuose nusakomas turtuolis. Tad supraskite, kaip jie turi gerbti tą, kas visų turtingiausias: valdžią! (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1976, p. 169)

(9) Il eut la faiblesse de dire à deux ou trois amis de collège, **qui l'accompagnaient jusqu'à la calèche dont admirèrent les armoiries**, qu'après avoir administré le séminaire pendant quinze ans, il quittait Besançon avec cinq cent vingt francs d'économie. (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 246)

Jis turėjo silpnybę pasakyti dviems ar trims jaunystės draugams, kad po penkiolikos seminarijos vadovavimo metų jis apleidžia Bezansoną, susitaupęs tik penkis šimtus dvidešimt frankų. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 319)

Jis pasidavė silpnybei ir prasitarė dviem trims savo jaunystės draugams, **palydėjusiems jį ligi karietos ir besižavintiems jos herbu**, kad, administravęs seminariją ištisus penkiolika metų, jis skyrėsi su Bezansonu, turėdamas vos penkis šimtus dvidešimt frankų santaupų. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 235)

Neištvėręs pasiskundė dviem ar trims mokyklos laikų draugams, **palydėjusiems jį iki karietos ir susižavėjusiems jos herbu**, kad, penkiolika metų išbuvęs seminarijos vadovu, išvyksta iš Bezansono su penkiais šimtais dvidešimt frankų santaupų. (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1976, p. 194)

Cituotuose 7–9 pavyzdžiuose matyti, kad 1939 m. Stendhalio „Raudona ir juoda" vertėjai Cvirka ir Šimėnas praleido ištisus sakinius (*tels que le chapelet cinq fois la semaine, les cantiques au Sacré-Cœur, etc., etc.* (7 pavyzdys), *C'est le mot des vallées du Jura, pour exprimer un homme riche* (8 pavyzdys)) ir sudėtinio sakinio šalutinį dėmenį (*qui l'accompagnaient jusqu'à la calèche dont admirèrent les armoiries* (9 pavyzdys). Panašių tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdžių būtų galima pateikti ir daugiau. Nagrinėjant tarpukario vertimų autocenzūros atvejus matyti, kad vertėjai siekė paprastinti tekstą, atsisakyti kai kurios informacijos ir daugiau adaptuoti tekstą nei sovietmečio vertėjai. Šią mintį galėtų patvirtinti dar vienas tarpukario ir sovietmečio vertimų lyginimas. Pateiksime Stendhalio „Raudona ir juoda" pavyzdį, kurį verčiant tarpukariu buvo praleista 1470 metų data:

(10) La grossièreté de cette maçonnerie n'était déguisée par rien et faisait un triste contraste avec l'antique magnificence de la boiserie. Les deux grands côtés de cette salle célèbre parmi les antiquaires bourguignons, et que le duc Charles le Téméraire avait fait bâtir **vers 1470** en expiation de quelque péché, étaient garnis de stalles de bois richement sculptées. (Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, 1998, p. 129)

Šis nejaukus mūras buvo didžiausia priešginybė senovinių atbrailų puošnumui. Iš abiejų pusių ši salė, garsi Burgundijos antikvarų tarpe,

statyta kunigaikščio Karolio Drąsiojo įsakymu dėl kažkokios nuodėmės, buvo nustatinėta mediniais, brangiais, skaptuotais suolais. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1939, p. 156)

Šie užmūrijimai, nė kiek nepaslėpti, sudarė liūdną kontrastą antikiniam medžio puošmenų puikumui. Abu šonus tos didžiulės salės, kuri išgarsėjo Burgonijos senybių mėgėjų tarpe ir kurią **apie 1470 metus** pastatydino Karolis Drąsusis, atgailodamas už kažkokią nuodėmę, puošė puikiai išpiaustinėtos medinės kėdės. (Stendhal, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1949, p. 117)

Negrabiai sukrautos plytos buvo niekuo nepridengtos ir liūdnai atrodė šalia prabangių senovinių panelių. Šitą salę, garsėjančią tarp Burgundijos antikvarų, **apie 1470 metus** pastatydino Karolis Narsusis kažkuriai savo nuodėmei atpirkti. Palei abi išilgines jos sienas stovėjo prašmatniai išpiaustinėti klauptai. (Stendalis, *Raudona ir juoda*, 1976, p. 97)

Tarpukario vertimai išsiskiria gerokai didesniu adaptavimu ir lietuvinimu[8], tačiau praleistų originalo sakinių galima rasti ir sovietmečio vertimuose. Pacituosime Mauriaco „Le Nœud de vipères" ištrauką ir 1934 bei 1975 metų vertimo pavyzdžius su platesniu kontekstu:

(11) Lorsqu'ils chantaient, le soir, sur le perron de Calèse, ce n'était pas toujours des airs de Lulli qu'il me fallait entendre mais des cantiques. Je voyais de loin votre groupe confus et, quand il y avait clair de lune, je distinguais trois petites figures levées. **Mes pas, sur le gravier, interrompaient les chants**.
Chaque dimanche, le remue-ménage des départs pour la messe m'éveillait. Tu avais toujours peur de la manquer. Les chevaux s'ébrouaient. **On appelait la cuisinière qui était en retard.** Un des enfants avait oublié son paroissien. Une voix aiguë criait : « C'est quel

---

[8] Apie tai išsamiau: Čiurlionienė, 1933, nr. 2, p. 18; Leonavičienė, 2024, p. 216–227.

dimanche aprѐs la Pentecôte ? » (Mauriac, *Le nœud de vipères*, 1933, p. 65–66)

Kada jie, atėjus vakarui, Kaleze ant perono dainuodavo, tai ne visados tai būdavo man skiriami „Lulli" motyvai, bet daugiausia šventosios giesmės. Iš tolo man neaiškiai būdavo matyti jūsų būrelis, gi kada būdavo mėnesiena, aš išskirdavau tris pakeltus į viršų veidelius. **Kai nuo mano žingsnių sučiužėdavo takelio smėlis, giesmės nutrūkdavo.**

Kiekvieną sekmadienį triukšmingas rengimasis mišioms mane pažadindavo. Tu visada bijodavai mišias pražiopsoti. Prunkšdavo arkliai. **Buvo šaukiama pasivėlinusi virėja.** Kuris iš vaikų užmiršdavo savo maldaknyges. Aštrus balsas sušukdavo: „Kelintas šiandie po Sekminių sekmadienis?" (Mauriac, *Gyvačių lizdas*, 1934, p. 101–102)

Kai vakarais Kalezo namų verandoje jie dainuodavo choru, man tekdavo klausytis ne tik Liuli arijų, bet ir šventų giesmių. Iš tolo aš vos įžiūrėdavau prieblandoje dūluojantį jūsų ratelį, o kai šviesdavo mėnuo, matydavau tris mažus į dangų pakeltus veidelius.

Kiekvieną sekmadienį mane iš miego pažadindavo šurmulys, kurį sukeldavote, rengdamiesi važiuoti į ankstyvąsias mišias. Tu visada baimindavaisi pavėluoti. Prunkšdavo arkliai. Čia, žiūrėk, kuris vaikas pamiršo savo maldaknygę. Čia plonas balselis teiravosi:

– Kelintas šiandien sekmadienis po sekminių? (Moriakas, *Gyvačių kamuolys*, 1975, p. 81–82).

Mauriaco kūrinio sakinys *Mes pas, sur le gravier, interrompaient les chants* (liet. tarpukario vertimas: *Kai nuo mano žingsnių sučiužėdavo takelio smėlis, giesmės nutrūkdavo.*) yra reikšmingas platesniame semantiniame romano kontekste: jis atskleidžia pagrindinio personažo dvasinį ir fizinį nutolimą nuo kitų šeimos narių. Deja, 1975 m. sovietmečio vertėjas Vytautas Girčys nusprendė atsisakyti šio sakinio. Jis nevertė ir toliau esančio sakinio *On appelait la cuisinière qui était en retard* (liet. tarpukario vertimas: *Buvo*

šaukiama pasivėlinusi virėja.). Pastarojo praleidimas negalėtų būti laikomas ideologine, politine, etine ar moraline cenzūra. Šis sakinys padeda kurti šeimos skubėjimo, visų bėgiojimo tai šen, tai ten nuotaiką vykstant ryte į bažnyčią ir stengiantis nepavėluoti. Tad kodėl vertėjas nusprendė praleisti šį sakinį? Gal manė jį esant pertekliniu ir kenkiančiu teksto sklandumui ar tekstualumui? Nagrinėjant panašius tiriamosios medžiagos autocenzūros atvejus vertėtų prisiminti Umberto Eco nuostatas apie praleidimą. Jo nuomone (2006, p. 427–428), praleidimas yra teksto adaptacijos priemonė, kuria vertėjas parodo kritinį požiūrį į originalą ir tarsi primeta jam savo interpretaciją. Laikydamasis semiotinio požiūrio į vertimą Eco (2003, p. 100) atsargiai vertina praleidimą ir mano, kad vertėjas gali praleisti teksto vienetą, jei jo nepavyksta išversti ir jei šis vienetas nėra semantiškai reikšmingas originale.

Nagrinėjant autocenzūros atvejus pastebėta, kad ji reiškiama ir *pakeitimu*. Pateiksime tiriamosios medžiagos pavyzdį:

(12) Le traître, l'autre jour, nous rompit de ses mains
Un mouchoir qu'il trouva dans une **Fleur des Saints**,
Disant que nous mêlions, par un crime effroyable,
Avec la sainteté les parures du diable. (Molière, *Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur*, 1998, p. 61)

Anądien biaurybė atrado įdėtą
maldaknygėj mano šilkų skepetėlę,
pagrobęs – suplėšė, papuošals, mat, velnio
galėjęs įžeisti maldų šventą žodį. (Moljeras, *Tartifas arba Veidmainys*, 1928, p. 18)

Anądien nosinaitę **knygoje šventoj**
Aptiko tas begėdis ir sudraskė tuoj,
Pareikšdamas piktai, jog erziname tyčia
Šėtono išmonėmis dievą ir bažnyčią. (Moljeras, *Tartiufas arba Apgavikas*, 1967, p. 15)

XVII a. Molière'o pjesės „Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur" ištraukoje minima ispanų jėzuito Pedro de Ribadeneyros maldų knyga „Fleur des Saints", kurios nesutrumpintas pavadinimas yra „Les Fleurs des vies des Saints et festes de toute l'année" (liet. *Žydintis Šventųjų gyvenimas ir kalendorinių metų šventės*), tačiau eiliuotoje Molière'o pjesėje niekur neminimas „Fleur des Saints" autoriaus. Jį galima sužinoti iš kitų šaltinių, pavyzdžiui, iš 1998 m. Molière'o pjesės „Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur" leidimo ir išnašose pateikto paaiškinimo (p. 61). Žvelgiant į cituotus tarpukario ir sovietmečio vertimus matyti, kad abu vertėjai atsisakė pavadinimo vertimo ir pasirinko pakeitimą, t. y. keitė leksinį-semantinį „Fleur des Saints" turinį: vietoj konkretaus kūrinio pavadinimo vartojo bendresnį žodį „maldaknygėj" (1928, p. 18) ir žodžių junginį „knygoje šventoj" (1967, p. 15). Nagrinėjant 12-ą vertimo pavyzdį kyla klausimas, kodėl vertėjai atsisakė versti pavadinimą. Greičiausiai taip atsitiko dėl abiejų laikotarpių skaitytojų sisteminio prancūzų kultūros pažinimo spragų. O gal ir pačių vertėjų nežinojimo? Juk tarpukariu prancūzų grožinė literatūra, palyginti, neseniai buvo pradėta versti į lietuvių kalbą, todėl 1928 m. publikuojant Čiurlionienės vertimą Lietuvos skaitytojų sisteminis prancūzų kultūros pažinimas dar tik formavosi: vienas po kito buvo verčiami ir publikuojami kanoninės prancūzų grožinės literatūros kūriniai, mezgėsi dvišaliai diplomatiniai, kultūriniai kontaktai ir kt. Nesant ilgalaikių tarpkultūrinių ryšių su Prancūzija, kai kurios prancūzų kultūros reikšmės, kultūriniai faktai galėjo būti nežinomi ir apsunkinti vertimo skaitymą, todėl vertėja Čiurlionienė motyvuotai pasirinko „Fleur des Saints" pakeitimą. Tokį pat vertimo sprendimą priėmė ir sovietmečio vertėjas Aleksys Churginas, atsižvelgęs į tai, kad tuometės Lietuvos skaitytojams Ribadeneyros knyga greičiausia buvo nežinoma. Juk sovietmečio skaitytojai, gyvenę „už geležinės uždangos", kalbinėje ir kultūrinėje izoliacijoje nuo „kapitalistinių šalių", įskaitant ir Prancūziją, stokojo išsamesnės informacijos apie prancūzų kultūrą, ypač ankstesnių amžių religinio turinio leidinius.

Analizuojant tiriamąją medžiagą matyti, kad versdami Stendhalio, Mauriaco, Mérimée, Maupassant'o ir Molière'o kūrinius tarpukario ir sovietmečio vertėjai neišvengiamai turėjo prisitaikyti prie savo laikmečio polisistemų. Spręsdami vertimo dilemas jie ieškojo atsakymo į klausimą, ką rinktis: „praktinę alternatyvą „ištikimybė" *versus* „išdavystė"

(Ricœur, 2010, p. 21). Pasirinkę „išdavystę", t. y. cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą, vertėjai prisitaikė prie politinių galių ir sociosemiotinių normų.

Išvados

Išanalizavus tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvos leidinių atrankos ypatumus ir kanoninės prancūzų literatūros vertimų į lietuvių kalbą cenzūrą ir autocenzūrą lyginamuoju tekstinės analizės ir aprašomuoju metodais, galima daryti šias išvadas:

Tarpukario ir sovietmečio Lietuvoje vyko selektyvi versti planuojamos grožinės literatūros atranka: 1918–1940 metais buvo cenzūruojama revoliucines nuotaikas, marksistines ir komunistines pažiūras propaguojanti literatūra, o 1940–1990 metais – komunistinei ideologijai, minties kolektyvizacijai prieštaraujantys ir sovietinės semantikos neatitinkantys kūriniai. Abu istoriniai laikotarpiai determinavo vertėjų veiklą, lėmė vertimų cenzūrą, paklusimą politinėms, ideologinėms, etinėms, socialinėms normoms ir konvencijoms. Visa tai patvirtina sociosemiotinių vertimo normų svarbą vertimo procese ir polisisteminės vertimo teorijos nuostatas, kad vertimas nėra atsietas nuo konkretaus istorinio laikotarpio polisistemų.

Kitaip nei cenzūra, autocenzūra yra paties vertėjo inicijuoti vertimo pakeitimai, kurių nelemia išoriniai politiniai, ideologiniai ir kiti institucinės, sisteminės cenzūros veiksniai. Lyginant tarpukario ir sovietmečio prancūzų literatūros kūrinių vertimų į lietuvių kalbą autocenzūros atvejus matyti, kad tarpukario vertėjai kur kas dažniau rinkosi autocenzūrą norėdami išvengti kultūrinių kliuvinių ir labiau pritaikyti vertimą prie tuometės Lietuvos skaitytojų sisteminio kultūrinio pažinimo ir skaitymo įpročių. Sovietmečio vertimai labiau atspindi vertimo tikslumo sureikšminimą, kurį sovietiniais metais propagavo struktūralistinės vertimo teorijos, ir vertimais atliekamą švietėjišką misiją lavinti skaitytojus ir suteikti jiems kuo daugiau informacijos.

Kadangi autocenzūra priklauso nuo vertėjo sprendimo praleisti ar pakeisti tam tikras teksto vietas, pastebėta, kad ne visi tiriamosios medžiagos kūrinių vertėjai vienodai ją taikė: iš tarpukario vertėjų didesniu adaptavimu, t. y. autocenzūra, pasižymėjo Stendalio „Raudona ir juoda" vertėjai Petras

Cvirka ir Antanas Šimėnas, o iš sovietinio laikotarpio – Mauriaco romano „Le nœud de vipères" vertėjas Vytautas Girčys.

Atsižvelgus į tai, kad vertimą visada veikia politinės, ideologinės, socialinės ir kitos polisistemų galios, lemiančios cenzūrą, autocenzūrą ir kitas vertimų perdaras, vertimas negali būti absoliučiai ekvivalentiškas originalo tekstui. Žvelgiant į vertimą kaip į dinamišką tarpkultūrinį ir tarpsisteminį veiksmą, leksinis, morfologinis ir sintaksinis originalo ir vertimo tapatumas originalui tampa neįmanomas, todėl ekvivalentiškumo siekis netenka prasmės, yra nebepakankamas ir asimetriškas. Nuo pirmųjų vertimo teorijų vertimo mokslo paradigmoje įtvirtinta ekvivalentiškumo sąvoka nebeatspindi kintančios vertimo realybės ir implikuoja statiško ir invariantiško vertimo paiešką. Atsisakius ekvivalentiškumo siekio, vertimas analizuotinas hermeneutiniu ir holistiniu požiūriais, kaip tarpkultūrinės ir tarpsisteminės transpozicijos kitoje kultūroje procesas ir rezultatas.

Literatūros sąrašas

Ambrasas-Sasnava, K. (1980). Lietuvių vertimo teorijos užuomazgos. Sud. Eugenijus Matuzevičius, Arvydas Valionis. *Meninio vertimo problemos*. Vaga, 63–84.

Antoniou, M. (2014). Les hésitations du traducteur: le traducteur entre censure et autocensure. https://www.academia.edu/30354848/ Les_hesitations_du_traducteur_Le_traducteur_entre_censure_et_aut ocensure

Bakhtine, M. (1978). *Esthétique et théorie du roman*. Gallimard.

Brunette, L. (2002). Normes et censure: ne pas confondre. *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, *15*(2), 223–233. Prieiga per internetą: https://doi.org/10.7202/007486ar

Čiurlionienė, S. (1933). Apie vertimus. *Gimtoji kalba*, *2*, 17–20.

Danytė, M. (2008). Literatūrinio vertimo normų pokyčiai Lietuvoje po 1990-ųjų metų. *Kalbų studijos / Studies about languages*, *12*, 51–56.

Dapšytė, G. (2015). Sovietinės Lietuvos teatro cenzūros periodizacijos klausimai. *Ars et praxis*, *3*, 57–67.

Durand, P. (2006). *La censure invisible*. Arles: Actes Sud.

Eco, U. (2003). *Dire quasi la stessa cosa. Esperienze di traduzione*. Bompiani.

Eco, U. (2006). *Dire presque la même chose. Expériences de traduction* (trad. par Myriem Bouzaher). Grasset.

Even-Zohar, I. (1990). Polysystem Studies. *Poetics Today*, *11*(1). https://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/Even-Zohar_1990--Polysystem%20studies.pdf

Foucault, M. (1998). *Diskurso tvarka* (vertė Marius Daškus). Baltos lankos.

Gambier, Y. (2002). Les censures dans la traduction audiovisuelle. *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, *15*(2), 203–221. Prieiga per internetą: http://doi.org/10.7202/007485ar

Guidère, M. (2016). *Introduction à la traductologie*. De Boeck Supérieur.

Klivis, E. (2010). Ardomasis prisitaikymas: cenzūra ir pasipriešinimo jai būdai sovietinio laikotarpio Lietuvos teatre. *Menotyra*, *17*(2), 124–131.

Leonavičienė, A. (2024). *Teorinės vertimo paradigmos raida ir dabartis*. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla.

Maskaliūnienė, N. ir Tatolytė, I. (2022). Vertimo cenzūra sovietmečiu: kaip tirti, ką praradome? *Spectrum*, *2*(36), 82–87.

Maskaliūnienė, N., Tatolytė, I., Černiuvienė, L., Keršytė, N. ir kt. (2024). *Vertimas ir cenzūra sovietinės ideologijos sąlygomis. Lietuva, 1940–1990*. Sud. Nijolė Maskaliūnienė, Ingrida Tatolytė. Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.

Noreika, A. (2022). Žiniasklaidos cenzūra ir savicenzūra: ko neįvertino tyrinėtojas. *Logos*, *111*, 107–118.

Petrauskas, V. (1980). Trys pažintys su Stendaliu. Sud. Eugenijus Matuzevičius, Arvydas Valionis. *Meninio vertimo problemos* (pp. 308–328). Vaga.

Petreikis, T. (2013). Spaudos gyvenimo stebėsena ir kontrolė Antano Smetonos autoritarinio režimo metais. *Knygotyra*, *61*, 329–338.

Ragaišienė, I. ir Raškauskienė, A. (2024). *Ideology and Eclipsing of Textualities in Selected Lithuanian Literary Translations*. Baibu-Icastis 2024: 2nd International Congress on Academic Studies in Translation and Interpreting Studies, 30 September – 2 October 2024, Bolu, Türkiye: book of abstracts / editors Nazan Müge Uysal, Mesut Kuleli.

Riaubienė, A. (2005). Valstybinės cenzūros mechanizmas tarpukario Lietuvoje. *Knygotyra*, *44*, 103–113.

Riaubienė, A. (2020). Užsienio spaudinių cenzūra nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais. *Knygotyra*, *75*, 218–258.

Ricœur, P. (2010). *Apie vertimą* (vertė Paulius Garbačiauskas). Aidai.

Schleiermacher, F. (1985). Des différentes méthodes de traduire (traduit de l'allemand par A. Berman). *Les tours de Babel. Essais sur la traduction*. Mauvezin: Éd. Trans-Europ-Repress, 277–347.

Streikus, A. (2018). *Minties kolektyvizacija. Cenzūra sovietų Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Naujasis Židinys-Aidai.

Tomaszkiewicz, T. (2002). La traduction des textes déjà censurés. *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, *15*(2), 171–189. http://doi.org/10.7202/007483ar

Toury, G. (1995). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. John Benjamins.

Vaišnys, A. (1999). *Spauda ir valstybė 1918–1940*: analizė istoriniu, teisiniu ir politiniu aspektu. UAB Biznio mašinų kompanija.

Valentinavičienė, D. (2022). Cenzūros poveikis anglų verstinės literatūros kanonui sovietmečiu: Josepho Conrado atvejis. *Vertimo studijos*, *15*, 96–112.

Venuti, L. (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation*. Routledge.

Venuti, L. (1998). *The Scandals of Translation. Towards an Ethics of Difference*. Routledge.

Šaltinių sąrašas

De Maupassant, G. (1982). *Pierre et Jean*. Éditions Gallimard.

De Maupassant, G. (1937). *Pjeras ir Žanas* (vertė Ričardas Mironas). Spaudos fondas.

De Mopasanas, G. (1988). Pjeras ir Žanas (vertė Juozas Naujokaitis). *Mielas draugas. Pjeras ir Žanas. Novelės*. Vaga, 283–400.

Gunnars, K. (2024). *Bastūnė* (vertė Giedrė Pranaitytė). Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla.

Mauriac, F. (1933). *Le Nœud de vipères.* Éditions Bernard Grasset.

Mauriac, F. (1934). *Gyvačių lizdas* (vertė Jurgis Griška). „Žinijos" bendrovė.

Mérimée, P. (1937). *Kolomba* (vertė Antanas Valiukėnas). Spaudos fondas.

Mérimée, P. (1947). *Kolomba* (vertė Vaclovas Šiugždinis). Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla.

Mérimée, P. (1995). *Colomba*. Librairie Générale Française.

Molière. (1998). *Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur* (édition présentée par Gérard Ferreyrolles et Delphine de Garidel). Larousse-Bordas.

Moljeras. (1928). *Tartifas arba Veidmainys* (vertė Sofija Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė). Zavišos ir Steponavičiaus spaustuvė.

Moljeras. (1967). Tartiufas arba Apgavikas (vertė Aleksys Churginas). *Moljeras ir kitos komedijos*. Vaga, 5–108.

Moriakas, F. (1975). *Gyvačių kamuolys* (vertė Vytautas Girčys). Vilnius: Vaga.

Pažūsis, L., Maskaliūnienė, N., Darbutaitė, R. et al. (2014). *Vertimo studijų žodynas*. Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.

Quartier du Roule. Prieiga per internetą: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quartier_du_Roule.

Stendalis. (1976). *Raudona ir juoda* (vertė Ramutė Ramunienė). Vaga.

Stendalis. (1988). *Raudona ir juoda*. (vertė Ramutė Ramunienė). Vaga.

Stendhal. (1939). *Raudona ir juoda* (vertė Petras Cvirka ir Antanas Šimėnas). Spaudos fondas.

Stendhal. (1949). *Raudona ir juoda* (vertė Antanas Juška). Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla.

Stendhal. (1998). *Le Rouge et le Noir* : *Chronique du XIXᵉ siècle*. Paris: Pocket.

TSKP istorijos chrestomatija, 3. (1984). (sud. Bernatavičienė, J., Marcelis, A., Rakūnas, A., Štaras, P.). Mintis.

Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija. Prieiga per internetą: https://www.vlkk.lt/konsultacijos/5600-autocenzura.

Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija. Prieiga per internetą: https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/glavlit/.

Aurelija Leonavičienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
aurelija.leonaviciene@vdu.lt

CENSORSHIP AND SELF-CENSORSHIP IN INTERWAR AND SOVIET-ERA TRANSLATIONS FROM FRENCH INTO LITHUANIAN

Abstract. Translation is part of the polysystem of society and is therefore linked to other systems, such as political and ideological power, economics, literature, socio-cultural factors, etc. As it develops together with society, translation constantly changes and undergoes transformations specific to a certain historical period and reflects the particularities of a country's polysystems and socio-semiotic norms. The latter is reflected in different forms of translation, including both censorship and self-censorship. This study aims to analyse and compare censorship and self-censorship in the translations of canonical French literature into Lithuanian during the interwar and Soviet era, as well as to discuss the reasons, similarities and differences for the censorship and self-censorship of the research material within the broader context of the Polysystem Theory, socio-semiotic norms of translation, and the political powers of each period. To achieve this aim, the following objectives have been set: 1) to theoretically discuss the topic based on the Polysystem Theory, the socio-semiotic norms of translation, and other current scientific research on the topic of censorship; 2) to investigate mechanisms of selection of Lithuanian publications and censorship of translations during the periods from 1918 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1990; 3) to analyse the presence of censorship and self-censorship in the research material; 4) to compare censorship and self-censorship in translations from French into Lithuanian during the interwar and Soviet era in Lithuania, and to identify the reasons for their application, as well as their similarities and differences within a broader political, ideological, and sociocultural context. The aim and objectives of the study are achieved using the methods of scientific literature analysis, comparative and descriptive analysis. The research material consists of a representative amount of original and translated texts: the novel of Stendhal "Le Rouge et le Noir" (*The Red and the Black*) and its three translations into Lithuanian "Raudona ir juoda" (1939, 1949, 1976); "Le Nœud de vipères" (*The Knot of Vipers*) by François Mauriac and two translations of this book "Gyvačių lizdas" (1934) and "Gyvačių kamuolys" (1975); "Colomba" (*Colomba*) by Prosper Mérimée and two translations, both named "Kolomba" (1937, 1947); novel by Guy de Maupassant "Pierre et Jean" (*Pierre et Jean*) and translations "Pjeras ir Žanas" (1937, 1988); „Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur" (*Tartuffe, or The Impostor, or The Hypocrite*) by Molière and its translations into Lithuanian "Tartifas ir Veidmainys" (1928) and "Tartiufas arba Apgavikas" (1967). The total size of the research material in both languages is 3 922 pages. A comparative analysis of censorship and self-censorship in the translation of French literary texts into Lithuanian revealed that during the periods from 1918 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1990 Lithuanian translators aimed to adjust translations to the polysystems of their society at the time and to control the unpredictability of translation while keeping in mind political, ideological and sociocultural norms of translation. All the examples of translations of canonical French literature into Lithuanian suggest that during the interwar, censorship primarily targeted politically unacceptable revolutionary parts of the originals; whereas during the Soviet era, religious, political and ethical censorship became more widespread. Furthermore, the research showed that translators of the interwar chose self-censorship more than translators of the Soviet era. It could have links with quite an obvious tendency during those years to adapt translations and make them as comprehensive as possible with the systematic cultural knowledge of the majority of readers at the time.

Keywords: translation; censorship; self-censorship; Polysystem Theory; socio-semiotic norms of translation; omission.

Ya Ling Lew
UiTM Perlis Branch, Perlis, Malaysia
Naginder Kaur
UiTM Perlis Branch, Perlis, Malaysia
Huzaifah A Hamid
UiTM Perlis Branch, Perlis, Malaysia
Foo Terng Hoe
UiTM Penang Branch, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia

GUIDING LEARNERS IN USING MACHINE TRANSLATION FOR SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING: THE CASE AT MALAYSIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Abstract. This study examines the instructional methods employed by university educators in Malaysia to facilitate learners' use of machine translation (MT) in acquiring second or foreign language. The research aimed to delineate the effective strategies and techniques employed by instructors to steer learning, while also finding out the challenges and obstacles encountered throughout the instructional process. The researchers used a case study approach involving observations and interviews with four university instructors who incorporated MT into their second and foreign language classes. They were observed three times for the duration of one semester (14 weeks). Teaching observations focused on how the instructors guided learners in using MT with different strategies and techniques. At the same time, learners' reactions were also recorded accordingly. It was found that instructors used several strategies and guidance methods such as drawing comparisons and parallels between MT and textbook output, carrying out whole class discussions and providing oral feedback on MT output. Additionally, direct instruction, oral guidelines, confidence building, and small group discussions were tapped upon for optimum intended learning outcomes. In implementing these strategies, instructors confronted several challenges, namely, learners' inability to use effective contextual translation and limited knowledge in discerning accuracy of MT output. Instructors also noted the learners' reckless use and sparse awareness of MT literacy. The study postulates the imperative need for both instructors and learners to enhance digital literacy. This will enable instructors to adeptly steer learners in leveraging MT for learning purposes, while empowering them to employ MT judiciously, to comprehend its constraints, and to integrate it synergistically with other language acquisition methodologies, thereby fostering enhanced learning outcomes. The study has implications for language educators and curriculum designers interested in incorporating technology into language teaching and learning.

Keywords: second language learning; foreign language learning; machine translation; teaching strategies; challenges.

Background

The field of language technology has witnessed significant advancements, leading to the widespread use of tools such as machine translation (MT) in the learning process of second and foreign languages. Within higher education institutions, MT has become a common tool employed by foreign language learners. In today's globalized and modern world, it is both unrealistic and unacceptable to disregard the use of advanced writing assistive tools, given their widespread availability and integration (Hellmich & Vinall, 2021). As such, it is essential for instructors to recognize MT as a valuable teaching tool and embrace its use, instead of dismissing or prohibiting its application. Numerous studies emphasize the importance of integrating MT teaching in the classroom (see Hellmich & Vinall, 2021; Lee & Briggs, 2021; Lew & Kaur, 2021) and fostering MT literacy as a means for learners to engage with MT critically (Bowker, 2020). By cultivating MT literacy, learners gain the ability to utilize technology thoughtfully and discerningly, making it a valuable complement to their language learning toolkit.

However, a notable research gap remains on effective implementation of MT teaching in second and foreign language class. Hellmich and Vinall (2021) caution against over-promoting the use of Google Translate (GT) in the foreign language learning, highlighting the potential risk of fostering a reductionist perception of language among instructors and learners. This reductionist perspective views language to comprise unique codes fit for literal translation to another language (Ryu et al., 2022). It is imperative to ensure that these artificial intelligence (AI) writing tools do not distract learners from the communicative purpose of writing. Instead, their interaction with these tools should be seamlessly integrated into a comprehensive language program that equally values effective communication skills. Huang and Wilson (2021) argue that while AI can contribute to the development of learners' writing ability, it should assume a supporting (complementary) role rather than taking the lead.

Within the context of MT teaching, limited research exists regarding the effective strategies and techniques that instructors can employ in second or foreign language classrooms. Li (2021) highlights the under-researched area

of teachers' role in technology-enhanced classrooms, where more attention is often placed on the tools than instructors. Particularly, the use of a machine tool can significantly influence the learning and teaching process, necessitating an understanding individual differences and characteristics among teachers and learners. This raises important research questions: What teaching strategies and techniques do instructors employ to guide learners in using MT for second and foreign language learning? What challenges and obstacles do instructors encounter during this guiding process?

To address these research gaps and challenges, this study focuses on a comprehensive case study involving four second and foreign language instructors from a Malaysian higher education institution. By examining the perspectives and experiences of these instructors, this research aims to provide insights that will inform the effective integration of MT tools into language teaching methodologies. Understanding the challenges faced by instructors will contribute to the development of appropriate strategies and techniques that ensure successful MT teaching.

Research Objectives

1. To identify the type of teaching strategies and techniques used by university instructors to guide learners in using MT for second and foreign language learning.
2. To investigate the challenges and obstacles encountered by university instructors when guiding learners to use MT for second and foreign language learning.

Research Questions

1. What type of teaching strategies and techniques do university instructors use to guide learners in using MT for second and foreign language learning?
2. What challenges and obstacles do university instructors encounter when guiding learners to use MT for second and foreign language learning?

Literature Review

The digital transformation of language education in the 21ˢᵗ century aims at enhancing learners' efficiency using the latest digital tools (Cerdá Suárez et al., 2021), such as artificial intelligence (AI) and MT, which have been utilized in language teaching and learning (Kirov & Malamin, 2022; Lee, 2020). However, learners may encounter issues with these digital tools, including a lack of confidence and the accuracy of MT (Hellmich, 2021; Musk, 2022). Therefore, research has discussed effective ways for teachers to incorporate MT into the classroom.

Strategies and Techniques for Guiding MT Use

To effectively integrate MT into language courses, Deng and Yu (2022) suggest that teachers establish integration procedures, starting with an introduction, followed by demonstration and task assignment, and ending with reflection. This process includes introducing learners to the tool and its role, highlighting ethical considerations, and its advantages and disadvantages (Rowe, 2022; Xu, 2020), demonstrating and guiding learners in using MT (Ross et al., 2021), and incorporating MT use into classroom activities to encourage peer interaction (Rowe, 2022).

Instructors can adopt a variety of teaching strategies when incorporating MT, namely, highlighting the strengths and pitfalls of MT tools by varying the types of translation activities, providing sufficient training in utilizing these tools and making learners acquainted with other online resources (Hellmich, 2021). These suggestions also aim to make MT an integral learning tool widely used by learners. It is therefore necessary to increase its accuracy and allow its use in the language learning classroom. Understanding how learners engage with MT could lead to the development of more tailored pedagogical strategies that reflect specific learner practices (Hellmich, 2021).

Challenges and Obstacles in Implementing MT in Language Education

Language instructors face multiple challenges and obstacles when integrating MT in language learning. One key predicament is that machines are often unable to accommodate language learners with low proficiency levels. Beginner-level learners may heavily rely on MT, neglecting their own language development. While previous studies have highlighted the numerous benefits of MT, including enhanced accuracy (O'Neill, 2016; Tsai, 2019), increased meta-linguistic awareness (Enkin & Mejias-Bikani, 2016), and reduced anxiety (Bahri & Mahadi, 2016), most studies have shown that these benefits are mainly derived by advanced learners compared to low language ability learners (Larson-Guenette, 2013).

Research conducted by Kol et al. (2018) on MT output awareness and correction tasks reveals that advanced learners are more adept at identifying and correcting mistakes than intermediate learners. Similarly, Niño (2020) found that learners with high language proficiency are more aware of their own language capacities and the strengths and weaknesses of MT than those at the intermediate and low levels in oral and written comprehension tasks. Therefore, instructors need to make learners aware of the limitations of MT and teach them how to evaluate MT and edit its output accordingly.

In addition to addressing the challenges related to learner proficiency, instructors must also consider the ethical implications of using MT. While there is growing interest in incorporating MT into language teaching approaches, teachers need to ensure that learners use this technology responsibly. An exploratory study by Stapleton and Leung (2019) found that avoiding the use of Google Translate in foreign language learning is essentially no longer possible, yet, tapping on it results in a dip in motivation in foreign language reading and writing due to easy availability and access to translation output. Similarly, Hellmich's (2021) study on novice learners of French as a foreign language revealed that teachers expressed concerns about learners using MT to cheat or overly rely on it for writing. Therefore, instructors should teach learners how to cite and reference translated text properly to help them

understand the potential consequences of using MT inappropriately, resulting in unethical academic conduct like committing plagiarism or copyright infringement.

Digital Literacy: Attitudes Towards MT in Language Education

Beyond MT, language teachers and learners need to possess digital literacy to navigate the rapidly changing landscape of information and communication technologies. According to Dudeney and Hockly (2016), digital literacy is "the ability of people to know how to operate these technologies, and to use them safely, wisely and productively" (p. 115). Digital literacy encompasses more than just technical skills. It also requires the ability to adapt to one's purpose and involves the mastery of ideas, not mere use of technology, as noted by Tang and Chaw (2016).

MT literacy, as a form of digital literacy is primarily a cognitive concern rather than a technical one. To be digitally literate, learners must not only know how to search for information online but also have the ability to comprehend and collect information from various print or digital sources (Tang & Chaw, 2016). Digital literacy encompasses more than technical know-how; it requires the ability to adapt to one's purpose. Tang and Chaw (2016) note that digital literacy is distinct from technological skills and involves the mastery of ideas, and not only the use of technology. Therefore, the ability to effectively use MT for learning – for professional and personal development is a form of literacy, as highlighted by Dudeney and Hockly's (2016) example of Facebook.

Over the past two decades, digital literacy has received extensive attention in language education research, with focus on the level and perception of digital literacy, the use of digital literacy to enhance language competencies, and the development of strategies to improve digital literacy skills. For instance, Iskandar et al. (2022) highlight the integration of digital literacy in real academic digital practices of English language teaching through five stages:

First, identify the components of digital literacies and the authentic academic digital practices and products. Second, analyse

the descriptors of digital literacies components pertaining to authentic academic digital practices and products. Third, integrate the descriptors of digital literacies into learning outcomes. Fourth, embed digital literacies into academic products. Fifth, employ authentic academic digital practices in the learning process, and assess digital literacies as cross-curricular competencies (p. 84).

Moreover, language learners must develop digital and participatory literacy skills too, not only to develop linguistic and pragmatic knowledge but also to critically engage with the culturally coded connections among forms, contexts, meanings, and ideologies across various material mediums (Chun et al., 2016). However, despite the increasing importance of digital literacy in language education, there are still significant barriers that prevent learners from fully utilizing this skill owing to lack of digital literacy experiences among young learners and instructors of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), and different levels of comprehension among different learner profiles. These, in turn lead to hindrance in effectively utilizing digital tools (Mudra, 2020). In enhancing the quality of digital literacy in the English language teaching (ELT) curriculum, several approaches have been postulated through more structured participation in preferred online spaces, embedding digital literacy in the language curriculum, introducing digital multimodal composing projects, and tele-collaboration or virtual exchange projects (Hafner, 2019). The instrumental role of instructors at higher education is also pivotal in promoting digital literacy, whilst developing technology infrastructure, technology pedagogy of instructors, with more attention and focus from policymakers alike (Akayoğlu et al., 2020).

Finally, while young learners may have the ability to manipulate digital technology, there is little evidence that they possess the skills to transform its practical and social uses into more rigorous, pedagogical ones (Dudeney & Hockly, 2016). Therefore, users need training to effectively, reflectively, and critically use new media in online learning spaces (Hampel, 2014). Despite the challenges, integrating digital literacy as a cross-curricular ability into language teaching curricula remains essential (Iskandar et al., 2022).

Methods

The aim of this research is to investigate the teaching strategies and techniques as well as challenges and obstacles associated with guiding learners to use MT for second and foreign language learning at higher education in Malaysia. To achieve this, the researchers used a mixed-methods approach involving case studies, observations and interviews.

Respondent Details

The sample for this research consisted of 127 instructors from an institution of higher learning in Malaysia who participated in a questionnaire survey. The survey aimed to obtain information about the view and strategies related to guiding learners in using MT for learning. Based on the survey responses, four instructors who revealed more positive responses were purposefully selected for in-depth observation (see Table 1).

Table 1

The Four Selected Respondents

Instructor	Gender	Age	Teaching experience	Language taught	Learners' level	Number of learners
R1	Male	41	10 years	Mandarin	Beginners	18
R2	Female	34	6 years	Mandarin	Beginners	15
R3	Female	40	15 years	English	Intermediate	35
R4	Female	50	30 years	English	Advance	32

The four instructors were required to select a class and integrate MT content into their teaching for the duration of the full semester. The research team observed each instructor three times and recorded their teaching strategies, guidelines used, and their learners' reactions. The lessons were video-recorded and field notes were taken. Relevant data, including course documents, handouts, writing tasks, and assessments were also collected.

Research Procedure

The observation process consisted of three parts. Firstly, a writing assignment was given to learners in order to gauge their predisposition towards using MT. The instructors did not specifically relate this task to MT and learners were allowed to complete the assignment in their own way. After submission, the instructors checked the extent of MT use (if any). This phase aimed to gauge learners' inclination towards MT use and understand their initial approach in completing writing tasks. Subsequently, at the following class, MT was integrated in the teaching process, and researchers observed how instructors discussed MT with learners. We focused on understanding the challenges and obstacles faced by both the learners and instructors during this integration. Teaching strategies employed by instructors were documented and field notes were taken on how they addressed potential issues arising from the use of MT. Finally, learners were tasked with an assignment involving the use of MT. The researchers observed how these instructors designed and assessed the tasks. The goal was to identify effective strategies for guiding learners in using MT for learning.

After observation process, individual post-observation interviews were conducted with each instructor to identify the challenges and obstacles they faced during the guiding process. The observation data and interview data were analyzed using thematic coding with Nvivo. In a qualitative study, content analysis is a spiral, iterative and explanatory process (Creswell, 2013). Thematic coding was employed to analyze observation data and the interview transcripts in our research. This qualitative data analysis approach aimed to identify challenges, obstacles, and teaching strategies related to guiding learners in using MT for writing. Braun and Clarke's (2021, as cited in Kaur & Chowdhury, 2022, p. 135) principles for reflexive thematic analysis were adopted which captured patterns in qualitative data via six iterative and recursive stages namely, data familiarization, data coding, generating initial themes, developing and reviewing themes, refining, defining, and labelling themes, and writing the report.

Initially, our team thoroughly reviewed the data, gaining a comprehensive understanding of its content. Descriptive labels or codes were

then assigned to segments that captured central ideas, concepts, and patterns aligned with our research objectives. The codes represented themes, namely, instructor strategies, instructor challenges, and MT integration. Once coding was complete, we explored the data to identify recurring themes, patterns, and significant findings. Relationships between codes were examined, comparisons were made across different instructors, ensuring that interpretations were aligned with the research objectives. Using NVivo for thematic coding facilitated efficient data organization, analysis, and visualization. The software helped in data management, code application and retrieval of specific segments for further analysis or comparison.

Figure 1

Sources for Answering RQ1 and RQ2
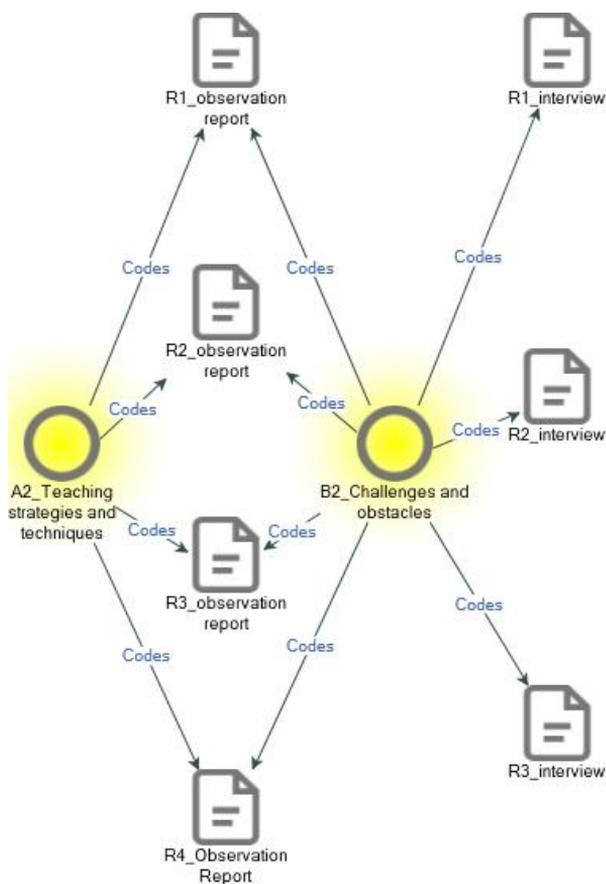
Figure 2

Results of Answering RQ1 and RQ2
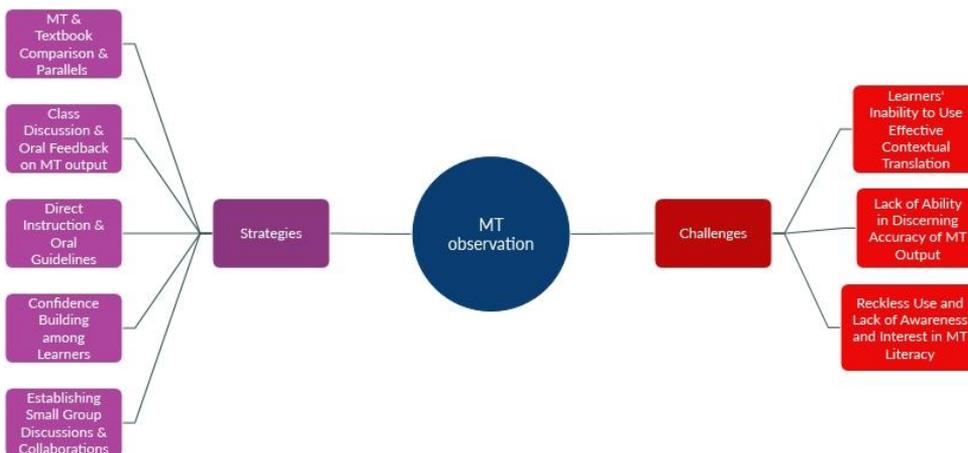
Results

In the following section, the two research questions and objectives of the study are presented based on the salient themes that emerged from the data. It was found that instructors employ several key strategies in guiding learners in using MT. The challenges encountered are also broadly categorized into three broad themes.

RQ1: Instructional Strategies and Techniques for Guiding Learners to Use MT

Based on the observations, it is evident that the four instructors used several teaching strategies and guidance methods in the classroom to help learners use MT effectively in their language learning process.

MT and Textbook Output Comparisons and Parallels

For foreign language classes such as Mandarin, instructors tend to use parallels and comparative teaching strategies when teaching learners about

MT. The two Mandarin instructors compared MT output with sentences from the textbook. R1 carried out an activity of writing samples with MT. Learners were required to find similar sentences from their textbook for comparisons with MT. The intended objective was to enable learners to detect MT errors with suitable justification(s). Similarly, R2 assigned a similar task of getting learners to translate five instructor-selected sentences to Malay (L1). These translations were subsequently translated to Mandarin with MT. The objective was to raise learner awareness about similarities and differences in the original sentence(s), and pitfalls of double translation approach, allowing learners to see different presentations of textbooks and MT.

Class Discussion and Oral Feedback on MT Output

Compared to second language (English) instructors, Mandarin instructors detected more MT errors through classroom discussion. The instructors shared that classroom discussion and feedback is preferred as it deepens learner understanding and enables instructors to gauge this. During class discussions, the instructors gave examples to help learners understand the importance of correct input methods when using MT and to consider MT output before using it.

R2 shared an example in class: *Saya tinggal di perak*, which was translated by MT as *Wǒ zhù zài yín* (I live in silver), sparking a dose of humour in the lesson. The instructor further explained, "MT doesn't know that Perak is the name of a state in Malaysia. Of course, it also has the meaning of metal/silver … Why did MT give the wrong translation?" The instructor further reminded learners to be mindful of feeding sentences by paying attention to uppercase, lowercase and punctuation. Since MT is case-sensitive, if 'p' is not capitalized, the outcome is distorted. The instructor further debriefed and reassured the learners, "I have tried, if your 'P' is capitalised, it can give you the correct translation which is *Wǒ zhù zài pīlì* (I live in Perak)."

In another example, when feeding the sentence *Kampung saya di Kangar*, (My hometown is Kangar), MT would yield *kampung* into *cūnzhuāng* (village). R2 explained that the textbook meaning of *kampung* is as mentioned

by learner A – *jiā* (home), or learner B – *lǎojiā* (hometown). Learners were made aware that *kampung* in Malay means both village and hometown, which should be translated as *lǎojiā* (hometown). R2 further explained, "Machine translation is a machine, and it can only give you one choice. There is nothing wrong with its translation, but it is not what you want."

The discussion seemed effective in creating awareness on the limitations of MT. However, R1 cautioned that learners had varying reactions to his guidance methods – some responded positively to the questions and explanations, while others remained ambivalent. This suggests that in turn, instructors also need to be aware of various learning styles and language proficiency levels of learners.

Direct Instruction and Oral Guidelines

As an alternative to discussion, direct instruction is another intermittent strategy, but to a lesser effect. The instructors had to constantly remind learners to become independent language learners, and that MT is not a perfect tool by showing examples of MT errors. In an attempt at direct instruction, R1 and R3 explicitly demonstrated the different ways to construct sentences, with or without MT. The explanation of the pros and cons of using MT further helped to improve learners' understanding of using the language. The instructors emphasized the original work and detected parts of the script containing plagiarism of online materials in order to discourage learners from sole MT dependence. The instructors highlighted specific MT errors in learners' role-play scripts to identify common mistakes and misconceptions learners may have. In a translation exercise assigned by R3, specific erroneous translations were highlighted with feedback on the range of inaccuracies in MT output. She further provided oral guidelines for language translation when learners needed to translate text from English to Malay and also compared learner output with MT output, hence, allowing learners the opportunity to practise and develop their translation skills. The learners were able to identify common MT mistakes, such as inaccuracies in semantic meaning and function, and were able to apply instructor guidelines to improve their translations. Thus, learners were able to

develop reading comprehension skills and ability to translate text from target language to their native language (Malay). The instructor highlighted the usefulness of MT for translating individual words or phrases instead of the whole essay and emphasized the need to ensure MT output has similar meaning as original content.

R3 stressed the importance of drawing learners' attention to the shortcomings of using a translator, even before learners begin using it. Although many think that "translators are all things and can't go wrong", the instructor lamented about receiving learner scripts with many inappropriate words and unnatural sentences. R2 made a conscious effort of recording the reasons for mistakes and explaining these one by one to make learners understand why MT sentences are inaccurate. She demonstrated this with examples and solutions, so learners can understand the benefits of translators for Mandarin learning, at the same time "become aware of the inadequacies of translators" (R2). She shared that although some learners were passive and quiet, they understood why MT should not be relied upon completely, given the interest shown in MT errors.

Confidence Building Among Learners

Second language instructors emphasized the need to enhance learner confidence when guiding them to use MT. For example, R3 made learners aware that their translations are sometimes better than MT. R4 believes that learners need to know they can employ various reading techniques to manage MT with own ability, such as guessing meanings from context, cross-checking translation(s) with a dictionary, and, considering other synonyms, to make output as effective as possible, so they can use MT with a discerning eye and mind. Additionally, R4 taught learners the importance of using chunking techniques to manage their work effectively and select appropriate words for translation. Learners' confidence was evidently heightened when R3 asked, "do you think your answer is better than this? ", and learners answered with a thumping "yes!" in unison.

Both R3 and R4 indicated that an important instructional strategy employed was to instill the importance of self-belief and self-confidence in their

own ability when using MT. This is because learners often opt for MT meaning as a quick option and, in the process, their self-belief on their own ability in managing academic texts gets eroded. Hence, learners need to know that they can manage MT by using various self-help tools as iterated by R3 and R4.

Establishing Small Group Discussions and Collaborations

This strategy was also employed by all the instructors, for example, R1 and R2 assigned group role play bilingual scripts – Malay and *pinyin* (romanzation system for Mandarin) or English and *pinyin*. Learners were highly encouraged to practise their language skills and work collaboratively with peers.

Group work was also established for other tasks. For second language classes, R3 assigned learners to groups of three or four to translate a Malay transcript to English. In the final task, learners were reassigned to groups of three or four and were required to translate a text from English to Malay. The observation of all three tasks was recorded after obtaining consent from learners and instructors. Evidently, group work was emphasized in the spirit of peer learning, peer support and collaborative engagements for optimal learning outcomes.

In group discussions, learners were found to be more willing to reveal their thoughts than in the whole class instruction. For example, through conversations with R1, we learned about learners' understanding and knowledge of MT. In small groups, learners try to discern the output and are unsure as to whether MT output is appropriate or not. R1 gave an example:

> *Keluarga saya ada lima orang ahli keluarga.* (There are five members in my family.)
> Google translation: *Wǒjiā yǒu wǔ gè jiātíng chéngyuán* (There are five members in my family.)
> Textbook translation: *Wǒjiā yǒu wǔ gèrén* (There are five members in my family.)

R1 queried the learners, "Does the output of Google Translation (GT) match what is presented in the textbook?" The learners responded, "No, it doesn't." R1 then probed further, "Is the output by Google Translation accurate?" This question was posed to five different groups, none of whom could affirm its accuracy. Nevertheless, learners actively engaged in the discourse, offering explanations such as, "The content isn't covered in our syllabus or textbooks," or "It differs from our prior learning, or we haven't encountered it yet." A small number of learners posited the disparity arises because GT renders written language, which may not always align with spoken language in conversational contexts.

Through back and forth questioning and debriefing with the groups, learners were guided to understand that MT output, although literally correct, may at times be contextually inappropriate due to cultural or contextual use. Small group discussions certainly helped learners in providing more forthcoming responses, avoiding shielding in cocoons.

RQ2: Challenges in Guiding Learners on MT

Inability to Use Effective Contextual Translation

Although MT is generally concurred to be useful in helping learners cope with writing tasks, many face difficulty in using MT for effective and precise contextual use, causing concern among instructors. The narration below is aptly shared by R2, which fully reflects her concern and perspective on incorrect use of MT:

> I think learners can use the translator to search for new words, then understand whether the new words are suitable for the required scene, and then create sentences that match their level according to the sentence structure taught by the instructor. But the challenges are, first, the translator cannot select suitable words according to the real situation. For example, the use of polysemous words, different semantic expressions, and the understanding of the contextual

meaning of words will affect the accuracy of the translated sentences, so learners often use words incorrectly.

Additionally, learners also tend to commit syntactical errors by wrongly placing the translated word in the sentence, resulting from lack of familiarity or knowledge of the Mandarin structure, making the entire sentence incorrect. If learners continue to use MT all the time, the instructors fear they may be unable to truly grasp Mandarin structures, and further form irreversible dependency.

Similarly, R4 constantly encounters learners' lack of knowledge in finding contextual meaning when using MT for English language learning. MT is referred to for literal translations, which can lead to errors in writing output, hence, constant errors in learners' translations.

Although MT is useful as a complementary and supplementary tool in learning, learners need to be aware of its limitation in providing literal translation, often devoid of nuances and humanised values in literacy. Therefore, when applying translated words or phrases, learners are sometimes unable to select or reject the words offered by MT. As the selection of correct diction and vocabulary lies with the user, indiscriminate dependence on MT can pose a problem or added challenge (R4).

Inability in Discerning Accuracy of MT Output

In teaching MT, the challenge is how to guide learners to identify inaccurate translations. If learners cannot identify inaccurate translations and just do verbatim copy of MT output, it is counterproductive. The problem is compounded by the fact that learners are generally unable to establish the accuracy of translation if the word is unavailable in the textbook, hence limited to restricted textbook knowledge. For example, in one of the classes, R1 asked if the MT output was correct as what had been taught. None of the groups could provide an affirmative response, most remained uncertain, with responses like, "Because they are not in the syllabus/textbooks; It's different from what we learned/we haven't learned it yet." In eliciting responses for the next vocabulary item, the instructor probed whether *huáyǔ*

or *pǔtōnghuà* was similar or correct. Again, learners were unsure, as in the previous case, but more of them were inclined towards *huáyǔ,* only because the word is found in the textbook. The same was experienced by R2, when explaining that some translations are acceptable although they may be different from what is available in the textbook. R2 requested learners to translate a sentence from the textbook to Malay and then used MT to convert it back to Mandarin. The original sentence was *"kànle diànyǐng, wǒ hé péngyǒu qù chīfàn"* (After watching the movie, I went to eat with my friend.), but the MT output was *"kàn wán diànyǐng, wǒ hé péngǒyu qù chī mǐfàn"* (After watching the movie, I went to eat rice with my friends). The learners were divided in their opinions on the accuracy of this translation. The instructor clarified that the first half of the sentence was indeed correct, demonstrating that certain alternative translations can still be considered valid, even if they differ from the textbook. However, the teacher also noted an error in the second half of the sentence. The use of *"mǐfàn,"* referring to "white rice," was incorrect in this context. It differed from the intended meaning of *"chīfàn"* which means to eat a meal. However, learners often do struggle to discern discrepancies and errors within MT outputs, despite diligent attempts in doing so.

Another example is illustrated below from the excerpts shared by R3:

Original: Nuro is working towards an autonomous solution for last mile and local delivery services.
Translated learner output: Nuro was a company that solves autonomous problems by ….

An autonomous solution means a solution that is comprehensive and non-limiting. However, MT yielded results of autonomous problems which suggests that the "autonomous problems" are in need of a solution. When MT is employed indiscriminately, the resultant distortion of meaning impedes learners' ability to discern lexical / semantic accuracy.

As highlighted by R3, a significant challenge in MT education lies in facilitating learners' ability to recognize inaccuracies. Given that failure to identify such inaccuracies may lead learners to uncritically adopt machine-

translated content, this approach is unlikely to foster meaningful learning outcomes. However, it is undoubtedly a big challenge for instructors to improve beginning or novice learners' ability to recognize inaccuracies in MT output.

Reckless Use and Lack of Awareness and Interest in MT Literacy

In comparison to English language instructors, Mandarin instructors were found to be more ambivalent about using suitable teaching techniques, particularly in dealing with plagiarism among learners. For this reason, R1 insisted that all assignments be run for similarity index check to detect extent of plagiarism. To prevent learners from copying homework of their seniors, some instructors (R2, R3) also require learners to discuss the outline of role play scripts in class before reporting to the instructor. If the theme of final submission is different from what they had reported, a potential problem can be diagnosed.

The instructors believe that although learners are aware they should not depend fully on MT, some continue to use it without caution and adequate checking. For example, learners became overly dependent on MT, even when the instructor (R1) had not suggested it. Many used it to submit their writing tasks, even to the extent of translating full texts with MT. R1 and R2 shared that despite teaching and attempting to instill awareness on how to use MT, learners hold reckless or callous attitude towards it; they may not weigh the extent they would learn, or if they would learn anything, as long as homework is submitted accordingly. The biggest challenge is lack of self-awareness, which is a matter of concern, as many do not think twice about using a translator – little thought is given to the deep aspects of learning. R3 said, "There are always two sides of the coin, but learners may not be really aware of this, they just focus on the advantages of MT", without considering its limitations. R3 observed that learners gravitate towards MT due to its inherent convenience. However, this reliance often stems from a disinclination to engage in critical thought, leading to indiscriminate usage without comprehensive understanding of the translated content. Reflecting on her teaching of MT, R3 suggests integrating dictionaries in the curriculum as a potential strategy for enhancing

learners' comprehension. By amalgamating dictionaries with MT tools, learners can access more comprehensive meanings and definitions currently unavailable solely through automated translation processes.

In another example, R2 related how her class atmosphere can become relatively quiet with a few learners providing responses to questions, but refraining from asking reciprocal questions. In discussing MT, learners seem interested in the role of MT but are quite ignorant about its overall scope and detriments. The whole process is mainly based on the instructor as the input provider – although learners respond to instructors' questions, they are unable to formulate opinions of their own. In view of this, the looming fear plaguing instructors is how academia would manage the future with widespread ChatGPT influence, as rightfully pointed out by R1 that instructors are now no longer checking mistakes in learners' work, but rather, ensuring whether the output is actually learners' original work. With MT, the original idea is derived from learners, to say the least, however, that is not the case with ChatGPT.

Discussion

The findings indicate that the most frequently used strategies are highlighting comparisons and parallels between MT and textbook output, particularly in foreign language classrooms. Mandarin instructors tend to use comparative teaching strategies more frequently in teaching learners about MT. When the two Mandarin instructors compared MT output with sentences from the textbook, they helped to broaden learners' perspectives to see other sentences beyond the textbook with similar meaning. Instructors' use of the right strategy can train learners' critical thinking skills, as MT output does not invariably guarantee total accuracy. Using comparative teaching methods also enhances learners' ability to compare, review and distinguish different ways of expressions of a similar thought.

Compared to English instructors, Mandarin instructors presented more MT errors and examples, either through direct instruction or class discussions. Pertinent techniques such as leading general class discussion and offering oral feedback on MT output and/or providing direct instruction and oral guidelines are equally important integration procedures for instructors to create

awareness on MT and its (potential) setbacks, as highlighted by Deng and Yu (2022). It is necessary to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of MT (Rowe, 2022; Xu, 2020), and ensure learners are aware of potential MT errors. Compared to direct explanations, class discussions can be more effective in enhancing comprehension. The breadth and depth in which second and foreign language instructors engage in discussion with learners is commendable and has been found to be insightful and intended to be effective for learners to be aware of the limitations of MT. However, instructors need to be aware of learner differences, for example, language proficiency and learning styles.

The two English language instructors emphasized the importance of enhancing learner confidence in guiding them to use MT. For example, R3 made learners realize that their translations are sometimes better than MT. R4 believed that learners need to empower themselves by using various reading techniques instead of depending solely on MT output. It is crucial to instill awareness of MT as an AI tool which can be used to complement writing skills (Huang & Wilson, 2021) due to its pervasive nature (Hellmich & Vinall, 2021), but not as the ultimate means for completing tasks.

Additionally, instructors go a step beyond and demonstrate the techniques for using MT (Ross et al., 2021) as well. Similar to many other learning outcomes, group discussions and collaboration (Rowe, 2022) which encourage peer interactions are important means as learners are more willing to reveal their thoughts in groups, instead of speaking up when called upon in class. The less frequently used techniques are to i) encourage original or creative work (R2), ii) encourage combination use of MT with other tools (R1), and iii) use chunking technique (R4). Although Hellmich (2021) postulates the need to expose learners to additional online resources and training on the use of MT tools, these strategies are not widely exploited in this study.

The prime challenges in teaching MT in second and foreign language classes are learners' inability to use effective contextual translation, and inability to judge the accuracy of MT output, hence, reductionist perception (Hellmich & Vinall, 2021) of MT. Learners demonstrate evident lack of awareness and MT literacy as some of them show limited interest in MT tasks. Meanwhile, instructors highlight learners' limitations with various contentions, namely, learners do not choose the right MT tools (R2); they do not provide

accurate input (R2); they use MT more frequently in writing than reading (R3), and have over-reliance on MT for completing assignments (they would instinctively use MT when completing translation assignments even when not required by instructors) (R1, R3).

Our observation results indicate that instructors only focus on discussing the benefits and drawbacks of MT and probable mistakes learners may encounter. Few guidance methods, such as writing short sentences and writing in formal native language are offered. It was also found that none of the instructors mentioned the "pre-edit/post-edit" strategy (R1, R2, R3, R4). The instructor (R3) advised learners not to translate the full essay, as sentence level translation is preferred to paragraph level translation. However, she did not offer any further explanation or rationale for this. Instructors are also sometimes ambivalent about the proper teaching technique to be employed (R2) nor know viable solutions how to mitigate plagiarism (R1, R2). Digital literacy as a cognitive issue is evidently lacking, as it is regarded as mere technological literacy. As iterated by Chun et al. (2016), language learners must develop digital literacy skills by critically engaging with the cultural connections among forms, contexts, meanings, and ideologies across various material mediums. In this chain, instructors too require specific training on how to explore and acquire MT literacy (Lew et al., 2023), before they can impart this to learners.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study highlighted various strategies and technologies employed by second and foreign language instructors in addressing the prevalent use of MT in language classes. The most salient strategies included drawing comparisons between MT and course materials, class discussion and oral feedback on MT output, direct instruction and oral guidelines, building confidence and small group discussions among learners. A number of teaching techniques were used to this end, namely, explaining the advantages and disadvantages of MT, errors, techniques, discussion and debriefing of MT output, strong persuasion for original work, as well as teaching chunking technique to avoid over-reliance on MT.

The research also sheds light on the challenges and obstacles faced by both learners and instructors in addressing the widespread use of MT in language classes. Learners encountered their own set of challenges and obstacles, which include inability to use effective contextual translation, inability to accurately judge the accuracy of MT output, and lack of self-awareness and MT literacy. Other challenges include disinterest in tasks directly involving MT, poor selection of suitable MT tools, failure to provide accurate input, over-reliance on MT for completing assignments, and tendency to use MT more extensively during writing tasks compared to reading tasks.

Among the challenges posed by instructors, several key points were identified. Firstly, instructors often failed to provide comprehensive explanations, leaving learners with limited understanding of MT usage. Secondly, they frequently omitted pre- and post-editing assistance, neglecting a crucial aspect of language learning and improvement. Additionally, many instructors displayed uncertainty regarding the most effective teaching strategies and techniques for incorporating MT in the classroom. Lastly, a significant hurdle was their lack of clarity regarding the appropriate approach to tackle plagiarism issues arising from the use of MT.

On the whole, the study has implications for language educators and curriculum designers interested in incorporating technology into language teaching and learning. The insights into instructional methods, challenges and the need for digital literacy in using MT for language learning offer valuable contributions to the development of sustainable multilingualism as well. By equipping both educators and learners with effective strategies such as drawing comparisons between MT and textbook outputs, whole-class and small-group discussions, and providing oral feedback, the research supports a nuanced approach to language acquisition. Furthermore, addressing challenges like learners' limited contextual translation skills and MT literacy enhances the potential for long-term multilingual competence. This comprehensive approach promotes enduring, adaptable and sustainable multilingualism by integrating technology with traditional language learning methods.

However, the present study has some limitations. The scope of the study is limited to a relatively small observed entity, which may only represent local occurrences and not provide a comprehensive picture of

the overall situation. Additionally, the research focused on the use of MT in English and Mandarin languages only, potentially limiting its generalizability to other language contexts.

Based on the findings, it is suggested that the next step in language instruction should revolve around integrating MT and artificial intelligence technologies into the classroom effectively. As these technologies are permeating and pervading the teaching and learning landscape, there is a pressing need for comprehensive guidelines to help language instructors incorporate these advancements into their teaching practices. By addressing the challenges identified in this research and leveraging the strategies and technologies, educators can better equip learners to navigate the evolving terrain of language learning in the digital age. Further, this research can be replicated with learners pursuing other foreign language courses, namely, Arabic, Japanese or Tamil language. It is noteworthy observation how different foreign languages present varied or parallel patterns of challenges and to know if the mitigating mechanisms are similar across different language domains at higher education in and beyond Malaysia.

Acknowledgements

References

Akayoğlu, S., Satar, H. M., Dikilitaş, K., Cirit, N. C., & Korkmazgil, S. (2020). Digital literacy practices of Turkish pre-service EFL teachers. *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology, 36*(1), 85–97. https://doi.org/10.14742/ajet.4711

Bahri, H., & Mahadi, T. S. T. (2016). Google Translate as a supplementary tool for learning Malay: A case study at Universiti Sains Malaysia. *Advances*

in Language and Literary Studies, 7(3), 161–167. https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.alls.v.7n.3p.161

Bowker, L. (2020). Machine translation literacy instruction for international business students and business English instructors. *Journal of Business and Finance Librarianship, 25*(1–2), 25–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/08963568.2020.1794739

Cerdá Suárez, L. M., Núñez-Valdés, K., & Quirós y Alpera, S. (2021). A systemic perspective for understanding digital transformation in higher education: Overview and subregional context in Latin America as evidence. *Sustainability, 13*(23), 12956.

Chun, D., Smith, B., & Kern, R. (2016). Technology in language use, language teaching, and language learning. *Modern Language Journal, 100*, 64–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12302

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.

Deng, X., & Yu, Z. (2022). A systematic review of machine-translation-assisted language learning for sustainable education. *Sustainability, 14*(13), 7598.

Dudeney, G., & Hockly, N. (2016). Literacies, technology and language teaching. In F. Farr & L. Murray (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language learning and technology* (pp. 115–126). Routledge.

Enkin, E., & Mejias-Bikani, E. (2016). Using online translators in the second language classroom: Ideas for advanced-level Spanish. *Latin American Journal of Content and Language Integrated Learning, 9*(1), 138–158.

Hafner, C. A. (2019). Digital literacies for English language learners. In X. Gao (Ed.), *Second handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 899–918). Springer Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58542-0

Hampel, R. (2014). Making meaning online: Computer-mediated communication for language learning. In A. Peti-Stantić & M.-M. Stanojević (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Croatian Applied Linguistics Society Conference 2012* (pp. 89–106). Peter Lang.

Hellmich, E. A. (2021). Machine translation in foreign language writing: Student use to guide pedagogical practice. Alsic. *Apprentissage Des Langues et Systèmes d'Information et de Communication, 24*(1).

Hellmich, E., & Vinall, K. (2021). FL instructor beliefs about machine translation:
Ecological insights to guide research and practice. *International Journal
of Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Teaching (IJCALLT),
11*(4), 1–18.

Huang, Y., & Wilson, J. (2021). Using automated feedback to develop writing
proficiency. *Computers and Composition, 62*, 102675.

Iskandar, I., Sumarni, S., Dewanti, R., & Asnur, M. N. A. (2022). Infusing digital
literacy in authentic academic digital practices of English language
teaching at Universities. *International Journal of Language Education,
6*(1), 75–90. https://doi.org/10.26858/ijole.v6i1.31574

Kaur, N., & Chowdhury, T. A. (2022). Dynamics and causal factors of team
satisfaction in an open and distance learning collaborative writing class.
Malaysian Journal of Learning & Instruction, 19(2), 123–152.
https://doi.org/10.32890/mjli2022.19.2.5

Kirov, V., & Malamin, B. (2022). Are translators afraid of artificial intelligence?
Societies, 12(2), 70.

Kol, S., Schcolnik, M., & Spector-Cohen, E. (2018). Google Translate in
academic writing courses? *The EuroCALL Review, 26*(2), 50–57.

Larson-Guenette, J. (2013). "It's just reflex now": German language learners'
use of online resources. *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German, 46*(1),
62–74.

Lee, S. M., & Briggs, N. (2021). Effects of using machine translation to mediate
the revision process of Korean university students' academic writing.
ReCALL, 33(1), 18–33. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0958344020000191

Lee, S.-M. (2020). The impact of using machine translation on EFL students'
writing. *Computer Assisted Language Learning, 33*(3), 157–175.
https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2018.1553186

Lew, Y. L., & Kaur, N. (2021, May 27-28). *Google translate in Mandarin writing:
A boon or a bane?* Paper presented at International Conference on
Language Education (iCOLE 2021), Universiti Teknologi MARA Perlis
Branch, Malaysia.

Lew, Y. L., Kaur, N., Hoe, F. T., & Hamid, H. A. (2023). MT in language writing:
Insights from different levels of learning. In R. Amat (Ed.),
International Conference on Modern Languages and Applied Linguistics

(pp. 39–50). UiTM Kedah.

Li, Z. (2021). Teachers in automated writing evaluation (AWE) system-supported ESL writing classes: Perception, implementation, and influence. *System, 99*, 102505.

Mudra, H. (2020). Digital literacy among young learners: How do EFL teachers and learners view its benefits and barriers? *Teaching English with Technology, 20*(3), 3–24.

Musk, N. (2022). Using online translation tools in computer-assisted collaborative EFL writing. *Classroom Discourse, 13*(2), 119–144.

Niño, A. (2020). Exploring the use of online machine translation for independent language learning. *Research in Learning Technology, 28*(1063519), 1–32. https://doi.org/10.25304/rlt.v28.2402

O'Neill, E. M. (2016). Measuring the impact of online translation on FL writing scores. *IALLT Journal of Language Learning Technologies, 46*(2), 1–39.

Ross, R. K., Lake, V. E., & Beisly, A. H. (2021). Preservice teachers' use of a translation app with dual language learners. *Journal of Digital Learning in Teacher Education, 37*(2), 86–98.

Rowe, L. W. (2022). Google Translate and biliterate composing: Second-Graders' use of digital translation tools to support bilingual writing. *TESOL Quarterly, 56*(3), 883–906. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.3143

Ryu, J., Kim, Y., Park, S., Eum, S., Chun, S., & Yang, S. (2022). Exploring foreign language students' perceptions of the guided use of machine translation (GUMT) model for Korean writing. *L2 Journal, 14*(1).

Stapleton, P., & Leung, K. K. B. (2019). Assessing the accuracy and teachers' impressions of Google Translate: A study of primary L2 writers in Hong Kong. *English for Specific Purposes, 56*, 18–34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2019.07.001

Tang, C. M., & Chaw, L. Y. (2016). Digital literacy: A prerequisite for effective learning in a blended learning environment? *Electronic Journal of E-Learning, 14*(1), 54–65.

Tsai, S. C. (2019). Using Google Translate in EFL drafts: A preliminary investigation. *Computer Assisted Language Learning, 32*(5–6), 510–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2018.1527361

Xu, J. (2020). Machine translation for editing compositions in a Chinese

language class: Task design and student beliefs. *Journal of Technology
and Chinese Language Teaching, 11*(1), 1–18.

Ya Ling Lew
UiTM Perlio filialas, Perlis, Malaizija
yaling@uitm.edu.my
Naginder Kaur
UiTM Perlio filialas, Perlis, Malaizija
ninder@uitm.edu.my
Huzaifah A Hamid
UiTM Perlio filialas, Perlis, Malaizija
huzaifahhamid@uitm.edu.my
Foo Terng Hoe
UiTM Penango filialas, Pulau Pinangas, Malaizija
hoefo964@uitm.edu.my

MOKYMAS, KAIP NAUDOTI MAŠININĮ VERTIMĄ MOKANTIS ANTROSIOS IR UŽSIENIO KALBŲ: MALAIZIJOS AUKŠTOJO MOKSLO ATVEJIS

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjami Malaizijos universitetų dėstytojų taikomi mokymo metodai, kuriais siekiama palengvinti studentų naudojimąsi mašininiu vertimu mokantis antrosios arba užsienio kalbos. Svarbu nustatyti veiksmingas strategijas ir metodus, kuriuos dėstytojai taiko mokymosi procesui valdyti, taip pat išsiaiškinti, su kokiais sunkumais ir kliūtimis susiduriama mokymo proceso metu. Taikytas atvejo tyrimo metodas apima stebėjimą ir interviu su keturiais universiteto dėstytojais, kurie įtraukė mašininį vertimą į savo antrosios ir užsienio kalbų pamokas. Tyrimo dalyviai buvo stebimi tris kartus per vieną semestrą (14 savaičių). Daugiausia dėmesio skirta tam, kaip dėstytojai, taikydami įvairias strategijas ir metodus, moko naudoti mašininį vertimą. Kartu buvo atitinkamai fiksuota ir studentų reakcija. Nustatyta, kad dėstytojai taikė kelias strategijas ir metodus, tokius kaip mašininio vertimo ir vadovėlio tekstų palyginimas ieškant skirtumų ir panašumų, klasės diskusijos ir žodinis grįžtamasis ryšys apie mašininio vertimo kokybę. Be to, siekiant optimalių numatytų mokymosi rezultatų, buvo taikomi tiesioginio mokymo metodai, žodinės rekomendacijos, pasitikėjimo ugdymas ir diskusijos mažose grupėse. Įgyvendindami šias strategijas, dėstytojai susidūrė su keliais iššūkiais: su studentų negebėjimu naudoti veiksmingą kontekstinį vertimą ir ribotomis žiniomis, kaip nustatyti mašininio vertimo produkcijos tikslumą. Dėstytojai apgailestavo, kad besimokantieji neapgalvotai naudojasi mašininiu vertimu ir menkai supranta jo raštingumą. Tyrime teigiama, kad tiek dėstytojai, tiek studentai privalo tobulinti savo skaitmeninį raštingumą. Tuomet dėstytojai gebėtų sumaniai vadovauti, kaip mokymosi tikslais panaudoti mašininį vertimą, ir kartu įgalintų studentus protingai naudoti mašininį vertimą, suvokti jo ribojimus ir sinergiškai integruoti jį į kitų kalbų mokymosi metodikas; taip būtų galima pasiekti geresnių mokymosi rezultatų. Tyrimas reikšmingas kalbų mokytojams ir mokymo programų rengėjams, besidomintiems technologijų įtraukimu į kalbų mokymą ir mokymąsi.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: antrosios kalbos mokymasis; iššūkiai; mašininis vertimas; mokymo strategijos; užsienio kalbos mokymasis.

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR MANUSCRIPTS

Articles are submitted electronically at the following address https://ejournals.vdu.lt/index.php/SM/

Articles follow the 7th edition of Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA[*]) and are subjected to double peer-review and selected for publication on the basis of the following criteria:

- The study is thematically relevant to the aims of the journal.
- It is original, previously unpublished, not submitted to other journals during the evaluation process, and ethical parameters are highlighted.
- It presents empirical analysis or in-depth theoretical considerations.
- It contains basic structural elements: background, material and methods (or conceptual dispositions), results, discussion (or conceptual discourse), conclusions, and references.
- It focuses on an acute research problem.
- It is of adequate stylistic and linguistic quality.

SEQUENCE OF THE ARTICLE PARTS AND TECHNICAL GUIDELINES

Page size: 17,6x25,01 cm.
Margins: Normal (2,54x2,54x2,54x2,54 cm).
Header position from top: 1,25 cm.
Footer position from top: 1,25 cm.
Font type: "Verdana".
Line spacing: single for summary and tables, 1.5 for the main text with one space left after the title and before and after the section headings.
Author's (s') name(s): <u>do not indicate any author information in the article (words file).</u>
Affiliation in the main language of the article: 12pt; institution.
Title in the main language of the article: 14pt bold, capital letters, align left.
Abstract in the main language of the article: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words, single spacing.
Keywords in the main language of the article: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 4–6 words (in alphabetical order, in the same line).
Section headings in the article:
  Level 1: 10pt, Centered, Boldface, APA Title Case, not numbered;
  Level 2: 10pt, Flush-Left, Boldface, APA Title Case, not numbered, text below;
  Level 3: 10pt, Flush-Left, Boldface, Italicized, APA Title Case, not numbered, text below;
  Level 4: 10pt, Indented, Bold, APA Title Case Heading Ending with a Period. Begin body text after period;
  Level 5: 10pt, Indented, Bold, APA Title Case Heading Ending with a Period. Begin body text after period.
Text of the article: 9pt, 4.000–7.000 words. The first line of every paragraph is indented by 1.27cm at the left margin.
Reference list: 10pt bold; entries 9pt; 15–30 entries. The first line of every entry starts at the left margin, while each subsequent line is indented (hanging) by 1.27 cm from the left. The entries are not numbered; follow alphabetical order. For several entries of the same author, a chronological order is applied. Titles of books and journals are written in italics. If electronic sources are assigned a DOI, it is to be indicated.
Footnotes: "Verdana", 8pt, single spacing, justified.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Given that the journal is published as a colour online issue, the pictures and graphs have to be prepared in such a way that the colourful figures are clear and visible in a white and black text. **Table** or **Figure** number (in bold, left-justified) and the title (one double-spaced line below

---

[*] https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/

the table number, using non-bolded *Italic Title Case,* left-justified (no period ending) are written above the table or the figure, 9pt; text within figures and tables 8pt, single spacing.

IN-TEXT CITATION (please follow the requirements of APA 7th Edition)

In-text citations are presented in the following two ways:
Parenthetical citation: the author and date appear within parentheses, e.g. (Brown, 2024), or (Brown, 2024, p. 1) – presenting a quote. Two authors are joined by ampersand (Brown & Smith, 2024); three or more authors use et al. after the first author, e.g. (Brown et al., 2024).
Narrative citation: the author appears in the text with the date in parentheses: Brown (2024) … Two or three authors are joined by "and" in the text: Brown and Smith (2024) state that … Brown, Smith, and Jones (2024) refer to …
40 word and longer quotations are placed in a free-standing block, 1.5 spaced, and indented in entirety by 1.27 cm from the left margin with quotation marks omitted.

REFERENCES
EXAMPLE ENTRIES (please follow the requirements of APA 7th Edition)

Books
Aronin L., & Singleton, D. M. (2012). *Multilingualism*. John Benjamins Publishing.
Chapters of a Book
Wilson, D., & Sperber, D. (2004). Relevance theory. In L. R. Horn, & G. Ward (Eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 607–632). Blackwell.
Articles in printed journals
Harlow, H. F. (1983). Fundamentals for preparing psychology journal articles. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, *55*, 893–896.
Electronic articles with DOI assigned
Otwinowska, A., & De Angelis, G. (2012). Introduction: Social and affective factors in multilingualism research. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *9*(4), 347–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714379
Electronic articles with no DOI assigned
Prince, P. (2012). Towards an instructional programme for L2 vocabulary: Can a story help? *Language Learning & Technology*, *16*, 103–120. http://llt.msu.edu/issues/october2012/prince.pdf

KINDLY ATTACH A SEPARATE FILE WITH THE DETAILS LISTED BELOW:

Author's (s') name(s): 10pt bold.
Affiliation in English: 10pt; institution.
Title in English: 10pt bold, left-justified.
Abstract in English: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words.
Keywords in English: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 4–6 words (in the same line) in the alphabetical order.
Author's (s') name(s): 10pt bold, title.
Affiliation in Lithuanian: 10pt; institution, e-mail.
Title in Lithuanian: 10pt bold, capital letters.
Abstract in Lithuanian: 9pt bold; text 8pt, 250–300 words.
Keywords in Lithuanian: 9pt bold; actual words 8pt, 5–8 words (in the same line).
Author's (s') name(s), Affiliation, Title, and Abstract in the author's first or state language is preferable.

BENDRIEJI REIKALAVIMAI RANKRAŠČIAMS

Straipsniai pateikiami ir publikuojami elektroninėje platformoje https://ejournals.vdu.lt/index.php/SM/

Straipsniai rengiami pagal **Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association** (toliau **APA***) 7-ąjį leidimą, kolegialiai recenzuojami dviejų recenzentų ir atrenkami publikuoti vadovaujantis šiais kriterijais:

- Tyrimas atitinka žurnalo tematiką ir tikslus.
- Tyrimas yra originalus, anksčiau nepublikuotas, vertinimo metu neteikiamas kitiems žurnalams, išryškinti etikos parametrai;
- Straipsnis pateikia empirinę analizę ir/ar išsamią teorinę diskusiją;
- Straipsnis turi pagrindines struktūrines dalis: tyrimo pagrindimas, medžiaga ir metodai (ar konceptualūs svarstymai), rezultatai, diskusija (ar konceptualus diskursas), išvados ir naudotos literatūros sąrašas.
- Nagrinėjama svarbi tyrimo problema.
- Yra tinkamos stilistinės ir kalbinės kokybės.

STRAIPSNIO DALIŲ SEKA IR TECHNINĖS NUORODOS

Puslapio dydis: 17,6x25,01 cm.
Paraštės: Normal (2,54x2,54x2,54x2,54 cm).
Antraštės padėtis nuo viršaus: 1,25 cm.
Poraštės padėtis nuo viršaus: 1,25 cm.
Šriftas: „Verdana".
Tarpai tarp eilučių: santraukos rašomos 1 eilutės intervalu, straipsnio tekstas – 1,5 eilutės intervalu. Vienos eilutės tarpas paliekamas prieš antraštes ir po jų.
Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): <u>autorių vardai dokumente (word.doc) nerašomi.</u>
Afiliacija: 12 pt; institucija, šalis.
Pavadinimas pagrindine straipsnio kalba: 14 pt paryškinta, didžiosiomis raidėmis.
Anotacija pagrindine straipsnio kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos straipsnio kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje).
Straipsnio sekcijų antraštės:
    1 lygmuo: 10 pt, centruota, paryškintu šriftu, nenumeruojama;
    2 lygmuo: 10 pt, kairėje pusėje, paryškintu šriftu, nenumeruojama, tekstas žemiau;
    3 lygmuo: 10 pt, kairėje pusėje, paryškintu šriftu, kursyvu, nenumeruojama, tekstas žemiau;
    4 lygmuo: 10 pt, atitraukta, paryškintu šriftu, antraštė baigiasi tašku. Pagrindinį tekstą pradėti po taško;
    5 lygmuo: 10 pt, atitraukta, paryškintu šriftu, besibaigianti tašku. Pagrindinį tekstą pradėti po taško.
Straipsnio tekstas: 9 pt, 4 000–7 000 žodžių. Pirmos įrašų eilutės atitrauktos 1,27 cm nuo paraštės.
Literatūra: 10 pt paryškinta, 15–30 įrašų, 9 pt. Pirmoji eilutė prie krašto, kitos – kabantis įtraukimas nuo kairės pusės 1,27 cm. Literatūros įrašai rikiuojami abėcėlės tvarka, nenumeruojami. Keli to paties autoriaus šaltiniai pateikiami chronologine tvarka. Knygų ir žurnalų pavadinimai rašomi kursyvu. Jeigu el. šaltiniui priskirtas DOI, jis pateikiamas.
DOI: jei elektroninis šaltinis turi priskirtą DOI, būtina jį nurodyti.
Išnašos: Verdana, 8 pt, 1 eilutės intervalas, sulygiuota iš abiejų pusių.

---

* https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/

LENTELĖS IR GRAFIKAI

Žurnalas leidžiamas elektroniniu (spalvotu) formatu, tačiau spalvoto teksto brėžinių ir grafikų spalvų gama ir kontrastas turi būti tokie, kad būtų gerai matyti ir nespalvotame tekste.

Lentelės ir **paveikslo** numeris (paryškinta, kairėje) ir pavadinimas (kitoje eilutėje, pasvirus, kairėje) rašomi virš lentelės ir paveikslo, 9 pt; tekstas lentelėse ir grafikuose – 8 pt (tinkamoje vietoje tekste).

CITAVIMAS TEKSTE (prašome laikytis APA 7-ojo leidimo reikalavimų)

Nuorodos tekste pateikiamos skliaustuose, nurodant autoriaus pavardę ir dokumento leidimo metus, pvz. (Ramonienė, 2008). Jeigu autorius jau paminėtas sakinyje, užtenka nurodyti leidimo metus, pvz. „Ramonienės (2008) nuomone, ...". Jeigu cituojama konkreti šaltinio vieta ar pateikiama tiksli citata, būtina nurodyti ir šaltinio puslapį, pvz. (Ramonienė, 2008, p. 5). Jeigu cituojamas dviejų autorių šaltinis, skliaustuose reikia nurodyti abi pavardes, naudojant jungtuką „ir", pvz. (Ramonienė ir Pribušauskaitė, 2008), (Otwinowska ir De Angelis, 2012). Jeigu cituojamą šaltinė sudarė nuo 3 iki 5 autorių, pirmąkart būtina nurodyti visas pavardes, prieš paskutiniąją pavardę rašomas jungtukas „ir", vėliau rašoma tik pirmojo autoriaus pavardė bei „et al.", pvz. (Šinkūnienė, Majauskienė, Brazaitienė ir Antanaitis, 2013) (Edwards, Bendickson, Baker ir Solomon, 2020) [pirmą kartą pateikta nuoroda]; (Šinkūnienė et al., 2013) (Edwards et al., 2020) [antrą kartą ir vėliau pateikta nuoroda]. Jeigu cituojamas šaltinis sudarytas 6 ir daugiau autorių, visose nuorodose reikia nurodyti pirmojo autoriaus pavardę ir „et al.", pvz., (Šinkūnienė et al., 2013), (Edwards et al., 2020).

40 žodžių ir ilgesnės citatos pateikiamos atskirai, naudojant 1,5 intervalą tarp eilučių, o visa citata nuo kairiosios paraštės atitraukiama 1,27 cm, nenaudojant citavimo kabučių.

Nelietuviški asmenvardžiai ir vietovardžiai rašomi vadovaujantis Valstybinės lietuvių kalbos komisijos nuorodomis: http://www.vlkk.lt/lit/nutarimai/svetimvardziai/gramatinimas.html.

LITERATŪROS SĄRAŠAS
PAVYZDŽIAI (prašome laikytis APA 7-ojo leidimo reikalavimų)

Knygos
Ramonienė, M., & Pribušauskaitė, J. (2008). *Praktinė lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. 2 papildytas leidimas. Baltos lankos.
Knygų skyriai
Pacevičius, A. (2003). Lietuvos knygos kultūra ir paleotipų proveniencijos. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos paleotipai: katalogas (xvii–xxxv).* Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas.
Straipsniai žurnaluose
Vitkauskienė, V. (2011). Frankofonija Lietuvoje. *Respectus Philologicus*, *19*(42), 57–70.
Straipsnis su priskirtu DOI:
Otwinowska, A., & De Angelis, G. (2012). Introduction: Social and affective factors in multilingualism research. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *9*(4), 347–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.714379
Straipsnis be DOI:
Krivenkaya, M. (2012). Vertėjo sociokultūrinė kompetencija kultūrų dialogo kontekste. *Kalbų studijos / Studies about Languages*, *20*, 73–78. http://www.kalbos.lt/naujas.html
Kübler, N., & Aston, G. (2010). Using corpora in translation. In M. McCarthy, & A. O'Keefe (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of corpus linguistics* (pp. 505–515). Routledge.

PRAŠOME PATEIKTI ŠIĄ INFORMACIJĄ PRISEGANT ATSKIRĄ FAILĄ:

Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): 10 pt paryškinta, mokslo laipsnis.
Afiliacija lietuvių kalba: 10 pt; institucija, el. pašto adresas.
Pavadinimas lietuvių kalba: 10 pt paryškinta, didžiosiomis raidėmis, sulygiuota iš kairės.
Anotacija lietuvių kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos lietuvių kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje, nekartojant pavadinime vartotų sąvokų).

Autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės): 10 pt paryškinta, mokslo laipsnis.
Afiliacija anglų kalba, jei straipsnis parašytas kita kalba: 10 pt; institucija, el. pašto adresas. Pavadinimas anglų kalba: 10 pt paryškinta, sulygiuota iš kairės.
Anotacija anglų kalba, jei straipsnis parašytas kita kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; tekstas 8 pt, 250–300 žodžių.
Pagrindinės sąvokos anglų kalba, jei straipsnis parašytas kita kalba: 9 pt paryškinta; sąvokos 8 pt, 4–6 žodžiai (abėcėlės tvarka, toje pačioje eilutėje, nekartojant pavadinime vartotų sąvokų).
Autoriui (-iams) pageidaujant autoriaus (-ių) vardas (-ai) ir pavardė (-ės), afiliacija, straipsnio pavadinimas bei anotacija papildomai skelbiama ir autoriaus (-ių) gimtąją ar valstybine kalba.

*****

The establishment of the journal was initiated and supported by the research cluster "Research in Plurilingual Competence Development" H-08-09 of the Institute of Foreign Languages, Vytautas Magnus University

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.

We kindly invite members of the international scientific community to join our research to perform joint research and its dissemination.

*****

Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto mokslo klasteris „Daugiakalbystės kompetencijos tobulinimo tyrimai" H-08-09

Pagrindinės klasterio mokslinių tyrimų kryptys:
• individualios ir visuomeninės daugiakalbystės kaip kultūros fenomeno bei edukacinio objekto tyrimai lingvistiniu, sociolingvistiniu, diskurso, pragmatiniu ir tarpkultūriniu aspektais,
• perkėlimo ir tarplingvistinės interferencijos problemų mokantis antrosios, trečiosios ir kitų užsienio kalbų problemų analizė,
• kalbų mokymo ir mokymosi procesų, inovacinių mokymo(si) metodų taikymo efektyvumo tyrimai,
• kalbų mokymo(si) specifiniais ir akademiniais tikslais, mokymosi strategijų, komunikacinės kompetencijos įgijimo ir plėtojimo, integruoto dalyko ir kalbos mokymo tyrimai,
• vertimo problemų analizė.
Šios mokslinės grupės narių vykdoma mokslinė-tiriamoji veikla bei rezultatų sklaida šalies ir užsienio mokslinėse publikacijose, tarptautinėse konferencijose, strateginės partnerystės su užsienio aukštosiomis mokyklomis plėtojimas įgyvendinant abipusiškai naudingus tyrimų projektus padeda siekti kalbų politikos tobulinimo, daugiakalbystės teorijos, kalbinių kompetencijų teorinio ir praktinio ugdymo tikslų bei leidžia taikyti daugiakalbystės tyrimų rezultatus praktinėje edukacinėje veikloje.

Kviečiame mokslinę bendruomenę jungtis prie klasterio veiklos bendriems tyrimams atlikti ir skleisti.

SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM

Why subscribe and read

Issues relating to multilingualism and multiculturalism are prominent concerns in modern education, impacting the ways that language is handled not only in the classroom, but from a policy-making and administrative perspective, as well. "Sustainable Multilingualism" brings together the most up-to-the-minute scholarship on these issues, providing stakeholders with an inside look at the challenges and offering potential solutions across a broad range of contexts.

Why submit

"Sustainable Multilingualism" is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in scope, welcoming quality research from diverse perspectives relating to the sustainability of languages and cultures. The journal provides free, open-access content in a timely fashion, ensuring a broad international audience for the latest scholarship on these issues.

Similarity Check Plagiarism Screening System

The editorial board is participating in a growing community of Similarity Check System's users in order to ensure that the content published is original and trustworthy. Similarity Check is a medium that allows for comprehensive manuscripts screening, aimed to eliminate plagiarism and provide a high standard and quality peer-review process.

The content of the journal is available at

SM website: ejournals.vdu.lt/index.php/SM/index
Sciendo platform: content.sciendo.com/view/journals/sm
SCOPUS database: scopus.com/home.uri

***

The journal of scientific papers aims at fostering sustainable multilingualism and multilculturalism by presenting research on the issues of language policy, learning, acquisition and maintenance of plurilingual competence (individual multilingualism) and development of societal multilingualism, translation, intercultural dialogue development and language didactics issues. The need to research multilingualism as an essential feature of dynamic and coherent international community is urgent under contemporary conditions of socio-political climate.

***

Žurnalu siekiama skatinti darniosios daugiakalbystės ir daugiakultūriškumo idėją, šį reiškinį analizuojant iš įvairių perspektyvų – kalbų politikos, kalbų mokymosi ir įsisavinimo (individuali daugiakalbystė), visuomeninės daugiakalbystės, tarpkultūrinio dialogo plėtojimo, kalbų didaktikos, taikomosios lingvistikos, istorijos, filosofijos, edukologijos ir kt. Poreikis tirti daugiakalbystę kaip esminį dinamiškos ir darnios tarptautinės bendruomenės bruožą yra aktualus šiandienos sociopolitinio klimato sąlygomis.