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CONTENTS | TURINYS

Dr. Michael Lönz
Ruhr-Kolleg Essen, Deutschland

EDITORIAL

Hätte ich vor drei oder vier Jahren dieses Editorial schreiben sollen, hätte ich mich meine dicken Wörterbücher aus dem Bücherregal geholt, mich an meinen Schreibtisch gesetzt und versucht, einen angemessenen englischen Text zu verfassen. Es hätte viel Zeit und Mühe, häufiges Konsultieren der Wörterbücher und viele Selbstzweifel gekostet, bis ich den Text dann endgültig fertiggestellt hätte. Denn obwohl ich seit einigen Jahrzehnten – zunächst gezwungenermaßen, weil die Publikationsmöglichkeiten in meiner Muttersprache immer stärker eingeschränkt wurden – gewohnt bin, akademische Texte auf Englisch zu schreiben, fällt es mir immer noch schwer. Und meinem Schreibstil merkt man bis heute an, daß Englisch nicht meine Muttersprache ist. Doch seitdem AI-basierte Übersetzungsprogramme ein noch vor Jahren kaum erahntes Niveau erreicht haben, ist meine Arbeit leichter geworden. Und auch diesen Text habe ich zunächst auf Deutsch verfaßt, dann übersetzen lassen und schließlich die Übersetzung korrigiert und zum Druck gegeben. Warum erzähle ich das alles?

Weil die Zeitschrift „Sustainable Multilingualism" sich einem in ihrem Verständnis komplementären Prinzip verschrieben hat, das trotz der Ubiquität des Englischen nicht nur im akademischen Raum und den Fortschritten der digitalen Technik an der Sinnhaftigkeit des Konzepts von Multi- und/oder Plurilingualismus festhält. Wie sie das seit ihrem ersten Erscheinen im Jahr 2012 tut, zeigen Servet Çelik und Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė in ihrem Artikel A BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM: INSIGHTS FROM 25 ISSUES (2012–2024). Und die übrigen Beiträge der nun vorliegenden Ausgabe bestätigen in ihrer Breite die gewonnenen Erkenntnis.

Einen interessanten Einblick in die Brauchbarkeit eines vieldiskutierten theoretischen Modells geben Zsófia Fülöp, Zahia Flih, Beyza Nur Gürses und Szilvia Batyi in ihrem Beitrag THE APPLICABILITY OF SPOLSKY'S TRIPARTITE MODEL IN THREE CONTEXTS. Diese Studie wendet Spolskys dreiteiliges Modell der Sprachpolitik – Überzeugungen, Praktiken und Management – auf Minderheitengruppen in Europa an und untersucht Algerier in Frankreich, Ungarn im Vereinigten Königreich und Türken in Ungarn in den Bereichen Staat, Gemeinschaft und Familie. Sie kommen zu folgendem Schluss: Das Modell erweist sich zwar als nützlich, um die wichtigsten Dimensionen der Sprachpolitik zu erfassen, doch zeigen die Ergebnisse auch seine Grenzen bei der Berücksichtigung der komplexen soziopolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Einflüsse und der wechselnden Selbstzuschreibung der mehrsprachigen Identität auf.

Milda Kiškė möchte in ihrem Aufsatz LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND WAGE PREMIUMS: A REVIEW OF ANALYTICAL MODELS WITH REFERENCE TO LITHUANIA zeigen, wie Unterschiede der Entlohnung mit Bezug auf Sprachkenntnisse mithilfe verschiedener statistischer Methoden analysiert werden können und bezieht sich dabei im wesentlichen auf den litauischen Arbeitsmarkt.

Hochinteressant ist die Studie von Nemira Mačianskienė und Vilma Bijeikienė, ARE LITHUANIAN HIGHER EDUCATION TEACHERS READY FOR THE PLURILINGUAL APPROACH?, und das, weil die von ihnen für Litauen erhobenen Ergebnisse wohl nicht nur für dieses Land Geltung beanspruchen dürfen. Sie beginnen mit der Feststellung, daß Hochschulen zunehmend mehrsprachiger und multikultureller werden und von Pädagogen erwartet wird, daß sie Kompetenzen in sprachlicher Sensibilität und mehrsprachiger Praxis entwickeln, und fragen dann, wie die Institutionen auf diese Herausforderung reagieren. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, daß litauische Hochschulen zwar Fortschritte in Richtung einer größeren sprachlichen und kulturellen Inklusivität machen, machen aber auch deutlich, daß der von den Hochschulen

angebotene Sprachunterricht den veränderten Ansprüchen noch nicht wirklich genügen kann.

Badriyah Ulfah, Utami Widiati, Sri Rachmajanti und Utari Praba Astuti wählen in ihrem Beitrag THE LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF AN ENGINEERING PROFESSOR: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL EXPERIENCES einen sehr individualisierten AnsatzIhre Studie untersucht, wie Sprachwechsel die akademische Identität prägen, indem sie die sprachlichen und kulturellen Erfahrungen eines Professors der Ingenieurwissenschaften untersucht, der in Indonesien, England und Malaysia gearbeitet hat. Anhand einer qualitativen Studie zeigen sie durch narrative Analyse, daß Sprachadaption emotionale, kulturelle und berufliche Dimensionen umfaßt, und heben die komplexe Wechselwirkung zwischen globaler Präsenz, lokaler Identität und der Notwendigkeit eines größeren Bewußtseins für den Sprachwechsel in nicht-sprachlichen akademischen Bereichen hervor.

Daiva Pundziuvienė geht in ihrem Beitrag MEDIATION STRATEGIES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM TO BUILD STUDENTS' SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COMPETENCES ein starker praxisorientiertes Problem an und kann wertvolle Hilfestellung für den konkreten Sprachunterricht bereitstellen. Ähnliches versprechen Oleksandr Kapranov und Oksana Voloshyna mit ihrem Beitrag THE ACQUISITION OF DISCOURSE MARKERS BY ESP UNDERGRADUATES: UNCOVERING SUSTAINABLE PRACTICES IN DESCRIPTIVE ESSAY WRITING.

Auf ein weithin bekanntes Problem insbesondere literarischer Übersetzungen machen Xinyu Hou, Deyan Zou und Shuhan Zhang noch einmal aufmerksam, nämlich das Problem, dass der Übersetzer zwar adaptive Strategien wie wörtliche Übersetzung, freie Übersetzung und Paraphrasierung einsetzt, um sprachliche, kommunikative und kulturelle Anforderungen in Einklang zu bringen, dies jedoch oft auf Kosten einer kulturbezogenen Tiefe die Sprachgewandtheit verbessert. Dies veranschaulichen die Autoren anhand der Analyse der Übersetzung kulturell verhafteter Begriffe in Roman 许三观卖血记 / 許三觀賣血記 (Tagebuch eines Blutverkäufers), einem Roman des chinesischen Autors Yu Hua aus dem Jahr 1995, der das Leben eines Mannes namens Xu Sanguan schildert, der wiederholt sein Blut verkauft, um seine Familie in den schwierigen Zeiten unter Mao in China zu versorgen, und zwar aus der Perspektive der dreidimensionalen Transformationstheorie der „Eco-translatology theory" (keine deutsche Übersetzung ermittelt, M.L.)

Auf ein anderes Problem von Übersetzungen, der Verbindung zwischen Übersetzung und Zensur in minder freien oder von einem starken Narrativ geprägten Gesellschaften macht Giedrė Pranaitytė in ihrem Aufsatz INTERSECTIONS OF FREEDOM, EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND CENSORSHIP IN TRANSLATED LITERARY WORKS: THE CASE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S NOVEL "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" aufmerksam. Sie nimmt Nicol Doerrs Ansatz in ihrem Buch *Political Translation. How Social Movement Democracies Survive* (2018) auf und möchte anhand der Übersetzungsgeschichte von *Uncle Tom`s Cabin* ins Litauische die Rolle der Zensur bei der Übersetzung literarischer Werke im sowjetisch besetzten Litauen exemplifizieren.

Den Abschluß bildet eine Untersuchung über vor allem das intratextuelle code-switching, dargestellt an Akvilina Cicėnaitė's novel Anglų kalbos žodynas [A Dictionary of English] aus dem Jahr 2022. Rūta Eidukevičienė und Kristina Aurylaitė, die sich schon einige Zeit mit dieser Thematik beschäftigen, versuchen in ihrem Beitrag "WOR(L)D": AESTHETIC AND EXPERIENCED MULTILINGUALISM IN AKVILINA CICĖNAITĖ'S NOVEL "ANGLŲ KALBOS ŽODYNAS" / "A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH" (2022) zu zeigen, wie stark multilinguale Aspekte mittlerweile auch die ästhetische Verarbeitung der Gegenwart prägen.

VYTAUTAS
MAGNUS
UNIVERSITY
M C M X X I I

Dr. Michael Lönz
Ruhr-Kolleg Essen, Germany

EDITORIAL

If I had had to write this editorial three or four years ago, I would have taken my thick dictionaries (dictionary and encyclopaedia of English usage) off the bookshelf, sat down at my desk and tried to compose an appropriate English text. It would have taken a lot of time and effort, frequent consultation of dictionaries and a great deal of self-doubt before I finally finished the text. Because although I have been writing academic texts in English for several decades – initially out of necessity, as opportunities to publish in my native language became increasingly limited – I still find it difficult. And even today, my writing style reveals that English is not my mother tongue. However, since AI-based translation programmes have reached a level that was hardly imaginable a few years ago, my work has become easier. I also wrote this text in German first, then had it translated, and finally corrected the translation and sent it to print. In order to produce English texts, I don't have to constantly check and improve my English skills. Why am I telling you all this?

Because the journal *Sustainable Multilingualism* is committed to a principle that it sees as complementary, which, despite the ubiquity of English not only in academia and the advances in digital technology, upholds the validity of the concept of multilingualism and/or plurilingualism. Servet Çelik and Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė demonstrate how it has done so since its first publication in 2012 in their article A BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM: INSIGHTS FROM 25 ISSUES (2012–2024). The other articles in the current issue confirm the findings in their breadth.

Zsófia Fülöp, Zahia Flih, Beyza Nur Gürses and Szilvia Batyi provide an interesting insight into the usefulness of a much-discussed theoretical model in their article THE APPLICABILITY OF SPOLSKY'S TRIPARTITE MODEL IN THREE CONTEXTS. This study applies Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy—beliefs, practices, and management—to minority groups in Europe, examining Algerians in France, Hungarians in the UK, and Turks in Hungary across national, community, and family domains. They conclude: While the model proves useful in capturing key dimensions of language policy, the findings reveal its limitations in addressing the complex socio-political and economic influences and the fluid nature of multilingual identity.

In her essay LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND WAGE PREMIUMS: A REVIEW OF ANALYTICAL MODELS WITH REFERENCE TO LITHUANIA, Milda Kiškė aims to show how wage differentials related to language skills can be analysed using different statistical methods, referring primarily to the Lithuanian labour market.

The study by Nemira Mačianskienė and Vilma Bijeikienė ARE LITHUANIAN HIGHER EDUCATION TEACHERS READY FOR THE PLURILINGUAL APPROACH? is extremely interesting because the findings they collected for Lithuania are likely to apply to other countries as well. They begin by stating that higher education institutions are becoming more multilingual and multicultural, and that educators are expected to develop competences in linguistic sensitivity and plurilingual practices and then ask how institutions are responding to this challenge. The findings suggest that Lithuanian higher education institutions are making progress toward greater linguistic and cultural inclusiveness but also make it clear

that the language teaching offered by universities is not yet really able to meet the changed demands.

Badriyah Ulfah, Utami Widiati, Sri Rachmajanti and Utari Praba Astuti take an individualised approach in their article THE LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF AN ENGINEERING PROFESSOR: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL EXPERIENCES. Their study investigates how language transitions shape academic identity by examining the linguistic and cultural experiences of an engineering professor who has worked in Indonesia, England, and Malaysia. Using a qualitative narrative inquiry, it reveals that language adaptation involves emotional, cultural, and professional dimensions, highlighting the complex interplay between global exposure, local identity, and the need for greater awareness of language transitions in non-language academic fields.

In her contribution MEDIATION STRATEGIES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM TO BUILD STUDENTS' SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COMPETENCES, Daiva Pundziuvienė addresses a highly practice-oriented problem and provides valuable assistance for concrete language teaching. Oleksandr Kapranov and Oksana Voloshyna promise similar insights in their contribution THE ACQUISITION OF DISCOURSE MARKERS BY ESP UNDERGRADUATES: UNCOVERING SUSTAINABLE PRACTICES IN DESCRIPTIVE ESSAY WRITING.

Xinyu Hou, Deyan Zou and Shuhan Zhang once again draw attention to a widely known problem, particularly in literary translations, namely that while the translator employs adaptive strategies such as literal translation, free translation, and paraphrasing to balance linguistic, communicative, and cultural demands, this often enhances fluency at the cost of some cultural depth. They illustrate this with an analysis of the translation of culture-loaded terms in the *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, a 1995 novel by Chinese author Yu Hua that chronicles the life of a man named Xu Sanguan who repeatedly sells his blood to provide for his family during difficult times in Mao's China, through the lens of eco-translatology's three-dimensional transformation theory.

Giedrė Pranaitytė draws attention to another problem of translation, the connection between translation and censorship in less free societies or those characterised by a strong narrative, in her essay INTERSECTIONS OF FREEDOM, EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND CENSORSHIP IN TRANSLATED LITERARY WORKS: THE CASE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S NOVEL 'UNCLE TOM'S CABIN'. She takes up Nicol Doerr's approach in her book *Political Translation. How Social Movement Democracies Survive* (2018) and uses the history of the translation of Uncle Tom's Cabin into Lithuanian to illustrate the role of censorship in the translation of literary works in Soviet-occupied Lithuania.

The conclusion is an examination of intratextual code-switching, illustrated by Akvilina Cicėnaitė's 2022 novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas* [A Dictionary of English]. Rūta Eidukevičienė and Kristina Aurylaitė, who have been working on this topic for some time, attempt in their contribution 'WOR(L)D': AESTHETIC AND EXPERIENCED MULTILINGUALISM IN AKVILINA CICĖNAITĖ'S NOVEL 'ANGLŲ KALBOS ŽODYNAS' / 'A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH' (2022) to show how strongly multilingual aspects now also shape the aesthetic processing of the present.

Dr. Michael Lönz
Eseno *Ruhr-Kolleg* kolegija, Vokietija

REDAKTORIAUS ŽODIS

Jeigu šį redakcinį straipsnį būčiau rašęs prieš trejus ar ketverius metus, pirmiausia iš knygų lentynos būčiau susirinkęs savo storuosius žodynus, atsisėdęs prie stalo ir bandęs parašyti tinkamą tekstą anglų kalba. Tam būtų prireikę labai daug laiko ir pastangų. Jau kelis dešimtmečius – iš pradžių priverstinai, nes vis mažėjo galimybių publikuoti gimtąja kalba – rašau akademinius tekstus angliškai, bet iš jų vis tiek akivaizdu, kad anglų kalba nėra mano gimtoji. Šis darbas labai palengvėjo, kai dirbtiniu intelektu pagrįstos vertimo programos pasiekė dabartinį lygį, koks prieš kelerius metus dar buvo sunkiai įsivaizduojamas. Taigi šį tekstą aš pirmiausia parašiau vokiečių kalba, tada išverčiau į anglų kalbą, galiausiai pataisiau vertimą ir atidaviau leidybai. Kodėl jums visa tai pasakoju?

Todėl, kad žurnalas *Darnioji daugiakalbystė* yra įsipareigojęs laikytis daugiakalbystės, arba daugiakalbiškumo, principų nepaisydamas visuotinio anglų kalbos paplitimo ne tik akademinėje erdvėje, bet ir skaitmeninių technologijų pažangos pasaulyje. Šios koncepcijos laikomasi nuo pat pirmojo žurnalo numerio 2012 m., kaip akcentuoja Servet Çelik ir Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė savo straipsnyje „Bibliometrinė „Darniosios daugiakalbystės" analizė: įžvalgos išleidus 25 numerius (2012–2024)". Kiti šio žurnalo numerio straipsniai mano išvadą patvirtina.

Įdomią įžvalgą apie daug diskutuojamo teorinio modelio naudingumą pateikia Zsófia Fülöp, Zahia Flih, Beyza Nur Gürses ir Szilvia Batyi straipsnyje „Spolskio trijų dalių modelio taikymas trijuose kontekstuose". Trijų dalių Spolskio kalbos politikos modelį, susidedantį iš kalbos įsitikinimų, praktikos ir valdymo, autoriai taiko mažumų grupėms Europoje nagrinėdami Prancūzijoje gyvenančių alžyriečių, Jungtinėje Karalystėje gyvenančių vengrų ir Vengrijoje gyvenančių turkų kalbines problemas valstybės, bendruomenės ir šeimos lygmenimis. Tyrimo išvada: modelis yra naudingas siekiant apibūdinti pagrindinius kalbos politikos aspektus, tačiau rezultatai rodo jo ribotumą atsižvelgiant į sudėtingus sociopolitinius ir ekonominius veiksnius bei kintantį daugiakalbės tapatybės formavimąsi.

Milda Kiškė straipsnyje „Kalbos mokėjimas ir priedai prie atlyginimo: analitinių modelių apžvalga, atsižvelgiant į Lietuvos atvejį" siekia parodyti, kaip, remiantis Lietuvos darbo rinkos pavyzdžiu, galima įvairiais statistiniais metodais analizuoti kalbinių gebėjimų įtaką darbo užmokesčio skirtumui. Autorė daro išvadą, kad skaidrūs reikalavimai kalbinei kompetencijai, tikslinė parama antrosios kalbos įsisavinimui ir mažumų kalbų pripažinimas gali padėti išlaikyti darniąją daugiakalbystę – kalbų įvairovę – bei visiems Lietuvoje užtikrinti vienodas darbo rinko prieigos sąlygas.

Nemira Mačianskienė ir Vilma Bijeikienė straipsnyje „Ar Lietuvos aukštojo mokslo dėstytojai pasirengę įgyvendinti daugiakalbystę įgalinančią pedagogiką?" nagrinėja auštųjų mokyklų kalbas ir dalykus anglų kalba dėstančių dėstytojų nuomonę apie jų pasirengimą priimti daugiakalbių ir daugiakultūrių studentų auditorijų keliamus iššūkius. Tyrimas grindžiamas APATCHE projekte atliktos europinės apklausos duomenimis, analizuojama Lietuvos respondentų nuomonė. Kadangi respondentai pripažino daugiakalbės prieigos svarbą bei kompetencijos šioje srityje stoką, antruoju tyrimu siekta nustatyti, ar pagrindinės pedagogus

rengiančios aukštosios mokyklos siūlo dalykus, tiesiogiai ar netiesiogiai susijusius su pasirengimu įgyvendinti pedagogiką, įgalinančią daugiakalbystę.

Badriyah Ulfah, Utami Widiati, Sri Rachmajanti ir Utari Praba Astuti straipsnyje „Inžinerijos profesoriaus kalbos tapatybė: naratyvinis tyrimas apie daugiakultūres ir daugiakalbes patirtis" tyrinėja, kaip kalbos kaita formuoja akademinę tapatybę; analizuojama inžinerijos profesoriaus, dirbusio Indonezijoje, Anglijoje ir Malaizijoje, kalbos ir kultūros patirtis. Kokybinio tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad kalbos adaptacija apima emocinius, kultūrinius ir profesinius aspektus, ir pabrėžia sudėtingą sąveiką tarp globalios ir vietinės tapatybės bei būtinybę jautriau vertinti perėjimo nuo vienos kalbos vartojimo prie kitos pasekmes įvairiose akademinės aplinkose.

Daiva Pundziuvienė straipsnyje „Socialinių emocinių kompetencijų ugdymas taikant mediacijos strategijas anglų kalbos pamokose" nagrinėja praktiškai orientuotą problemą ir gali suteikti vertingos pagalbos konkrečioms kalbos pamokoms. Panašų pažadą duoda Oleksandr Kapranov ir Oksana Voloshina straipsnyje „Bakalauro studijų studentų dalykinės anglų kalbos diskurso žymeklių įsisavinimas: tvarių mokymo praktikų atradimas aprašomojo esė rašymo metodu".

Šiame numeryje pristatomi net trys straipsniai, analizuojantys vertimo problemas. Xinyu Hou, Deyan Zou ir Shuhan Zhang atkreipia dėmesį į aktualią kultūros perdavimo per vertimą problemą, t. y., kai vertėjas, siekdamas suderinti kalbos, komunikacijos ir kultūros reikalavimus, taiko adaptyvias strategijas, pavyzdžiui, pažodinį vertimą, laisvą vertimą ir aiškinamąjį parafrazavimą, tačiau dėl to dažnai nukenčia kultūrinė gelmė. Autoriai tai iliustruoja per ekologinės vertimo teorijos trimatės transformacijos teorijos prizmę, analizuodami kultūriškai reikšmingų sąvokų vertimą Yu Hua romane „Prekiautojo krauju dienoraštis" (1995). Tai pasakojimas apie vyro vardu Xu Sanguan gyvenimą: jis parduoda (ne vieną kartą) savo kraują, kad galėtų išlaikyti šeimą sunkiu Mao laikotarpiu Kinijoje.

Giedrė Pranaitytė atkreipia mūsų dėmesį į kitą vertimo problemą – vertimo ir cenzūros ryšį mažiau laisvose arba stipriai naratyvu grindžiamose visuomenėse – ir aptaria ją straipsnyje „Laisvės, krikščioniškojo tikėjimo raiškos ir cenzūros sankirtos grožinės literatūros vertimuose: Harrietos Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" atvejis". Remdamasi Nicolės Doerr (2018) prielaida dėl politinio vertimo dominavimo, autorė nagrinėja sovietinės cenzūros vaidmenį literatūros kūrinių vertimuose sovietų okupuotoje Lietuvoje, arba sovietinės ideologijos priešiškumą krikščionybės idėjoms ir krikščioniškosioms vertybėms. Dėl to nebuvo deramai perteiktos autorės religinės įžvalgos 1951 m. publikuotame romano vertime.

Paskutinis vertimo tematikos tyrimas, nagrinėjantis daugiakalbystės apraiškas, skirtas intratekstiniam kodų perjungimui, pateiktam Akvilinos Cicėnaitės 2022 m. romane „Anglų kalbos žodynas". Rūta Eidukevičienė ir Kristina Aurylaitė straipsnyje „WOR(L)D": estetinis ir patirtinis daugiakalbiškumas Akvilinos Cicėnaitės romane „Anglų kalbos žodynas" (2022)", remiasi literatūrinių tekstų daugiakalbystės „režisavimo" principu bei dviem pagrindinėmis literatūrinės daugiakalbystės funkcijomis – estetine ir patirtine daugiakalbyste, siekdamos parodyti, kaip labai dabar aktualūs daugiakalbiai aspektai.

MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

DAUGIAKALBĖS PRAKTIKOS ĮGYVENDINANT KALBŲ POLITIKĄ

Servet Çelik
Trabzon University, Türkiye & Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University, Kazakhstan
Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

A BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF *SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM*: INSIGHTS FROM 25 ISSUES (2012–2024)

Abstract. As an outlet in the field of multilingual studies, *Sustainable Multilingualism* (ISSN: 2335-2019; eISSN: 2335-2027) has contributed significantly to research on language diversity, education, and policy. Since its establishment in 2012, the journal has provided a platform for scholarship that addresses the complex dynamics of multilingualism in both local and global contexts. This bibliometric study examines the first 25 volumes of *Sustainable Multilingualism* (2012–2024) to evaluate its thematic evolution, authorship patterns, institutional and geographic reach, and citation performance. The corpus comprises 249 peer-reviewed research articles, which were analyzed using manual coding and bibliometric tools, including Excel and VOSviewer. The findings reveal that annual article output stabilized at ten per issue after 2016, reflecting consistent editorial capacity. Thematically, early volumes focused on identity, language policy, and rights, while more recent issues highlight digital multilingualism, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), and artificial intelligence in education. Lithuania, Türkiye, Latvia, Spain, and Poland emerge as leading contributors, with author affiliations spanning more than 40 countries. However, contributions remain unevenly distributed, with a strong European concentration and limited or no participation from the Middle East (excluding Türkiye and Iran), Oceania, Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and Central Asia. Citation metrics demonstrate a modest but growing impact: the journal's CiteScore increased to 0.9 in 2024, its SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) rose to 0.211, and its h5-index reached 10, reflecting a steady integration into global scholarly discourse. Frequently cited and downloaded articles highlight the journal's impact on multilingual education, migration studies, and research on endangered languages. The study concludes that while *Sustainable Multilingualism* has achieved international visibility and sustained scholarly contributions, expanding representation to include underrepresented regions would enhance diversity and further increase global engagement. Building on the findings, some recommendations are also included to guide the journal's editorial strategy and future growth.

Keywords: SM; linguistic sustainability; academic publishing; bibliometric research; scientometric analysis.

Introduction

Bibliometrics and Bibliometric Studies in Language Research

Bibliometrics is an objective and systematic methodological approach that helps synthesize information from scientific data contained in published articles (Zhang & Aryadoust, 2025). According to Plonsky (2023, pp. 722–723), bibliometric studies generally focus on variables related to publication practices, patterns, and conventions. In this context, author collaborations (single-authored–multi-authored, regional/international partnerships), types of data and analysis used (quantitative, qualitative, mixed), subject areas covered (e.g., listening, measurement, vocabulary, interaction, pronunciation), impact metrics (citation and co-citation patterns, impact factor, h-index, Altmetrics), perceptions of journal quality and prestige, and regional representation (authors, editorial board members) are among the prominent variables. Some scholars view bibliometrics and scientometrics as interchangeable; for instance, Meihami and Esfandiari (2024) treat them as such in their edited volume *A Scientometrics Research Perspective in Applied Linguistics*, which presents bibliometric analyses of specific journals, topics, and time periods.

Bibliometric studies are powerful tools that have been increasingly used in recent years to understand the evolution, visibility, and scientific impact of academic journals. By objectively revealing publication patterns, researcher collaborations, geographical representation, and thematic priorities, such studies both map the developmental dynamics of scientific fields and contribute to shaping the strategic orientation of journals (Plonsky, 2023). According to Plonsky, bibliometric research is relatively new in applied linguistics but has shown steady growth from 2010 to 2020. Plonsky (2023) considers this technique "a means to help us better understand many of the author- and publication-related patterns and developments" (p. 722).

In general, bibliometric studies focus on variables related to publication practices, patterns, and conventions. Therefore, bibliometrics does not merely report publication counts and citation metrics; it also enables an understanding

of the scientific culture of a journal or field. For example, Stapleton and Shao's (2017) retrospective content analysis of articles published in the *Language Teaching Research* journal over 20 years (1997–2016) sheds light on the evolving research culture of the field by mapping the thematic and methodological orientations of the journal.

Bibliometric studies have grown substantially over the past decade, establishing themselves as a key method for analyzing research in applied linguistics, language education, and related fields such as English as a foreign language, English for specific purposes, and second language acquisition (Lei & Liu, 2019). Most bibliometric studies in these language-related fields have focused on specific topics or subfields. For example, Hajar and Karakuş (2024) examined fifty years of research on language learning strategies, identifying prominent researchers, institutions, and key themes, thereby situating the evolution of this field in a historical context. Similarly, Lei et al. (2023) analyzed second language listening research from 1948 to 2020, identifying both key research topics and the most cited authors and journals. While such studies reveal how specific subfields have developed, there are also studies that reveal the general orientations and network structures of SLA research on a broader scale (Zhang, 2020).

Looking at the dynamics of production across the field, it is evident that contributions from different geographical regions have also changed significantly. Lei and Liao's (2017) study shows that linguistics publications in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau increased markedly between 2003 and 2012, with China rising to a leading position, particularly after 2011. Similarly, Lei and Liu's (2019) review of the field of applied linguistics reveals an increase in sociocultural and identity-based research between 2005 and 2016, accompanied by a relative decline in phonological and morphological approaches. It further indicates that while the United States' share of publications has gradually declined, new countries such as China have emerged as growing centers of research activity.

In addition to these regional and thematic trends, technology-based research orientations have also become a significant focus of bibliometric studies in recent years. Kartal and Yeşilyurt's (2024) review of artificial intelligence applications highlighted emerging themes such as natural language

processing, robot-assisted learning, and chatbots in the fields of second language teaching and applied linguistics. Similarly, Feng and Chen's (2022) bibliometric review on mobile-assisted second language learning (MASLL) shows that research in this field has increased rapidly since 2002, gaining momentum especially after 2015, with the focus shifting from "technology to student." Along the same lines, Min and Yu's (2023) bibliometric study on the use of augmented reality (AR) technology in language learning shows that publications in this field have increased rapidly since 2008, with themes such as motivation, anxiety reduction, and interaction becoming prominent, especially after 2020.

The use of gamification and digital entertainment tools in language learning is also one of the new focuses of bibliometric research. The study by Presentación-Muñoz et al. (2025) examined articles published in the Web of Science (WoS) between 2009 and 2022 and revealed an exponential increase in research on video games and language learning during this period. In addition, leading journals (*Computer Assisted Language Learning* and *Computers and Education*), the most cited authors (Jie Chi-Yang and Gwo Jen-Hwan), and the most productive countries (the United States and Taiwan) were identified.

Corpus-based approaches also form a notable strand in bibliometric literature. A comprehensive review of corpus linguistics by Crosthwaite et al. (2023) analyzed 5,829 articles indexed in Scopus between 2001 and 2020, showing a rise in discourse studies, academic writing, multilingualism, and social media research in the field. Such reviews reveal that the field has evolved not only methodologically but also in its socio-cultural context.

Similarly, bibliometric studies on language testing and assessment are also on the rise. Dong et al.'s (2022) comprehensive analysis of the *Language Testing* journal revealed that topics such as test types, validity, and reliability have come to the fore over the past thirty years, while international collaborations have remained limited. Zhang's (2025) study mapped the most influential authors, institutions, and research trends by examining articles published in the journals *Language Testing* and *Language Assessment Quarterly* between 2008 and 2019. Finally, Yang and Wang's (2025) bibliometric analysis of 927 WoS-indexed articles on English language

assessment from 1992 to 2024 highlights the rise of themes such as writing assessment, multilingualism, and translanguaging, emphasizing the central role of journals such as *Assessing Writing*, *Language Testing*, *Language Assessment Quarterly*, and *Modern Language Journal*.

Written corrective feedback (WCF) research is also present in bibliometric literature. A comprehensive review by Crosthwaite et al. (2022) analyzed 493 articles indexed in Scopus and showed that themes such as teacher/peer feedback, direct–indirect forms of WCF, automated writing assessment, and student participation are increasingly prominent. The authors also emphasize that WCF research is closely related not only to methodological developments but also to developments in the socio-cultural context.

In new subfields, "trans-" studies are attracting attention. Sun and Lan's (2021) bibliometric analysis reveals that concepts such as "translingual practice," "translanguaging pedagogy," and "translanguaging space" have increasingly come to the fore between 2011 and 2020, fundamentally transforming the orientation of writing research. Similarly, Zhu and Wang's (2024) bibliometric analysis of 175 WoS–indexed articles on multilingualism in EMI indicates that translanguaging is emerging as an increasingly dominant paradigm, with research output accelerating notably since 2019 and concentrated in core journals such as the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* and the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. Their study also highlights the influence of leading authors (e.g., Li Wei, Kevin W. H. Tai, Aintzane Doiz) and identifies translanguaging and language policy as the most promising future directions in this field. In parallel, Wu and Tsai's (2022) review of 105 EMI articles published in WoS between 2005 and 2021 also reveals that the EMI field gained momentum starting in 2018, with influential authors such as Piller, Cho, and Kuteeva, and journals such as the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* and the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* coming to the fore. The study also emphasizes that themes such as internationalization, translanguaging, teacher development, and the effectiveness of EMI in higher education are key research directions for the future in EMI research.

Beyond bibliometric studies that focus on specific topics or subfields, others have examined dimensions such as collaboration patterns, thematic

orientations, keyword trends, methodologies, data collection tools, and language use. For instance, Lee's (2023) bibliometric analysis of language and linguistics research across 13 Asian countries highlights regional publication trends, collaborative networks, and thematic orientations, noting that China, Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan were the most prolific in international journals, whereas countries such as Indonesia, Iran, and Malaysia published more in regional outlets, with increasing attention to English-related topics after 2010. In the Turkish context, Kır and Yiğitoğlu Aptoula (2025) examined 122 English language teaching articles from 23 TR Dizin–indexed journals, finding that most were research articles featuring keywords such as *teacher*, *English*, and *foreign language*, employing quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-methods designs in roughly equal proportions, relying primarily on questionnaires and interviews, involving university students in Türkiye as the main participants, and published predominantly in English. Similarly, Amini Farsani and Naderi Zonouz (2025) synthesized 1,915 TEFL articles published in Iran between 2016 and 2022, reporting a predominance of quantitative and mixed-methods studies, high collaboration rates, and distinct thematic emphases across research approaches.

Additionally, in recent years, external factors affecting citation dynamics, not just publication topics and patterns, have been analyzed. Zakaria and Aryadoust's (2024) study, for instance, revealed that citation counts are influenced not only by research quality but also by visibility-related variables such as journal CiteScore, access type, author collaborations, and title length. Similarly, Zhang and Aryadoust's (2025) bibliometric analysis, based on an examination of the 302 most cited articles, showed that the factors determining high citation counts are largely independent of scientific content. It was found that elements such as the number of authors, subfield, method, title length, CiteScore, accessibility, and authors' h-index significantly predicted the number of citations; however, variables such as the number of references, international collaboration, or geographical origin were found to have no statistically significant effect.

On the other hand, bibliometric studies focusing on specific journals are relatively limited. For example, Riazi et al. (2018) examined the first 25 years of publication in the *Journal of Second Language Writing* (1992–

2016), analyzing 272 empirical research articles to trace trends in research contexts, foci, theoretical orientations, and methodologies. Lei's (2022) bibliometric study analyzed 656 articles published in the *L2 Writing Journal* between 2002 and 2021, mapping the journal's intellectual structure and collaboration networks. Building on this line of research, Riazi et al. (2023) conducted a comprehensive review of 696 empirical articles published in *TESOL Quarterly* (1967–2019), revealing the dominance of single-author publications, the prevalence of U.S.-based research, and shifts in methodological orientations over time. Syahid and colleagues (2021a, 2021b, 2021c) revealed the publication patterns of regional journals such as *TEFLIN Journal, Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, and *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*. Swales and Leeder's (2012) study on the citation patterns of articles in the *English for Specific Purposes* journal during the 1990s shows that citation dynamics shape not only pedagogical dimensions but also the visibility of the journal.

All these studies demonstrate that bibliometric analyses are indispensable both for understanding the historical and thematic evolution of subject areas and for evaluating the position of specific journals within the academic ecosystem. Bibliometrics is not only an important tool for evaluating the evolution, visibility, and scientific impact of academic journals through frequency analyses, citation tracking, co-authorship maps, and thematic evolution models; it also guides editorial policies, identifies thematic gaps, and reveals imbalances in author collaboration and institutional/geographical distribution. However, the absence of long-term bibliometric studies on multilingual or sustainability-focused multilingual journals is noteworthy. This gap becomes even more apparent when considering the rapid rise of open access platforms and the growing global interest in multilingualism. Therefore, this study aims to address a significant gap in the literature by examining the publication patterns, thematic orientations, and author profiles of a journal's 25 issues published between 2012 and 2024.

Journal Profile

Sustainable Multilingualism (*Darnioji daugiakalbystė*) (ISSN:2335-2019; eISSN:2335-2027) is a biannual, open-access scientific journal established in 2012 by Vytautas Magnus University (VMU), Lithuania. The foundation of the journal was inspired by the 1st International Conference on Multilingualism and Language Studies in Higher Education, held on December 8–10, 2011, at VMU. The conference later became a sister academic forum to the journal and served as a publication outlet for selected high-quality papers presented at the event.

The chair and vice-chair of the conference, together with one of the international members of the organizing committee at the time (the first author of this article), subsequently formed the journal's management team. The chair assumed the role of Editor-in-Chief, while the other two served as Executive Editors. All three recognized both the significance of multilingualism in education and the need for an academic platform dedicated to fostering multilingualism and multiculturalism. The journal's mission was to support research on the acquisition and maintenance of plurilingual competence across the lifespan, as well as the preservation of linguistic diversity and the harmonious coexistence of languages within communities. A key principle from the outset was to enable publication in multiple languages.

However, the name of the journal had not yet been decided. It needed to be distinctive—one that would not only reflect the vision underlying its creation but also appeal to prospective authors and researchers. In an exchange between the Editor-in-Chief and the first author, the latter proposed the title that ultimately prevailed. The inclusion of the word "*sustainable"* before "*multilingualism"* proved particularly apt, as it encapsulated the journal's commitment to promoting practices, policies, and research that ensure the long-term vitality of linguistic diversity and the enduring coexistence of multiple languages in both individual repertoires and societal contexts. The notion of sustainable multilingualism had already been coined before the journal's establishment. Nevertheless, the journal—along with its accompanying biennial conference, which adopted the journal's name beginning with its second meeting in 2013—has undoubtedly contributed

to the wider dissemination of the term and the advancement of research in this area over the years.

The editorial team of *Sustainable Multilingualism* currently comprises an Editor-in-Chief, two Executive Editors (one of whom is the first author), and an Associate Editor-in-Chief (the second author), supported by an international Editorial Board of distinguished scholars representing institutions across Europe, North America, Australia, and Asia. This diverse team brings extensive expertise in multilingualism, language policy, and education, ensuring the journal maintains high academic standards and global relevance.

Today, *Sustainable Multilingualism* publishes research in bilingual and multilingual education, language policy, linguistics, applied linguistics, language assessment, intercultural communication, and translation studies. All articles are peer-reviewed, assigned DOIs, and indexed in numerous scholarly databases, including Scopus, DOAJ, MLA, and CEEOL, among others. The journal is free for both authors and readers, ensuring broad accessibility for researchers, educators, and practitioners worldwide. Since 2017, it has been published online by Sciendo, a brand within the De Gruyter Brill Group, which has over 270 years of publishing experience (Sciendo, n.d.). As of October 2025, Sciendo has transitioned to Paradigm, and its publishing platform has relocated from sciendo.com to reference-global.com, a new gateway to trusted knowledge developed and managed by Paradigm Publishing Services, an innovative division of De Gruyter Brill (Paradigm, 2025a). According to the most recent Scopus statistics (March 2025), *Sustainable Multilingualism* holds a 2024 SJR of 0.211, placing it in Quartile 2 (Q2) within the Social Sciences category of Linguistics and Language (SJR, 2025).

Given the journal's fourteen-year history and its publication of twenty-six issues, it is timely to take a close and systematic look at its thematic scope, authorial patterns, and scholarly reach. Such an examination allows us to assess how well the journal has fulfilled its mission, identify strengths and recurring emphases, and detect areas that remain underrepresented. By analyzing trends in topics, geographic and institutional contributions, and citation impact, we aim to generate insights that can inform editorial decisions and strategic planning. This analysis also benefits readers and both current and prospective authors by providing a clearer picture of the journal's scholarly

profile, thereby helping them identify thematic alignments for their research and engagement. The outcomes of this study have the potential to guide the journal toward greater thematic diversity, broader international engagement, and enhanced visibility in the global academic community, ultimately positioning it for continued growth and influence.

The purpose of this study is to examine *Sustainable Multilingualism*'s publication patterns, thematic priorities, and author demographics over its first 25 issues (2012–2024). Key research questions include:

- What are the most prominent topics and keywords?
- Which institutions and countries contribute most frequently?
- How have authorship and collaboration evolved over time?

Around these guiding questions, our particular objectives were to:

- analyze publication trends (article count, authorship, language use);
- examine recurring themes and keyword frequencies;
- identify prolific contributors, institutions, and countries;
- trace thematic evolution and emerging topics; and
- offer evidence-based recommendations for future development.

Methodology

This study employed a bibliometric analysis, combining quantitative indicators with qualitative interpretation, to examine publication patterns, research trends, and citation dynamics within the selected corpus. Data were collected from 25 issues published between 2012 and 2024, comprising 249 peer-reviewed research articles. The first issue of 2025 (Volume 26) was excluded, as the subsequent issue of the same year (Volume 27) had not yet been published at the time of analysis. To ensure consistency, only full publication years were included. Data sources featured only published full articles; editorials, book reviews, and announcements were excluded.

Before analysis, metadata — including authors, affiliations, keywords, and languages — were extracted and manually compiled in Excel. Author affiliations were examined to determine institutional and geographic distribution, and co-authorship patterns were identified through manual

inspection of article bylines. The compiled dataset was cross-verified against the tables of contents and full-text PDFs to ensure accuracy. In addition, Sciendo Journal Metrics (2005) and SCImago Journal and Country Rank (SCImago, n.d.) data, including numerical indicators and graphical outputs, were consulted to contextualize the journal's performance and international standing. Written permission was obtained from both sources to reproduce the graphs (Figures 2 through 16).

The metrics analyzed included article productivity per issue/year, author productivity and collaboration patterns, institutional and country affiliations, thematic trends via keywords, and citation data when available. The study was limited by inconsistent keyword availability, particularly in early volumes, and by the fact that citation data from Scopus did not include all issues published prior to 2017.

Results

Article Productivity

Across 2012–2024, the journal published 25 volumes containing a total of 249 peer-reviewed research articles. The journal designates each issue as a distinct volume, releasing two issues per year. Annual output varied slightly in the early years, with some volumes containing fewer than ten articles, before stabilizing at ten articles per issue from 2016 onwards. Thematic emphases shifted over time, moving from an early focus on identity, language policy, and language rights toward more recent attention to digital multilingualism, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), and artificial intelligence in education (see Table 1). Post-2020, there was a marked rise in technology-oriented studies and research set in crisis contexts, including wartime communication, refugee education, and pandemic-driven shifts in language teaching (see Table 2). The corpus also reflects sustained multilingual scholarship, with articles published mainly in English and Lithuanian, and occasional contributions in other European and global languages (see Table 1).

Table 1

Article Output, Primary Themes, and Publication Languages by Volume
(2012–2024)

Vol	Year	Articles	Primary themes	Main publication languages
1	2012	12	Baltic identity; plurilingual competence; ICT & academic listening (didactics)	English, Lithuanian, Latvian, Spanish, German
2	2013	12	Language policy (higher ed); multilingual identity; ESP/phraseology; didactics	English, Lithuanian, Polish, Latvian, Italian, German, Spanish
3	2013	10	EU language policy; multilingualism & identity; corpus use in L2; historical linguistics	English, Serbian, Lithuanian, French
4	2014	10	Dialect planning & language policy; plurilingual higher education; teacher education	English, French, Lithuanian
5	2014	9	Family bilingualism; immigrant/ESOL; ecolinguistic sustainability; wiki/tech in learning	English
6	2015	8	Multilingualism & intercultural education; ESP (legal/professional); pop-culture analysis	English, Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian
7	2015	9	Linguistic imperialism; LSP/ESP; script learning; corpora/technology in teaching	English, Russian, Italian, Lithuanian
8	2016	10	Trilingual identity; contact linguistics; immigrant education; ICT/problem-based learning	English, French, Lithuanian
9	2016	9	Multicultural citizenship & migrants; teacher education; CLIL; portfolios/didactics	English, Lithuanian
10	2017	10	Bilingualism (Ukraine); minority language revitalization; identity; CLIL/ESOL	English, French
11	2017	10	Standard language ideology; teacher training; translation/audiovisual; CLIL/ESP	English, French
12	2018	10	Language rights/ecology; mobility & virtual exchanges; refugee education; translation	English, Italian
13	2018	10	Linguistic rights; media discourse; workplace multilingualism; teacher education	English, Lithuanian, German, Spanish
14	2019	10	Language negation/oppression; creole education; CLIL; translation studies	English, Lithuanian

Vol	Year	Articles	Primary themes	Main publication languages
15	2019	10	Language policy & school practice; new speakers/minority languages; translation	English, French, Spanish, Lithuanian
16	2020	10	Political discourse; borderland linguascapes; plurilingual competence; EQ in learning	English, Lithuanian
17	2020	10	Ethnolinguistic vitality; family language policy; teacher beliefs; vocabulary/phonetics	English, Lithuanian, French, Italian, German
18	2021	10	Language revival/preservation; multilingual teaching; flipped learning; translation	English, Lithuanian, German
19	2021	10	Multilingual identity; youth language use; pedagogy; translation	English, Lithuanian
20	2022	10	Ecolinguistic language policy; English hegemonic/EMI; teacher perceptions; translation	English, Lithuanian, French, German
21	2022	10	Endangered languages; translanguaging; teacher development; digital tools	English, Spanish, German, Latvian
22	2023	10	Language maintenance/ethnolinguistic vitality; dyslexia & bilingual children; translation	English, Lithuanian
23	2023	10	Wartime/crisis contexts; translanguaging; AI/digital tech in language education	English
24	2024	10	Heritage language & family policy; EMI; autism & multilingual education; translation	English, Spanish, Lithuanian
25	2024	10	Migrant identity & maintenance; endangered languages; linguistic landscapes; EMI	English, Lithuanian

Table 2

Keyword Trends Since 2020: Most Frequent and Emerging Terms

Most Frequent Keywords	Emerging Keywords in Post-2020 Volumes
Multilingualism	Artificial Intelligence
Language policy	War-time multilingualism
Bilingualism	Emotional intelligence
Translation	Digital pedagogy
Identity	
English Medium Instruction (EMI)	
Language education	

Institutional and Geographic Distribution

A detailed analysis of the first 25 volumes of *Sustainable Multilingualism* reveals a broad network of collaborating institutions and countries. The host institution — VMU in Lithuania — is by far the most frequent contributor, but the journal's author pool spans multiple continents. Frequent contributors outside Lithuania include institutions from Türkiye, Latvia, Spain, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Ukraine, the United States, and Iran (see Table 3 below).

Across all issues, contributions originated from more than 40 countries. Following the countries highlighted in the table, other frequent contributors included France, the Netherlands, Estonia, Norway, Croatia, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Saudi Arabia. Submissions were also received from over two dozen additional countries.

Table 3

Institutional and Geographic Distribution: The Top 10 Contributing Countries

Country	Institutions Noted	Unique Articles Contributed*
Lithuania	Vytautas Magnus University (Host), Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuanian University of Health Sciences, Vilnius University, Klaipėda University, Šiauliai University (now part of Vilnius University since 2021), Kaunas University of Technology, ISM University of Management and Economics, VilniusTech (Vilnius Gediminas Technical University), Military Academy of Lithuania, A. Stulginskis University (merged into Vytautas Magnus University in 2019)	97
Türkiye	Karadeniz Technical University, Akdeniz University, Yıldız Technical University, Atatürk University, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University, Bahçeşehir University, Anadolu University, Balıkesir University, İzmir University of Economics, Gaziantep University, Koç University, Yeditepe University, Istanbul Medipol University, Istanbul Medeniyet University, Cukurova University, Sivas Cumhuriyet University, Hacettepe University, Kilis 7 Aralık University	22
Latvia	Liepaja University (now RTU Liepāja Academy, part of Riga Technical University since 2024), University of Latvia, Transport and Telecommunication Institute, Ventspils University College (now Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, since 2016), Riga Stradiņš University, Liepāja Secondary School No. 5, The	13

Country	Institutions Noted	Unique Articles Contributed*
	Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvian University of Agriculture	
Spain	University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), Complutense University of Madrid, University of Barcelona, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Universitat Jaume I (UJI), Autonomous University of Barcelona, Universidad de Alcalá (UAH), National Distance Education University, UNESCO Chair of World Linguistic Heritage of the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	13
Poland	Jagiellonian University, Jan Kochanowski University, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, University of Warsaw, University of Zielona Góra, University of Łódź	9
Germany	Ruhr University Bochum, University of Heidelberg, University of Hamburg, University of Cologne, University of Potsdam, Chemnitz University of Technology	8
Hungary	University of Pécs, University of Pannonia, Eötvös Loránd University	8
Ukraine	Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Vinnytsia National Agrarian University, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukrainian National Tchaikovsky Academy of Music, Zaporizhzhya National University, Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education	8
U.S.	Auburn University, Indiana University–Bloomington, Teachers College-Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Nebraska at Omaha, University of Arizona, International Bilingual School-Emeryville	7
Iran	Islamic Azad University, Urmia University, Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman, University of Maragheh	7

Note. Numbers are based on country representation in articles; a country is counted once per article, regardless of the number of authors or institutions from that country.

The analysis of regional representation shows that the distribution of contributions is uneven (see Table 4 below). European institutions dominate the network, particularly those in the Baltic region, Southern Europe, and Türkiye. North America follows as a moderately represented region, with a small but steady number of articles across several issues, mostly from U.S. and Canadian universities. Beyond these areas, representation declines sharply. The Middle East (excluding Türkiye and Iran), Oceania, Southeast Asia, and South Asia contribute intermittently, with only a few articles from each region. In most cases, these originate from single institutions that appear once or twice across the journal's history, such as Saudi Arabia, Australia, New

Zealand, Thailand, Malaysia, and India. East Asia shows very limited engagement, represented by only two articles from Taiwan and one collaboration involving a Chinese university. Africa, South America, and the Caribbean remain marginally visible, each appearing in only one or two issues. These include isolated examples such as articles from Cameroon and Algeria in Africa, Argentina in South America, and Trinidad and Tobago in the Caribbean. Central Asia is entirely absent, with no contributions recorded in any of the twenty-five issues (2012–2024). Collectively, these patterns point to a strong European concentration and continued underrepresentation of much of the Global South and other world regions.

Table 4

Levels of Regional Representation in Contributions

Category	Regions	Representation (with issue numbers)
Dominant Regions	**Europe**	Very strong and consistent presence across nearly all 25 issues, mostly from Lithuania, Türkiye, Latvia, Spain, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Ukraine, France, the Netherlands, Estonia, Norway, the UK, and Italy.
Moderately Represented Regions	**North America**	was represented in eight articles across six issues: • Issue 5 → Indiana University–Bloomington, U.S. • Issue 5 → Teachers College, Columbia University & University of Pennsylvania, U.S. • Issue 13 → International Bilingual School, Emeryville, U.S. • Issue 15 → University of Nebraska at Omaha, U.S. • Issue 15 & 22 → University of Toronto, Canada • Issue 21 → University of Arizona, U.S. • Issue 24 → Auburn University, U.S.
Less Represented Regions	**Middle East (excluding Türkiye and Iran)**	was represented in four articles: • *Issue 8 → Taif University, Saudi Arabia* • *Issue 18 → University of Ha'il, Saudi Arabia* • *Issue 20 → King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia* •*Issue 24 → Northern Border University, Saudi Arabia*
	Oceania	was represented in four articles: • *Issue 18 → University of Adelaide, Australia* • *Issues 20, 22, 24 → University of Auckland, New Zealand*
	Southeast Asia	was represented in four articles (across three issues): • *Issue 19 → Thammasat University, Thailand* • *Issue 19 → Universiti Malaya, Malaysia*

Category	Regions	Representation (with issue numbers)
		• *Issue 21 → Mahidol University, Thailand* • *Issue 22 → Universiti Teknologi PETRONAS, Malaysia*
	South Asia	was represented in three articles: • *Issue 4 → University of Sindh, Pakistan* • *Issue 22 → Vellore Institute of Technology & Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines), India* • *Issue 25 → Vellore Institute of Technology, India*
	East Asia	was represented in two articles only: • *Issue 9 → National Chengchi University, Taiwan* • *Issue 21 → National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan & Xi'an Jiaotong–Liverpool University, China*
	Africa	was represented in two articles only: • *Issue 10 → University of Yaoundé I, Cameroon* • *Issue 15 → Mohamed Lamine Debaghine Sétif 2 University, Algeria*
	South America	was represented in two articles only: • *Issue 9 → CAECE University, Argentina* • *Issue 23 → Rosario Institute for Research in Educational Sciences, Argentina*
	Caribbean	was represented in two articles only: • *Issues 8, 10 → University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago*
Absent Region	**Central Asia**	No representation in any of the 25 issues (2012–2024).

Authorship Patterns, Co-authorship, and Institutional Cooperation

The analysis shows that most published papers list 2–3 authors, with occasional single-author and larger multi-author teams. The distribution shows a strong tendency toward collaborative authorship rather than solo research. While some authors appear in multiple issues, there are no dominant recurring individual authors across the 25 issues. This indicates an open submission profile, welcoming diverse contributors rather than relying on a fixed core group.

Approximately 30% of papers are authored by researchers from the same institution. This is often the case with VMU-affiliated works, where multiple Lithuanian co-authors collaborate. Around 70% of papers involve authors from different institutions, showing that inter-institutional

collaboration is the norm. About 40% of articles feature international co-authorship, involving institutions from at least two countries. This rate is high compared to many language and linguistics-related journals, reflecting the journal's multilingual and cross-cultural research scope.

Co-authorship network analysis, based on manually compiled and inspected data, shows that nodes cluster strongly around VMU (Lithuania), major Turkish institutions, and several concentrated groups in Southern Europe and parts of Asia. Frequent bilateral country pairings include:

Lithuania–UK → 4 articles (Issues 5, 10, 16, 23)

Lithuania–Sweden → 2 articles (Issues 10, 18)

Türkiye-Norway → 2 articles (Issues 17, 24)

Hungary-Ukraine → 2 articles (Issues 10, 25)

By contrast, collaborations with institutions in Africa and Latin America remain very limited, with only a handful of isolated cases (e.g., Algeria, Cameroon, Argentina). South Asian contexts appear sporadically and are not proportionally represented, given the region's size and diversity, while Southeast Asian contributions are occasional and concentrated in only a few countries. Caribbean representation is extremely rare, and East Asian collaborations are visible mainly through repeated ties with Taiwan, with very limited involvement from other countries in the region. Overall, the network exhibits strong regional concentration in Europe, while global linkages beyond these areas remain comparatively underdeveloped.

Most cross-country collaborations involve two countries only, while one multi-country collaboration involving three countries was also observed (Taiwan, Thailand, and China in Issue 21). In addition, Issue 23 features an exceptional case with 11 authors across seven countries (Czechia, Germany, Latvia, Spain, Türkiye, Luxembourg, and Cyprus).

Journal Metrics and Citation Analysis (Scopus-Based, Post-2017)

According to journal metrics (Paradigm, 2025b; Scopus, 2025), *Sustainable Multilingualism* holds a CiteScore of 0.9 for 2024, indicating that,

on average, each document published in the preceding three years has received nearly one citation in the current year—a level that reflects modest citation performance within its field. Complementing this, the SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) stands at 0.211 for the same year (SCImago, n.d.), a value that suggests moderate prestige by accounting not only for citation counts but also for the influence of the citing journals, thereby positioning *Sustainable Multilingualism* as a moderately integrated player within broader scholarly discourse.

Figure 1

Paradigm Journal Metrics
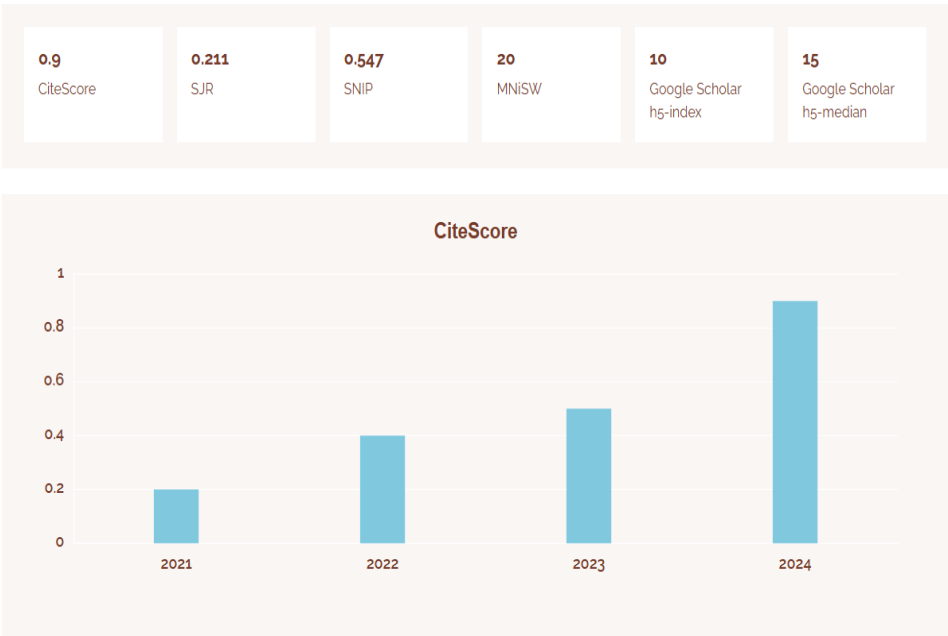
The Source Normalized Impact per Paper (SNIP) for 2024 is 0.547, meaning that when adjusted for differences in citation practices across disciplines, the journal's impact is slightly below the global average—an expected outcome for a specialized, interdisciplinary linguistics outlet. Nationally, the journal is recognized with an MNiSW score of 20 under Poland's academic evaluation framework, indicating a solid reputation in terms of scholarly quality and institutional standing. Finally, Google Scholar Metrics

(SCImago, n.d.) report an h5-index of 10 and an h5-median of 15, showing that at least ten recent publications have each garnered ten or more citations, with a median of fifteen citations among them (see Figure 1).

Figure 2

Scopus Source Details for Sustainable Multilingualism
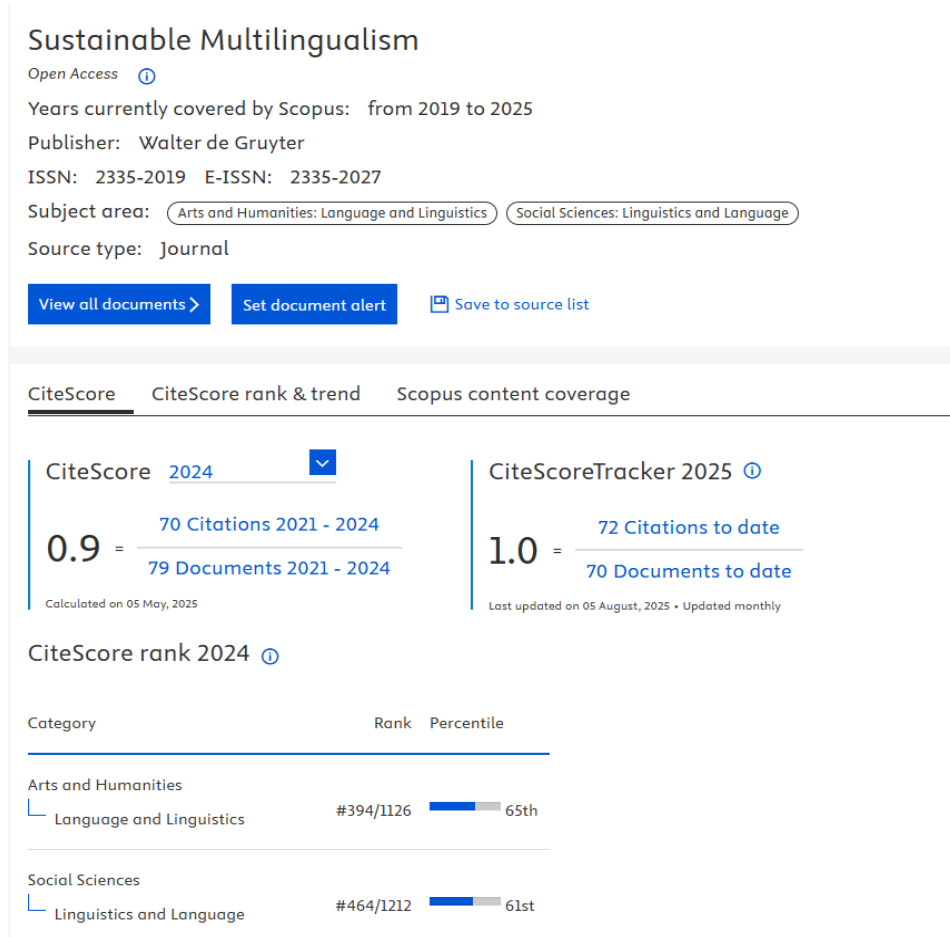
Building on these indicators, Scopus (2025) reports that *Sustainable Multilingualism* attained a CiteScore of 0.9 in 2024, based on 70 citations across 79 documents published between 2021 and 2024. This reflects modest but steady engagement with the journal's content over the evaluation period. The most recent CiteScoreTracker for 2025 shows a value of 1.0, calculated

from 72 citations to date across 70 documents, suggesting a slight upward trend in citation activity. In terms of disciplinary positioning, the journal is ranked in the 65th percentile (394th of 1,126 journals) in Arts and Humanities: Language and Linguistics and in the 61st percentile (464th of 1,212 journals) in Social Sciences: Linguistics and Language (see Figure 2).

Overall, these metrics indicate that *Sustainable Multilingualism* demonstrates moderate scholarly influence and visibility. While not among the top tier, the journal performs solidly across multiple impact measures: it achieves consistent recognition (via MNiSW), maintains a moderate prestige (via SJR), garners a steady citation rate (via CiteScore), and sustains a promising subset of well-cited content (via h-index metrics).

Most Cited and Most Downloaded Articles: Indicators of Scholarly Impact and Reader Engagement

According to Paradigm (2025b), download activity has shown considerable variation over the entire observation period, with alternating phases of growth and decline. In the past year specifically, it remained relatively stable until March 2025, then rose sharply to a peak in June (2,644 downloads) before falling markedly by August (1,803 downloads) and rising again to 2,196 downloads thereafter (see Figure 3). *Sustainable Multilingualism*'s most cited publications reflect a thematic emphasis on multilingual education, teacher competencies, and the sociocultural dimensions of language learning. The top-cited article, "Should Schools Undermine or Sustain Multilingualism? An Analysis of Theory, Research, and Pedagogical Practice" by Jim Cummins (2019), addresses foundational debates in language policy and pedagogy. Other highly cited works include "CLIL Teacher Competences and Attitudes" by Vilkancienė and Rozgienė (2017), "Teaching Syrian Students in Turkish Schools: Experiences of Teachers" by Yaşar and Amaç (2018), and "Migrant and Non-Migrant Origin Pre-Service Teachers' Beliefs about Multilingualism and Teaching in Multilingual Classrooms: Convergences and Divergences" by Llompart and Birello (2020). Collectively, these articles highlight the journal's role in advancing research at the intersection of multilingualism, teacher preparation, and migration studies.

The most downloaded papers show both thematic continuity and topical diversity. Alongside Cummins' (2019) widely cited piece, recent works such as "Ethnolinguistics Vitality Theory: The Last Stance for a Language Survival" by Jamallullail and Nordin (2023) and "Endangered Languages: A Sociocognitive Approach to Language Death, Identity Loss, and Preservation in the Age of Artificial Intelligence" by Low et al. (2022) indicate strong reader interest in language preservation and revitalization. Additional frequently downloaded studies include "Analysis of Humour in TV Series Friends and Its Translation into Lithuanian" (Korostenskienė & Pakrosnytė, 2017), "'Your Language is Forbidden': Language Negation as Political Oppression in Pinter's Mountain Language" (Goodspeed, 2019), and "The Role of Translation in the Revitalization Process of Minority Languages: The Case of Basque" (Belmar, 2017).

The overlap between the most cited and most downloaded lists—particularly Cummins' 2019 article—suggests that certain contributions have achieved both academic recognition and broad readership, reinforcing the journal's impact within its specialist domain.

Figure 3

Article Downloads (Last 12 Months)
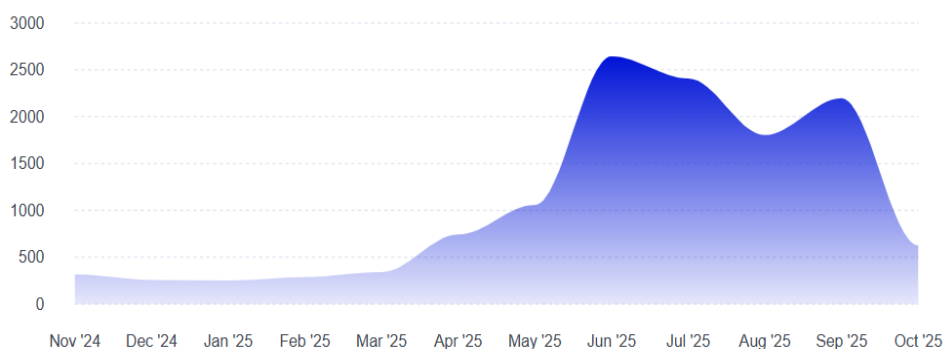
Scholarly Influence and Global Positioning: SJR Analysis

Next, the data from the SCImago Journal and Country Rank (SJCR) (SCImago, n.d.) portal are examined to provide insights into the journal's

scholarly influence and its positioning within the global research landscape.

Building on the earlier observation from Sciendo metrics, the SJR index provides a size-independent indicator of journal prestige by evaluating the average scientific influence per article. Unlike raw citation counts, SJR incorporates the quality of the citing sources, recognizing that "all citations are not created equal" (SCImago, n.d.). In this way, the metric reflects both the number of citations a journal receives and the prestige of the journals from which those citations originate, offering a more nuanced picture of scholarly influence.

For *Sustainable Multilingualism*, the SJR values over the past four years reveal a general upward trajectory, albeit with minor fluctuations. After a small decline from 0.132 in 2021 to 0.123 in 2022, the index rose sharply to 0.202 in 2023 and further to 0.211 in 2024. This steady recovery and growth, particularly in the last two years, indicates an enhancement in the journal's scientific influence and deeper integration into higher-prestige citation networks (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

SJR by Year (2021–2024)
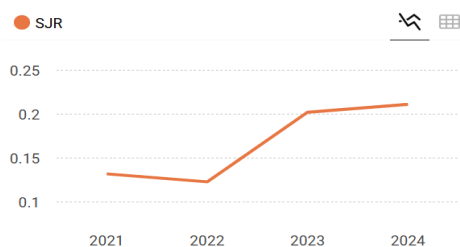
Figure 5

Number of Published Articles
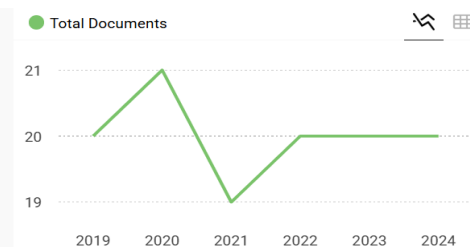
From 2019 to 2024, the journal's annual output of published documents has remained relatively stable, ranging between 19 and 21 items per year. This steadiness suggests consistent editorial capacity and a stable flow of submissions. Notably, all recorded outputs are citable documents, with no non-citable items (e.g., editorials or news pieces) appearing in the dataset, indicating a focus on substantive scholarly contributions (see Figure 5).

Total citations have risen sharply over the observed period, from zero in 2019 to 46 in 2024. Self-citations, while increasing from zero to seven over

the same timeframe, remain a small fraction of total citations, suggesting that the growth in impact is driven primarily by external scholarly engagement rather than internal referencing. This trajectory points toward an expanding influence of the journal in its research community (see Figure 6).

Figure 6

Total Number of Citations & Self-Cites
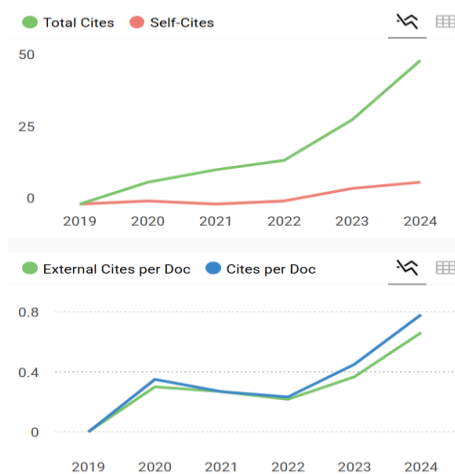
Figure 7

Citations Per Document
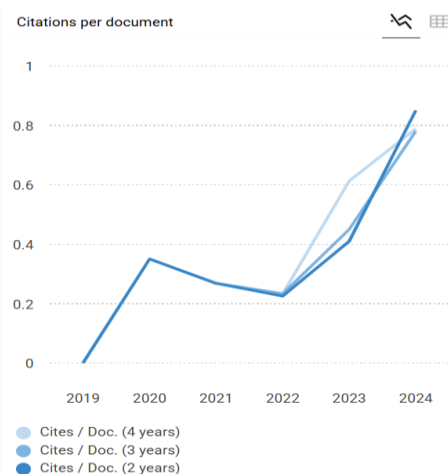
Citation intensity, measured by citations per document over two-, three-, and four-year windows, shows a marked upward trend since 2022. The four-year metric increased from 0.233 in 2022 to 0.788 in 2024, with similar gains in the two-year and three-year measures. These improvements indicate not only more frequent citation of articles but also sustained relevance of published work over multiple years, aligning with patterns of growing academic recognition (see Figure 7).

The proportion of articles co-authored by researchers from multiple countries has shown fluctuations over the years, with notable growth from 15.00% in 2022 to 35.00% in 2023, followed by a slight decrease to 25.00% in 2024. This trend suggests a moderate but growing level of international engagement, which can improve both the visibility and citation reach of the journal's publications (see Figure 8).

The number of citable documents has steadily risen from 2019 to 2022, reaching its peak and remaining relatively stable through 2024. The minimal

proportion of non-citable documents indicates that the journal predominantly publishes content eligible for academic referencing, supporting stronger citation potential (see Figure 9).

Figure 8

International Collaboration Documents
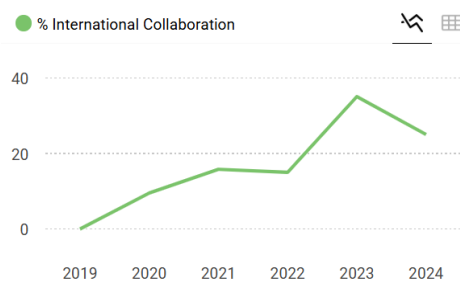
Figure 9

Numbers of Citable & Non-citable
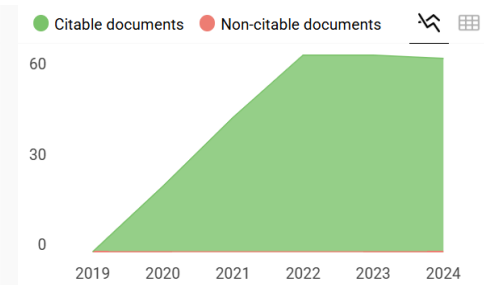
The share of cited documents has increased considerably, from 4 in 2020 to 26 in 2024, while the proportion of uncited documents has steadily declined since peaking in 2022. This shift reflects that more of the journal's content is gaining scholarly recognition and reducing the prevalence of papers without citation impact (see Figure 10).

Figure 10

Three-year Cited Vs. Document Uncited Ratio
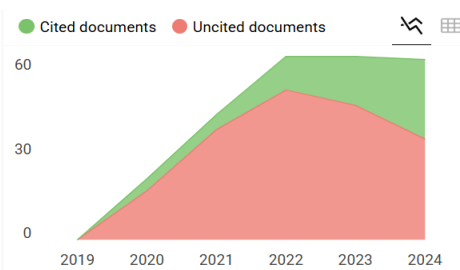
Figure 11

Percentage of Female Authors
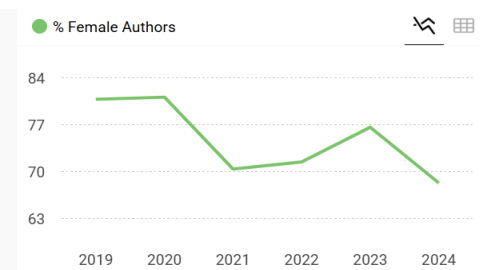
Female author participation has remained relatively high—consistently above 70%—over the six-year period. Nonetheless, there has been a gradual

decline from peaks above 80% in 2019–2020 to 68.29% in 2024, indicating a slight narrowing of gender representation in recent years (see Figure 11).

Figure 12

Trend of Policy-Cited Documents (Overton)
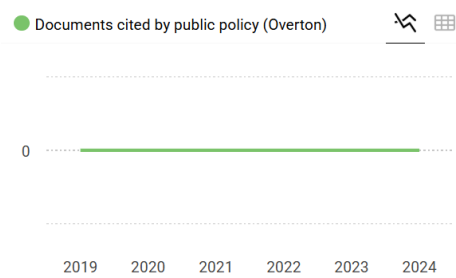
Figure 13

Trend of UN SDG-Related Documents (2018–)
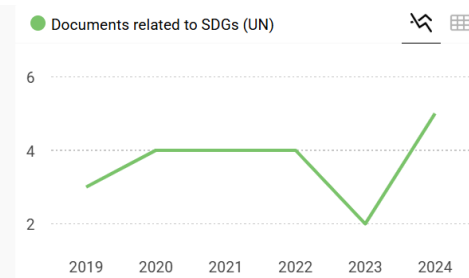
No documents have been cited in public policy outputs according to the Overton database, indicating a lack of measurable direct policy influence (see Figure 12). In contrast, contributions to United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been consistently present, ranging from two to five per year, demonstrating an ongoing alignment with global sustainability research themes (see Figure 13).

Figure 14

Estimated APC
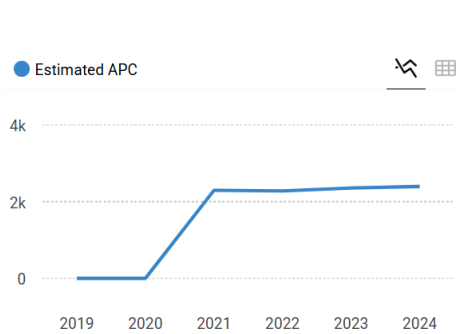
Figure 15

Estimated Financial Value of the Journal
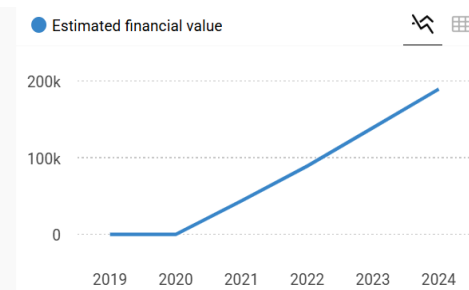
While *Sustainable Multilingualism* does not charge publication fees, its estimated article processing charge (APC)—a modeled value based on

comparable journals—has increased modestly from USD 2,292 in 2021 to USD 2,393 in 2024 (see Figure 14). Correspondingly, the journal's estimated financial value—calculated as APC multiplied by the total number of citable documents over five years—has more than quadrupled over the same period, from USD 43,544 in 2021 to USD 189,076 in 2024. This growth reflects both an increase in publication volume and the steady upward trend in estimated APCs (see Figure 15).

Discussion

The data indicate that *Sustainable Multilingualism* has steadily developed a globally collaborative, thematically diverse, and discipline-integrated corpus of scholarship, positioning it as a growing platform in applied and sociolinguistic research. Several key patterns emerge in the journal's output and thematic orientation. Over the period examined, productivity has remained consistent, with 249 articles published across 25 issues, reflecting sustained editorial momentum. The authorship reflects notable geographic diversity, although institutional affiliations are comparatively centralized, suggesting both the success of international outreach and the potential for further diversification. Thematic trends reveal a recurring emphasis on multilingual education, language policy, and translation studies, alongside a discernible rise in scholarship addressing digital communication, war-related linguistic dynamics, and policy-driven concerns—indicating responsiveness to global sociopolitical and technological shifts. The journal has particularly excelled in sustaining a multilingual lens across sociolinguistics, education, and translation; in hosting early research on translanguaging, EMI, and digital tools; and in fostering participation from non-Western institutions, thereby contributing to the decentralization of knowledge production in language studies.

However, certain gaps are observed and warrant further scholarly attention. First, the limited representation of multilingual contexts from the Middle East (excluding Türkiye and Iran), Oceania, Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean, together with the complete absence of Central Asia, constitutes a significant shortfall in

the existing body of published research, potentially skewing theoretical generalizations and comparative insights. Second, there is a marked lack of integration between advances in artificial intelligence, language technologies, and research on minority sign languages, which constrains opportunities for innovation and accessibility. Next, heritage language studies at times exhibit thematic repetition without the benefit of a deeper, robust comparative or cross-linguistic methodological framework, limiting the depth and generalizability of their findings. Moreover, the overall citation impact of the existing literature remains modest, suggesting limited scholarly reach and influence within and beyond the immediate field.

Finally, it might be argued that a relatively large share of the published articles includes at least one author affiliated with an institution in Lithuania or Türkiye, reflecting strong representation from these countries (together nearly half of all publications). This is understandable given that the journal is based in Lithuania, and that the editors are from Lithuania and Türkiye, which may have influenced the visibility and submission patterns through their academic networks.

Conclusion

This research underscores *Sustainable Multilingualism*'s role in advancing scholarship that is thematically diverse, internationally engaged, and responsive to evolving linguistic realities. Despite the uncovered issues, such as limited representation of some multilingual contexts and overrepresentation of some countries, modest integration of emerging technologies, and comparatively low citation impact, the journal's consistent productivity, breadth of themes, and commitment to multilingual perspectives provide a strong foundation for continued growth and influence. Addressing the identified shortages may not only expand the journal's reach and scholarly impact but also strengthen its contribution to global conversations on language, policy, and education.

Based on the findings, several recommendations are offered. First, *Sustainable Multilingualism* should broaden its geographic reach by encouraging and inviting contributions from underrepresented regions,

particularly from Central Asia, Africa, and South America. Next, interdisciplinary submissions (e.g., AI and language learning) and research on emerging and/or innovative topics (e.g., multilingualism and minoritized sign languages) should be promoted. This could be done through special issues and targeted calls for papers in specific regions and countries, as well as among research networks beyond traditional language studies. Furthermore, while submissions from Lithuania and Türkiye cannot be restricted, potential regional bias can be addressed by actively inviting contributions from diverse regions and enhancing international visibility of the journal. Finally, while the editorial board encompasses distinguished scholars from diverse regions of the world, expanding representation to include experts from additional countries and continents could further enhance its global reach and serve as a strategic step toward encouraging submissions from currently underrepresented regions.

Despite the limitations of this small-scale research, this is the first systematic study on *Sustainable Multilingualism* that offers a scholarly overview of the journal's publishing practices, statistics, and impact. Future research can perform full citation network analysis (e.g., with Google Scholar), examine publishing standards and policies, and investigate reviewer demographics and peer-review processes. This analysis of the journal is anticipated not only to inform the journal's administration in shaping future management strategies but also to support its readership in understanding publication patterns and trends while inspiring further critical examinations of academic journals.

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Servet Celik
Trabzono universitetas, Turkija;
Akhmet Yassawi universitetas, Kazakstanas
servet61@trabzon.edu.tr
Aurelija Daukšaitė-Kolpakovienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
aurelija.dauksaite-kolpakoviene@vdu.lt

BIBLIOMETRINĖ „SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM" ANALIZĖ: ĮŽVALGOS IŠLEIDUS 25-IS NUMERIUS (2012–2024)

Anotacija. Kaip daugiakalbystės tyrimų leidinys, „Sustainable Multilingualism" (ISSN: 2335-2019; eISSN: 2335-2027) reikšmingai prisidėjo prie kalbinės įvairovės, švietimo ir politikos tyrimų plėtros. 2012 m. įkurtas žurnalas tapo platforma moksliniams darbams, nagrinėjantiems sudėtingą daugiakalbystės dinamiką tiek vietiniu, tiek globaliu lygmenimis. Ši bibliometrinė studija apžvelgia pirmuosius 25-is „Sustainable Multilingualism" numerius (2012–2024), siekdama įvertinti temų raidą, autorystės modelius, institucijų ir geografijos aprėptį bei citavimo rodiklius. Tyrimo duomenų bazę sudaro 249 recenzuoti straipsniai, analizuoti pasitelkus rankinį kodavimą ir bibliometrinius įrankius, įskaitant *Excel* ir *VOSviewer*. Rezultatai rodo, kad nuo 2016 m. straipsnių skaičius kiekviename numeryje išsilygino iki dešimties, atspindėdamas nuoseklų redakcinį pajėgumą. Teminiu požiūriu pirmieji numeriai daugiausia dėmesio skyrė tapatybei, kalbos politikai ir teisėms, vėlesniuose dominuoja skaitmeninė daugiakalbystė, anglų kalba kaip dėstymo priemonė (EMI) ir dirbtinio intelekto pritaikymas švietimui. Bendra autorystė apima daugiau nei 40 šalių, tačiau pagrindiniai žurnalo autoriai atstovauja Lietuvai, Turkijai, Latvijai, Ispanijai ir Lenkijai. Akivaizdu, jog dominuoja Europos autoriai, o Afrikos, Lotynų Amerikos, Pietų Azijos ir Karibų regionų mokslininkai savo tyrimus publikuoja palyginti retai. Autorystės analizė atskleidė, kad daugumą straipsnių rašo bendraautoriai, dažnai iš skirtingų institucijų ir šalių, o apie 40 % publikacijų sudaro tarptautinės bendradarbiavimo formos. Citavimo rodikliai rodo nuosaikų, bet augantį poveikį: 2024 m. žurnalo *CiteScore* pakilo iki 0,9, *SCImago Journal Rank (SJR)* padidėjo iki 0,211, o *h5-indeksas* pasiekė 10, atspindėdamas pastovią integraciją į tarptautinį mokslinį diskursą. Dažnai cituojami ir atsisiunčiami straipsniai pabrėžia žurnalo įtaką daugiakalbiam švietimui, migracijos studijoms ir nykstančių kalbų tyrimams. Šis tyrimas daro išvadą: „Sustainable Multilingualism" pasiekė tarptautinį matomumą ir nuosekliai prisideda prie mokslo sklaidos, tačiau platesnė regioninė reprezentacija sustiprintų įvairovę ir dar labiau paskatintų pasaulinį įsitraukimą. Remiantis gautomis įžvalgomis, pateikiamos rekomendacijos, galinčios padėti formuoti žurnalo redakcinę strategiją ir tolesnę plėtrą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: *„*Sustainable Multilingualism"; kalbinis tvarumas; akademinė leidyba; bibliometriniai tyrimai; scientometrinė analizė*.*

Zsófia Fülöp
University of Pannonia, Hungary
Zahia Flih
University of Pannonia, Hungary
Beyza Nur Gürses
University of Pannonia, Hungary
Szilvia Bátyi
University of Pannonia, Hungary

THE APPLICABILITY OF SPOLSKY'S TRIPARTITE MODEL IN THREE CONTEXTS

Abstract. This study evaluates the applicability of Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy, consisting of language beliefs, practices, and management across three different minority contexts in Europe. The research respectively targets Algerians in France, Hungarians in the UK, and Turks in Hungary. The first study centres around the national and community level, while the second and third studies focus on the family domain. For the case of Algerians in France, the study investigates language management by analysing governmental top-down language policies and probes language beliefs and practices among first-generation immigrants using a questionnaire. The second study shifts to the familial domain, using a questionnaire based on Spolsky's tripartite model to explore bilingualism efforts among Hungarian-speaking mothers in the UK. Meanwhile, the Turkish context in Hungary utilizes both semi-structured in-depth interviews as well as a short questionnaire to examine Turkish families' language management, beliefs and practices. The studies present varying results, with Algerians strongly upholding Arabic against the weight of French monolingual policies and the societal demands for using French. Moreover, Hungarian families' efforts to meticulously cultivate bilingualism among their children are undermined by external pressures in education, leading to a more fluid bilingual experience. By contrast, the results showcase the shift of Turkish immigrants towards Hungarian due to intermarriages and the lack of institutional support. Although the findings underscore Spolsky's model adaptability in depicting language policy dimensions across different contexts, it falls short of accounting for layers of complexity pertaining to the impact and role of external socio-political and economic factors. Furthermore, the model partially grasps the dynamic nature of multilingual identity construction. As such, these insights call for a rigorous investigation of these complexities in order to arrive at a better understanding of the fluid and ever-evolving nature of language policy as well as producing more context-sensitive policies.

Keywords: bilingualism; language beliefs; language management; language policy; language practices; Spolsky's tripartite model.

Introduction

When examining language policy (LP), whether at the macro level (e.g., nations, minority groups, education) or at the micro level (e.g., family settings), Spolsky's (2004) framework is frequently used. This framework outlines language policy as a multifaceted concept consisting of three distinct yet interconnected elements: language beliefs, practices, and management. In his later works, Spolsky also added different levels or domains where these elements can be applied, such as the individual, family, national and supranational levels (Spolsky, 2009; 2012; 2021). Language practices are understood as the actual language use of a speech community or family, also labelled as language repertoire at the individual level (Spolsky, 2021). Beliefs and ideologies are formed by the speakers about language(s) and language choices. The third component is language management which refers to any deliberate efforts of individuals or institutions to modify the language practices or beliefs of a community. Van Oss et al. (2021) note that none of these components can be investigated without the other two as they are interconnected and indispensable elements of language policy.

In this paper, we would like to describe the applicability of the model in three different research designs. The goal of this study is to present how language management, practices and beliefs are manifested in three minority contexts in Europe, where individuals and communities navigate their multilingualism in different language political environments. Different methodologies are used in the studies, as several factors (such as size and composition of the minority) require qualitative and/or quantitative approaches. The first study focuses on the national and community level, while the second and third studies concern the family domain approaching it from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. Study 1 reports on the findings of a research that was conducted among Algerians in France. It is a special case as the target community includes post-colonial migrants already having a good proficiency in French pre-migration. Language management is described at the national level (i.e., France), while language practices and ideologies at the immigrant community level. Study 2 is a large questionnaire survey-based study using Spolsky's tripartite model as a framework and targets different

types of Hungarian families living in the UK. Study 3 employs in-depth interviews to explore Turkish families' language ideologies, management and practices in Hungary. The article will discuss the most relevant concepts and studies followed by the description of the three studies; the results part will concentrate on how the components in Spolsky's framework can be used to explain the results.

Literature Review

The majority of the world's languages are minority languages which are either undergoing the shifting process to the dominant language in the hope of better opportunities or fighting against the homogenizing effect of globalization and focusing on language maintenance (Hogan-Brun O' & Rourke, 2019). Cross-border migrants are no exception. Globalization is a major factor affecting the mobility of people and at the same time urges scholars to revisit approaches to studying migrant speaker communities. Pauwels (2016) notes that the triggers and the nature of migration have changed considerably because of globalization. The economic, religious, demographic and political reasons are complemented with educational opportunities, tourism and employment practices. Furthermore, migration or mobility can also take different forms: short-term mobility, long-term (re)settlement or being 'on the move' as a desire or a must. This creates a new context to approach and interpret the language choices and practices in these communities. The language policy model developed by Spolsky (2004) and its later modifications offers such a framework. The model can be understood as a reaction to the limited scope of previous conceptualizations of language policy. Initially, the concept of language policy was developed jointly with *language planning*; however, with the expansion of the field, the planning part became inapplicable in many contexts. Now language planning is mainly used in situations when the state or authority determines what languages or varieties can be used in different domains, i.e., how languages should be managed (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). As a result of the intertwined history of the two terms, language policy is still often understood as a top-down process (Liddicoat, 2020). However, taking into account all the domains where

language policy research is conducted (e.g., families, workplaces, schools, public spaces, military, etc.), it becomes apparent that bottom-up processes are also important. The wide scope of language policy is also evidenced by its interrelation with multiple factors. As Spolsky (2004: ix) notes: "Language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that make up the full ecology of human life."

Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy is comprehensive, composed of language management, language practices and beliefs or ideologies. Besides the top-down language managing activities, it includes not intentional and not planned activities (Johnson, 2013) as well. The introduction of domains, following Fishman (1972), was a useful addition to the model, as it makes the framework applicable to the context of individual, family, education, nation, and above (Spolsky, 2007; 2021). **Language management** originates from the idea that language use can be managed. The language manager can be the *state* managing language use via the constitution and/or language laws, *institutions*, making decisions about the official working language or medium of instruction in schools, *parents* making efforts to persuade their children to use the heritage language. The Language Management Theory (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015) makes a distinction between *simple managemen*t and *organised management*, the latter referring to activities undertaken by institutions, while the former means language decisions made by individuals (also referred to as individual self-management by Spolsky, 2021). **Language practices** are the observable behaviors and choices of people, and these practices may be influenced by external and internal forces (social, psychological, religious, etc.) and the outcome can be maintenance or shift depending on the strength of these factors. Language practices are not necessarily in line with language management efforts; for example, regardless of the government's recommendations to use the state language at home, migrant families can still use their mother tongues with their children. **Language beliefs and ideologies** are values assigned to languages and varieties. Ideologies do not always translate into practices, e.g., minority groups may have very positive attitudes towards their languages, but their

language use in the family and community is low (Flih, 2024). The model has served as a framework in different contexts (e.g., education (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Van Oss et al., 2021); however, in this paper only the community and family context will be discussed.

Language Policy at the State and Community Level

Early research on LP started at the level of the state, focusing on how languages are managed across different nations as well as addressing the challenges and the issues that may arise from adopting certain policies. Lambert (1999) believed that the language policy of a country is highly influenced by the composition of its society, as it reflects the complex relationship between the state and its linguistic communities. This foundational understanding of state level language policy aligns with Spolsky's aforementioned tripartite model, which offers a nuanced perspective when applied at the macro level (Spolsky, 2004). At a national scale, language management usually denotes the state's legislative and administrative efforts to direct the use of language by either bolstering or contrasting prevailing language practices in the community. Language practices themselves are both a reflection of and response to such language management strategies that manifest in the linguistic behavior of the community. Moreover, language beliefs and ideologies held by the community could incline towards a singular national identity and language or opt for linguistic diversity, informing as well as yielding to national policies. In an application of Spolsky's model to Iceland, Albury (2015) highlights how language management, language practices, and language beliefs materialize at a macro level. As a response to the global influence of English, the Icelandic government enacted a policy of linguistic purism and monolingualism, perceiving Icelandic as a global minority language in need of preservation. Supported by a community that embraces a monoglot ideology and belief, language purism was implemented by reinforcing Icelandic in daily life (media and education), scrutinizing loanwords from other languages, promoting a cultural identity, and influencing digital contexts (Friðriksson, 2009; Svavarsdóttir, 2008; Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2009). Concurrently, the policies acknowledge the necessity of English in certain

academic and professional domains, fostering a form of pragmatic bilingualism whereby English is used without replacing Icelandic's central role in the language practices of the community (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010). Moreover, in reviewing Malaysia's national language policy, Habuan (2018) displays how language management, shaped by the language practices of the community, attempts to balance the national ideology which is firmly tied to the Malay language and identity, the global influence of English as well as the plight of minority languages in the country. Although the national policy recognises Malay as the official language of the country, it also allows for a degree of flexibility in trying to meet the demands for global communication in English (MBMMBI policy to strengthen both Malay and English proficiency; Ahmed et al., 2012). Furthermore, the policies sanction national-type schools and elective language subjects to accommodate the languages of minority (Chinese and Indian) as well as indigenous (Iban, Kadazan-Dusun, and Semai) groups (Habuan, 2018). The previous examples showcase the interplay of Spolsky's three elements in forging national language policies at the macro level whereby language management both influences as well as adheres to language practices and national ideology in the community.

Language Policy at the Family Level

Recent studies have highlighted both the strengths and limitations of Spolsky's tripartite model in explaining Family Language Policy (FLP). Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2022), after reviewing past research that applied Spolsky's model, note that studies have predominantly focused on internal factors such as parental beliefs, emotions, and identity and how these influence language practices and management efforts, and they argue that future inquiries should broaden their scope to include diverse socioeconomic contexts and apply quantitative methods to better understand multilingual families.

Among others, Stavans (2012) has implemented Spolsky's model in her study, which involved 60 Ethiopian families in Israel. The findings highlight how internal (home and family) and external (school and institutions) factors shape parent-child interactions. Stavans emphasizes the complex interplay between parental attitudes towards child-rearing and educational

responsibilities, which are influenced by both home culture and the desire to adapt to a new society.

On the other hand, quantitative research has also made valuable contributions to the field, as presented in studies by Hirsch and Kayam (2020) and Hollebeke et al. (2022). Hirsch and Kayam explored the interrelation between different immigrant and trans-settler transnationalism types using Spolsky's model in Israel. In contrast, Hollebeke et al. questioned the complexity of Spolsky's three components, creating and testing scales to measure the relationships between beliefs, practices, and management within the Flemish community in Belgium. A successive study by Hollebeke (2024) provided an even deeper analysis of these scales, allowing for statistically validated assessments of the dynamic nature of Family Language Policy both at the population level and within individual families. Based on the meticulous research on Spolsky's tripartite system the results of Hollebeke's analyses also confirm that language policy in the family sphere is not a unitary construct, and she notes that its components can be accurately described independently of each other and, therefore, draws attention to the importance of exploring the varied dynamics between components in both formal institutionalized domains and in the family sphere.

The most recent study by Hatoss (2024) further expands the application of Spolsky's model by examining FLP among Hungarian families in Australia. This study focuses closely on the emotive-relational dimensions, testing a semi-comprehensive model that highlights the challenges and conflicts from the parental perspective. Despite these advancements, Hatoss notes that questions about parental beliefs regarding their impact on and control over children's language practices and development remain unanswered.

Aims and Research Questions

The three studies in this paper aim to illustrate how Spolsky's tripartite framework can be applied flexibly to examine language policy across different contexts at both macro and micro levels. The studies required the use of diverse methodologies and instruments to accommodate contextual

differences. Each study investigates the language practices, ideologies, and management of a particular minority, which allows for a more focused examination of how the model's components manifest in various settings. The study is guided by two main research questions:

1. How are language beliefs, practices, and management reflected in the experiences of Algerians in France, Hungarians in the UK, and Turks in Hungary?

2. To what extent does Spolsky's model explain the influence of outside factors—such as schools, government policies, or mixed marriages—on language use and practices?

Research Contexts and Methodologies

Study 1: Algerians in France

The Algerian presence in France dates back to the late 19th century, following the French colonisation of Algeria in 1830 and as a result of several historical events it continued until today. As of recent statistics[1], there are approximately 2.6 million Algerians living in France including both immigrants and their descendants. To date, there has been little research conducted on the linguistic profile of the Algerian community despite being the largest immigrant minority in France and one of the largest immigrant minorities in Europe (Vassoille, 2024). Furthermore, none of the studies have analysed all aspects of language policy as it is manifested in the given community. Nonetheless, it is possible to derive insights from available research on the Algerian immigrant community in France. For instance, Arfi (2008) argues that prior knowledge of French plays a significant role in pushing Algerians towards the dominant language, which can serve to inform national language management decisions towards increasing language proficiency requirements for future immigrants. Medjdoub's (2015) observation of the gradual generational shift towards French among Algerian immigrants highlights the impact of strict monolingual policies on language practices over time, while

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[1] See https://observatoire-immigration.fr/limmigration-des-algeriens/

Zemmour and Alghazo (2023) results about Kabyle speakers' positive attitude towards their native language illustrate how established language beliefs resist robust language policies. The aim of this study is to explore how language practices and beliefs/ideologies are negotiated by the Algerian community given the assimilatory policy of France.

Participants

The study involved 221 participants, with 113 females and 108 males. All participants were first-generation immigrants recruited using the snowballing technique; however, an important aspect of the study was to aim for diversity and representativeness in terms of settlement, education, age, age at immigration, occupation, marriage type, etc. Most participants are currently residing in major French cities including Paris, Marseille, and Grenoble. Among the group of married respondents (40.27%), 50.6 percent were married to Algerian spouses, 30.4 percent to Franco-Algerian spouses, and 16.5 percent to French spouses. The remaining 2.5 percent were married to immigrants of other nationalities (Tunisian and Egyptian). As for participants' level of education, 57.9 percent have a university level education (bachelor, master, or PhD degrees) while 42.1 percent have a non-university level education (vocational certificate or below). Table 1. shows participants' characteristics in terms of their age, age at immigration, and length of residence (LOR).

Table 1

Participants' Characteristics (N=221)

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
Age (years)	35.8	13.8	14	82
Age at immigration (years)	25.3	8.3	7	61
LOR (years)	10.5	11.4	.33	57

The Research Instrument

To get a full picture about the language management, language practices and beliefs in this community, different approaches were used. In this context, language management is conceptualized as the top-down activity of the state through the constitution, language laws, and regulations. Language practices and beliefs were explored using a questionnaire developed for this study. Besides demographic information, participants were asked about their language use habits in different domains and with different interlocutors. They were also asked to rate, on a five-point Likert scale, their agreement with statements in order to assess their attitudes and beliefs towards French and Arabic.

Procedure and Analysis

Participants were recruited using the snowballing technique, which allowed the sample to grow through referrals. They were asked to complete the questionnaire that was available both online (Google Forms) and in person (paper-based format) in the language of their choice since it was developed in Arabic and French. Participants' responses were then analysed. The analysis involved conducting basic statistical techniques (e.g., mean, std. deviations, etc.) to investigate participants' language use as well as their attitudes towards Arabic and French languages.

Study 2: Hungarians in the UK

Emigration waves from Hungary to the UK have occurred during various historical periods starting after World War I (Gazsó, 2016). Migration in the last 50 years or so differs from previous waves as the triggers are not historical but economic, social, educational, etc. According to the latest census, data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) from 2021, there are 118,000 Hungarian-born people residing in the UK, most of them moved there after Hungary joined the EU in 2004.

One of the most relevant features of the migration for this current wave is that Hungarians living in the UK have turned from young, single emigrants into blossoming families, from which thousands of children are born into Hungarian families in the UK. Due to their significant number, the Hungarian community has become increasingly visible, particularly through the Hungarian Sunday School system (Papp, Kovács, & Kováts, 2019). However, little is known about the Hungarian community's language practices, ideologies and language management, a gap this study aims to fill by focusing on families.

Participants

The study involved 93 participants with a mean age of 38.18 years, consisting entirely of women. These participants, who have resided in the UK for an average of 11.35 years, are all Hungarian-speaking mothers (see Table 2). The majority of them live in Hungarian-English dominant speaking families, whereas 3 families use Hungarian and other languages, but not English. This indicates multilingualism without the inclusion of English. One family uses only English at home that suggests that English-only households are very rare in this context. Households that predominantly use Hungarian show strong native-language preservation, as indicated by their high numbers.

Table 2

Participants' Characteristics (N=93)

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age (years)	38.18	5.3	28	50
Age at immigration (years)	26.75	4.9	15	43
LOR (years)	11.35	4.3	4	26

The majority are currently living in London, while many others are based in the East and West Midlands. In terms of education, 63.2 percent have attained a university degree (bachelor's, master's, or PhD), while the rest have

a non-university level education, such as a vocational certificate or informal learning.

The Research Instrument

The research employed a macro-level investigation using a questionnaire that is based on Spolsky's tripartite model (2004, 2008). The questionnaire included questions about language management, practices and beliefs besides demographic and other relevant data. Factors affecting the three pillars of FLP have also been explored by the survey; however, it is not the goal of the present paper to discuss these relationships. The instrument was composed relying on previous studies (Curdt-Christiansen et al., 2023; González et al., 2024), The different scales of the questionnaire were reliable as measured by Cronbach alpha (child-directed speech (6 items): α = .751, child(ren)-initiated conversations (5 items): α = .894; positive language ideologies (18 items): α = .804; negative language ideologies (6 items): α =.723

Procedure and Analysis

Only the Hungarian members of the couples were invited via online platforms to complete a questionnaire in Hungarian. Following this, additional participants were encouraged by snowball sampling to participate, allowing the sample expand through referrals. The collected responses were then analysed using basic statistical methods (such as means and standard deviations) to explore various aspects of Spolsky's tripartite model and their interconnectedness. This analysis aimed to examine participants' language practices and their attitudes towards both Hungarian and English.

Study 3: Turkish in Hungary

The historical connection between Hungary and Turkey dates back to the Turkish occupation from 1526 to 1686, which provides context for

contemporary Turkish migration to Hungary, particularly after 1989 (Egeresi & Szigetvári, 2017). Currently, around 5,700 Turkish citizens reside in Hungary, though the number of permanent settlers is lower, as per the 2011 census. While Hungary officially recognizes 13 minorities under Act CLXXIX of 2011, Turks are classified as an immigrant community (Kováts, 2010). A 2009 sociological study of 223 participants found that most Turks migrated for economic reasons, with an average stay of nine years, and 29% spoke Hungarian fluently, especially those aged 35–49, while one-third neither spoke nor planned to learn Hungarian (Örkény & Székelyi, 2010). This community is different in many ways from the Turkish diaspora in Western Europe which has grown significantly since labor migration agreements in the 1960s, with 5.5 million Turks currently residing there (Akgünüdüz, 2008). Language maintenance is key in these communities, with Turkish as a core identity marker with high language vitality perception (Extra, Yağmur, & Van der Avoird, 2004). In France, bilingualism is common, and in-group marriages reinforce Turkish language use (Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003). Linguistic changes, such as new dialects, are seen in Germany due to bilingualism (Schroeder, Şimşek, & Küpper, 2015), while in the Netherlands, Turkish remains dominant within families, though language attitudes differ by education (Yağmur, 2015). Conversely, in Hungary the Turkish population is small facing challenges with limited institutional support, weak community networks, and high out-group marriage rates, affecting language maintenance and identity. A small-scale study by Gürses & Bátyi (2022) highlights these issues, revealing distinctive dual identity negotiation, and calls for further research into how these factors affect the Turkish diaspora's long-term linguistic practices.

Participants

A total of 20 male first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary participated in this study, with an age range of 33–71 (mean: 51.65 years) (Table 3). Participants were recruited from diverse educational, marital, and occupational backgrounds to ensure representativeness. Most participants were recruited in Budapest, specifically in teahouses, restaurants, and businesses where the Turkish community gathers.

Table 3

Participants' Characteristics (N=20)

	Mean	**Std. Deviation**	**Min**	**Max**
Age (years)	51.65	7.9	33	71
Age at immigration (years)	28.5	6.3	18	49
LOR (years)	22.9	2.5	11	36

In terms of marital patterns, out-group marriages were predominant: 12 participants were married to Hungarian partners, while only two endogamous marriages were documented. Additionally, three participants were unmarried, and three reported divorces involving Hungarian or Turkish spouses.

The Research Instrument

A short questionnaire was used to explore personal and demographic data, and as the main instrument, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to examine language management, use, and ideology within the Turkish immigrant community, based on Spolsky's model. The interview questions explore experiences, integration strategies, and community connections, focusing on how language management influences language use. It also investigates beliefs about Turkish and Hungarian languages, ideological stances, and the societal impact on language ideologies. Additionally, the study addresses social language use, media multiliteracy, bilingual and multilingual practices, and the negotiation of multiple identities, all within the framework of language policy's influence on linguistic behavior and self-perception.

Procedure and Analysis

The study employed qualitative methods, using semi-structured in-depth interviews at locations convenient to participants, not limited to their

homes. Interviews followed grounded theory principles (Charmaz, 2006), were conducted in Turkish, and allowed language switching for natural expression. Each lasted 45–60 minutes, was audio-recorded with consent, and supplemented by observational notes for contextual insight. Transcripts were analyzed using initial and focused coding, with constant comparison. Data were organized via Spolsky's tripartite model; language practices, management, and ideologies. Demographic questionnaires further contextualized the findings.

Ethical considerations were carefully observed for each of the three studies included in this paper. Prior to data collection, participants were asked for their consent to take part in the study. They received ample explanation regarding the nature and aims of the research. They were informed that their participation is voluntary and that withdrawing is optional at any time. Participants were also informed that their responses will remain anonymous and confidential and will only be used for academic research purposes.

Results

Study 1

This section will examine the language policy of France and investigate whether it has an effect on the linguistic choices and ideologies of the Algerian community residing in the French territory. By considering language management at the state level and ideology and practices at the community level, the analysis will offer a comprehensive understanding of how Spolsky's model is applied in the French context.

Language Management

France is one of the most linguistically varied countries in Europe, yet, it adopts a strict monolingual French language policy. This policy is based on the "one nation, one language" principle where the use of any other language on its territory is officially rejected. Article 2 of the French constitution explicitly states: *"la langue de la République est le français"*, which emphasizes the central role of the French language in France and reflects its linguistic unity.

According to a 2022 report by the French Ministry of Culture, Arabic is approximately spoken by 4 million people, mainly of North African origin (around 6% of the population). However, France insists on implementing policies that seek to limit and control the teaching, learning and use of Arabic within the society. In 2016, Najat Valluad-Belkacem, a former Minister of Education, suggested a project that aimed at improving the teaching of Arabic to all Arab communities living in France (Durand, 2016). Her initiative was unfortunately denied by members of the right-wing party who said the decision would fuel sectarianism and threaten the French national unity. Figures show that Arabic is only taught in 3% of the country's schools, especially in areas that are mostly inhabited by Arab immigrants (Wakim, 2020). On the community-level, however, Arabic classes are usually delivered by mosques and in private institutions where children have the opportunity to learn their heritage language each Sunday. Such efforts have been critical in ensuring that the younger generation remains connected to their identity, language and culture, despite the challenges posed by the French government.

Language Practices

Table 4 presents the results (mean scores and standard deviations) of language use of the Algerian community living in France across five domains: family, friends, mosque, work, clubs and organizations. Within the family domain, participants reported using mostly Arabic when communicating with their parents, siblings, spouses, and children (M = 2.27, SD = 0.95). This is not surprising since 'home' is the least subjected domain to the language policies and regulations of the host country and, therefore, the most crucial in terms of language maintenance. By speaking Arabic at home, Algerians encourage intergenerational transmission of their heritage language and create a linguistic space that balances between the pressure of integration and the preservation of their identity in a predominantly French-speaking environment. Furthermore, the data suggests that participants use Arabic and French equally with their Algerian friends (M = 2.99, SD = 0.84). Note that participants' linguistic choices in the friendship domain may vary depending on the interlocutors' Arabic proficiency level (especially if they are second or third

generation), topic of conversation, and personal preferences. In the mosque, Arabic is commonly used for prayers as it is the language of Quran, but also for delivering the Friday's sermon ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 0.73$). We conclude that the religious domain is also important since it has a critical role in helping the Algerian community maintain ties to its heritage language in the French context. Conversely, French emerges as the dominant language in the workplace ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 0.96$), reflecting its role as the official and administrative medium of communication. Finally, the results show that participants use both Arabic and French in clubs and organizations ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.98$) considering the type of activities they are involved in.

Table 4

Self-Reported Language Use

	Mean (M)	Std. Deviation (SD)
Family	2.27	0.95
Friends	2.99	0.84
Mosque	2.21	0.73
Work	4.30	0.96
Clubs/organizations	3.10	0.98

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

Language Ideologies

Participants were asked to report about their ideologies and attitude towards their home language (Arabic) and the majority language of the dominant group (French). The results, provided in Table 5, show that participants have very positive attitudes regarding both languages. The positive attitude of participants towards Arabic is reflected not only in their frequent use of the language with people that share the same linguistic

background, but also in their strong desire to maintain it and pass it on to future generations, considering it is an integral part of their heritage. However, the positive attitude towards the French language is a matter of necessity in the first place. Despite the shared colonial history between Algeria and France that may influence the linguistic attitudes of the Algerian minority group in France, they are surely aware of the great role French plays since it is the primary means of communication and integration into the French society and key to higher academic and professional achievement. The mean scores and standard deviations of participants' self-reported attitude are presented below.

Table 5

Participant's Attitude Towards Arabic and French Languages

	Mean (M)	Std. Deviation (SD)
Attitude towards the Arabic language	4.21	0.60
Attitude towards the French language	4.07	0.60

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

Study 2

Language Management

Following Curdt-Christiansen et al. (2023) language management was operationalised as different actions that parents can take to manage and/or develop their home languages.

Table 6

Actions Parents Would Take for Their Child's/Children's Language Development

Actions	%
Hire a bi/multilingual nanny/child-carer	15
Sign up my child for Hungarian tuition	35

Actions	%
Register my child for summer camp to learn English	15
Register my child for summer camp to learn Hungarian	60
Organise frequent visits for my child to stay with relatives in my home country for language purposes	68
I learn my partner's language	13
Involve my child's grandparents in child-caring	34
Maintain virtual contacts with family members through mobile devices	78
Other	12

The analysis discovered (Table 6) reveals a strong preference for both virtual communication and physical immersion: 78% of the parents marked mobile devices as the most prioritised way to keep in touch with family members abroad, thus highlighting the ever-growing reliance on technology to preserve linguistic and cultural bonds. On the other hand, 68% of the participants emphasized the importance of frequent visits to the home country that points towards physical immersion in a native-speaking environment as a complementary method for language learning. Cultural programs, such as Hungarian summer camps was chosen by 60% of the parents while 34% of the participants would opt for grandparental involvement in child-rearing. The choices reflect a strong commitment towards maintaining the children's Hungarian language skills and cultural identity through real-world experiences.

Language Practices

The questions related to language practices incorporated the following domains: (1) the parents' own language practices, (2) child directed speech (3) child(ren)-initiated conversations. A clear bilingual trend became visible across most of the observed activities.

When it comes to parents' own language practices, they use both Hungarian and English for reading books and online news, watching TV, listening to music, writing shopping lists, while with their partners they either use Hungarian or English exclusively, depending on the partner's language. After examining the child-directed speech, it becomes clear that Hungarian is most likely to be chosen as the dominant language across most of the family interactions—especially in culturally significant contexts such as mealtime conversations and grandparent interactions—confirming its central role in intimate family life. Most of the parents use both Hungarian and English in various contexts, such as homework assistance, that again shows a great impact of the schooling system. English is more present in child-partner interactions, presumably influenced by the partner's linguistic background. Different types of family dynamics are shown by the relatively high number of 'not relevant' answers, the reasons of which could be the absence of a partner, the age of the child, or role-specific parental engagement. Overall, in child-directed speech context Hungarian remains central in intimate family communication, together with the features of bilingualism and English that both play context-dependent roles.

Table 7

Language of Child-Directed Speech (%)

	Dominantly Hungarian (> 75%)	Hungarian and English	Dominantly English (> 75%)	Other	Not relevant
Help your child do homework	19	42	16	0	23
During mealtime	68	12	19	1	0
You to children	72	23	5	0	0
Your partner to child(ren)	35	9	24	4	28
Paternal grandparents to child(ren)	55	0	15	6	24
Maternal grandparents to child(ren)	88	4	0	0	8

When it comes to conversation initiated by the child(ren), the data shows Hungarian as the dominant language in close family interactions, particularly between children, parents, and grandparents (Table 8). Bilingual communication among family members is also significant, indicating a flexible and dynamic language environment within the family. On the other hand, interactions with grandparents show a solid attachment to Hungarian, that points towards the endeavours of involving the grandparents and other non-English speaker family members into the children's lives. Sibling interactions, however, present a more balanced distribution of the languages, that reflects varying degrees of language influence across family relationships and indicates a strong impact of the dominant schooling system.

Table 8

Language of Child(ren)-Initiated Conversations (%)

	Dominantly Hungarian (> 75%)	Hungarian and English	Dominantly English (> 75%)	Other	Not relevant
Children to you	44	24	25	0	8
Children to you partner	32	16	34	2	15
Child to siblings	16	12	22	1	49
Children to paternal grandparents	46	2	20	5	26
Children to maternal grandparents	73	9	9	0	10

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies were explored via Likert-scale statements—both positive and negative—regarding the perception of bilingualism, the use of Hungarian in a predominantly English-speaking environment, the use of English in Hungarian households in the United Kingdom, and grandparental involvement in the upbringing of children in transnational families.

This section of the questionnaire included 20 items; therefore, the Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) was conducted using the Principal

Component Analyses (PCA) for factor extraction. The analyses identified 5 factors:

(1) Factors contributing to child's (language) development (5 items, e.g.: "*It is beneficial for a child to attend a Hungarian complementary school to learn the non-English home language(s)*"; "*It is important for me to follow websites/pages where language related advice is shared*");

(2) Positive statements about bi/multilingualism (2 items, e.g.: "*Being bi/multilingual benefits a child's academic performance*");

(3) Negative statements about bi/multilingualism and Hungarian (5 items, e.g.: "*It is disadvantageous for a child if only Hungarian is used at home*"; "*Speaking two or more languages confuses a child*".);

(4) Literacy (3 items, e.g.: "*It is important for my child(ren) to read in Hungarian*"; "*A child's ability to read and write in two or more languages plays a positive role in his/her academic development*");

(5) Contact with family members (two items, e.g.: "*Keeping in regular contact with members of our family who do not speak Hungarian is important to me*").

As Table 9 shows, parents usually are positive towards maintaining Hungarian and raise their children bi- and multilingual. Participants are positive about the contribution of grandparents, complementary schools and recommendations of language-related websites to help their children language development. They also disagree with negative statements about the maintenance of the heritage language and the benefits of bi- and multilingualism; however, there are some negative opinions about the contribution of bi- and multilingualism to the children's success as indicated by the dispersion of the data ($M = 1.5$, $SD = 1.05$). Literacy in Hungarian as well as bilingual literacy is valued by the parents, and they particularly value the maintenance of regular contact with the non-English speaking family members, emphasizing the decisive role of family in the preservation of heritage languages.

Table 9

Descriptive Data of Parents' Language Ideologies

	Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Factors contributing to (language) development	2.78	0.83	1	5
Positive statements about bi/multilingualism	1.5	1.05	1	5
Negative statements about bi/multilingualism and Hungarian	4.41	0.61	2.8	5
Literacy	1.68	0.69	1	3.67
Contact with family	1.4	0.69	1	5

Note. 1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree

Study 3

Language Management

Individuals as language managers often make decisions about language use, especially in bi- and multilingual contexts. As it becomes clear from the analyses of the interviews with first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary, language management exhibits a dynamic interplay with personal ideologies, language practices and external sociolinguistic influences. A significant sociolinguistic factor within the domestic sphere is the marital context. Participants in exogamous marriages predominantly use Hungarian with their spouses, whereas those in endogamous marriages demonstrate stronger efforts to maintain Turkish at home (see Excerpt 1). Father interviewees adhering to an "only Turkish" ideology emphasized the exclusive use of Turkish with their children, often reinforcing it with books, media, and cartoons. Conversely, language practices can also affect language management as some parents reported abandoning Turkish in child rearing

due to resistance from children or the dominance of Hungarian in the surrounding environment. This also highlights the prominent role of familial language policies in shaping intergenerational transmission of the heritage language (Spolsky, 2012).

Participants with higher educational attainment were found to engage more deliberately in preserving and transmitting Turkish to the next generation, However, these individuals also reported more frequent use of Hungarian in daily interactions (see Excerpt 2), highlighting their heightened experience of language shift. These individuals reported more frequent use of Hungarian in daily interactions (see Excerpt 3), reflecting the language shift that often accompanies integration.

Excerpt (1)

> ... The most important thing is to understand each other. I speak in solely Hungarian to my wife. It is easier so I do not switch with her. I don't feel the need.

Excerpt (2)

> Because of those children, well, we built the house completely in Turkish.

Excerpt (3)

> Now we deliberately keep the social media, TV, and radio in Turkish at home just for the kids. However, in the car, my radio has always been Hungarian. I use Hungarian seventy to eighty percent of the time in my daily life. It is very important. I've invested all my effort in Hungarian. Am I satisfied? So far, yes. But with the kids, I speak only Turkish.

Language Practices

Patterns of language use within the Turkish immigrant community in Hungary reflects practical considerations and sociolinguistic dynamics. Turkish is primarily used with the parents of the participants, serving as a medium for emotional connection and cultural heritage. However, interactions with children, particularly in exogamous families, are dominated by Hungarian (see Excerpt 4), reflecting the societal dominance of the majority language and interethnic language shift.

Excerpt (4)

> We speak Turkish with my parents, but with my children, it's all Hungarian. I try sometimes, but when I speak Turkish to my kids, they respond in Hungarian.

Examples such as this illustrate the gradual shift towards Hungarian within both family and social contexts. Multilingual practices are prevalent in social interactions, with language choice determined by context. Turkish is used with other Turks, Hungarian with Hungarians, and English or other international languages in intercultural settings (see Excerpt 5). Code-switching is common, reflecting the community's linguistic adaptability (see Excerpt 6).

Excerpt (5)

> In general, I use Hungarian with Hungarians, Turkish with Turks, and English with others, depending on the situation. It's all about what's needed at the moment.

Excerpt (6)

> We switch between languages even with our Turkish friends, sometimes just for fun. For example, we might say, 'Boldog szülinapot, barátom!' [Happy birthday, my friend!] in Hungarian, then add a smiley face to show we're not serious.

Participants also reported context-dependent literacy practices. Turkish and English are preferred for leisure reading, while Hungarian dominates professional and instructional contexts due to its utility in technical fields. Similarly, writing in Hungarian is common in work-related settings, even when communicating informally with Turkish friends.

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies significantly shape the practices of Turkish immigrants in Hungary, reflecting a tension between cultural preservation and integration. Hungarian is prioritized pragmatically for societal integration, while Turkish remains a key marker of identity with emotional and cultural significance (see Excerpt 7, Excerpt 8, Excerpt 9). This duality highlights

the complex relationship participants have with language: Hungarian is necessary for engagement with broader society, while Turkish serves as a vital marker of personal and cultural identity (see Excerpt 8).

Excerpt (7)

> Hungarian comes first for me. Why? Because I live here. I meet these people every day. At home, in family meetings, or during trips, we're mostly with Hungarians. You need to know the language. Without it, you feel incomplete and alienated.

Excerpt (8)

> Of course, Turkish has a special place for me, as it is my mother tongue.

To navigate this tension, participants emphasize multilingualism, advocating for the balanced use of Turkish, Hungarian, and even English (see Excerpt 10). However, they recognize the Turkish language decline as an inevitable consequence of integration.

Excerpt (9)

> Turkish is more important because it is our mother tongue... If you live here, speaking Hungarian is essential.

Excerpt (10)

> Children should use all languages—Hungarian, Turkish, and English. But Hungarian and Turkish are a must.

Despite Hungarian's dominance, participants express concern about the lack of institutional support for Turkish, which threatens its intergenerational transmission. They all see a weak future for the Turkish language (see Excerpt 11, Excerpt 12, Excerpt 13) Many call for the Turkish state's involvement, noting stronger heritage language programs in other European countries (Excerpt 13).

Excerpt (11)

> Turkish will be lost... Will I be sad? Yes, because I am Turkish. But will they (the kids) lose much in life? No.

Excerpt (12)

> Hungarian will be sufficient... There will be a loss of Turkish, but it's not a problem.

Excerpt (13)

> In Hungary, there's no system for teaching Turkish. The Turkish state should do more other countries like Germany or France do.

Discussion

Subsequent review studies have already ventured into the applicability of Spolsky's tripartite model (language beliefs, practices, and management) (Hollebeke et al. 2022; Lomeu Gomes 2018; Tamleh, Rezaei, & Boivin, 2022) providing a solid framework for an analytical lens, yet each study analyses the model from distinct perspectives that highlight both its usefulness and its limitations. Hollebeke et al. (2022) and Tamleh, Rezaei, and Boivin (2022) particularly emphasize the disconnectedness between parental ideologies and actual language use, revealing how easily strong heritage language beliefs fail to result in consistent practices due to children's preferences, societal norms, or institutional barriers. Lomeu Gomes (2019), in contrast, questions the frequent application of the Spolsky's model without sufficient reflection, calling attention to the uncritical adoption that overlooks power relations and Western-centric assumptions. These perspectives ultimately highlight that while Spolsky's framework is structurally sound, its practical application requires a much deeper exploration of the socio-political contexts that influences families' language choices.

Following these previous studies, this theoretical disparity becomes even more pronounced when the model is applied to the empirical cases illustrated in this paper, such as Algerian, Hungarian, and Turkish diasporas in Europe.

In France, the Algerian diaspora keeps maintaining the Arabic language in the private and religious spheres despite the high demands of monolingual policies. This persistence of autonomy confirms the disunion between the official language management endeavours and real-life linguistic practices,

highlighting the community's resilience against the pressure of assimilation. As Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018) emphasize, family language policy is shaped by dynamic and situational factors including children's agency and everyday interactions which are particularly evident in the Algerian case. In contrast, Hollebeke et al. (2022) show that in the Flemish context, the maintenance of heritage languages often relies more on conscious, structured family management, such as setting explicit rules about language use, than on oppositional or identity-driven strategies. These cases illustrate how varying sociopolitical environments and the role of family agency can shape divergent trajectories in heritage language practices.

Hungarian families in the UK work out meticulous strategies to support bilingualism among their children. Nonetheless, these efforts are often undermined by external factors such as peer interactions and educational environments, pointing towards a more fluid bilingual experience than initially intended by parental language management, echoing Hollebeke et al.'s findings on the gap between beliefs and practices. This is further supported by King and Fogle (2013), who highlight how parental aspirations for bilingualism are frequently reshaped by external social pressures. Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2022) reinforce the argument about the disconnect between parental ideologies and language practices, demonstrating that, despite strong ideologies (e.g., the desire to maintain Turkish), actual language use is significantly influenced by external factors such as children's language practices and societal expectations.

Turkish immigrants in Hungary face a pronounced language shift towards Hungarian due to the limited institutional support and prevalent intermarriage. These families illustrate how individual language management endeavours can be overshadowed, therefore setting an example as the most striking case of language shift, where external forces like limited institutional support and intermarriage override familial language intentions, as Tamleh, Rezaei, and Boivin (2022) observed. This observation aligns with Pauwels' (2016) analysis, which highlights how similar external pressures contribute to the decline of heritage language use. In contrast, in the Netherlands, institutional support, such as Turkish-language schools and community organizations, plays a significant role in preserving linguistic ties (Yağmur, de

Bot, & Korzilius, 1999), helping counteract the effects of language shift. Intermarriage also significantly influences language practices, often leading households to prioritize the dominant language of the wider society over heritage languages (De Klerk, 2001). These studies highlight the strengths of Spolsky's model and the limitations of its use but also stress the importance of including identity negotiation and broader social forces in family language policy research to get a clearer, more comprehensive picture.

Conclusions

This current study set out to examine the applicability of Spolsky's tripartite model across three distinct migratory contexts—Algerians in France, Hungarians in the UK, and Turks in Hungary—by exploring how language ideologies, practices, and management interact within diverse socio-political environments. The findings confirm that while the model offers a flexible and valuable structure for analysing family and community language policy, it does not fully capture the impact of external factors such as state-level monolingual policies, institutional support, educational pressures, or intermarriage. These variables proved to be decisive in shaping language behaviour and in either supporting or undermining efforts at language maintenance.

Across the three studies, different patterns of resilience, adaptation, and language shift were identified. Algerians in France maintain Arabic in private and religious domains despite state-imposed monolingualism, reflecting a disconnection between language management and community practice. Hungarian families in the UK demonstrate active language management strategies but face challenges from peer influence and education systems, resulting in fluid bilingualism. Meanwhile, Turkish families in Hungary experience a significant shift towards Hungarian, driven by societal integration pressures, lack of institutional support, and intermarriage illustrating the model's limitations in contexts of high external influence.

These findings underscore the need to revise or expand Spolsky's model to account for broader socio-political dynamics and the negotiation of multilingual identities. Language policy is shown here not as a static construct, but as a fluid, evolving process shaped by individual agency, family dynamics,

institutional environments, and societal expectations. Future research should aim to develop a more nuanced, context-sensitive framework that integrates these external dimensions, offering a more comprehensive tool for analysing language policy in complex, real-world multilingual settings.

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Fülöp Zsófia
Pannon Egyetem, Veszprém, Magyarország
sophie.fulop@gmail.com
Flih Zahia
Pannon Egyetem, Veszprém, Magyarország
zahia.flih@gmail.com
Gürses Beyza Nur
Pannon Egyetem, Veszprém, Magyarország
b.nurgurses@gmail.com
Bátyi Szilvia
Pannon Egyetem, Veszprém, Magyarország
batyi.szilvia@htk.uni-pannon.hu

SPOLSKY HÁROMPILLÉRŰ NYELVPOLITIKAI MODELLJÉNEK ALKALMAZHATÓSÁGA HÁROM KONTEXTUSBAN

Absztrakt. Jelen tanulmány Spolsky hárompillérű nyelvpolitikai modelljének alkalmazhatóságát értékeli, amely a nyelvi döntések, nyelvi gyakorlatok és nyelvi ideológiák hármasából áll, három különböző európai kisebbségi kontextusban. A kutatás a franciaországi algériaiakat, az Egyesült Királyságban élő magyarokat, illetve a magyarországi törököket vizsgálja. Az első tanulmány a tágabb, társadalmi szintre összpontosít, míg a második és harmadik tanulmány a családi színteret helyezi előtérbe. A franciaországi algériaiak esetében a tanulmány a nyelvi döntések meghozatalának folyamatát vizsgálja a kormányzat felülről lefelé irányuló nyelvpolitikájának elemzésével, valamint kérdőív segítségével elemzi az első generációs bevándorlók nyelvi meggyőződését és gyakorlatát. A második tanulmány a család szintjére helyezi át a hangsúlyt, és Spolsky hárompillérű modelljén alapuló kérdőív segítségével vizsgálja az Egyesült Királyságban élő magyar anyák kétnyelvűségi törekvéseit. Eközben a magyarországi török kontextusban félig strukturált mélyinterjúkat, valamint egy rövid kérdőívet használnak a török családok nyelvi döntései, nyelvi gyakorlatai és nyelvi ideológiáinak vizsgálatára. A tanulmányok eltérő eredményeket mutatnak be: az algériaiak erősen kitartanak az arab nyelv mellett, míg a francia egynyelvűségi politika súlyának és a francia nyelv használatára vonatkozó társadalmi igények ellenére. Továbbá, a magyar családok arra irányuló erőfeszítéseit, hogy gondosan ápolják gyermekeik kétnyelvűségét, aláássa az oktatásban tapasztalható külső nyomás, ami a kétnyelvűség folyékonyabb megéléséhez vezet. Ezzel szemben az eredmények a török bevándorlók magyar nyelv felé történő elmozdulását mutatják, amit a tömeges vegyesházasságok létrejötte és az intézményi támogatás hiánya indokol. Bár az eredmények hangsúlyozzák Spolsky modelljének alkalmazhatóságát a nyelvpolitika dimenzióinak bemutatására különböző kontextusokban, a modell nem veszi figyelembe a külső társadalmi-politikai és gazdasági tényezők hatásának és szerepének összetett rétegeit. Ezen kívül a modell csak részben magyarázza a többnyelvű identitás kialakulásának dinamikus jellegét. Ennek eredményeként ezen összetett tényezők alapos vizsgálata szükséges ahhoz, hogy jobban megértsük a nyelvpolitika folyékony és folyamatosan fejlődő természetét annak érdekében, hogy kontextus-érzékeny nyelvpolitika kerüljön kidolgozásra.

Kulcsszavak: kétnyelvűség; nyelvi meggyőződések; nyelvi döntések; nyelvpolitika; nyelvi gyakorlatok; Spolsky hármas modellje.

Zsófia Fülöp
Panonijos universitetas, Vengrija
sophie.fulop@gmail.com
Zahia Flih
Panonijos universitetas, Vengrija
zahia.flih@gmail.com
Beyza Nur Gürses
Panonijos universitetas, Vengrija
b.nurgurses@gmail.com
Szilvia Batyi
Panonijos universitetas, Vengrija
batyi.szilvia@htk.uni-pannon.hu

SPOLSKIO TRIJŲ DALIŲ MODELIO TAIKYMAS TRIJUOSE KONTEKSTUOSE

Anotacija. Šiame tyrime vertinamas Spolskio trijų dalių kalbos politikos modelio, susidedančio iš kalbos įsitikinimų, praktikos ir valdymo, taikymas trijose skirtingose mažumų aplinkose Europoje: Prancūzijoje gyvenantys alžyriečiai, Jungtinėje Karalystėje gyvenantys vengrai ir Vengrijoje gyvenantys turkai. Pirmoji tyrimo dalis dėmesį sutelkė į nacionalinį ir bendruomenės lygmenis, kitos dvi – į šeimos sritį. Prancūzijoje gyvenančių alžyriečių atvejo tyrimas nagrinėja kalbos valdymą atsižvelgdamas į vyriausybės nustatytą kalbos politiką ir apklausos būdu tiria pirmosios kartos imigrantų kalbinius įsitikinimus ir praktiką. Antrojo tyrimo dėmesio centre – šeima. Taikant Spolskio trijų dalių modelio pagrindu parengtą klausimyną, tirtos Jungtinėje Karalystėje gyvenančių vengriškai kalbančių motinų dvikalbystės ugdymo pastangos. Trečiajame tyrime nagrinėtas turkiškas kontekstas Vengrijoje: taikant pusiau struktūruotą giluminį interviu bei trumpą klausimyną, siekta ištirti turkų šeimų kalbos valdymą, įsitikinimus ir praktiką. Tyrimai pateikia skirtingus rezultatus. Alžyriečiai tvirtai gina arabų kalbą, nepaisydami prancūzų kalbos vienkalbystės politikos ir visuomenės reikalavimo vartoti prancūzų kalbą. Vengrų šeimų pastangas kruopščiai ugdyti vaikų dvikalbystę silpnina išoriniai švietimo sistemos veiksniai, todėl dvikalbystė labiau kinta. Turkų imigrantai pereina prie vengrų kalbos dėl mišrių santuokų ir institucinės paramos trūkumo. Šie rezultatai atskleidžia, kad Spolskio modelis pritaikomas aprašant kalbos politikos aspektus skirtingomis aplinkybėmis, vis dėlto jis nepakankamai atsižvelgia į išorinių socialinių, politinių ir ekonominių veiksnių poveikio ir vaidmens sudėtingumą. Be to, tik iš dalies atspindi dinamišką daugiakalbės tapatybės formavimąsi. Todėl įžvalgos reikalauja nuodugniai ištirti sudėtingus aspektus, siekiant geriau suprasti kintamą ir nuolat besikeičiantį kalbos politikos pobūdį, bei sukurti kalbų politiką, labiau atitinkančią kontekstą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: dvikalbystė; kalbos įsitikinimai; kalbos valdymas; kalbos politika; kalbos praktika; Spolskio trijų dalių modelis.

Milda Kiškė

Vilniaus kolegija / Higher Education Institution, Lithuania

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND WAGE PREMIUMS: A REVIEW OF ANALYTICAL MODELS WITH REFERENCE TO LITHUANIA

Abstract. This paper reviews multiple cross-national empirical studies and proposes a comparative analytical framework for the economic value of multilingualism in the Lithuanian labour market. The study draws on the concepts of human capital theory, language economics and communication efficiency models. By synthesising the main findings on multilingual labour markets, the paper shows how wage differentials related to language skills can be analysed using different statistical methods. The study uses an illustrative simulated data set based on the PIAAC methodology. The data indicate that individuals with proficiency in the national language (host-country) skills can expect an average wage premium of 18.8%. The findings of the study suggest that to strengthen the workforce in Lithuania, it would be beneficial to integrate language policy with educational and employment systems. The statistical results presented in this paper are based on a simulated dataset modelled on the PIAAC framework and do not represent empirical findings from real Lithuanian labour force data. Additionally, the proposed analytical model provides a novel perspective and addresses a specific gap in existing research on the economics of multilingualism in Lithuania. The framework highlights policy levers such as transparent language requirements, targeted L2 support, and recognition of minority language capital—that can operationalise sustainable multilingualism, i.e., maintain linguistic diversity while improving equitable labour-market access in Lithuania.

Keywords: economic value; labour market; language skills; multilingualism; wage premium.

Introduction

Background

The economic value of multilingualism has attracted growing scholarly attention. Recent studies have shown a direct relationship between language skills, income, employment prospects, and career opportunities. This paper reviews the most cited and influential research studies in the field of language economics and multilingualism, serving as the foundation for the current research study.

The studies reveal that multilingual labour markets, such as those examined in Québec, Wales, Switzerland, Catalonia, Estonia, Latvia, Germany, Italy and Poland, create a positive environment in which foreign language proficiency offers a clear competitive advantage. Researchers have attempted to measure the wage premiums related to multilingualism, both for native speakers and immigrants. Together, these studies show that language skills often bring significant economic benefits (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012; Albouy, 2008). However, the studies examined revealed that the economic benefits gained from language skills heavily depend on institutional, cultural and regional factors.

This gap presents an opportunity to review broader hypotheses of analytical models in language economics with reference to Lithuania. However, the findings of methodological approaches which aimed to determine the relationship between wage premiums and individual economic outcomes are difficult to systemise, because they often differ drastically due to the various analytical techniques and contexts used. The key challenges that the scholars faced were issues such as endogeneity, selection bias, and unobserved heterogeneity. Thus, to overcome the above-listed issues, researchers have employed tools such as Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS), Propensity Score Matching (PSM), and fixed-effects panel models. For example, TSLS utilises special variables to help identify cause-and-effect relationships, while PSM compares individuals with similar characteristics but different language skills to examine how language affects outcomes.

Hence, keeping the above-mentioned issues in mind, this paper does not aim to produce new empirical data; instead, it seeks to provide

outcomes in Lithuania remain scarce, making it an ideal setting to test the broader hypotheses of language economics.

In contrast to Switzerland, where multilingual legal framework of several languages is officially recognised, or in Catalonia, where both languages Catalan and Spanish have equal status and economic value with a presumption that language proficiency in either can lead to better employment outcomes (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012), Lithuania, by recognising only one official language, increases the economic importance of knowing Lithuanian.

While the Law on the Legal Status of Foreigners (further referred to as the Foreigners' Law) (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, 2004) does not explicitly mention language acquisition; its references to integration and naturalisation, aligned with EU frameworks, implicitly include linguistic and cultural adaptation. Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Lithuania implemented the "Language Learning as Part of Successful Social Integration" project (2020–2022) to support migrant integration, targeting third-country nationals and language teachers. The initiative, inspired by models from Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, aimed to enhance access to education and employment through structured Lithuanian language instruction (Lietuvos Respublikos socialinės apsaugos ir darbo ministerija, 2018). Furthermore, Lithuania's parliament has recently passed amendments to the State Language Law (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, 1995–2023) that will require foreigners and the companies employing them to serve clients in Lithuania in the national language starting in January 2026. The legislation aims to enhance communication and customer service in Lithuania while striking a balance between the needs of foreign employees and businesses. The strict language policy makes language more than just a communication tool; it is also a structural access mechanism to economic inclusion and upward mobility.

Between 2001 and 2020, Lithuania experienced the most significant relative decrease in demographics (−20%) and showed the highest increase in median age among other European Union countries during the period 2002–2022 (Eurostat, 2023). New migration inflows partially substitute for the decrease. Among newcomers to Lithuania, Belarusians made up the largest

group, with 15,675 arrivals in 2023, followed by Ukrainians (10,539) and Kyrgyz (3,227). Despite ongoing labour shortages in such sectors as cleaning, food service, manufacturing, healthcare, education, and construction, the Lithuanian government has recently tightened employment rules for foreign employees (European Labour Authority, 2023). Currently, only individuals with residence permits are allowed to work in the country. However, certain employees, including teachers, researchers, and citizens from economically developed countries, are exempt from this policy and have easier access to the Lithuanian job market.

Lithuania continues to face labour shortages in 59 different occupations, as noted in a recent report. However, the government is seeking to balance these shortages with stricter rules for foreign employment, aiming to maintain control over its workforce and ensure that citizens are served in the national language (European Labour Authority, 2023). As migrants are funnelled into low-skill or non-client-facing roles without language training, those with stronger Lithuanian skills command clear wage premiums and better career mobility.

Together, these dynamics position Lithuania as a compelling case where monolingual legal structures, migrant integration policies, and demographic trends converge to institutionalise the economic value of Lithuanian proficiency. Unlike multilingual societies where legal pluralism dilutes the dominance of a single language, Lithuania's unitary framework sharply accentuates the link between language skills and earnings potential, aligning with the wage premium trends illustrated in this paper's simulated model.

Objectives and Research Questions

The main *objective* of this study is to provide a conceptual and methodological synthesis of the analytical models used to assess the economic value of multilingualism. Specifically, the study seeks:

1.   to review how various statistical models have been applied to estimate wage premiums associated with multilingualism;

2.   to integrate these models into a unified framework that improves coherence and comparability;

3.   to identify gaps in existing research and suggest methodological improvements for future studies.

To guide this analysis, the following *research questions* were formulated:

1.   How have different analytical and statistical models been employed to measure the economic value of multilingualism and wage differentials across countries?

2.   What methodological patterns and key variables emerge from existing studies on language proficiency and earnings?

3.   To what extent can these models be adapted or applied to analyse Lithuania's multilingual labour market?

4.   How can the synthesis of previous approaches contribute to a unified conceptual framework for future empirical research?

The paper is organised as follows. First, it defines and critically examines the concept of multilingualism, highlighting its evolving interpretations within the academic literature. Second, it examines the wage premiums earned by immigrants in host countries, with a focus on the impact of language skills on labour market integration. Third, attention shifts to native speakers in multilingual regions, examining how language competencies function as economic capital. Fourth, the paper presents the methodology, discussing in detail the statistical techniques employed to synthesise previous research. Finally, the paper concludes with key insights and policy implications for researchers and decision-makers, aiming to promote more inclusive multilingual labour markets.

Literature Review

Changing Concept of Multilingualism

The rise of digital communication tools and globalisation has significantly expanded our understanding of multilingualism over the past few decades (Hahm & Gazzola, 2022). Previously, the key function of

multilingualism served as an intercommunicational tool and cognitive asset to enhance intercultural awareness and facilitate communication (Gazzola & Mazzacani, 2019). However, due to the intensive interconnections in intensely globalised labour markets, the function of multilingualism has expanded beyond intercultural communication to promoting economic mobility, enhancing workforce adaptability, and informing language-related policy decisions.

Studies have shown a direct relationship between language skills, a form of human capital, and productivity and employability (Becker, 1993; Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Different communicative environments are more user-friendly to multilingual individuals, as their functional ability to manipulate more than one language in turn strengthens their position in the labour market. In addition to these functional benefits, a multilingual individual is also regarded as more successful in cognitive work-related environments, such as those that value flexibility, creativity, and problem-solving ability, qualities that are especially valued in knowledge-intensive sectors of the modern economy (Budría et al., 2019).

The economic benefits of multilingualism are especially well recognised in countries where legal frameworks and government programs determine language diversity. For example, a law called Bill 101 in Québec was designed to protect the status of the French language. As a result, individuals proficient in both French and another language tend to gain higher wage premiums compared to those who speak only one language (Shapiro & Stelcner, 1997; Albouy, 2008). Similarly, in Catalonia, the established language policy has helped individuals proficient in Catalan (and Spanish) gain a competitive advantage (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012).

The concept of multilingualism has expanded over recent decades. The studies highlight the need to reconsider the analytical frameworks that embrace both economic returns and socio-cultural linguistic functions (Budría et al., 2019; Hahm & Gazzola, 2022).

In recent years, researchers have employed various theories, including Human Capital Theory, Language Economics Theory, and Communication Efficiency Models, to understand how knowing more than one language affects individuals in the labour market. Table 1 summarises the main theories that

scholars used to determine how multilingualism can create economic value in the workplace.

Table 1

Key Theoretical Approaches Explaining the Economic Value of Multilingualism in the Workplace

Theory	Key Concepts	Application to Multilingualism	Supporting Studies
Human Capital Theory	Skills as economic assets; productivity enhancement.	Language proficiency enhances productivity, adaptability, and labour market integration.	Becker (1993); Chiswick & Miller (2003).
Language Economics Theory	Direct and Indirect Value of Language Skills.	Provides immediate returns through employability and wage premiums; enhances other human capital forms.	Budría et al. (2019); Zorlu & Hartog (2018).
Communication Efficiency Models	Reduced communication barriers, increased productivity.	Language proficiency improves information exchange and market access.	Stöhr (2015); Isphording (2015).

Human Capital Theory views language proficiency as a valuable skill, demonstrating that an individual with good language skills is more productive and inclusive, especially in multilingual work environments. This suggests that language proficiency influences the wage premium and better employment opportunities (Becker, 1964; Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Language Economics Theory categorises the economic value of language skills into two categories: direct benefits and indirect benefits gained from multilingualism in the labour market (Budría et al., 2019; Zorlu & Hartog, 2018). The tangible benefits refer to higher personal incomes and more fluent participation in job opportunities. More transparent communication and easier knowledge transfer increase work productivity in the workplace and are referred to as the intangible benefits gained from multilingualism in the job market (Budría et al., 2019; Zorlu & Hartog, 2018). Thus, it is suggested that language skills increase in value when combined with education and job-specific skills. Furthermore, Communication Efficiency Models emphasise that speaking multiple languages reduces misunderstandings and enhances collaboration, thereby increasing overall efficiency in multilingual workplaces (Stöhr, 2015; Isphording, 2015).

Wage Premiums Earned by Immigrants in Host Countries

Wage premiums earned by immigrants in host countries are one of the clearest indicators of the economic value of multilingualism, resulting in higher incomes, better labour market mobility, and smoother integration into the host country's social and economic environment (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Budría et al., 2019). The findings from labour markets in regions such as North America, Europe, and Australia suggest the importance of investing in human capital to improve productivity and help immigrant employees succeed in the labour market, as well as to prove the relationship between language acquisition and labour market outcomes (Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Studies show that highly skilled immigrants with strong command of the dominant language earn more and transition jobs more readily.

The height of wage premiums for immigrants from language skills varies significantly depending on the specific context of the host country. For example, cases in Canada and the United States proved that proficiency in the host language strongly correlates with increased earnings (Albouy, 2008; Shapiro & Stelcner, 1997; Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Strong language skills in either English or French among immigrants in Canada have been associated with higher earnings compared to those with limited language skills (Albouy, 2008; Shapiro & Stelcner, 1997). Similarly, in the United States, recent immigrants who were proficient in English and had not yet established themselves in the labour market earned more than those with no skills in the dominant language (Chiswick & Miller, 1995). While the current research focuses on economic factors related to language acquisition, studies in the field are showing a growing recognition of the broader social benefits of language proficiency among immigrants.

Wage Premiums Earned from Language Skills for Natives in Multilingual Markets

The second strand of existing literature examines the benefits that natives derive from foreign language proficiency in bilingual or multilingual labour markets, particularly in environments where individuals are proficient in

both regional and national languages (Shapiro & Stelcner, 1997; Grin & Sfreddo, 1998; Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012). Cases from countries such as Canada, Wales, Switzerland, Catalonia in Spain, as well as other European countries, have sparked the interest of researchers in the field.

To estimate wage differentials related to language skills, researchers employed several quantitative methods. Shapiro and Stelcner (1997) analysed the impact of bilingualism on income in Québec using a specialised statistical model that helped to address problems when the data were biased or not fully representative. They employed a two-step method that included a so-called probit model to address the issues arising from the selection of data, thereby allowing them to analyse wage differences between language groups over 20 years using census data from 1971, 1981, and 1991. The study results revealed that bilingual Francophone individuals gained significant economic benefits, while monolingual Anglophones, particularly those working part-time, were at a relative disadvantage. The study also highlights the role of Québec's 1977 Bill 101, which had a significant impact on the use of the French language, thus creating more possibilities for French-speaking employees in the job market.

Similarly, to determine the wage differences between French-speaking and English-speaking employees, Albouy (2008) combined three methods: Mincer-type wage regressions, Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition, and quantile regressions. First, basic wage regressions were conducted to examine how factors such as language affect income. Second, a method called Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition helped determine what part of the wage gap is due to fundamental differences (such as education or experience) and what part cannot be easily explained (possibly due to discrimination or other hidden reasons). Third, quantile regressions were used to examine whether the wage gap varies depending on whether someone earns a low, middle, or high income. Using census data from 1970 to 2000, the study showed that the pay gap between French and English speakers in Québec decreased by about 25 percentage points. In the rest of Canada, the gap narrowed by only about 10 points. The study findings suggest that this change in Québec was not because French speakers started earning a lot more—it was mainly because English speakers in Québec started earning less. Albouy (2008) explained that

this occurred due to changes in Québec's economy and a key language law, Bill 101, introduced in 1977, which gave the French language a stronger role in society. His study reveals that language-related income disparities often depend on local government policies and broader social structures.

In their study, Grin and Sfreddo (1998) examined the wage premium that individuals in Switzerland earn based on the language they speak. Using a statistical analysis called OLS regression, Grin and Sfreddo (1988) examined the impact of education, job experience, and language skills on wage premiums. Focusing on Italian speakers, the study compared their wages to those of German and French speakers, aiming to test whether multilingual employees (especially those with Italian plus another official language) received wage premiums. Moreover, to make their results more accurate, they examined residents living in different parts of Switzerland and also separated the data between all residents and Swiss citizens only. Their results showed that Italian speakers often earn less, especially if they live in areas where Italian is not the main language. Hence, the results suggest that a minority language may still face disadvantages even in a country with multiple official languages. However, the study acknowledges that its data has some limitations regarding other important factors that might affect the results.

Using census data from 1991 and 1996, Rendon (2007) found proper evidence regarding the influence of language skills on employment and income in the Catalan region. The study findings showed that employability possibilities increased by 3–5 percentage points for people who could read and speak fluently in Catalan, while those who could also write in Catalan saw a 2–6 percentage point advantage. Later, Di Paolo and Raymond (2012) employed the Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) method to exclude any biases in the results where language skills and wages might influence each other. The study findings showed that skills in the Catalan language increased monthly earnings by approximately 7.5% under the standard regression, and the percentage grew to 18% after controlling for bias and possible errors. Hence, the study findings suggest that fluency in the Catalan language offers clear economic benefits in the region.

Table 2 compares the wage premiums earned from language skills in different regions. The table includes information such as language laws in

the area, the importance and prevalence of the language in the region, the methodological approaches employed, and the limitations of the research. This comprehensive summary contributes to a better acknowledgement of how the economic returns to language skills vary depending on the regional context and the sociolinguistic status of the language.

Table 2

The Comparative Analysis of Wage Premiums Earned from Language Skills Across Various Regions

Region	Wage Premium Range (%)	Statistical Models Applied	Key Findings	Limitations
Québec (Canada)	25 (Francophones)	OLS, Probit, TSLS	Bilingualism benefits Francophones; Anglophones face disadvantages. Bill 101 enhanced the economic status of Francophones.	Limited generalizability beyond Québec; focus on Francophones and Anglophones.
Wales (UK)	8–10	Econometric Models	Bilingual workers earn approximately 8–10% more than monolinguals.	Small sample size; limited sectoral representation.
Switzerland	-5 (Italians)	OLS Regression	Italian speakers face economic disadvantages compared to German and French speakers.	Inconsistent statistical significance across models.
Catalonia (Spain)	7.5–18	TSLS, OLS	Catalan proficiency increases employment probability by 3–6 percentage points. Accounting for endogeneity increases wage premiums from 7.5% to 18%.	Regional specificity; limited generalizability.
Estonia & Latvia	10	Econometric Analysis	Local language proficiency increases income, particularly in the public sector.	Limited applicability to private sector economic returns.

Region	Wage Premium Range (%)	Statistical Models Applied	Key Findings	Limitations
Germany, Italy, Spain	13 (Germany)	Probit Models	English proficiency enhances employment prospects; French proficiency is negligible.	Limited discussion on societal and cultural factors.
Poland & Abroad	6–22	Survey-Based Analysis	Foreign language proficiency offers a 6% wage premium in Poland and a 22% premium abroad. Higher premiums for Spanish, Italian, and French than for English.	Lack of a detailed breakdown of contributing factors.

The table illustrates how wage premiums from language proficiency vary according to different factors. For example, after the establishment of Bill 101, in Québec, people with skills in both French and English tend to earn more than those who speak only one language (English speakers) (Shapiro & Stelcner, 1997; Albouy, 2008).

As has been shown, in Catalonia, knowledge of Catalan enhances both job opportunities and earnings, especially after controlling for any biases where language skills and wages might influence each other (Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012). In comparison, the study findings from Estonia and Latvia show that wage premiums are only evident in the public sector, thus suggesting that economic rewards from language skills are highly dependent on government policies and formal language rules (Toomet, 2011; Ridala, 2020).

Furthermore, the table confirms the notion that the English language remains the dominant language in the international business world (Gazzola & Mazzacani, 2019; Liwiński, 2018). The study findings from Germany, Poland, and other parts of Europe support this fact, showing that proficiency in English brings obvious financial advantages (Gazzola & Mazzacani, 2019; Liwiński, 2018). On the other hand, the research findings suggest that proficiency in minority languages, such as Italian in Switzerland, may earn less outside their

home language regions (Grin & Sfreddo, 1998; Cattaneo & Winkelmann, 2005).

Taken together, these comparisons confirm the interdependability between how local language policies and legal frameworks influence the economic value of language skills in the labour market. Thus, there is a need to standardise research methods, which would create a better environment for comparing and interpreting findings across different countries and regional contexts.

Although numerous international studies have examined language proficiency and wage premiums, research in the Lithuanian context is minimal. To the best of the author's knowledge, there are no comprehensive Lithuanian-language studies that directly analyse the economic value of multilingualism. Existing publications tend to focus on education or migration rather than quantitative labour-market outcomes. Similar gaps exist in other Baltic states. Therefore, this review aims to consolidate existing analytical approaches and provide a foundation for future empirical investigations in Lithuania and the Baltic region.

To address these limitations, this study introduces a unified framework that integrates diverse statistical models, standardises data collection practices, and incorporates the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of multilingualism. This approach offers a more comprehensive understanding of how language proficiency affects wage outcomes and employment opportunities across diverse regional contexts.

Methodology

This methodological framework presents a structured review of the statistical models used to estimate the economic value of multilingualism. It is important noting that these models are presented illustratively to show how prior studies addressed endogeneity, selection bias, and unobserved heterogeneity. Instead, the aim here is to explain how past studies have applied these tools to overcome the common research problems, such as biased samples (endogeneity), hidden variables, or unclear cause-and-effect relationships (heterogeneity).

Data Collection and Standardization

This review integrates data from various sources, such as national labour market surveys, longitudinal studies, structured questionnaires, and data from legal documents. By combining these different types of data, it offers a comprehensive analysis of how wage premiums from multilingualism vary across regions.

Table 3 provides a structured summary that introduces the type of data used (for example, job surveys, long-term studies, questionnaires) and statistical methods employed to analyse that data (such as regression models or matching techniques) to determine wage premiums from language proficiency. To better compare research results in the field conducted across different regions, we emphasised the aim and limitations of the studies, as well as the benefits gained from the language proficiency. The existing literature in the focus field employs various types of data and statistical approaches to determine the economic value of language skills. Findings from several studies are based on national labour market data, allowing for the analysis of large-scale cross-sectional data (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Albouy, 2008; Gazzola & Mazzacani, 2019). Techniques such as Propensity Score Matching (PSM), Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) and fixed or random effects models were commonly employed to determine the differences in wage premiums depending on language knowledge.

The studies by Aldashev et al. (2009) and Ridala (2020) utilised panel data to examine the dynamics of how language skills influence career possibilities over a longer time period.

Structured questionnaires applied by Budría et al. (2019) and Liwiński (2018) focused on qualitative language use. The authors applied PSM and probit models and compared wage premiums between groups with differing language skills.

Table 3

Summarised Data Sources and Statistical Methods Applied by the Reviewed Studies to Analyze Wage Premiums from

Language Skills

Data Source	Variables Collected	Measurement Techniques	Statistical Models Applied	Purpose	Benefits	Limitations	Supporting Studies
National Labour Market Surveys	Language Proficiency, Earnings, Employment Status, Education, Demographics, Occupation.	Structured Surveys, Government Reports (e.g., OECD, Eurostat, ILO).	PSM, TSLS, Fixed/Random Effects.	Cross-sectional analysis of language-related wage premiums.	Large sample size, statistical precision.	Limited data on individual progression over time.	Chiswick & Miller (1995); Gazzola & Mazzacani (2019); Albouy (2008).
Longitudinal Studies	Language Skills (Over Time), Career Progression, Earnings Growth, Occupational Mobility.	Repeated Surveys, Panel Data Sets (e.g., Germany, Eurostat Panels).	Panel Data Analysis, TSLS, Fixed-Effects Models.	Dynamic analysis of language skills' impact over time.	Tracks individual progression, reduces bias.	Limited availability of longitudinal data.	Aldashev et al. (2009); Ridala (2020); Di Paolo & Raymond (2012).
Structured Questionnaires	Language Proficiency (Self-Assessment), Social Capital, Cultural Integration, Perceived Language Value.	Self-Reported Surveys, Interviews, Focus Groups.	PSM, Probit Models.	Comparison of language-related premiums across groups.	Controls for observable characteristics.	Susceptible to self-reporting bias.	Budría et al. (2019); Liwiński (2018); Toomet (2011).
Institutional Data	Historical Language Policies, Regional Legal Frameworks.	Official Documents, Legal Reports.	Fixed/Random Effects Models, TSLS.	Analyzing institutional impacts on wage premiums.	Captures legal and policy effects.	Limited comparability across regions.	Shapiro & Stelcner (1997); Grin & Sfreddo (1998); Cattaneo & Winkelmann (2005).

Several research papers aimed to establish a better understanding of how language policies and legal rules across different regions influence economic outcomes over time. Shapiro & Stelcner (1997), Grin & Sfreddo (1998), and Cattaneo & Winkelmann (2005) applied the Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) method to explore whether an individual earns higher premiums due to language proficiency or whether other hidden factors influence the results.

The various methods and data sources used in the existing literature of the focus field make the findings summarised in the table more credible and reliable across multiple multilingual contexts.

Statistical Models and Techniques

This section discusses how different statistical models were used to analyse the relationship between language skills and wage differentials. The formulae presented below serve to solely illustrate the types of methods that other researchers have used in similar studies, as well as the references to existing methodologies applied by previous researchers.

Two-stage Least Squares (TSLS)

Researchers use the TSLS method in the literature reviewed when they suspect that undefined factors, such as motivation or socio-economic background, could distort the results when trying to determine how strongly language skills influence higher income. By using instrumental variables (IVs), this method helps filter out factors related to language skills but not directly related to income. The TSLS model comprises two steps. In the first step, the model predicts language proficiency using the instrumental variables. In the second step, this prediction is used to estimate the actual impact of language skills on income, without the bias from the hidden factors. Illustrative Formulas (For Reference Only):

1. Instrumental Variable Regression:

$$L_i = \alpha 0 + \alpha 1 Z_i + \alpha 2 X_i + u_i$$

Where:

Li = Predicted Language Proficiency.

Zi = Instrumental Variable (e.g., Age at Immigration, Parental Language).

Xi = Control Variables (e.g., Education, Gender, Occupation).

ui= Error Term.

2.   Second Stage (Outcome Regression):

$$Yi = \beta 0 + \beta 1 Li^\wedge + \beta 2 Xi + \epsilon i$$

Where:

Yi = Economic Outcome (e.g., Earnings).

$Li^\wedge$ = Language proficiency as predicted by the first regression

ϵi = Error Term.

In their research, Di Paolo & Raymond (2012) used TSLS to determine wage premiums regarding Catalan proficiency. Researchers noticed that language skills might be connected to other hidden factors (like motivation or family background), which could distort the results when trying to see if speaking a language leads to higher income. This is referred to as a problem of endogeneity.

To overcome this problem, they employed a special method called Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS). Instead of directly using language skills, they first predicted language ability based on something not directly related to income, in this case, how much the person was exposed to the language in the past (this is called an instrumental variable). Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, they found that speaking the local language led to a 7.5% higher income. However, when they used the TSLS method (which better isolates cause and effect), the estimate jumped to 18%. This means that after correcting for hidden influences, the effect of language skills on wages turned out to be even bigger.

Similarly, Albouy (2008) employed the same method to investigate income differences between French and English speakers in Québec, aiming to

understand the impact of language skills alone on earnings, without other factors interfering.

Propensity Score Matching (PSM)

The PSM method compares individuals with similar characteristics but differing language skills.

Illustrative Formulas (For Reference Only):

1.   Estimating Propensity Scores:

$$P(Ti) = Pr(Ti = 1 \mid Xi)$$

Where:

Ti = Treatment Variable (1 if proficient, zero if not).

Xi = Vector of Control Variables (e.g., Education, Age, Occupation).

2.   Matching Process:

Nearest Neighbour Matching: Compare each treated individual with the most similar untreated individual.

Kernel Matching: Use a weighted average of all individuals based on their propensity scores.

3.   Treatment Effect Calculation:

$$ATE = E[Yi(1) - Yi(0)]$$

Where:

$Yi(1)$ = Outcome for treated individuals.

$Yi(0)]$ = Outcome for untreated individuals.

Chiswick and Miller (1995) and Budría et al. (2019) both used a method called Propensity Score Matching (PSM) to make fair comparisons between people with different language abilities. Chiswick and Miller (1995) looked at immigrants in the U.S. and compared how much bilingual immigrants earn versus monolingual ones, making sure the two groups were similar in other ways (like age, education, etc.). Budría et al. (2019) conducted a similar study in Europe, comparing wages across individuals from different language groups while matching them with similar backgrounds to ensure a fair comparison. It

helped to isolate the effect of language skills by making sure the people being compared are alike in all other important ways. Therefore, if there is a difference in wages, it is more likely due to language ability, rather than something else.

Panel Data Analysis

Panel data analysis is employed to capture dynamic effects over time. Illustrative Formulas (For Reference Only):

1. Fixed-Effects Model:

$$Yit = \alpha i + \beta Lit + \gamma Xit + uit$$

Where:

Yit = Outcome Variable (e.g., Earnings) for individual iii at time ttt.

Lit = Language Proficiency.

Xit = Time-variant Control Variables (e.g., Employment Type, Education).

αi = Individual-Specific Effect (constant over time).

UIT = Error Term.

2. Random-Effects Model:

$$Yit = \alpha + \beta Lit + \gamma Xit + \mu i + uit$$

Where:

Yit =Earnings for individual at time i at time t

Lit Language proficiency

Aldashev et al. (2009) investigated the economic returns of language proficiency among foreigners in West Germany. They found that language skills have a positive influence on employment probabilities and occupational choices, particularly in white-collar professions. However, the direct effect of language proficiency on earnings diminished when controlling for occupational selection and economic sector characteristics. Ridala (2020) applied panel data models to assess the impact of multilingualism on labour market outcomes in Estonia and Latvia.

Fixed and Random Effects Models

To control for unobserved heterogeneity across individuals and regions. Illustrative Formulas (For Reference Only):

1.   Fixed-Effects Model:

$$Yi = \alpha i + \beta Li + \gamma Xi + \epsilon i$$

2.   Random-Effects Model:

$$Yi = \alpha + \beta Li + \gamma Xi + \mu i + \epsilon i$$

Grin & Sfreddo (1998) and Cattaneo & Winkelmann (2005) applied these models to analyze wage differentials in Switzerland.

The application of these statistical models provides a comprehensive framework for assessing the economic value of multilingualism. By examining how these methods have been used in various studies, this review identifies best practices and methodological gaps that future research should address.

Comparative Analytical Framework

To understand how multilingualism affects economic, social, and cultural outcomes, researchers employ a structured approach that incorporates various statistical methods. Comparing outcomes across countries or regions becomes easier when this structure highlights how factors such as government policy, cultural context or economic conditions influence the income associated with language skills. Many of these studies employ methods such as TSLS, PSM, panel data analysis, and fixed or random effects — not only to avoid bias but also to enhance the accuracy of the results.

Empirical Methods

Based on data from Lithuania, particularly from employed persons aged 25 to 65, this study demonstrates how the analytical framework operates. The information comes from the OECD's PIAAC survey (OECD, 2016), which collects details about people's work, skills and personal background across countries.

To create the model, this Lithuanian subset was taken from the larger international dataset. Monthly income (G_Q07a_REC), the most important variable in the analysis, was taken from a survey in which income was expressed in ranges. To estimate a single number for each person, the researchers used the mean value of each range. Then, to make the numbers easier to work with and compare, especially because some incomes are much higher than others, they transformed the income values using a mathematical tool called the natural logarithm. This smoothes out the differences between low and high incomes, making the patterns in the data easier to identify and analyse.

To determine language proficiency, three specific questions were asked in the survey: the language in which the test was taken (L_TestLang), the language spoken at home (B_Q01a), and how well respondents reported they could speak the test language (L_SpeakLangTest). Respondents were considered fluent in the national language if they completed the test in Lithuanian and stated that they spoke Lithuanian at home. In addition to language skills, other background factors such as educational level based on ISCED categories (B_Q06a), age (AGE_R) and gender (GENDER_R) were also a part of the analysis.

The current paper used version 2.3 of the PIAAC dataset (published in 2023) for this analysis. However, the background questionnaire containing the survey questions was last updated in 2012. Lithuania participated in Round 1 of PIAAC, thus there is no newer version of the questionnaire for the Lithuanian data. Hence, all survey items and variable references used in this study are based on the 2012 background questionnaire, which is the standard for all countries in Round 1, including Lithuania.

All data simulations and statistical analyses in this study were conducted using R software (version 4.3.3). Core functions employed include lm() for Ordinary Least Squares regression and base R data generation functions for simulation. This approach ensures transparency and reproducibility in the modelling of wage differentials related to language proficiency. In addition to language skills, the model also included other important factors that could influence salary, such as age, gender and education level, so that the impact of language skills could be

measured more clearly. The model specification is:

$$\log(wage) = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Language\_Proficiency}) + \beta_2(\text{Education}) + \beta_3(\text{Gender}) + \beta_4(\text{Age}) + \varepsilon$$

The model, therefore, attempts to measure the contribution of language knowledge to income after accounting for the effects of education, gender, and age. The illustration is consistent with prior evidence that host-language proficiency is associated with higher wages.

It is worth noting that while the OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) provides rich microdata across countries, key variables for Lithuania, including wage measures and language background indicators, are missing from both the Public Use File (PUF) and complete datasets (OECD, 2016). As a result, this paper employs a simulated dataset modelled on the PIAAC framework to illustrate the analytical methodology.

This approach provides a transparent and replicable foundation for future empirical research once the complete Lithuanian data become available. Simulation enables the exploration of theoretical relationships even in the absence of complete national microdata, offering a valuable interim solution for hypothesis testing and model demonstration.

Variables and Simulated Results

The primary objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between language proficiency and wage outcomes in multilingual labour markets. To support this objective, a small-scale empirical illustration was conducted using a simulated dataset modelled on the structure and coding of the OECD PIAAC dataset for Lithuania (OECD, 2016). While this simulation does not allow for empirical validation, it demonstrates how the proposed analytical framework can be operationalised using available international datasets. The analysis is based solely on simulated data reflecting the structure of the OECD PIAAC dataset for Lithuania.

A simplified regression model was simulated using realistic, PIAAC-inspired data to explore how language proficiency could affect wages in Lithuania. It is important to note that the calculations used in these sections are a simulation, not real-world data. It is based on the PIAAC variable structure but with randomly generated values. The goal is to illustrate how the model might work if we had actual Lithuanian microdata. The simulated regression was employed as described in this section below. First, we generated 500 hypothetical individuals aged between 25 and 65. Second, we assigned population-tested, realistic-looking values for income, education, age, gender, and language proficiency. The variables assigned to each person tested were as follows:

- Wages (G_Q07a_REC): Monthly gross earnings were simulated in brackets and recoded using midpoint values to approximate a continuous wage variable.

- Monthly income in brackets → converted to midpoints → then converted to log(wage). The natural logarithm of these values was used as the dependent variable to allow interpretation in percentage terms.

- Language Proficiency (L_SpeakLangTest, L_TestLang, B_Q01a): defined as "proficient" if a person took the test in Lithuania or spoke Lithuanian at home. This proxy represents host-country language proficiency, the main independent variable.

- Education (B_Q06a): simulated educational attainment was categorized into Low, Medium, and High using ISCED classifications and given its strong association with labour market outcomes.

- Age (AGE_R): simulated as a continuous control variable to account for experience and lifecycle wage effects.

- Gender (GENDER_R): simulated as a binary control variable (Male/Female) to reflect potential gender-based wage differentials.

- Employment Status (B_Q04a): all simulated individuals were considered employed, consistent with the real PIAAC filtering applied in Section 4.1.

Table 4

Variable Definitions and Roles in the Simulated Regression Model

Variable Name	PIAAC Code / Source	Description	Role
Wage	G_Q07a_REC	Monthly gross earnings (simulated using midpoints from income brackets)	Dependent variable
Language Proficiency	L_SpeakLangTest, L_TestLang, B_Q01a	Proficiency in Lithuanian based on test language and home use	Independent variable
Education (Low/Med/High)	B_Q06a	Simulated education levels using ISCED categories	Control variable
Age	AGE_R	Continuous age variable (25–65)	Control variable
Gender (Male/Female)	GENDER_R	Binary gender variable	Control variable
Employment Status	B_Q04a	All participants were considered employed	Sample filter only

Third, we converted income to log form so that effects are easier to interpret and be less distorted by very high wages. Fourth, we applied a basic Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression using the following formula:

$$\log(\text{Wage}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Language Proficiency}) + \beta_2(\text{Education}) + \beta_3(\text{Age}) + \beta_4(\text{Gender}) + \varepsilon$$

This model allows to interpret each coefficient as an approximate wage premium.

Table 5

Results of the Simulated Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression Model, Estimating the Relationship Between Language Proficiency and Wages

Variable	Coefficient (β)	Standard Error	p-value	Interpretation
Language Proficiency	0.188	(0.025)	< 0.001	~18.8% higher wages for individuals proficient in Lithuanian

Variable	Coefficient (β)	Standard Error	p-value	Interpretation
Education (Medium)	0.158	(0.020)	< 0.001	~15.8% higher wages than those with low education
Education (High)	0.326	(0.027)	< 0.001	~32.6% higher wages than those with low education
Gender (Male)	0.104	(0.018)	< 0.001	Males earn ~10.4% more than females
Age	Not significant	—	> 0.05	No measurable wage effect in the simulated 25–65 age range

These illustrative results support the findings from previous empirical studies (e.g., Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Di Paolo & Raymond, 2012), which report significant wage premiums associated with proficiency in the host country's language. Although the current model is based on simulated data, it provides a transparent and replicable pathway for future empirical research using actual PIAAC microdata for Lithuania.

The results presented in this study are entirely based on a constructed simulation modelled on PIAAC-style variables and distributions, not real-world data. While this simulation provides valuable insights into possible wage premiums for multilingual individuals in Lithuania, it does not constitute empirical validation. This model serves for an illustrative purpose, demonstrating how economic returns to language skills could be analysed if representative microdata were available. Future research should empirically validate these simulated findings using large-scale households or labour force surveys that include actual language proficiency and employment data. Access to nationally representative datasets, such as Lithuanian LFS or PIAAC microdata, would be essential for determining causal inference. These findings, although illustrative, can inform policymakers and educators on how language proficiency may impact wage equity and labour integration in multilingual contexts.

Discussion

The results of this literature review examined the appropriateness, effectiveness, and limitations of the statistical methods used in the scholarly literature of the focus field, which were used to measure the economic value gained from language skills. By synthesising research findings from Québec, Wales, Switzerland, Catalonia, Estonia, Latvia, Germany, Italy and Poland cases, it becomes evident that benefits of multilingualism highly depend on regional, cultural and institutional contexts. This section discusses how different statistical models have been applied to examine these differences, focusing on their applicability, strengths, and limitations.

Regional Comparisons and Statistical Models

After examining the existing literature in the focus field, it becomes evident that there is no single statistical method to determine wage premiums associated with language skills. However, while the most widely used methods, such as Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS), Propensity Score Matching (PSM), Panel Data Analysis and Fixed/Random Effects Models, aim to achieve the same goal, each comes with its own purpose. Moreover, it is worth noting that each model helps correct or control for specific types of bias, which in turn increases accuracy, depending on the type of data source.

Researchers have employed Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) to address a problem called endogeneity, which occurs when the independent variable, such as language proficiency, is influenced by other unobserved factors (e.g., motivation, intelligence, or socio-economic status) that also affect the dependent variable (wages). In the case of the research analysed, TSLS works in two steps: predict language proficiency using the IVs. The second step is to use that prediction in the wage regression to get a less biased estimate. For example, Di Paolo & Raymond (2012) used OLS (ordinary least squares) first and found that in Catalonia, the OLS premium for Catalan proficiency (~7.5%) rose to ~18% under TSLS, consistent with endogeneity in language–earnings estimate. This suggests the real effect of Catalan proficiency on wages was underestimated when endogeneity was not addressed. Albouy (2008) also

used TSLS to study wage gaps in Québec. Their analysis showed that where people live (region) and language laws (e.g., Québec's Bill 101) have a significant impact on wage outcomes. This supports the idea that language-related economic benefits depend not just on language skills, but also on regional policy contexts. However, TSLS works only if the chosen instruments (IVs) are valid. A valid instrument must be strongly related to language proficiency and have no direct effect on wages (only through language). In multilingual societies, it is hard to find such clean instruments. For example, parental language or age at immigration might still be indirectly related to income. So, TSLS can produce biased results if the instrument is weak or invalid.

In contrast, Propensity Score Matching (PSM) allows for the comparison of populations that are significantly different in language knowledge but similar in ways that affect the outcome (e.g., education level, age, gender). It has already been successfully demonstrated that possessing more language skills often leads to higher wages, especially in regions where these skills are in demand. However, PSM requires large datasets and cannot account for hidden differences between individuals, which limits its usefulness when data are limited.

Chiswick and Miller (1995) and Budría et al. (2019) used PSM in their studies to compare wages between groups that differ in their language skills but are otherwise similar and found that knowledge of more than one language often leads to higher wages, especially in regions where multilingualism is required or valued (e.g. in international cities or border regions). However, to apply PSM, there must first be an adequate population size to find suitable matches for all characteristics (such as age, education, and gender). Second, unobserved heterogeneity refers to important differences that are not captured by the data (such as motivation, personality or informal networks). Third, if these unobserved factors influence wages, PSM cannot adjust for them, and the result may still be biased. Therefore, PSM is not ideal when applied to small or incomplete data sets.

Panel data analysis is particularly useful for understanding the long-term effects of multilingualism on income. This method has been used in places such as Germany, Estonia, and Latvia. Aldashev et al. (2009) applied this

method to demonstrate how the wage benefits of language proficiency evolved over time in Germany, while Ridala (2020) employed the same method in Estonia and Latvia to investigate how income changes in relation to language proficiency. Together, these studies show how panel data can reveal a dynamic or trajectory. Unlike cross-sectional studies (which take a single snapshot in time), panel data helps to track how the same person's income changes over time. This reduces bias because population compared may differ in many ways. Instead, using this method, the same population is observed over a long-time period. However, the main challenge is that such long-term data is not always available, which makes it hard to apply the results to wider populations.

Fixed and random effects models refer to the identification of differences between individuals or regions that cannot be measured directly (unobserved heterogeneity) when measuring how language skills affect wages. These models allow to make more reliable comparisons between people or places by reducing hidden biases. Grin & Sfreddo (1998) and Cattaneo & Winkelmann (2005) studies using Switzerland, a multilingual country with German, French and Italian speakers, as a case for their study, applied these methods to measure the wage gap influenced by language skills, with. Even in a country that officially supports multiple languages, the study found that linguistic minorities (e.g. Italian speakers) often earn less than majority language speakers. The use of fixed/random effects models helped to reveal consistent wage differences that could not be explained by other obvious factors. However, assumptions about the data is often a decisive factor whether to use fixed or random effects depends on the. For example, if individual characteristics (such as region or native language) are related to the independent variables (such as education or language skills), fixed effects are better, or if they are not related, random effects may be more efficient. This choice may affect the results, and the right decision may change depending on the country or context.

Institutional and Cultural Factors

The findings also emphasise that language proficiency alone does not determine its value. Institutions or official data (such as government laws and

language policies) and culture (attitudes toward languages or minorities) are decisive in determining whether and how language skills influence higher earnings. Two contrasting case studies by Shapiro & Stelcner (1997) and Albouy (2008) offer a positive example in Québec, illustrating how a strong language law (Bill 101) promoted the use of French in business and public life. This strengthened the positions of the French and improved the economic outcomes for francophones. The results demonstrate how a supportive institutional environment can enhance the return on investment in language skills—the opposite case is provided in the research by Grin & Sfreddo (1998). Italian speakers in Switzerland, although residing in an officially multilingual country, tend to earn less, especially when living in areas where Italian is not the dominant language. This suggests that official recognition is insufficient if the language is not strongly supported by policy or culturally valued.

Rendon (2007) and Di Paolo & Raymond (2012) in their research studies demonstrate that institutions such as the government and the education system support regional languages (like Catalan), which improves the economic opportunities of the population. They found that people who speak Catalan well are more employable in the labour market and earn higher wages. This shows that language proficiency in a regionally important language has measurable benefits for individuals. The researchers applied Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) to isolate hidden influences, making the wage effect of Catalan proficiency more trustworthy.

Similarly, Gazzola & Mazzacani (2019) found that English proficiency enhances employment opportunities in Germany, Italy, and Spain, particularly for men. However, the economic returns associated with other foreign languages, such as French and Spanish, are less pronounced, suggesting that the economic value of language skills is context-dependent and shaped by regional demand.

Integration of Statistical Models into the Unified Framework

The integration of statistical models into the unified framework enhances coherence and comparability across studies. TSLS, PSM, Panel Data Analysis, and Fixed/Random Effects Models are complementary rather than

mutually exclusive. For example, TSLS addresses endogeneity concerns, while PSM controls for selection bias, and Panel Data Analysis captures dynamic changes over time.

Moreover, the use of Fixed and Random Effects Models allows for cross-regional comparisons, accounting for unobserved heterogeneity that would otherwise bias estimates. The findings suggest that the application of these models should be tailored to specific contexts, considering the availability of data, the nature of language-related policies, and the socio-economic characteristics of the populations studied.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The extensive literature review revealed that several limitations remain, despite the methodological improvements made by various studies. The reliance on cross-sectional data in many studies limits the ability to track individual progress over time, particularly when assessing long-term economic outcomes associated with language proficiency. Although TSLS is used to solve the problem of endogeneity and provides a more accurate picture of the relationship, it is not always available for use because a valid instrumental variable is not always available.

To understand how language skills affect employees' economic progress over time, future studies should focus on expanding longitudinal datasets, thereby revealing cause-and-effect patterns, such as whether learning a language at a particular moment improves income over a longer period. Additionally, using standardised, comparable methods across studies or regions could facilitate more straightforward comparison of findings, data combination, and reliable conclusions. Involving qualitative factors such as attitudes, experiences, and perceptions is often excluded from statistical research. Furthermore, mixed-method approaches, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, would help gain a more detailed understanding of how language ability affects income, employment, and social mobility. At the same time, recognising complexity created by differences introduced by region, identity, or context cannot be fully achieved through statistics alone.

Policy Implications

This paper examines the relationship between language proficiency and wage premiums, with a particular focus on Lithuania, through a comparative lens that includes regions such as Québec, Catalonia, and Switzerland. By applying analytical models including TSLS, OLS, and PSM, and simulating data relevant to the Lithuanian labour market, the study highlights the significant economic value associated with multilingual competence.

The findings suggest that language proficiency is not merely a communicative asset but also a quantifiable economic resource, especially in multilingual labour markets. Regions that have institutionalised bilingualism or multilingualism tend to reward language skills more systematically, often through public sector wage premiums or formal recognition of language rights. In contrast, in Lithuania, where Lithuanian remains the sole official language and the labour market integration of minorities and migrants is governed by relatively rigid monolingual policies, wage premiums are likely to depend more heavily on Lithuanian language proficiency than on broader multilingual competence.

From a policy perspective, this analysis suggests that greater recognition of language diversity and more inclusive language policies could contribute to better labour market integration outcomes. Specifically, incorporating second language support programs, recognising the economic potential of Russian, Polish, or Ukrainian speakers, and aligning integration policy with labour market demand could reduce inequalities and increase economic efficiency. Moreover, improving the transparency of language requirements in job descriptions and formalising language premium structures could support fairer wage distributions.

While the use of simulated data limits direct empirical generalisation, the framework applied here provides a valuable foundation for future research using real Lithuanian labour force or PIAAC datasets. Further investigation could explore sectoral variation in wage premiums and longitudinal impact of language acquisition on income mobility.

In conclusion, language proficiency remains a critical yet under-recognized factor in wage dynamics in Lithuania. To build a more inclusive and

productive economy, policymakers must move beyond symbolic language policy and toward practical, data-informed strategies that acknowledge the real economic value of linguistic capital.

Ethical considerations

This study is a review with an illustrative simulation based on the public PIAAC variable structure. It uses no human subjects or identifiable data. All sources are publicly available and properly cited. Therefore, no ethics approval was required and no consent was sought.

Conclusions

This study aimed to systematically review and integrate previous research on the economic value of multilingualism, utilising various statistical models. The primary objectives were to: (1) review how statistical models have been applied to estimate wage premiums associated with multilingualism; (2) integrate these models into a unified analytical framework to improve coherence and comparability; and (3) identify gaps in existing research and suggest methodological improvements. The findings from the reviewed studies reveal important insights into how language proficiency influences economic outcomes across different multilingual labour markets.

Beyond individual wage effects, the proposed framework supports sustainable multilingualism by aligning language policy with labour demand, formalising transparent language criteria in hiring, and incentivising skills development across both majority and minority languages. Embedding these levers system-wide can sustain linguistic diversity and reduce access frictions, turning multilingualism into durable human-capital and productivity gains for Lithuania.

Addressing Objective 1: Application of Statistical Models

The review demonstrates that statistical models such as Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS), Propensity Score Matching (PSM), Panel Data Analysis, and Fixed/Random Effects Models have been effectively applied to estimate

wage premiums associated with language proficiency. Each model addresses specific methodological challenges, enhancing the robustness of findings derived from cross-sectional and longitudinal data. For instance, TSLS has been particularly effective in addressing endogeneity by using instrumental variables, as demonstrated in Di Paolo & Raymond (2012) and Albouy (2008). PSM, applied by researchers such as Chiswick & Miller (1995) and Budría et al. (2019), effectively controls selection bias by creating matched samples of individuals with similar characteristics. Moreover, Panel Data Analysis allows researchers to capture dynamic changes over time, enhancing the ability to track long-term economic impacts of language skills (Aldashev et al., 2009; Ridala, 2020). Finally, Fixed and Random Effects Models provide valuable tools for controlling unobserved heterogeneity across regions, thereby enhancing cross-regional comparisons (Grin & Sfreddo, 1998; Cattaneo & Winkelmann, 2005).

Addressing Objective 2: Integrating Models into a Unified Framework

The integration of various statistical models into a comparative analytical framework provides a coherent structure for examining wage premiums associated with multilingualism. The framework demonstrates how TSLS, PSM, Panel Data Analysis, and Fixed/Random Effects Models are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. While TSLS addresses endogeneity concerns, PSM controls for selection bias, and Panel Data Analysis captures longitudinal effects. Moreover, Fixed and Random Effects Models allow researchers to make cross-regional comparisons, accounting for institutional and cultural factors.

The unified framework enhances the comparability of findings across diverse multilingual contexts by systematically integrating previous research methodologies. This approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how language skills influence economic outcomes, particularly when institutional factors such as Bill 101 in Québec and the official status of Catalan in Spain play a significant role. The findings confirm that institutional recognition of language skills positively influences wage premiums and employment opportunities for minority language speakers.

Addressing Objective 3: Identifying Gaps and Suggesting Improvements

While the application of statistical models has significantly improved the reliability of estimates related to the economic value of multilingualism, several limitations persist. First, the reliance on cross-sectional data in many studies limits the ability to capture long-term economic outcomes. Second, while TSLS effectively addresses endogeneity, its applicability is constrained by the availability of valid instrumental variables. Third, while PSM reduces selection bias, it cannot fully address unobserved heterogeneity, particularly when data availability is restricted.

Future research should focus on expanding longitudinal datasets, standardizing data collection methods, and integrating qualitative factors such as cultural integration, social capital, and perceived value of language skills. Additionally, the application of statistical models should be complemented by mixed-method approaches to provide a more nuanced understanding of how language skills influence socioeconomic outcomes. Addressing these limitations will enhance the robustness of findings and contribute to a more coherent understanding of multilingualism's economic value.

This study contributes to the literature by presenting a unified analytical framework that integrates statistical models applied to estimate wage premiums associated with language proficiency. By providing a coherent basis for cross-regional comparison, this framework enhances the robustness and comparability of findings across diverse multilingual contexts. The proposed framework offers valuable insights for policymakers seeking to improve economic integration and labour market accessibility in increasingly multilingual societies.

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Milda Kiškė
Vilniaus kolegija (VIKO), Lietuva
m.kiske@eif.viko.lt

KALBINĖS KOMPETENCIJOS IR DARBO UŽMOKESČIO SĄSAJOS: ANALIZĖS MODELIŲ APŽVALGA LIETUVOS DARBO RINKOS KONTEKSTE

Anotacija. Šiame straipsnyje, siekiant įvertinti daugiakalbystės ekonominę vertę Lietuvos darbo rinkai, apžvelgiami daugelis tarptautinių empirinių tyrimų ir siūloma lyginamoji analitinė sistema. Tyrimas remiasi žmogiškojo kapitalo teorijos bei kalbos ekonomikos ir komunikacijos efektyvumo modelių koncepcijomis. Apibendrinant pagrindinius daugiakalbės darbo rinkos tyrimų rezultatus, straipsnyje parodoma, kaip, taikant įvairius statistinius metodus, galima analizuoti darbo užmokesčio skirtumus, susijusius su kalbiniais gebėjimais. Tyrime naudojamas iliustratyvus imituotų duomenų rinkinys, pagrįstas PIAAC metodika. Duomenys atskleidžia, kad asmenys, mokantys valstybinę kalbą (priimančiosios šalies), gali tikėtis vidutiniškai 18,8 % didesnio darbo užmokesčio. Tyrimo išvados rodo: siekiant sustiprinti darbo jėgą Lietuvoje, būtų naudinga integruoti kalbos politiką į švietimo ir užimtumo sistemas. Šiame straipsnyje pateikti statistiniai rezultatai pagrįsti imituotais duomenimis, modeliuojamais pagal PIAAC sistemą, ir neatspindi empirinių išvadų, gautų iš realių duomenų. Be to, siūlomas analitinis modelis suteikia naują perspektyvą ir užpildo konkrečią spragą esamų tyrimų apie daugiakalbystės svarbą Lietuvos ekonomikai. Pabrėžiami tokie politikos svertai kaip skaidrūs kalbos reikalavimai, tikslinė parama antrosios kalbos įsisavinimui ir mažumų kalbų kapitalo pripažinimas, gali padėti įgyvendinti tvarią daugiakalbystę, t. y. išlaikyti kalbinę įvairovę, ir kartu sulyginti darbuotojų galimybes patekti į Lietuvos darbo rinką.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: darbo rinka; darbo užmokesčio priedas; daugiakalbystė; ekonominė vertė; kalbiniai gebėjimai.

LANGUAGE USE AND EDUCATION IN MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL SETTINGS

KALBOS VARTOJIMAS, MOKYMAS IR MOKYMASIS DAUGIAKALBĖJE IR DAUGIAKULTŪRĖJE APLINKOJE

Nemira Mačianskienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Vilma Bijeikienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

ARE LITHUANIAN HIGHER EDUCATION TEACHERS READY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PLURILINGUAL APPROACH?

Abstract. The growing global outreach of the EU, intensified immigration, and increasing linguistic and cultural diversity have significantly affected the European higher education (HE) landscape. As HE institutions become more multilingual and multicultural, educators are expected to develop competences in linguistic sensitivity and plurilingual practices. This study addresses two research questions: do Lithuanian HE teachers consider themselves prepared to implement the plurilingual approach in their teaching, and do teacher education programs in Lithuania equip educators to work in multilingual and multicultural settings? The research was conducted in two stages. Firstly, the data of 67 Lithuanian HE language and EMI teachers responding to the questionnaire-based survey (developed by the APATCHE project team) were analyzed. Secondly, a preliminary screening of university courses was carried out across three teacher education programs (Initial Teacher Education, Continuous Professional Development, and BA/MA Philology programs) in two major teacher education centers in Lithuania: Vilnius University (VU) and Vytautas Magnus University (VMU). The findings suggest that Lithuanian HE is making progress toward greater linguistic and cultural inclusiveness. Teachers demonstrated a favorable orientation toward plurilingual practices, as reflected in their self-assessments. However, the curriculum analysis revealed that current and prospective language teachers are being insufficiently prepared for the challenges of multilingual classrooms. These results highlight the need to reconceptualize teacher training programs and expand opportunities for in-service and continuous language program teachers to acquire competences to meet the challenges of multilingual and multicultural classrooms.

Keywords: language education; monolingual approach; multiculturalism; multilingualism; plurilingual approach; plurilingualism.

Introduction

Europe has for centuries been a vibrant place of rich cultural and linguistic diversity that has invariably served it well in fostering its economic, cultural, social, and educational development. The increasing plurality of the EU population has been vividly evidenced by the Eurostat data: over the last decade, immigration into the EU has been steadily growing from fewer than 2 million in 2013 to around 5 million registered in 2023[1]. In 2024, the EU had 29 million, or 6.4%, of non-EU citizens and 44.7 million, or 9.9%, of its residents born outside the EU, which demonstrates a 2.3 million increase in comparison with the year 2023[2]. The EU multiculturalism and multilingualism since its establishment has been considered one of its pillars towards prosperity and shared societal wellbeing, as set in the EU seminal motto "Unity in diversity". Nonetheless, the values coded in the moto and the EU cultural and linguistic diversity policies[3] have been continuously facing challenges as to their implementation.

Along the same lines, the landscape of Higher Education (HE) has changed immensely as a natural consequence of increasing expansion of global academic cooperation and internationalization of education – student and staff mobility, integration of foreign exchange and international students as well as free and forced migration. HE institutions aim to meet these challenges by creating inclusive global communities for their diverse, multilingual and multicultural student, teacher, and researcher populations as well as by building European University alliances with multilingualism high in their agendas.

The present study was inspired and facilitated by the EU funded strategic partnership project *APATCHE – Adding Plurilingual Approaches to language Teacher Competences in Higher Education*[4] that aimed at collecting

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[1] EU population diversity by citizenship and country of birth, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=EU_population_diversity_by_citizenship_and_country_of_birth

[2] See previous footnote

[3] The European Language Policy, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/142/language-policy

[4] APATCHE, http://www.apatche.eu/

empirical data on language use and awareness in higher education in Europe, examining HE language or EMI teachers' self-perceived knowledge, skills, values and attitudes with regard to the plurilingual approach, identifying their needs, and creating a self-study online course for HE teacher professional development (Peeters, 2023; Mačianskienė & Peeters, 2024). Pursuant to the conceptual foundation of the project, we embark upon the present study with the following research rationale:

- HEIs are increasingly becoming multilingual and multicultural due to the experience brought by the incoming and outgoing students and teachers, reflecting the composition of contemporary societies of today's globalized world. However, is this linguistic and cultural diversity successfully incorporated and exploited as a meaningful resource in HEI classrooms?

- HE teachers need to handle the challenges created by higher institution internationalization, to foster and develop a multicultural ethos in their classrooms as a prerequisite for the EU diversity and inclusion policies. Thus, it is important to develop HE teachers' competences, empowering them to use the plurilingual approach that values all languages and language varieties that students know in the class (native, local, learnt) in teaching any subject at a HEI. Nevertheless, are HE teachers adequately equipped with the necessary savoir-être and savoir-faire of linguistic and cultural sensitivity to be able to embark on such a task and do the curricula of the teacher education programs contain the courses where the relevant competences are developed?

Research questions:

- Do Lithuanian HE teachers regard themselves as prepared to implement the plurilingual approach working in multilingual and multicultural classrooms?

- Do language teacher education programs (pre-service / in-service) publicly state that they provide training for prospective language teachers to meet the challenges of multilingual and multicultural settings?

Objectives:

- to conduct a situation analysis of HE teachers' self-assessed knowledge, skills, needs, attitudes, and values, focusing on the application of the plurilingual approach;
- to perform a preliminary screening of the curricula of language teacher training programs in two main language teacher training centers (Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) and Vilnius University (VU)) that offer teacher education in Lithuania focusing on the publicly stated offering of courses on *plurilingualism, multilingualism, and/or multiculturalism* and their derivatives.

Theoretical Framework

The very notions of *plurality* and *diversity* are sometimes difficult to conceptualize in academic discourse, let alone be willingly embraced by the public. To put it in the words of one of the most prominent scholars of plurilingual practices, Piccardo, "there is an intrinsic difficulty in thinking about, and even more in accepting, plurality and diversity" (2018, p. 211). Thus, approaches to handle diversity by different societies may have been quite versatile extending from the jubilant espousal and exploitation of its various benefits to anxiety and rejection with an ensuing strong need for its control, as further exposed by Piccardo:

> On the one hand, there is the idea that multiplicity and diversity can increase the chances of social and economic progress and that socialization through integration in educational and occupational contexts can absorb newcomers, even when they retain a distinct identity and/or community. On the other hand, the fear exists that diversity will dilute, deracinate, and alienate communities and individuals (Piccardo 2018, pp. 208–209).

To set the theoretical framework for the present study it is highly important to conceptualize three fundamental terms, pivotal in the contemporary discourses of language policy, practices, and education, namely, *multilingualism*, *plurilingualism,* and *translanguaging.* The three

concepts, showing some overlap in their semantic scope and pragmatic usage, have nonetheless accumulated some essential divergence in the philosophical and attitudinal stance that is permeated by their very choice. As synthesized in CEFR, the concept of *multilingualism* is most generally defined as the coexistence of languages at the societal or individual level where different languages are delineated as separate and somewhat static entities (Council of Europe, 2020). Defining multilingualism in the same vein, Bak and Mehmedbegovic-Smith (2017) add that the aim of learning languages is to achieve "the idealized competency of the native speaker" in each of the different languages that coexist alongside each other, but separately, within individuals or societies (p. 3). Differently, *plurilingualism* captures the holistic nature of language learners' linguistic repertoires, sees learners as social agents in developing these repertoires and stresses dynamic use, awareness and experience of multiple languages or varieties (Piccardo, 2019; Council of Europe, 2020, p. 30). It acknowledges the partial knowledge of a language as well as flexibility and creativity in using the plurilingual repertoire in our individual way. As Mehmedbegovic-Smith and Bak (2019, cf. Bak and Mehmedbegovic-Smith, 2022) state, "the concept of plurilingualism provides a true qualitative leap in terms of our understanding of language (2019, para. 7)". The plurilingual approach "emphasises the development of effective communication skills which draw on all of our linguistic and cultural experiences in an interactive way" (Mehmedbegovic-Smith and Bak, 2019, para. 6) and is seen as a life-long activity.

Translanguaging was introduced as a pedagogical concept in bilingual education where two "languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning" (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 641). As such, it primarily focused on language production and communicative needs in multilingual general education classrooms, especially in bilingual contexts (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2018). The advocates of the plurilingual approach consider translanguaging to be one of the plurilingual strategies used by plurilingual speakers in communication or teachers while embracing the plurilingual approach.

The three terms are seen to differ in the attitudinal stance that they convey. For instance, in her discussion on the preference of the term multilingualism vis-à-vis plurilingualism, Piccardo observes that multilingualism is still a preferable term among scholars from the English-speaking realm even when they adhere to the holistic and dynamic approach to individual linguistic repertoires: "the term multilingualism to refer to all forms of linguistic plurality has remained centre stage and scholars writing in English have decided to use the term multilingualism even when they recognize the conceptual differences between plurilingualism and multilingualism (Piccardo, 2019, p. 185). As she further adds, the scholars invent various collocations such as "active multilingualism", "dynamic model of multilingualism", etc. to make the term multilingualism serve for the conceptual scope that plurilingualism was introduced to express, i.e. dynamic and fluid exploitation of linguistic resources (Piccardo, 2019, p. 186).

Similarly to Piccardo (2019, Piccardo et al., 2022) and Galante (2022), we conceptualize plurilingualism and the plurilingual approach as a complex phenomenon, broader and more complete in scope than similar, and sometimes seen as interchangeable, concepts like code-switching or translanguaging. While the latter two are often confined to communicative and/ or pedagogical practice mostly related to bilingualism, the conceptualization of plurilingualism extends from the field of language policy and ideological stance of inclusivity to plurality of linguistic approaches and diverse linguistic repertoires including but not limited to solely communicative function. Galante (2022) captures a very important attitudinal divergence between the concepts of plurilingualism and translanguaging: seeing translanguaging as language mixing to the extent of such fluidity where the very naming of languages loses significance, which can be especially harmful to minority or immigrant languages, as they would be primarily threatened to be submerged by the "big" or dominant languages.

On the contrary, plurilingualism comprises a very important value-based philosophical stance that allows for a holistic and inclusive understanding of plurilingual competences focusing not only on the knowledge and the practical skills of the exploitation of one's language repertoire, but also on nurturing the pluralistic attitude where every language

in one's repertoire stands as a recognizable, acknowledgeable, and equally valuable component. The notion of plurilingualism is at the core of the linguistic ideology of the Council of Europe, presented as follows: "Plurilingualism is at once connected to the legal protection of minority groups, the preservation of Europe's linguistic heritage, the development of individuals' language skills and the creation of a feeling of belonging to Europe in the context of democratic citizenship" (Beacco & Byram, 2007, p. 31).

The search for harmonious diversity has always been on the agenda of the EU language policy that has consistently paired linguistic diversity with the notion of inclusion as well as with multilingual science communication and knowledge transfer (Conceição, 2020). The obvious need for examining the development of HE language teachers' competences and proficiency has been witnessed by a significant growth in the relevant studies and publications. In their study of teachers' attitudes toward plurilingual instruction in one Canadian university, Galante et al. (2020) voice the complexity of the implementation of the plurilingual approach in a university classroom and stress the need to give the university teachers more training to improve their relevant competences: "Although recent calls have been made for a plurilingual shift in language learning, particularly in countries with linguistically and culturally diverse populations, teachers are still unsure about how to apply plurilingualism in the classroom" (Galante et al., 2020, p. 980). Given the discussion above, a plurilingual approach in HE is inevitable as plurilingual students learning in today's schools that increasingly become multilingual and multicultural require us to take their languages and cultures into consideration while teaching languages and other subjects.

Methodology

Operational Definitions

In this study, the participants' familiarity with the plurilingual approach (knowledge and awareness, skills, attitudes and values) is

measured by a participant's score on Likert-type questions. *Knowledge and awareness* of the plurilingual approach is measured by the participants' positive view to the use of more than one language while teaching a foreign language or using all languages present in class and agreeing with the notion that mediation is an important plurilingual skill. Participants' endorsement of native speaker teachers as the ideal model for foreign language teaching is interpreted as a rejection of the plurilingual approach. In the same vein, participants' support for immersion in foreign language teaching or teaching entirely in that language and support of the notion that the use of more than one language confuses students is interpreted as a lack of alignment with plurilingual principles.

The participants' *skills* to use the plurilingual approach are identified by their level of agreement that interaction and mediation are as important as writing and speaking, and that they involve these communicative language activities while teaching languages; that they also compare languages and involve more than one language at a time; that their scientific teaching includes more than one language, and that students should learn how to switch between languages when appropriate and learn how to communicate scientific knowledge in more than one language. The research participants' expressed necessity to receive training to improve their own plurilingual skills and skills on how to improve plurilingual skills of their students is also considered as their self-assessment of possession or a lack of plurilingual skills.

The participants' *attitudes and values* as part of plurilingual competence are measured by their scores to questions on respecting and valuing linguistic and cultural differences between students, on teaching students to respect and value each other's linguistic and cultural differences, their approval that learning and teaching in different languages increases students' motivation and well-being, their agreement that in their field of scientific expertise other languages than English are needed, and the level of disagreement with the ideas that plurilingual approaches in HE are not feasible because teachers are not trained for it, and that EMI is an important asset for all students, national and international.

The *preparedness* to teach in multilingual and multicultural classrooms is measured by the participants' familiarity with the plurilingual approach and by the number of courses that contain *plurilingual, multilingual, multicultural* and their derivatives in the titles and descriptions of courses offered in two main language Teacher Training Centers in Lithuania, considering them as potential opportunities provided for prospective teachers to familiarize themselves with the plurilingual approach and enable them to use it in their language teaching, working in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. Conversely, courses in monolingual didactics are considered as indicators of a lack of focus on plurilingual didactics.

Research Design

The present mixed-methods study (a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods) proceeded in two research stages over the period of 2022–2025 and used the sequential explanatory design. In September-October of 2022, the quantitative survey analysis of HE teachers' self-assessed plurilingual competences and practice in the application of the plurilingual approach in Lithuanian HEIs was performed as part of the study conducted in the above described APATCHE project (Research Stage 1). We aimed to identify if higher education teachers are aware of, know and use the plurilingual approach in teaching languages or teaching their subjects through English as a medium of instruction (EMI). For our research purposes, the data of the Lithuanian cohort of the study was collected, with a purpose to identify if Lithuanian HE teachers are prepared to put the plurilingual approach into practice and work in multilingual and multicultural classrooms.

In 2024-2025, a preliminary screening of the course titles and course descriptions of language teacher education programmes with regard to the development of plurilingual competences at two main teacher education centres in Lithuania was performed (Research Stage 2), to examine if the curricula of language teacher education programs (pre-service/in-service) include courses on *plurilingualism, multilingualism* and/or *multiculturalism*, thus, providing opportunities for prospective teachers to prepare to work in multilingual and multicultural settings. As the course descriptions were found

to be publicly available only at one university's website (VMU), a proxy measure of content was used analyzing only the titles of courses offered at the other university (VU).

Population and Sampling

The purposive non-probability sampling was employed for the survey. The participants were selected based on the following specific characteristics relevant to the research aim and research questions: they were higher education teachers who teach either languages or content subjects through English as a medium of instruction. As all five partners of the APATCHE project were universities, the survey was distributed among the partners and extended outside the partnership to each university's partners, associations, and other higher education institutions. The total sample size was 450 respondents to the overall APATCHE survey, and 67 participants (17%) of the Lithuania sample chosen for this research analysis.

During Research Stage 2, two main teacher education centers (VMU and VU) were chosen to identify if the universities publicly state that they provide training for prospective language teachers to meet the challenges of multilingual and multicultural settings. The preliminary screening of 2562 courses in 56 programs offered for pre-service and in-service teachers were analyzed in three groups of study programs: BA, MA, and Continuous Professional Development levels.

Ethical Considerations

The Survey used in Research Stage 1 was prepared by all APATCHE partners, reviewed and approved by the independent University of Antwerp Ethics Committee for the Social Sciences and Humanities, stored on a secure drive at the University of Antwerp, and protected in accordance with the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). No measures were taken in terms of ethical considerations in Research Stage 2 as publicly available websites of language education programs were analyzed.

Informed Consent

While administering the survey, research participants received an information sheet and the consent form, by means of downloadable PDF forms. They agreed to the terms and conditions explained therein and provided their consent to participate in the study voluntarily, having understood the goal for which the data were collected, processed, and used within the framework of the study, and that the data would be processed with strict confidentiality. They also agreed to the privacy policy, including the Qualtrics.com privacy policy, as described in the information sheet for participants. The participants were informed that participation in the survey posed no physical or mental risks but provided with benefits instead – by enhancing their awareness of plurilingualism and linguistic sensitivity (APATCHE, 2023).

Data Collection Methods

Instrument

The structured questionnaire survey with Likert-scale items and demographic questions, prepared and completed in the APATCHE project, was comprised of four open and 66 closed questions clustered into five structural parts, covering the topics from participants' work and linguistic profiles as well as their students' linguistic profiles to their own plurilingual competences and familiarity with the plurilingual approach. All the questions were compulsory. Multiple submissions were prevented, but the IP addresses were not saved for data analysis. Downloadable PDF versions of the information sheet and the consent form were available in the introductory question for the participants. The survey was prepared in English and translated into seven more languages and was carried out in all project partner countries. For this study, only the Lithuanian sample was extracted that contains data of the participants who grew up and/or work and live in Lithuania ($N = 67$, 17% of the total sample). Their background information: degree, work profile (position, work experience, work in another country experience), gender, and

linguistic profile (their overall proficiency in foreign languages and the use of languages while teaching) served as independent variables trying to determine the research participants' readiness to use the plurilingual approach in their teaching.

A content analysis applying a keyword filter was used to identify if universities publicly state that they offer courses on the plurilingual approach in the curricula of the programs for in-service and pre-service language teachers. A text search was used to scan the publicly available textual data (course titles) provided in the programs chosen for the analysis, identifying and counting every instance of the pre-defined keywords: "plurilingualism", "multilingualism", "multiculturalism" and their derivatives ("plurilingual", "multilingual", "multicultural"). Next, *a content analysis applying semantic coding* was used, having identified the titles where the topic was implicitly embedded in the curriculum rather than explicitly. Finally, for deeper content analysis, course descriptions available at one university's website were also analyzed, applying semantic coding.

Data Analysis

In Research Stage 1, SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) data analysis software was used to process, analyze and interpret the research findings, aiming to determine statistical relationships between participants' self-assessment of plurilingual competences (dependent variables) and the participants' profile (independent variables): participants' work experience (two categories: 19 years or fewer and 20 years and more), level of education (two categories: with or without PhD) and teaching domain (two categories: foreign language or EMI classes). Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations) were used to summarize data and ANOVA statistical test was performed to compare the means of two groups to determine if independent variables (participants' work abroad, their work experience, educational background and teaching field) have significant effects on dependent variables.

In Research Stage 2, a preliminary screening of university courses in three programs was performed: Initial Teacher Education programs (providing

BA in education and teacher qualification), Continuous Education Development programs (providing teacher qualification), and Philology (BA and MA) programs. The purpose was to filter the titles of the courses offered in these programs, based on the exact presence and absence of the keywords of *plurilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism*, and their derivatives (*plurilingual, multilingual,* and *multicultural*). If the keyword was in the title of the course, it was considered a highly reliable or explicit indicator of the existence of courses that prepare teachers to work in multilingual and multicultural settings and employ the plurilingual approach. To take context into account and not to miss relevant information if a related word or concept is used in the title instead of the exact keyword, it was decided to include the titles, the content of which may very likely include and discuss *plurilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism* and prepare teachers to work in today's multilingual and multicultural schools. Thus, two groups of titles were collected for further analysis:

- Group 1: Titles with keywords stated explicitly.
- Group 2: Titles with implied keywords (related terms).

Then, course titles on monolingual didactics were also included in the analysis as potential indicators of a lack of focus on the plurilingual approach. Finally, publicly available course descriptions (VMUc, 2025) were analyzed to identify cases where the plurilingual approach or a related topic was implicitly embedded in the course topics.

Results and Discussion

Research Stage 1

Demographic Analysis of Research Participants

The participants of the Lithuanian sample (N = 67) include foreign language or EMI teachers from various Lithuanian HEIs and is strongly dominated by female members (86%) (Fig. 1.1). In terms of their work experience, the participants cluster over the whole spectrum of year

categories; however, the largest group (34%) consists of highly experienced university teachers with more than 25 years of work experience and only 4% belong to the group with less than five years of experience. The majority of the participants hold the position of assistant teacher with or without PhD or assistant/ associate professor (in total 43% of participants with PhD and 57% with MA degree). Over two-thirds (63%) of the participants do not have long-term international work experience.

Figure 1.1

Participants' Background Information

In addition to participants' general social attributes, we investigated their linguistic profile, i.e. the linguistic competences they have at their disposal in addition to their L1 as it directly relates to their potential to apply the plurilingual approach in their teaching practice (Fig.1.2).

Figure 1.2

Participants' Linguistic Profile (in Addition to L1)
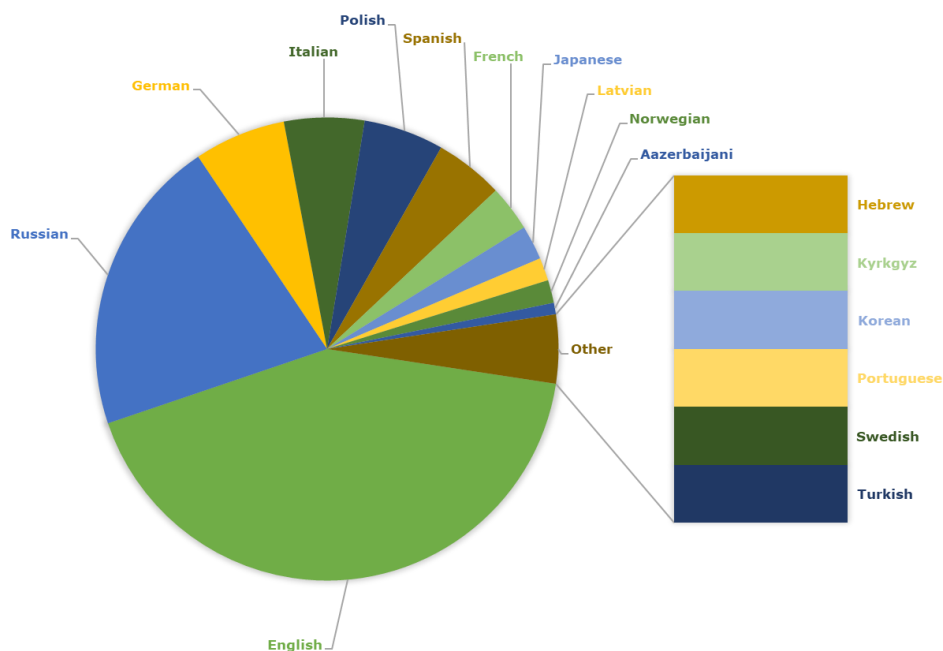
When asked what other languages, apart from their L1, HE teachers employ in their personal or professional life, as can be expected, the substantial majority (79%) declared English (Fig. 1.2). Among them, one third (34%) indicated that they use only English as their additional language for personal and professional communication, while almost half of the participants (45%) revealed that they use English and other languages. The remaining minority (21%) use other languages rather than English for their daily and work communication. This could be seen as a disturbing factor providing that English functions as the unavoidable working language in academic and scientific communication and these teachers could be left in some professional isolation. Given that 34% of participants are senior HE teachers with over 25 years of work experience (Fig. 1.1), it is highly likely that their language repertoire encompasses Russian instead of English which is a typical L2 among relatively younger Lithuanian citizens. Russian is indicated by a similar percentage of the sample (39%). Further, in

the linguistic profile of the participants, we find much smaller percentages of other languages (3–12%) which include the major European languages, German, Italian, Spanish and French, the neighbor languages, Polish and Latvian, and one of the main Asian languages – Japanese. There are also single cases of other less widely learnt languages, making the total number of languages spoken by the sample teachers amount to 17.

HE Teachers' Self-Assessed Competence to Apply Plurilingual Approach

Following the widely accepted composition of a competence, we aimed at a multifaceted evaluation of HE language and EMI teachers' preparation to apply plurilingual approaches at tertiary level by analyzing their self-assessed (1) knowledge and awareness, (2) skills as well as (3) attitudes and values regarding plurilingualism and plurilingual practices. For all three components, the participants of the survey were asked to indicate their perception of the given statements on a Likert scale from 'completely agree' to 'completely disagree' with a 'do not know' option. Figure 2 displays the distribution of the statements on (1) *plurilingual knowledge and awareness*, according to the participants' approval from the most acceptable at the top to the least acceptable at the bottom. The results of the other two components, namely, (2) *plurilingual skills* and (3) *attitudes and values* will be presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4 respectively and discussed thereafter.

The assessment of *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* demonstrates participants' overall positive disposition towards plurilingual practices in HE language classes. Interestingly, the statement that has received most approval (79% agreed completely and slightly) relates to participants' assumption that they still lack adequate understanding of plurilingualism, which not only indicates the high majority's strong approval of the use of the plurilingual approach in tertiary education, but also reveals their belief in the necessity for further professional development in that field ($M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.13$). Similarly, participants' stronger or weaker support manifests through their choices for statements that capture the main features

of plurilingual competence. Namely, around half of the participants express a strong agreement with the idea that at least three foreign languages should be included in the repertoire of all HE students ($M = 3.9$, $SD = 1.2$), and that mediation makes an important plurilingual skill ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 0.88$). Half of the participants express stronger or weaker approval of the proposition that using more than one language in a foreign language classroom improves proficiency in all languages involved ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.03$), which could be students' home languages or other languages in their repertoire. At the same time, we can observe some disapproval of statements that could be linked to monolingualism; namely, around 40% of the participants convey their complete or slight disagreement with such statements that teaching a foreign language should be done exclusively in the target language ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 1.41$) and that using more than one language in a foreign language classroom would confuse students ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.36$). It is indeed up to the mastery of applying the plurilingual approach by the teacher that could ensure that such propositions do not cause issues in multilingual HE classrooms and for that teachers must be adequately prepared.

Figure 2

Assessment of Lithuanian HE Teachers' Plurilingual Knowledge and Awareness
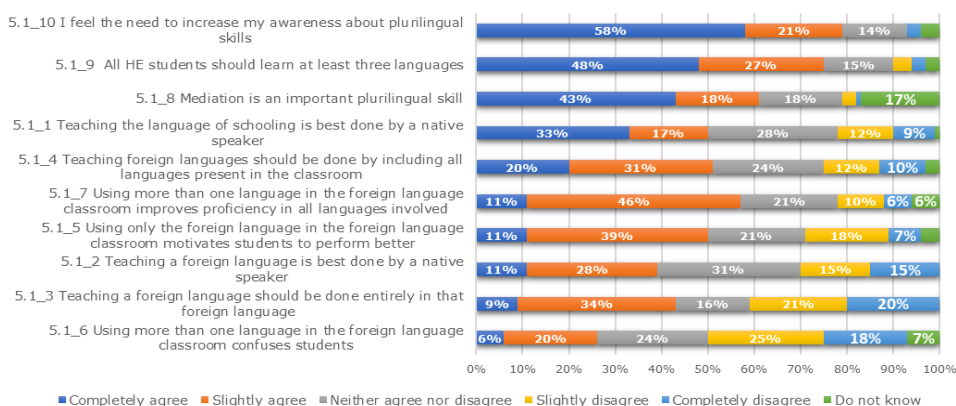
While demonstrating much appraisal of plurilingualism in HE, the distribution of participants' answers also shows a considerable split of opinions, which signals the lack of understanding of how plurilingual practices could be

applied and enhanced HE processes and the classroom atmosphere.

This is particularly evident through a rather high percentage (14%–31%) of answers failing to declare a positive or negative stance and even 17% conveying the lack of knowledge regarding mediation as a plurilingual skill (*M* = 4.45*, SD* = 0.89). Participants seem to also highly diverge in their view on the role of a native speaker in a language classroom (*M* = 3.05*, SD* = 1.02) and whether using more than one language in a language classroom could confuse students (*M* = 2.66*, SD* = 1.15). The latter result especially alludes to the lack of robust competence to apply the plurilingual approach, namely, to effectively exploit the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity of contemporary HE classrooms.

Figure 3

HE Teachers' Assessment of Plurilingual Skills
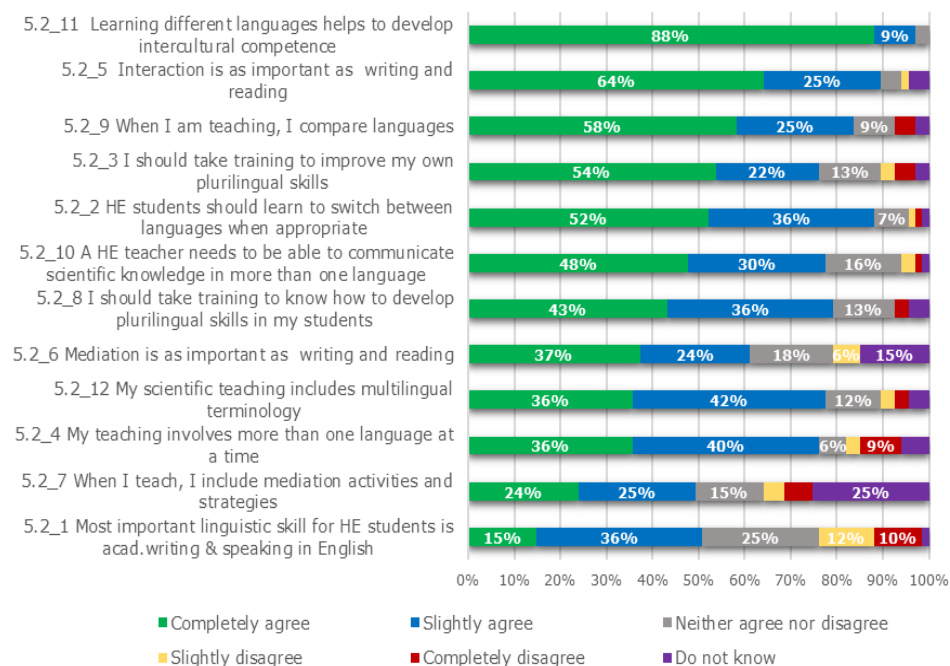
For more insights into HE language and EMI teachers' self-assessed plurilingual competence, ANOVA test for statistically significant differences between means was performed to find out if there is any dependence of

participants' work experience, education level (MA or PhD) and teaching domain on their self-assessment of *plurilingual skills*. Statistically significant differences were found between the groups of participants with the longer (20 and more years) and shorter work experience (19 and fewer years) with regard to their support to the idea that mediation is an important plurilingual skill (F = 5.32, *p-value* = .025) (i.e. more preference for plurilingualism among more experienced teachers) as well as the assumption that teaching a foreign language should be done entirely in that foreign language (F = 5.97, *p-value* = .017) (i.e. more preference for monolingualism among less experienced teachers). Likewise, it was discovered that HE teachers of languages show significantly more endorsement of statements declaring the plurilingual approach, namely, that teaching foreign languages should be done by including all languages present in the classroom (F = 9.27, *p-value* = .003), that all HE students should learn at least three languages (F = 7.356, *p-value* = .009) and that HE teachers themselves need to increase their awareness of plurilingual skills (i.e. more preference for plurilingualism) (F = 10.95, *p-value* = .002*)*.

In contrast, EMI teachers gave significantly more support to statements that show more preference for monolingualism; namely, they maintain that teaching a foreign language is best done by a native speaker (F = 7.08, *p-value* = .010) and that using more than one language in the foreign language classroom confuses students (F = 6.95, *p-value* = .011). Thus, it can be concluded that participants with 20 and more years of work experience and those who teach foreign languages have more knowledge and awareness of the plurilingual approach and practices than those whose experience is shorter and who teach other subjects through the medium of English as an additional language. The academic degree (PhD) does not seem to be such a delineating criterion as participants without PhD are significantly more supportive of the idea that teaching foreign languages should involve all languages present in the classroom (F = 7.38, *p-value* = .009), which is an important component of the plurilingual approach, but participants with PhD are significantly linked to the idea that at least three languages should be learnt by students in HE (F = 8.1, *p-value* = .006), which also pertains to plurilingualism.

The assessment of the significance of *plurilingual skills* (see Figure 4) further corroborates the finding that HE teachers place an overall high value on plurilingualism. Importantly, the strongest approval (97% and 89% of complete and slight agreement) is granted to the statements that are related not to the plurilingual approach *per se*, but to the highly demanded 21st century soft skills, namely, intercultural competence (*M* = 4.85, *SD* = 0.44) and interaction (*M* = 4.58, *SD* = 0.67), which coincides with the findings by Sarwari et al. (2024). Moreover, strong support (83% of complete and slight agreement) is given to the proposition that teachers compare languages in their teaching practice, which demonstrates participants' acknowledgement of their plurilingual skills. Making use of similarities and differences between languages or, in other words, exploiting a plurilingual skill, cross-linguistic comparison, is an important component of the plurilingual approach, supported by many researchers (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Cummins, 2019, 2022; Woll & Paquet, 2021); it is also part of the definition of the plurilingual competence in the CEFR Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2020). Another statement with an equally high positive evaluation, namely, the belief that HE students should learn to switch between languages when appropriate (88% who agreed with the statement), likewise pertains to a successful exploitation of plurilingual competence and interaction skills. This finding mirrors, in its high positive score, the result for the statement that all HE students should learn at least three languages (75% of the participants, two-thirds of whom agree completely) and reinforces the participants' overall favorable stance on plurilingualism.

Similarly to the results of the analysis of *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* discussed above, the results of participants' self-assessment of their *plurilingual skills* show strong support for self-reflection and the need for professional development, claiming that they should take training to improve their own plurilingual skills (53% agree completely and 22% slightly agree (Fig. 3)) as well as training to improve their competence to develop plurilingual skills of their students (43% and 38% respectively). The same support is granted to the statement that HE teachers need to be able to communicate scientific knowledge in more than one language (78% agreed, including 48% who agreed completely). All statements receive over three

quarters of complete or slight agreement. Another parallel with the discussion on *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* is the concept of mediation, which is highlighted as an important skill of plurilingual practices, but at the same time pinpointed as the least recognizable one (with the highest percentage of *Do not know* answers): i.e., the statement that HE teachers include mediation activities and strategies in their teaching practice is endorsed by half of the participants (48% with only 24% who agree completely), but one fourth of the respondents cannot give an evaluating response to this statement at all. One more similarity to the patterns seen among the results of *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* is the highest number of disagreeing responses received by the statements related to a monolingual approach. In this case, it is the dominance of English in academic discourse, namely, the statement that the most important linguistic skill for HE students is academic writing and speaking in English. As one fourth of the participants disagreed with this idea it allows us to see them as supporters of the plurilingual approach.

The ANOVA One-way analysis of participants' self-evaluation of their *plurilingual skills* shows similar tendencies as in the discussion of *plurilingual knowledge and awareness*. Statistically significant differences were determined between two independent variables, i.e. the *HE language teacher* and *HE EMI teacher groups*, in terms of their agreement with the statements that capture important plurilingual practices, such as mediation, inter-comprehension, and others. These include the statements, firstly, focusing on participants' plurilingual practices, i.e., that their teaching practices include using mediation activities and strategies ($F = 12.3$, *p-value* = .001) as well as using cross-linguistic comparison ($F = 38.92$, *p-value* = .000) and exploitation of more than one language at a time ($F = 12.52$, *p*-value = .001); secondly, focusing on participants' own competences, i.e., that they should take training to improve their own plurilingual skills ($F = 5.51$*, p-value* = .02) and to improve their competences to develop plurilingual skills of their students ($F = 5.73$, *p-value* = .02); and thirdly, focusing on students' competence development, i.e., that learning different languages helps to develop HE students' intercultural competence ($F = 7.82$, *p*-value = .007), that they should learn to switch between languages when it is appropriate ($F = 9.95$, *p-value* = 0.002), and that mediation is as

important for HE students as the skills of writing and reading (F = 4.06, *p-value* = .049). Thus, in total, eight proposed statements that especially accentuate plurilingual practices have been endorsed by the study participants who teach languages (much more than by EMI teachers; the differences between the results are statistically significant). This is a very much anticipated result that gives hope for more inclusive and diverse plurilingual competence development at tertiary level in language classes.

Another similarity with the previous discussion of *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* (Fig. 3) is the statistically significant difference found between different groups with regard to work experience (19 years or less and 20 years and more) expressing their appreciation of mediation (i.e. more preference for plurilingualism) (F = 5.19, *p*-value = .027). On the other hand, there is also a significant link between the opinion of participants with a shorter period of international experience (19 years and fewer) and the acknowledgment of one's need for further competence improvement in order to know how to develop students' plurilingual skills, which is the declaration of the lack of plurilingual skills and at the same time could be seen as the endorsement of plurilingualism. The academic degree in this case seems to be more indicative of the preference for the plurilingual approach than in the case of the statements regarding *knowledge and awareness* (Fig. 2). Namely, there is a statistically significant difference between the opinion of the participants holding the PhD academic degree and those with MA degree in their endorsement of the statements that learning different languages helps to develop intercultural competence (F = 4.64, p-*value* = .35), and that HE students should learn to switch between languages when appropriate (F = 4.21, *p-value* = .45), which highlight the importance of HE students' plurilingual competence development. Meanwhile, participants without PhD split in their opinions: they significantly adhere to the proposition that the most important linguistic skill for HE students is academic writing and speaking in English *(F = 8.79, p-value = .004)*, which alludes to the dominance of English possibly at the expense of other languages, but at the same time support a feature of the plurilingual approach, namely, the comparison of languages in their teaching practices (F = 4.65, *p-value* = .035).

Figure 4

HE Teachers' Assessment of the Attitudes and Values of the Plurilingual Approach
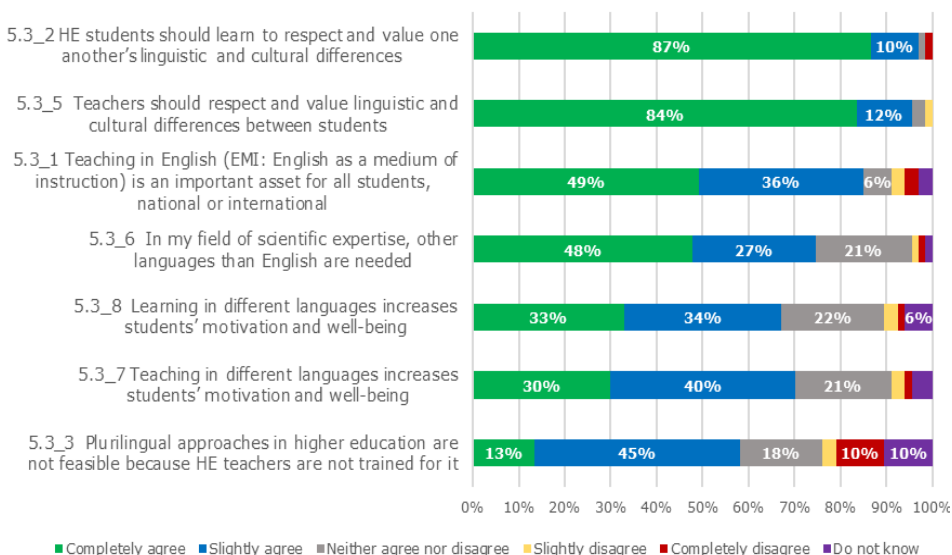
As elaborated in the theory section of this article, the conceptualization of plurilingualism encompasses not only the element of language practices and activities, i.e., the dynamic and fluid exploitation of one's linguistic repertoire but also an important aspect of an attitudinal stance, i.e. the appreciation of a complex and inclusive nature of a plurilingual competence where every linguistic variety of that repertoire is recognized and valued. Therefore, it was especially important to analyze participants' *attitudes and values* (Fig. 4) towards plurilingualism and their opinion as to how much plurilingualism is a value in HE education in Lithuania. Comparably to the assessment of *plurilingual skills* (Fig. 3), the highest value is assigned by most of the participants to statements related to cultural and linguistic diversity as well as mutuality and tolerance in HE classrooms (87% and 84% of complete agreement to the relevant statements). Another similarity is strong approval to the personal hunch to improve their plurilingual competence as is demonstrated by almost half of participants completely agreeing with the statement that it is necessary to have competences of languages other than English in their field of scientific

expertise. One third of the participants express complete agreement and a slightly higher number of them show their tentative agreement with the statements that link teaching and learning languages to students' increased motivation and well-being. However, assessing the last three statements, the number of the undecided participants is the largest (21–22%) in comparison to the number expressed about other statements, which suggests that it is necessary to analyze this link in greater detail. Finally, it is important to pay close attention to the feasibility of the plurilingual approach in HE. Formulated from a negative standpoint, namely, that the plurilingual approach in HE is not feasible and that this is the outcome of the lack of teachers' relevant competences, it has received slight or complete endorsement by more than half of the participants, with almost one third being undecided. This finding might signal not only the need for the relevant professional training, but also the insufficiency of openness and appreciation of diversity in Lithuanian HE.

The ANOVA test of HE teachers' *attitudes and values* of the plurilingual approach (Fig. 4) yielded less insight than in the case of the previous two categories (assessing the participants' *plurilingual knowledge and awareness* (Fig. 2) and *plurilingual skills* (Fig. 3)). Significant differences were found comparing the responses of participants who teach languages and those who teach EMI courses in their attitude towards respect and value of linguistic and cultural differences between students ($F = 4.96$, *p-value* = 0.03), where language teachers agreed with the statement more than EMI teachers. The same findings were obtained comparing the responses of teachers having different academic degrees; here two statements that directly relate to teachers' sensitivity towards students' feeling of inclusion were determined; namely, that it is important to show respect to students' linguistic and cultural background and that multilingual teaching increases students' motivation and well-being ($F = 3.99$, *p-value* = .050 and $F = 4.87$, *p-value* = .031). As a tentative argumentation for such a finding, one could suggest that teachers with a lower academic degree, such as an MA, have more inclination to see the whole picture of the classroom rather than strictly concentrate on academic achievements.

Research Stage 2

According to the Lithuanian Teacher Education Regulations (Lithuanian Minister of Education, Science, and Sport, 2019), teacher qualification can be acquired in four routes: (1) upon completion of a HE first-cycle study program in pedagogy, which includes a pedagogy, teaching subject, and/or pedagogical specification modules; (2) upon completion of a first-cycle university study program in a field other than pedagogy, which includes a pedagogy study module (60 study credits); (3) after completing a pedagogy study module (60 ECTS) alongside a HE first-cycle study program in a field other than pedagogy; (4) upon completion of a professional study program in pedagogy (120 ECTS), based on 60 ECTS pedagogy and 60 ECTS teaching subject studies (open to persons with HE degree).

Abundance of materials have been created on plurilingual approach by various projects run at the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML) to help prepare language teachers to work in multilingual and multicultural secondary education environment. HE Teacher Training Centers could benefit from using this material in the relevant study programs and courses[5].

Analysis of Initial Teacher Education Programs

Aiming at identifying if future language teachers, i.e. students studying in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programs (Routes 1, 2, 3) and graduates or teachers studying in Continuous Professional Development (CPD) programs (Route 4) are acquainted with the plurilingual approach and prepared to employ it in their future language teaching in multilingual and multicultural settings, the analysis of language teacher education programs in two main Teacher Training Centers in Lithuania (Vilnius University (VU) and Vytautas Magnus University (VMU)) was performed in 2024–2025.

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[5] ECML projects that offer teacher training materials for the plurilingual approach: *Language Educator Awareness (LEA). Plurilingual and pluricultural awareness in language teacher education: A training kit* https://www.ecml.at/Portals/1/documents/ECML-resources/LEA-EN.pdf); ConBaT+ (Content Based Teaching + Plurilingual/cultural Awareness) https://conbat.ecml.at/en/.

The keywords *plurilingual, multilingual, multicultural, linguistic diversity* (and their derivatives) were chosen as the indicators of the topics related to our research aim, and the titles of the study subjects (offered as compulsory and optional) in teacher education programs were filtered by the above-mentioned keywords*.* In addition, BA and MA philology programs were analyzed in both institutions with the same purpose, as philology program graduates can also be acquainted with the plurilingual approach and prepared to work in multilingual and multicultural settings during their theoretical and practical studies. To work at school, they need to complete professional pedagogical training.

All ITE Subject Pedagogy programs (study field/ branch: Pedagogy) (see Table 1, Appendix) award a qualification degree of BA in Education and teacher qualification and are focused on the development of competences in two languages. The analysis of 161 subject titles of six Subject Pedagogy programs at VMU (VMUa, 2025) yielded the following results: five out of six programs offer a compulsory course *Intercultural Communication and Multilingualism*, which strongly suggests a focus on the issues related to our research question: preparation to work in multilingual and multicultural settings. Nevertheless, it is only a reasonable initial presumption that it embraces the preparation of teachers to use the plurilingual approach in their classes. The courses *Linguistics of Romance Languages* (Subject Pedagogy English and Italian as a FL) and *Comparison of Polish and Lithuanian Languages and Basics in Translation* (Pedagogy of Polish Language and Another FL) do not contain the searched keywords but are implicit indicators related to our research aim, as they may prepare teachers to use cross-linguistic comparison as one of the plurilingual strategies. However, all six programs still offer monolingual didactics courses (see Table 1, Appendix), and the rest of the courses are focused on overall language proficiency development and studying the language and literature of the given language in depth. Thus, out of 161 subjects offered as compulsory and optional courses in six Subject Pedagogy programs at VMU, only seven course titles (three distinct titles) provide an indication that prospective teachers undergo some preparation to use the plurilingual approach in their language teaching or, more generally, to teach in multilingual and multicultural settings.

The analysis of 298 course titles of language courses offered by all seven ITE Subject Pedagogy programs at VU (VU, 2025) identified no explicit match for the keywords: *plurilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism* and their derivatives. Two German language (Lithuanian and German, English and German) programs offer an *Intercultural Communication* course, which may be indirectly related to preparing prospective teachers to work and live in a multicultural environment and cross-cultural encounters. All programs offer monolingual didactics courses: *English Language Didactics, French Language Didactics, German Language Didactics, Lithuanian Language Didactics,* and *Polish Language Didactics.*

The analysis of two Primary and Pre-school and pre-primary teacher education programs (110 course titles) offered at VMU yielded more positive results. Four courses were directly related to our research object, as their titles indicate: *CLIL and Plurilingual Pedagogy,* a two-part course taught by two teachers, focuses on the English language and content integration as well as direct teaching of the plurilingual approach and linguistically sensitive teaching; other three courses provide opportunities for teachers to prepare to teach in multicultural school environment, e.g., the courses *Multicultural Education, Children's Linguistic and Literary Education in the Context of Communication Diversity,* and *Language Education in Multicultural Context*. Although the latter course aims at developing future primary school teachers' competences to teach the Lithuanian language in an intercultural context, it also discusses methods of educating bilingual/multilingual children and differences between bilingual/multilingual and monolingual education strategies, which are directly linked to the focus of our analysis. As course descriptions show (VMUc, 2025), prospective teachers are offered opportunities to acquire competences indispensable for teaching in a multilingual and multicultural school environment.

Analysis of Professional Pedagogical Study Programs

VMU Professional Teacher Requalification (Module) studies are offered to graduates who have already acquired a higher education diploma and/or degree in the subject field and a pedagogical qualification but intend to gain

additional subject qualification or specialization by choosing an appropriate module. For our research purpose, only language teacher modules are analyzed: 1-year study programs (60 ECTS). VU School Pedagogy, pedagogical professional studies are offered to those who intend to acquire a pedagogical qualification, holding a HE degree in appropriate field (in our case, philology graduates). In both cases, as the research shows, study programs provide only monolingual subject didactics courses (see Table 2, Appendix). Graduates who hold higher education but in a different field of study are admitted to a 2-year study program (120 ECTS). Upon completion they are awarded a teacher's qualification and subject competences. Regarding our research focus, the English, German, French, Spanish, and Polish Language programs were chosen for the analysis. The investigation yielded some positive results: two modules (see Table 3, Appendix) offer *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* subject, and one module offers *Intercultural Communication and Multilingualism* course, which allows us to draw a conclusion that the future FL teachers are acquainted with the plurilingual approach, and this will allow them to work in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. The course with the title *Development of Slavic Languages* most likely provides opportunities for comparison of languages of the shared linguistic family and origin; consequently, exercises a plurilingual strategy of receptive intercomprehension.

Analysis of Philology Programs (BA and MA)

It is often the case that BA or MA philology program graduates, having acquired one or another type of pedagogical qualification, choose to work as foreign language teachers at Lithuanian secondary schools; therefore, it was purposeful to investigate the preparation of philology graduates to meet the challenges of multilingual and multicultural environment. Although neither BA nor MA philology programs aim at preparing language teachers, some of them still offer courses in language teaching and applied research, offer traineeships in Lithuanian and abroad in various fields, including language teaching. E.g., VU BA program courses in Central and East European Languages and Cultures (Polish Studies

(conducted in Polish and in Russian) and Russian Studies offer *Practical Work and Internship: English as a foreign language teaching* as an optional course (group internship for all students) (see Table 3, Appendix)). Five more programs offer courses that share the title *Practical Work and Internship;* while the program specifier after the colon determines specific language track: *English as a Foreign Language Teaching, German as a Foreign Language Teaching, Italian as a Foreign Language Teaching,* and *Spanish as a Foreign Language Teaching, Lithuanian as a Home Language and as a Foreign Language Teaching.* The courses are offered as optional ones in the final semester, although no courses in didactics (neither monolingual nor plurilingual) are offered throughout eight semesters of studies in any of these programs (VU, 2025).

The screening for course titles that provide evidence for our research in terms of preparing graduates to teach (if they choose to do this) at schools, which are becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural, yielded some positive results. The analysis of VU BA program course titles found two explicit matches of the keyword *multilingualism*: an optional course *Culture and Multilingualism*, offered in over 10 programs in the Culture or Media studies, and a compulsory course *Multilingual Vilnius Literature,* offered by the Lithuanian Studies program. Although no indication of plurilingual approach being introduced to philology students was found, but some programs offer courses that strongly or moderately imply topics related to our keywords, e.g. *Indo-European Linguistics, Linguistic Variation in Indo-European Languages, Introduction to Comparative Grammar,* and *Introduction to Roman Philology.* As VMU course descriptions of most courses are publicly available (VMUc, 2025) and allow for deeper analysis, a different situation was found in some courses. For instance, students of BA in Philology program are offered two topics in the course Teaching English as a Foreign Language: *Plurilingual Approach* an*d Linguistically Sensitive Teaching* where students are theoretically and practically (performing simulated lessons) acquainted with the approaches and their use in teaching languages. The course Introduction to Sociolinguistics discusses the topic of *Bilingualism and Multilingualism,* which is a direct indicator of acquainting students with today's multilingual reality.

VU MA programs do not explicitly focus on multilingualism or multiculturalism; however, such courses as, e.g., *Sociolinguistics* or *Contrastive Grammar of the Baltic Languages,* or *Contrastive Grammar of Lithuanian* and *Italian Linguistic Typology* can be expected to cover linguistic variations, linguistic diversity, cross-linguistic comparison but not necessarily plurilingualism specifically. Therefore, such courses were included into the group of implicit indicators of preparing students to meet the challenges of multilingual and multicultural settings.

VMU MA program *Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism* (VMUd, n.d.), an international joint-degree study program, designed and offered at four universities, aims at training "a new generation of sociolinguists who will possess a broad scholarly and practical understanding of the parallel use of multiple languages in Europe and a professional awareness of multilingualism's social dynamics and its cultural, political and socioeconomic impact in varying European contexts." Among many career opportunities that will open to graduates upon the completion of the program, two are directly related to our focus: "Counseling on multilingualism issues at political and cultural institutions, including the EU institutions" and "Counseling and analytical teaching on multilingualism issues in educational institutions of all levels." During the first semester, while studying at VMU, among other courses, the students are offered *Multilingualism in Europe, Plurilingual Approach in Language Education,* and *Multilingualism and Sociolinguistics* courses that, as course descriptions indicate, prepare students to reach the set learning outcomes that cohere with our research focus.

The titles and course descriptions of the other two VMU MA *Philology* study programs directly indicate the preparation of future philologists or most likely language teachers to teach in a multilingual environment and apply the plurilingual approach, which is at the focus of our study. Two MA programs – *Applied English Linguistics* and *Modern Linguistics* – offer *Plurilingual Approach in Language Education* and *Language Teaching in Multilingual Setting* (respectively), which explicitly indicate the use of plurilingual approach and preparation of graduates to teach in multilingual and multicultural schools.

Two other initiatives are worth mentioning, each from both institutions analyzed. VU Faculty of Philology offers a module *Arqus Plurilingualism Mode* (French and English as foreign languages), prepared within the *Arqus* Alliance of universities. It is offered for individualized studies for BA students and as an optional subject for BA and MA Erasmus+ students. The module aims to "develop communicative competence in two foreign languages and to allow students to familiarize themselves with linguistic theoretical concepts of linguistic diversity, language learning strategies, (socio)linguistics, plurilingualism and multiculturalism, also to develop their critical approach to and reflection on learning languages[6]." Another instance that institutions are changing their language teaching practices and try to tailor their classes to increasing multilingual and multicultural students is the course, directly related to our research – *English C1: CLIL and Plurilingual Pedagogy*, taught at the Institute of Foreign Languages, which is "particularly designed for students of various types of education program but could also be of interest to those preparing to become secondary school teachers" (VMUa, 2025). The aim of the course, among others, is to acquaint students with "<...> plurilingual pedagogy and linguistically sensitive teaching as well as to empower them to apply those principles in their teaching practices"; the course "is based on the plurilingual approach" (VMUa, 2025).

To sum up, the results of the preliminary screening of 3616 course titles of 71 programs offered at VU and VMU for pre-prospective and in-service teachers demonstrate that only a small number of courses discuss topics that may prepare teachers to work in the multilingual and multicultural setting. The **exact presence** of the keywords under investigation (*plurilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism* and their derivatives) in the titles and descriptions was found only in the titles and descriptions of 13 courses offered by 33 programs: *multilingualism/multilingual* appears in eight course titles and course descriptions; *plurilingualism/plurilingual* is used in five (*plurilingual approach, plurilingual pedagogy, plurilingualism module*); *multiculturalism* and *multicultural* are used twice. Although the explicit use of these concepts in the title is a highly reliable indicator that the topics under

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[6] https://www.vu.lt

investigation are studied within the course, the study found numerous **related terms** in the titles making the topic likely to be covered in the course. Such titles are attributed to implicit or proxy indicators of the use of the plurilingual approach and preparation of graduates to teach in multilingual and multicultural spaces. The research findings allow us to conclude that, although not stated directly, many opportunities are created for prospective teachers to familiarize themselves with current trends and practices in language education and be able to use the acquired competences in their language teaching, working in multilingual & multicultural classrooms.

Limitations

The sample of the Lithuanian APATCHE survey participants is too small ($N = 67$) to draw generalizations about all teachers in Lithuania; still, it provides some data on a lack of teacher self-assessed preparation to teach in the multilingual and multicultural environment. Due to insufficient access to university program course content, the goal was limited to preliminary screening and specific course title analysis which allowed us to identify potential or explicit offerings, i.e. courses that prepare students for work in multilingual and multicultural educational environments. In those cases where the course descriptions were available, the analysis – being preliminary of this kind – was delimited to the semantic coding of course topics rather than explicit analysis of learning outcomes and course aims and objectives. More explicit subject description analysis, focusing not only on the content but also on learning outcomes and course aims, could have provided more explicit and correct information on the inclusion of the topics on the plurilingual approach; however, they were not publicly accessible.

Conclusions

The present study aimed at examining the potential for linguistic inclusivity and the plurilingual approach in HE classrooms under the circumstances of its growing linguistic and cultural diversity. Pursuing this aim, it embarked on two research questions, namely, if the teachers in

Lithuanian HEIs assess themselves as prepared for the application of the plurilingual approach in their teaching practice and if language teacher pre-service (ITE) and in-service (CET) education programs provide training for prospective language teachers to work in multilingual and multicultural settings. The said research questions were examined in two research stages: the first stage included the analysis of the participants' self-assessed *knowledge and awareness*, *skills*, as well as *attitudes and values* regarding the development of plurilingualism and the application of the plurilingual approach. It was followed by the second research stage that included the study of language teacher ITE and CET programs by conducting a preliminary screening of their curricula in two Lithuanian universities that offer teacher education focusing on the publicly stated offering of courses on *plurilingualism, multilingualism, and/or multiculturalism* and their derivatives.

The first research stage exposed some tentatively favorable precondition for the application of the plurilingual approach through the evaluation of participants' linguistic repertoires: in total, the participant sample ($N = 67$) is marked by linguistic diversity and includes 17 languages at their disposal; nevertheless, only English and Russian receive a more considerable percentage in terms of their usage. In the self-assessment analysis, it has been found that in general HE education teachers display quite a positive disposition towards the plurilingual approach as it is outlined in the operational definition of the present study. Namely, participants expressed more agreement with statements endorsing plurilingualism in comparison to those that express a more monolingual stance. They also highlighted the need for continuous professional development in the application of the plurilingual approach. The need for competence development appears to be especially acute in the case of mediation: its conceptualization and application strategies.

Descriptive statistics was performed to investigate if participants' evaluations of the statements reveal their familiarity with the plurilingual approach; ANOVA test was performed to find out if there existed statistically significant differences in participants' self-assessment depending on their work experience, teaching field (language or EMI teachers) and academic degree (MA or PhD). The research findings indicate that participants with

more years of work experience and those who teach foreign languages have a more favorable disposition towards plurilingual approach and practices than those whose academic experience is shorter and who teach other subjects through the medium of English. Longer work experience also correlated more with the appreciation of mediation as a communicative activity, while those with less work experience expressed more need for their competence development in the application of the plurilingual approach. HE teachers with an MA academic degree appeared to be more appreciative of the plurilingual approach to show respect and attention to students' cultural and linguistic identity as well as to enhance students' sense of inclusion and wellbeing.

The second research stage included the analysis of the study courses that contain the keywords *plurilingual, multilingual, multicultural* and their derivatives in the titles and descriptions of courses offered in two main language Teacher Training Centers in Lithuania, considering them as potential opportunities provided for prospective teachers to familiarize themselves with the plurilingual approach and enable them to use it in their language teaching, working in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. Conversely, courses in monolingual didactics were considered as indicators of a lack of focus on plurilingual didactics. The screening of the curricula of language teacher training programs revealed that monolingual language didactics still prevail and could lead to the preference and habit of monolingual language teaching of future and current language teachers. Although the prospective teachers are offered programs in two foreign languages, explicit offerings of courses on *plurilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism* and their derivatives are scarce.

Therefore, it can be stated that Lithuanian HE is taking successful steps towards making HEIs more prepared for linguistic and cultural diversity and inclusiveness. This is evidenced by quite a strong HE teachers' plurilingual mindset, or rather favorable orientation towards the application of the plurilingual approach, as can be seen from their self-assessment results. However, the screening of the teacher training curricula regarding the components of the plurilingual approach, as seen from the course titles and course descriptions, revealed that prospective and current language teachers are insufficiently prepared to meet the challenges of multilingual and

multicultural classrooms, which calls for reconceptualization of language teacher education.

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Appendix

Table 1

ITE Language Teacher Education Program Courses as Direct or Indirect Indicators of the Use of Plurilingual Approach

Programs	Number of Programs/ Courses	Explicit /Direct Indicators	Implicit/ Proxy Indicators
Initial Teacher Training (ITE) Degree: BA in Education, Teacher Qualification (4-year-studies, 240 ECTS)			
VMU (Subject Pedagogy) - Pedagogy of English and Another FL (1) French; (2) German; (3) Italian; (4) Spanish) - (5) Pedagogy of Polish Language and Literature and Another FL (English) - (6) Pedagogy of Lithuanian Language and Literature (incl. Lithuanian as a FL)	(n = 6/161) 4 /74 1/45 1/42	***Intercultural Communication & Multilingualism** (1-4, 6)*	**- *Linguistics of Romance languages*** *- English Language Didactics 1; Subject Didactics 2: French; German; Spanish as a FL Didactics.* *- Polish as a Foreign Language Didactics; Didactics of Polish Language and Literature;* *- **Comparison of Polish and Lithuanian Languages** and Basics of Translation (5)* *- Didactics of Lithuanian Language and Literature; Lithuanian as a FL Methodology*
VU (Subject Pedagogy) - English & Another FL (French; German) - Polish & a FL (English; French; German) - Lithuanian & a FL (French; German)	(n = 7/298)		*- Intercultural Communication* *- Alternative Foreign Language Teaching Methods* *- Monolingual didactics (English Language Didactics (LD); French LD; German LD; Lithuanian LD; Polish LD)*
VMU Pedagogy of Primary Education and Early Foreign Language Teaching Pre-school and Pre-primary Education	(n = 2/110) 1/56 1/54 ――――― *N* = 15/571	***Multicultural Education*** ***CLIL and Plurilingual Pedagogy***	*- **Language Education in Intercultural Context*** *- **Child's Linguistic and Literary Education in the Context of Communication Diversity*** *- Early Language Education* *- CLIL in Early Stage of Education* *- Monolingual Didactics (English Language Learning and Teaching Technologies; Early English Language Education)* **-** *Didactics of Early Language Education*

Table 2

CPD Teacher Education Program Courses as Direct or Indirect Indicators of the Use of Plurilingual Approach

Programs	No. of Programs / Courses	Explicit / Direct Indicators	Implicit/ Proxy Indicators
Professional Pedagogical Studies (PPS), Teacher Qualification (1 year-studies, 60 ECTS)			
VMU Requalification (Module) studies for teachers Module: English Language for Upper-Intermediate B1/B2 Module: Spanish Language for Upper-Intermediate B1	2/22		*Subject Didactics (English, Spanish)*
VU "School Pedagogy" 9 Modules: English/ French / German / Latin / Latvian / Lithuanian /Scandinavian/ Spanish	9/32		Subject Didactics for each module *English/ French / German / Latin / Latvian / Lithuanian /Scandinavian/ Spanish Didactics*
Professional Pedagogical Studies, Teacher Qualification and Subject Competence (2-year studies, 120 ECTS)			
VMU Requalification (Module) Studies for Teachers Module 1: English Language for Beginners A1 Module 2: German Language for Beginners A1 Module 3: French Language for Beginners A1 Module 4: Spanish Language for Beginners A1 Module 5: Polish Language and Literature	4/100 *N = 15/154*	***Multilingualism and Multiculturalism** (Modules 2, 3, 4)* ***Intercultural Communication and Multilingualism** (Module 1)*	*CLIL in the Early Education (1, 4)* *Intercultural Communication (Modules 2 & 3)* *Subject Didactics I & II (English LD, German LD, French LD)* ***Development of Slavic Languages** (Module 5)* *Subject Didactics (Theoretical Basics of Language Didactics; Didactics of Polish Language & Literature; Polish as a Foreign Language Didactics)*

Table 3

Philology Program Courses as Direct or Indirect Indicators of the Use of Plurilingual Approach

Programs	No of Programs, Courses (Compulsory, Optional)	Explicit/Direct Indicators	Implicit/ Proxy Indicators
Study Field: Philology. Degree: BA in Humanities			
VU (1) Central and East European Languages and Cultures (CEELC) (Polish studies, for beginners, in Russian) (2) CEELC (Polish studies) (for advanced, in Polish) (3) CEELC (Russian studies) (for beginners, in English) (4) CEELC (for advanced sp., in Russian) (5) English Philology (6) English and another FL (German) (7) German Studies (for beginners, in English) (8) German Studies (for advanced, in German) (9) Italian Philology (10) Lithuanian Studies (11) Spanish Philology	(n = 11/1225) 1/105 (19/86) 1/101 (17/84) 1/161(20/141) 1/160 (19/142) 1/137 (17/120) 1/105 (24/81) 1/41 (24/17 1/127 (19/108) 1/150(22/128) 1/32 (30/2) 1/106 (36/70)	*- **Culture and Multilingualism** (in all except 7)* *- **Multilingual Vilnius Literature** (10)*	*- Sociolinguistic Situation and Language Policy in Lithuania (10)* *- Ethnolinguistics;* *- Empowering Young Learners: Current Trends in Language Education;* *- Indo-European Linguistics;* *- Linguistic Variation in Indo-European Languages;* *- Introduction to Comparative Grammar;* *- Introduction to Roman Philology (9);* *Language Contact and Linguistic Areas;* *Germans and Lithuania: Linguistic and Cultural Junctures (8);* *-Introduction to Sociolinguistics (7;* *Intercultural Communication (in 10 courses)*
VMU (1) English Philology (2) Lithuanian Philology and Publishing Foreign Languages and Cultures: (3) Italian Studies and Romance Languages (4) German Languages and Communication (5) Francophone Studies	(n = 5/231) 1/43 1/41 3/147	*- TEFL Methodology (*topics*: **Plurilingual Approach; Linguistically Sensitive Teaching**) (1)* *- Introduction to Sociolinguistics (topic: **Bilingualism & Multilingualism**) (1)*	*- Didactics of Lithuanian as a FL (2)* *- Qualifying Practice of FL and Intercultural Communication (3-5)* *- Linguistics of Romance Languages (3, 5)* *- Intercultural Communication (5)* *- Contrastive Text Linguistics & Pragmatics (4)*

Programs	No of Programs, Courses (Compulsory, Optional)	Explicit/Direct Indicators	Implicit/ Proxy Indicators
Study Field: Philology. Degree: MA in Humanities			
VU English Studies (Linguistics) English Studies (Literature, Linguistics, Culture) English Studies (Media Discourse) Languages and Cultures of the Nordic and Baltic Sea Region Linguistics (Baltic Linguistics) Russian Studies (Literature, Linguistics, Culture) Russian Studies (Media Linguistics)	(n = 7/340)		*Sociolinguistics;* *Contrastive Grammar / Contrastive Grammar of the Baltic Languages/ Contrastive Grammar of Lithuanian and Italian* *Linguistic Typology;* *Language and Gender: From Grammar to Politics* *Language and Culture;* *Narratives of place and migration in the NBS region;* *Current Practices in Foreign Language Teaching and Learning*
VMU (1) Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism (2) Applied English Linguistics (3) Modern Linguistics	(n = 3/41) 1/10 1/22 1/9 _____ *N =* 26/1837	***Plurilingual Approach in Language Education*** (1,2) ***Multilingualism in Europe*** (1) ***Sociolinguistics and Multilingualism*** (1) ***Language Teaching in Multilingual Setting*** (3)	*- Language in Sociocultural Context* (1) *- Innovative Language Teaching Strategies* (1) *- Cross-Cultural Communication* (1, 2) *- Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods in Sociolinguistics (1)*

Nemira Mačianskienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
nemira.macianskiene@vdu.lt
Vilma Bijeikienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
vilma.bijeikiene@vdu.lt

AR LIETUVOS AUKŠTOJO MOKSLO DĖSTYTOJAI PASIRENGĘ ĮGYVENDINTI DAUGIAKALBYSTĘ ĮGALINANČIĄ PEDAGOGIKĄ?

Anotacija. Globalaus pasaulio iššūkiai, intensyvėjanti imigracija ir auganti kalbinė bei kultūrinė įvairovė turi didelės įtakos Europos aukštajam mokslui. Mokslo įstaigoms tampant vis labiau daugiakalbėmis ir daugiakultūrėmis, tikimasi, kad dėstytojai ugdys savo kalbinio jautrumo ir daugiakalbės praktikos kompetencijas. Šiame tyrime nagrinėti du klausimai: ar Lietuvos aukštųjų mokyklų dėstytojai mano esantys pasirengę taikyti daugiakalbystę įgalinančią pedagogiką savo darbe ir ar Lietuvos dėstytojų rengimo programos rengia pedagogus, galinčius dirbti daugiakalbėje ir daugiakultūrėje aplinkoje? Tyrime dalyvavę 67-ni Lietuvos aukštųjų mokyklų kalbų dėstytojai ir dalykus anglų kalba dėstantys dėstytojai užpildė APATCHE („Dėstytojų kompetencijų tobulinimas taikant daugiakalbę prieigą aukštajame moksle") projekto komandos parengtą klausimyną. Pirmame etape buvo analizuojami dėstytojų apklausos duomenys. Antrame etape atlikta preliminaria universitetinių dalykų analize siekta išsiaiškinti, ar mokytojų rengimo programos siūlo dalykus, įgalinančius būsimus (pradinio mokytojų rengimo, filologijos bakalauro ir magistro studijų) ir jau dirbančius (tęstinio profesinio tobulinimo) mokytojus taikyti daugiakalbę prieigą. Rezultatai rodo, kad dėstytojai palankiai žiūri į daugiakalbystę įgalinančios pedagogikos taikymą, bet jaučia poreikį tobulinti savo kompetencijas. Taip pat nustatyta, jog kalbų mokytojų rengimo programose dominuoja vienkalbė kalbos mokymo prieiga, stokojama konkrečių dėstomųjų dalykų, kurie parengtų studentus pasitikti ir įveikti daugiakalbės ir daugiakultūrės aplinkos keliamus iššūkius, todėl siūloma įtraukti daugiakalbystę įgalinančios pedagogikos temas į mokytojų rengimo programas.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: daugiakalbė prieiga; daugiakalbystė; daugiakultūriškumas; kalbos mokymas ir mokymasis; vienkalbystė.

Oleksandr Kapranov
NLA University College, Norway
Oksana Voloshyna
Vinnytsia National Agrarian University, Ukraine

THE ACQUISITION OF DISCOURSE MARKERS BY ESP UNDERGRADUATES: UNCOVERING SUSTAINABLE PRACTICES IN DESCRIPTIVE ESSAY WRITING

Abstract. The acquisition of discourse markers (DMs) by undergraduate students of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) constitutes a research problem that has not been thoroughly investigated from the vantage point of sustainable practices associated with the explicit and implicit modes of instruction. In the article, we present a quantitative study aimed at uncovering whether the acquisition of DMs would be sustainable within the period of one semester. To this end, the material of the study involves a corpus of descriptive essays written by a group of ESP undergraduates whose first language (L1) is Ukrainian and another foreign language is Russian (hereafter referred to as participants). One part of the corpus was written by the participants during the explicit mode of instruction, whereas another part was written during the implicit mode. The corpus was analysed using the software program AntConc (Anthony, 2022) to examine possible changes in the frequency of DMs over time. The quantitative investigation of the participants' essays revealed the following key findings: while the explicit mode of instruction was associated with a substantial increase in the frequency of the occurrence of DMs in the participants' descriptive essays, the implicit mode of instruction led to an abrupt decrease in the frequency of DMs as well as the narrowing of their repertoire. The findings, the novelty of the study and the pedagogical implications that arise from the findings are further discussed in the article.

Keywords: descriptive essays; discourse markers (DMs); English for Specific Purposes (ESP); sustainable practices.

Introduction

The notion of sustainability and the associated sustainable development goals have found their way into the teaching and learning of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) as well as English for Specific Purposes (ESP) (Arslan & Curle, 2024; Luchenko & Yurchenko, 2023). Specifically, sustainability in the realms of EFL and ESP presupposes the quality of education, lifelong learning opportunities, and sustainable learning possibilities that empower the learners to contribute to their own and societal well-being, knowledge development and maintenance, and prosperity in harmony with nature and the environment (Kapranov, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). It should be, perhaps, noted that ESP is typically defined as the teaching and learning of "specific kind of English to learners who will use it in a particular professional setting, which could be occupational, academic or scientific" (Knezović, 2017, p. 319). To be precise, ESP settings are characterised by a strong applied dimension (Hyland, 2025) that focuses on communicative competences that are relevant to specific occupational contexts (Roothooft, Breeze, & Meyer, 2025) or educational settings (Šliogerienė et al., 2025). Written communication is thought to form an invaluable part of ESP students' competences (Luchenko et al., 2024; Uzun, 2024). From this perspective, written communication in ESP contexts involves an ESP learner's acquisition, maintenance and use of writing skills that are not only effective (Kapranov, 2017) and genre-appropriate (Catenaccio, 2025) but pragmatically-oriented (Richards, 2006) and sustainable (Zhang & Zhang, 2021).

One of the skills that ESP as well as EFL students should master includes awareness of and attention to the use of metadiscursive means, such as discourse markers (Appel & McKay, 2025; Hyland, 2025; Lasagabaster & Bier, 2025). Discourse markers (DMs) are defined as a class of lexical expressions (for instance, *but*, *in addition*, *so*) that signal a relationship between two adjacent discursive segments, such as sentences (S) and/or clauses (C), for example S/C 1 and S/C 2 (Fraser, 1999). DMs occur, typically, as a part of S/C 2, as illustrated below:

(a)   We were late, *but* no one seemed to mind.

(b)   We were late. *But* no one seemed to mind. (Fraser, 2009, p. 298)

The DM *but* functions as a connector between the two clauses in (a) and two sentences in (b) and plays an important discursive role in the stretches of discourse without exhibiting a clear lexical and semantic value (Fraser, 2006, 2009).

In terms of the role of DMs in ESP writing, Hyland (1996) notes that an ESP student's rhetorical consciousness of DMs constitutes a critical facet of ESP-related writing skills. Accordingly, the need to foster an ESP student's awareness and active use of metadiscursive means inclusive of DMs is deemed to be crucial in ESP instruction (Mariotti, 2024). In this regard, there is a widely recognised argument that ESP courses should, among other aspects, provide a clear focus on the use of metadiscursive means and, particularly, DMs (Hyland, 1996, 2012; Kim et al., 2018; Okan & Özer, 2018).

While scholarly attention to DMs in an ESP student's writing is uncontested, little is currently known about their acquisition, particularly among cohorts of ESP undergraduates majoring in engineering and agricultural engineering (del Saz Rubio, 2011; Hyland, 2023; Kapranov & Voloshyna, 2023). Furthermore, there is a paucity of research studies that seek to uncover the acquisition of DMs in ESP writing seen through the lens of the explicit vs. implicit modes of instruction. In an attempt to generate new knowledge about the aforementioned gap, we present a quantitative study on the acquisition of DMs in descriptive essay writing by a group of ESP undergraduates majoring in agricultural engineering (hereafter, participants). Critically, the study builds on two research conditions: (i) the explicit mode of instruction in DMs within ESP undergraduate writing and (ii) the implicit mode of instruction thereof. A "before-and-after" intragroup design is employed to unpack whether the participants' acquisition of DMs is sustainable across these two modes over the course of one semester. We intend to measure the participants' sustainable practices associated with DMs in their descriptive essay writing by means of calculating the frequency of the occurrence of DMs in the series of descriptive essays written by the participants (i) after they have been exposed to the explicit teaching and learning of DMs in ESP writing in the first half of the autumn semester, and (ii) after they have experienced the implicit mode

of instruction related to DMs in the second half of the semester. Specifically, our research aim consists in answering the following research question (RQ):

RQ: Is the participants' acquisition of DMs in descriptive writing sustainable in the implicit mode of instruction?

The novelty of the study lies, firstly, in its focus on an underexplored area: DMs in ESP undergraduate writing. As existing research remains limited, we intend to provide a deeper and more contextualised insight into this domain. Secondly, we contend that while the participants' essays could reflect a possible improvement after a training period and a possible decline in the absence of monitoring in the implicit mode of instruction, this "improvement-and-decline" curve has not been documented among students who study under the extreme conditions and enormous stress of the on-going war. To reiterate, our participants, whose detailed description we provide further in the article, are first year ESP undergraduates at a university in Ukraine, which has been at war with Russia since February 2022. Given the extreme teaching and learning conditions, our study contributes to scholarship by examining the acquisition of DMs in situations that pose direct threat to life as well as numerous educational, cognitive, and psychological challenges (see Junina (2025).

Further, this paper proceeds as follows. Firstly, an outline of the literature on DMs in ESP settings is provided. It should be observed that the literature review focuses exclusively on DMs in ESP contexts and does not involve an analysis of published research on DMs in EFL settings. Secondly, the present study is described in conjunction with its corpus, participants, research methodology, results and their discussion. Thirdly, a summary of the major findings is offered in unity with a number of methodological suggestions associated with the context of sustainable multilingualism.

Outline of the Literature on DMs in ESP Settings

Whereas DMs "have been a topic of research for 30 years under many different names" (Fraser, 2009, p. 293), for instance, discourse connectives

(Hall, 2007), discourse particles (Schourup, 1999), and pragmatic connectives (van Dijk, 1979), the present outline of the literature does not pretend to be exhaustive (see, for instance, Fraser (1990, 1999, 2009), Jucker and Ziv (2011), and Schiffrin (2005) for detailed reviews of the literature). In contrast to the prior reviews of the literature, however, this outline focuses on relatively recent studies on DMs in ESP contexts, which could be grouped in accordance with the following research themes: (i) ESP writing, (ii) ESP reading, (iii) ESP course books, and (iv) ESP lectures.

As far as the research theme of DMs in ESP writing is concerned, Hyland (2025) mentions the importance of metadiscursive means, inclusive of DMs, which should be taught to ESP students. Hyland's (2025) argument, presumably, is based upon his earlier study (1996), which shows that DMs and other metadiscursive means belong to an ESP student's repertoire of skills that should be fostered in ESP courses. Hyland (1996) contends that ESP students' writing should make use of DMs in order to express their views accurately and genre-appropriately. It is inferred from Hyland (1996, 2025) that DMs form part of the ESP student's writing strategy that should be taught explicitly, so that the students would be able to recognise the genre-appropriate DMs and use them accordingly. Hyland's (1996) views on metadiscourse and DMs in ESP writing correlate with research publications by Aidinlou and Mehr (2012), Kapranov (2018), Pavlović and Đorđević (2020), and Andayani (2024). Specifically, Aidinlou and Mehr (2012) regard DMs as metadiscursive means of enhancing ESP students' awareness of genre-appropriate writing conventions. They further indicate that the use of DMs in ESP students' writing has a positive impact upon their writing skills.

In line with Hyland (1996), Aidinlou and Mehr (2012) suggest that DMs should be taught explicitly in order to be incorporated sustainably into ESP students' writing. Similarly, Kapranov (2018) posits that explicit instruction is critical in the acquisition of DMs by those ESP students whose first language (L1) is Ukrainian. Particularly, by means of contrasting two groups of Ukrainian L1 ESP students in the implicit vs. explicit teaching and learning conditions, Kapranov (2018) demonstrates that the participants' implicit learning of DMs results in a substantial decrease in the frequency of occurrence of the DMs in

their writing. Just like Hyland (1996), and Aidinlou and Mehr (2012), Kapranov (2018) suggests that DMs should be taught explicitly in order to yield sustainable learning outcomes associated with the use of DMs in ESP-related settings. Also anchored in Hyland's (1996) view on metadiscourse, the study by Pavlović and Đorđević (2020) reveals that such DMs as *well*, *but*, *moreover*, and *so that* are rather frequent in the corpus of persuasive texts written by ESP undergraduates whose L1 is Serbian. The authors interpret their findings as an indication that the most frequently used DMs are involved in the pragmatic function of capturing the reader's attention and maintaining their interest in the topic. Notably, it is deduced from their study that the explicit mode of instruction in ESP writing exerts positive effects on the ESP students' ability to use DMs that are relevant and appropriate in the genre of persuasive writing. The findings by Pavlović and Đorđević (2020) are further corroborated by Andayani (2024), who examines how DMs as connectors are used in ESP students' essay writing. By means of a quantitative analysis of the corpus of ESP students' essays, Andayani (2024) has found that Indonesian L1 ESP students seem to overuse such DMs as *and*, *or*, *because of*, and *so that*.

While the theme of DMs in ESP-related reading is not as amply represented as the topic of DMs in ESP writing (see above), there seems to be a line of research into this issue that is central to scholarly publications by Martinez (1996, 2006), Fatalaki, Amini, and Mirzaee (2014), as well as Ciocoi-Pop (2020). In particular, Martinez (1996, 2006) examines the use of DMs in ESP students' reading comprehension and contends that the explicit approach to the teaching and learning of DMs plays a facilitative role in improving ESP students' reading comprehension. The researcher emphasises that a critical feature of the teaching and learning consists in the recognition and use of DMs, which, arguably, exerts positive effects on the reading comprehension by ESP students. A similar contention is present in the study by Ciocoi-Pop (2020), who suggests that attention to DMs and other metadiscursive means positively influences ESP students' reading comprehension. Analogously, a quantitative research investigation conducted by Fatalaki, Amini, and Mirzaee (2014) shows that the explicit mode of instruction of DMs is associated with beneficial effects on ESP undergraduates' reading comprehension.

The research theme of DMs in ESP course books is explored by Mohseni and Golestani (2015) who argue that an ESP learner may capitalise on the genre-appropriate DMs that are found in ESP course books. To support their argument, they examine the way DMs are employed in ESP books for the cohorts of ESP students majoring in computer science. Furthermore, the researchers seek to contrast ESP course books written by a number of non-native and native authors. Mohseni and Golestani (2015) have established that contrastive DMs are not significantly different in the non-native and native ESP course books. In particular, they show that the contrastive DMs *but* and *however* are the most frequently occurring DMs both in native and non-native authored ESP course books. Conceivably, their study demonstrates that ESP students should be provided with a clear writing sample in the form of a course book that contains and illustrates a range of genre-appropriate uses of DMs, in particular, contrastive DMs.

Finally, let us briefly discuss the research theme of DMs in ESP lectures. Miciano, Gocheco, Bensal, and Abatayo (2011) discuss the use of DMs in ESP lectures. To be precise, they explore the effect of DMs on academic listening comprehension by ESP undergraduates. These researchers assert that the presence of DMs in ESP lectures does not seem to correlate positively with the overall score of lecture comprehension by the students. In contrast to Miciano, Gocheco, Bensal, and Abatayo (2011), Deroey and Taverniers (2012) suggest that the use of DMs in ESP and EAP lectures is related to an effective way of communication in the process of lecture delivery. This argument is indirectly supported by del Pozo (2016), who discusses how DMs are employed in the structure of academic lectures. Del Pozo's (2016) research reveals that DMs play a facilitative role in lecture comprehension by means of providing pointers associated with the structure of an ESP lecture.

As outlined above, the literature on DMs in ESP contexts is explored in accordance with several research directions. Currently, however, there seems to be no published research that examines DMs in ESP writing by undergraduate students through the lens of sustainability. Further in the article, we present a quantitative study that endeavours to shed light onto this under-researched topic of scientific investigation.

The Present Study: Rationale, Research Tasks, Participants, Corpus, and Methodology

As we have seen in the introductory part of the article as well as in the literature review section, the teaching and learning of DMs, especially in the explicit mode of instruction, forms part of an ESP learner's skills that are applicable, first of all, to ESP writing. In this regard, it should be mentioned that writing by ESP students, especially undergraduates, has been a fruitful ground for a multitude of quantitative and qualitative studies (Hyland & Jiang, 2021; Hyland, 2022), which, as shown above, explore the use of DMs by different cohorts of ESP students. In the wake of prior research (Hyland, 1996, 2019, 2022, 2025), the present quantitative study aims at discovering new knowledge associated with the frequency of the occurrence of DMs in a corpus of descriptive essays written by the participants, who are Ukrainian L1 ESP undergraduates majoring in agricultural engineering. Further, we (i) provide the rationale of the study and research tasks, (ii) describe the group of participants, (iii) outline the corpus of the study, and (iii) specify the methodological foundations of the study.

Rationale and Research Tasks of the Study

The rationale of the study is to juxtapose the participants' acquisition of DMs in ESP writing in two experimental conditions, (i) the explicit mode of instruction and (ii) the implicit mode of instruction, respectively. This is done in order to unpack the RQ of the study, which is formulated in the introduction. Also, we should, perhaps, specify why the study is centred on the participants' DMs in the genre of descriptive writing. The reason behind the focus on DMs in a series of descriptive essays is motivated by the nature of the participants' ESP course, which in the autumn semester involves (i) an explicit mode of the teaching and learning of DMs and (ii) attention to the descriptive genre of essay writing. Furthermore, within one semester the participants are expected to master the intricacies of descriptive essay writing both in their major (e.g., agricultural engineering) and their ESP course. Given that the participants'

major requires them to provide short descriptive reports on a regular basis, we capitalise on this course requirement in the present study. The study is contextualised within a genre-based approach to the teaching and learning in ESP settings that is guided by genre-based ESP pedagogy (Bhatia, 1991; Cheng, 2006; Hyland, 2007). In line with the tenets of genre-based ESP pedagogy, the task of descriptive essay writing can be considered relevant in providing ESP undergraduates with targeted and course-appropriate instruction (Hyland, 2003, 2024).

On this note, we should, perhaps, mention that genre can be defined as "structured communicative events engaged in by specific discourse communities whose members share broad communicative purposes" (Swales, 1990, pp. 45–47). In the context of ESP genre-based writing instruction, genre can be operationalised as the use of language which is (i) goal-oriented, (ii) staged, (iii) socially recognised, (iv) context-sensitive, and (v) socially and communicative interactive (Cheng, 2006; Gardner & Nesi, 2013; Nesi & Gardner, 2018). In unity with the literature (Hyland, 1990; Swales, 1990), we regard the genre of a descriptive essay as a piece of writing that is organised around a depiction of a certain topic, theme, and/or event (Gardner & Nesi, 2013; Nesi & Gardner, 2018) whose main purpose is to provide "a clearly describable function" (Hyland, 1990, p.68), which is manifested linguistically by means of lexica associated with "characteristics, parts, aspects, layers, formats, habits, behaviors, and facets" (Pourdana & Asgari, 2021, p. 5).

Accordingly, we employ a series of descriptive essay tasks (total number = 3) in the study design to uncover whether the participants' descriptive essay writing would be (i) reflective of the explicit mode of instruction associated with the teaching and learning of DMs and (ii) indicative of the participants' sustainable learning practices related to the use of DMs. The latter point should be explained in more detail. In the study design, we specifically aim to explore whether the participants, having enjoyed the explicit teaching and learning practices associated with DMs in ESP writing, would sustain their use of DMs in the conditions that are characterised by the absence of explicit attention to DMs in their essay writing.

Guided by this rationale, the RQ of the study is formulated (see introduction). As mentioned above, the study design involves a series of three

descriptive essay writing tasks, which are executed within one semester. The first task is the so-called pre-test, given at the very beginning of the autumn semester. The pre-test task consists of one descriptive essay per participant. The purpose of the pre-test task is to shed light onto the participants' use of DMs prior to the explicit teaching and learning practices associated with the use of DMs in ESP writing. Upon the completion of the pre-test task, the first round (hereafter, Round 1) of descriptive essay writing follows. It takes place after the participants' explicit exposure to the peculiarities and use of DMs in ESP writing. Round 1 takes place in the middle of the autumn semester. Thereafter, Round 2 of descriptive essay writing occurs at the end of the autumn semester in the context of the implicit teaching and learning mode.

In other words, the study is set as a "before-and-after" intraparticipant research experiment, which involves three experimental tasks, namely (i) the diagnostic pre-test, (ii) Round 1 of descriptive essay writing, and (iii) Round 2 of descriptive essay writing. It is important to note that all three tasks in the study involve descriptive essay writing. The tasks, their descriptions and the timeline of their execution are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1

A Summary of the Tasks and Their Timeline

#	A Summary of the Task	Timeline
1	**Pre-test**. Task description: The pre-test consisted in a descriptive essay of approximately 300 words on the topic "A Description of My Favourite Meal". The participants were not cued as far as the use of DMs was concerned.	The task was executed by the participants one week after the start of the autumn semester in August 2024. The task was written by the participants at home. The participants were given five working days to complete the task and send it electronically to the authors of the article. The participants were instructed to avoid using course books, lecture notes, online aids and other teaching and learning aids in their essay writing.
2	**Round 1**. Task description: Round 1 involved a descriptive essay of approximately 300 words titled "A Description of My Usual Day". At the time of Round 1 of essay writing,	The task was executed by the participants in the middle of the autumn semester in October 2024, after they had spent a month and a half of explicit instruction related to DMs. The task was written by the participants at home. The participants were given five working days to complete the task and send it electronically to

#	A Summary of the Task	Timeline
	the participants were cognisant with the use of DMs in ESP writing.	the authors of the article. The participants were instructed to avoid using course books, lecture notes, online aids and other teaching and learning aids in their essay writing.
3	**Round 2.** Task description: Round 2 consisted in a descriptive essay of circa 300 words on the topic "My Usual Day at Field/Work Practice". At the time of Round 2 of essay writing, the participants had spent approximately 1.5 months without explicit input related to DMs in ESP contexts.	The task was executed by the participants at the end of the autumn semester in December 2024 after a month and half of the absence of explicit instruction associated with DMs in ESP essay writing. The task was written by the participants at home. The participants were given five working days to complete the task and send it electronically to the authors of the article. The participants were instructed to avoid using course books, lecture notes, online aids and other teaching and learning aids in their essay writing.

It should be noted that prior to Round 1, the participants were continuously exposed to the explicit mode of instruction related to DMs that involved a range of both in-class and out-of-class activities, such as (i) raising the participants' awareness of DMs in English, (ii) translating English DMs into Ukrainian, (iii) finding parallels between the use of DMs in English and Ukrainian, (iv) providing the participants with a list of DMs that would be typically associated with the neutral register in English, (v) giving the participants a list of DMs that would be typically used in the academic register of English, (vi) doing exercises, such as finding and circling a DM in the text, matching a DM with its meaning, writing up sentences with a DM or DMs in them, making up an oral dialogue with a partner and trying to use DMs associated with the neutral register of English, writing down the dialogue with DMs in it, etc. In contrast to Round 1, descriptive essay writing in Round 2 was conducted without explicit interventions related to the teaching and learning of DMs, as shown in Table 1.

Participants

In total, 25 participants (13 males and 12 females, mean age = 17.3 years, *SD* = 0.4) took part in the study. All of them were undergraduate first year students of agricultural engineering at a university in Central Ukraine. The participants' L1 was Ukrainian, whereas English was

a foreign language (FL). Additionally, the participants reported that Russian was a foreign language for all of them, which they could understand, read, and, to some extent, speak, but not write. Hence, the participants could be described as a multilingual cohort of undergraduates with Ukrainian as L1 and English and Russian as FLs.

It should be observed that the participants' English proficiency was rather low. At the start of the autumn semester 2024, the participants' English proficiency was evaluated at A2 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (CEFR). The low level of the participants' proficiency in English could be accounted by two variables. Firstly, the participants represented the so-called "digital generation" of Ukrainian L1 EFL learners, who, prior to the start of their university studies, had had approximately two years of the digital teaching and learning of English, as well as other secondary school subjects, due to the COVID-19 pandemics in 2020–2022. Secondly, the participants had had two more years of digital teaching and learning experiences due to the Russo-Ukrainian war from February 2022 onwards (Kapranov & Voloshyna, 2023; Mizin & Slavova, 2025).

The participants were provided with the information sheet that described the range of activities in the experimental tasks. The participants were requested to sign consent forms that gave permission to the authors of the article to analyse their essays for research and publication purposes. In order to ensure confidentiality, the participants' real names were coded by means of applying codes P (participant) plus number, for instance, P1, P2, … P25. Other identifying information, apart from the participants' age and gender, was coded and classified.

Corpus and Methods

The corpus of the study was characterised by the following descriptive statistics: (i) pre-test consisted of 6 669 words in total (M = 266.8, SD = 48.7), (ii) Round 1 included 8 295 words (M = 331.8, SD = 92.4), and (iii) Round 2 involved 8 238 words (M = 329.5, SD = 113.2). The corpus was searched for the DMs in unity with the definition of DMs proposed by Fraser (1999, p. 931), who considered DMs to be a class of lexical expressions that could signal

a relationship between two sentences and/or clauses S1 and S1 by means of either relating the explicit interpretation conveyed by S2 with some aspect associated with S1 or by relating the topic of S2 to that of S1.

Guided by Fraser's (1999) definition of DMs, the corpus was processed in the computer program AntConc (Anthony, 2022) in order to calculate the total number of DMs per essay per participant. To that end, the participants' essays in pre-test were merged into one file and processed in AntConc (Anthony, 2022). Identically, the participants' essays in Round 1 and Round 2, respectively, were merged and examined in AntConc. Thereafter, the corpus data were checked manually for possible omissions and misclassifications of DMs. Finally, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 20.0 (IBM 2011) was employed in order to compute means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the DMs per each task.

Results and Discussion

The results of the quantitative analysis show that the participants' essays are (i) characterised by rather low frequencies of the occurrence of DMs in the pre-test task, (ii) defined by an increase in the frequency of the occurrence of DMs in Round 1, and (iii) marked by a substantial decrease in the use of DMs in Round 2, as evident from Table 2 below.

Table 2

The Frequency of the Occurrence of DMs in the Corpus

#	DMs	Pre-Test	Round 1	Round 2
1	Actually	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
2	After all	0	4 (M 1.3, SD 0.5)	0
3	Afterwards	0	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)	0
4	Also	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)	8 (M 1.1, SD 0.3)	3 (M 1.0, SD)
5	Although	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
6	And	18 (M 1.2, SD 0.4)	53 (M 2.2, SD 0.9)	22 (M 1.6, SD 0.7)
7	As	6 (M 1.0, SD 0)	24 (M 1.5, SD 0.7)	9 (M 1.1, SD)

#	DMs	Pre-Test	Round 1	Round 2
8	Basically	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
9	Because	4 (M 1.0, SD 0)	6 (M 1.0, SD 0)	1 (M 0, SD 0)
10	But	12 (1.3, SD 0.5)	23 (M 1.4, SD 0.6)	11 (M 1.2, SD 0.4)
11	Especially	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
12	Even though	0	4 (M 1.0, SD 0)	1 (M 0, SD 0)
13	Finally	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	1 (M 0, SD 0)
14	First of all	1 (M 0, SD 0)	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
15	Hopefully	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
16	However	0	0	4 (M 0, SD 0)
17	If	7 (M 1.4, SD 0.4)	15 (M 1.4, SD 0.8)	11 (M 2.2, SD 0.9)
18	In general	0	3 (M 1.0, SD 0)	3 (M 1.0, SD 0)
19	Just	0	4 (M 1.0, SD 0)	0
20	Like	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0
21	Moreover	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
22	Next	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
23	Normally	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
24	Of course	7 (M 1.8, SD 0.8)	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)	0
25	Often	0	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)	0
26	Once	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
27	Or	5 (M 1.0, SD 0)	14 (M 0, SD 0)	8 (M 1.2, SD 0.3)
28	Since	0	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)	2 (M 1.1, SD 0)
29	So	9 (M 1.3, SD 0.5)	14 (M 1.3, SD 0.6)	1 (M 0, SD 0)
30	Sometimes	11 (M 1.2, SD 0.6)	30 (M 2.1, SD 1.2)	1 (M 0, SD 0)
31	Then	1 (M 0, SD 0)	22 (M 2.0, SD 0.9)	3 (M 1.0, SD 0)
32	Therefore	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
33	Thus	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
34	Typically	0	0	2 (M 1.0, SD 0)
35	Unlike	0	0	1 (M 1.0, SD 0)
36	Usually	5 (M 1.6, SD 0.4)	17 (M 1.3, SD 0.5)	2 (M 1.0. SD 0)

#	DMs	Pre-Test	Round 1	Round 2
37	Well	4 (M 1, SD 0)	0	0
38	While	0	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)
39	Yet	0	1 (M 0, SD 0)	0

As far as the RQ of the study is concerned, it is evident from the frequency data of DMs (see Table 2) that the participants' learning curve peaks in Round 1 and declines rather abruptly in Round 2. Moreover, the frequency data show that the occurrence of DMs in Round 2 seems to converge on the values that are observed in the pre-test task. Judging from the data, we consider that the participants' acquisition of DMs in the course of one semester is unsustainable. Further in the discussion, we will unpack these findings by focusing on the pre-test task and, thereafter, proceed to the DMs that occur in Round 1 and Round 2, respectively. As illustrated in Table 2, the participants' repertoire of DMs in the pre-test task is rather limited (the total number of DMs is 92, *M* = 6.6, *SD* = 4.5). It is manifested by the DMs *also*, *and*, *as*, *because*, *but*, *first of all*, *if*, *of course*, *or*, *so*, *sometimes, then*, *usually*, and *well*. It follows from the data summarised in Table 2 that the most frequent DMs in the pre-test task are represented by *and*, *but*, *sometimes*, *so*, *if*, and *of course*. These findings support the literature (Aidinlou & Mehr, 2012; Andayani, 2024; Kapranov, 2018) which demonstrates that ESP undergraduate students tend to rely substantially on a very limited range of DMs, such as *and*, *but*, *so*, etc. In unity with prior research (Kapranov, 2018; Pavlović & Đorđević, 2020), it can be argued that the frequency of the occurrence of DMs in ESP students' writing depends, to some extent, on the level of EFL exposure as well as the EFL teaching and learning practices that ESP students experienced in their secondary school settings (Kapranov & Voloshyna, 2023).

Indeed, during informal conversations with the participants at their lectures and seminars, they indicated that no special attention had been paid to metadiscursive means in EFL writing in the participants' secondary school settings. This is, perhaps, not at all surprising, given that they had to study online for two years due to COVID-19 pandemics, and then they had to proceed with the online EFL teaching and learning at secondary school due to the full-

scale Russo-Ukrainian war. Obviously, the limitations of the online EFL instruction, which are further exacerbated by such war-related factors as anxiety, stress, and difficulties to concentrate (Kapranov & Voloshyna, 2023) have resulted in a rather modest number of DMs in the pre-test task.

Although the participants' repertoire of DMs is limited in the pre-test task, they, nevertheless, appear to be responsive to the pedagogical intervention and explicit mode of instruction related to the teaching and learning of DMs from the start of the semester and up until the middle of the autumn semester. This finding is evident from the increase in the frequency of the DMs in Round 1 (the total number of DMs in Round 1 is 257 (M = 9.5, SD = 12.1). Concurrently, Round 1 is characterised by broadening the range of DMs, as shown in Table 2. Specifically, in Round 1 the participants employ a number of DMs that are not found in the pre-test task, such as *actually*, *after all*, *afterwards*, *although*, *basically*, *even though*, *finally*, *hopefully*, *in general*, *just*, *like*, *often*, *since*, and *yet*. An evident increase in both the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the DMs in Round 1 is consistent with the literature (Aidinlou & Mehr, 2012; Ciocoi-Pop, 2020; Fatalaki, Amini, & Mirzaee, 2014; Kapranov, 2018; Martinez, 1996, 2006; Pavlović & Đorđević, 2020), which demonstrates that the explicit mode of teaching and learning of DMs typically results in positive gains in ESP students' proficiency associated with the increase in the frequency of DMs. In terms of the positive gains associated with DMs, we contend that the explicit mode of instruction, lasting one month and a half is sufficient to account for the rapid increase in their use. This contention takes into account both the quantitative and qualitative gains in Round 1 of essay writing (see Table 2).

At the same time, however, the period of one month and a half is insufficient to provide a solid and, importantly, sustainable foundation for the participants' use of DMs in their ESP writing in the absence of pedagogical intervention. This argument is supported by the findings (see Table 2), which show that the absence of the explicit teaching and learning of DMs over a period of one month and a half has resulted in a substantial decrease in the frequency in Round 2 (total number of DMs = 94 (M = 3.6, SD = 4.8). In contrast to Round 1, Round 2 does not contain such DMs, as *actually*, *after all*, *afterwards*,

although, *basically*, *first of all*, *hopefully*, *just*, *like*, *of course*, *often*, and *yet* (see Table 2).

Notably, a small group of DMs appeared in Round 2 but were absent in Round 1. These DMs are *especially*, *however*, *moreover*, *next*, *normally*, *therefore*, *thus*, *typically*, *unlike*, and *while*. It follows from these findings that in Round 2 the participants seem to relinquish some of the neutrally and colloquially connoted DMs that they employ in the pre-test task and in Round 1 (for instance, *actually*, *basically*, *hopefully*, *like*, etc). Concurrently with the decrease in the use of neutrally and colloquially connoted DMs in Round 2, the participants utilise some of the DMs that are typically associated with the academic register of English, such as *however*, *moreover*, *therefore*, and *thus*. However, their frequency of occurrence in Round 2 is low. Whereas this finding may appear marginal, we, nevertheless, treat it as an interesting discovery on the grounds that Round 2 is characterised by the absence of explicit instruction related to DMs in essay writing. Yet, the participants manage to introduce a range of formally-connoted DMs into their essay writing in Round 2. The presence of the DMs that are specific to Round 2 is suggestive of the non-linearity of the learning processes that eventuate in the conditions that are characterised by the absence of pedagogical interventions as far as the use of DMs in essay writing is concerned. It should be noted that the literature (Aidinlou & Mehr, 2012; Andayani, 2024; Hyland, 1996; Kapranov, 2018; Pavlović & Đorđević, 2020) does not report similar findings.

The increase in the frequency of DMs as evidenced by Round 1 and their subsequent decrease in Round 2 could be, as mentioned above, accounted by the non-linearity of the learning process. In this regard, Larsen-Freeman (1997, p. 151) indicates that from the vantage point of the Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) in EFL and, more broadly, FL acquisition, the process of acquisition of linguistic items by an FL learner is not linear, since it is subject to the learning curve that is influenced by a multitude of factors that involve aptitude, cognition, cognitive load, context, motivation, and other phenomena, such as the type of instruction. Indeed, only one variable out of the plethora of other reasons (for instance, implicit instruction) could shift the entire learning curve in the process of FL acquisition in an unpredictable direction (Kirsner et al.; 2007; Speelman & Kirsner, 2006). Accordingly, as rightfully formulated by

Mallows (2002, p. 4), "despite our linear syllabuses, and clearly defined lesson aims, progress and backsliding in equal and unpredictable measures are the norm". One of the manifestations of the combination of the FL learner's progress and the ensuing backsliding in the sense postulated by Mallows (2002) is illustrated by the present findings. For instance, the observed increase in the frequency of DMs in Round 1 can be explained by the participants' sensitivity and responsiveness to the explicit mode of instruction, whilst an abrupt and almost catastrophic decrease in Round 2 could be justified by the absence of explicit input that nourishes and sustains the participants' learning curve associated with the acquisition and maintenance of DMs. Again, such a disturbance in the participants' acquisition of DMs should form part of another study that should focus exclusively on the elucidation of the acquisition of DMs within the domain of DST.

Let us proceed, however, to the discussion of the DMs that are used by the participants in all three tasks (i.e., pre-test, Round 1, and Round 2), namely *and*, *as*, *because*, *but*, *if*, *or*, *so*, *sometimes*, *then,* and *usually*. The normalised frequencies of these DMs are given in Table 3 below.

Table 3

The Normalised Frequency per 1000 Words of the DMs That Are Found in All Three Tasks

#	DMs	Pre-Test	Round 1	Round 2
1	And	2.7	6.4	2.7
2	As	0.9	2.9	1.1
3	Because	0.6	0.7	0.1
4	But	1.8	2.8	1.3
5	If	1.0	1.8	1.3
6	Or	0.7	1.7	1.0
7	So	1.3	1.7	0.1
8	Sometimes	1.6	3.6	0.1
9	Then	0.1	2.7	0.4
10	Usually	0.7	2.0	0.2

We tend to interpret the use of *and*, *as*, *because*, *but*, *if*, *or*, *so*, *sometimes*, *then,* and *usually* in the pre-test and their subsequent occurrence

in Round 1 and Round 2, respectively, as an indication of the participants' sustainable linguistic practices. In particular, this finding suggests that the participants tend to rely on the repertoire of the DMs that they acquired in secondary school, which they consistently repeated in both Round 1 and Round 2. The consistent nature of the use, or rather, reuse of these DMs is evident from the comparisons of the DMs *and*, *as*, *but*, *if*, and *or* in the pre-test task and Round 2. Judging from the normalised data, the frequencies of *and*, *as*, *but*, *if*, and *or* are strikingly similar across the experimental tasks without explicit input associated with the acquisition and use of DMs. These findings allow us to suggest some of the pedagogical implications concerning the participants' sustainable learning practices related to DMs.

Amongst the broader implications for ESP syllabus design and instruction strategies, we should mention the following rather practical implications. Given that the explicit mode of the teaching and learning in Round 1 is associated with 14 contact hours allocated for lectures and seminars and 56 hours of individual work for the duration of one and a half months, it seems logical to suggest that, ideally, an ESP syllabus design should be comprised of at least 28 contact hours and 112 hours of individual work for the duration of semester, which could allow sufficient time for ESP instructors and their students to create a sustainable learning environment as far as metadiscursive means in writing are concerned. In addition to the quite obvious need to increase the number of contact hours in order to teach DMs and other metadiscursive means sustainably, we would like to propose one more suggestion. It involves taking into account ESP undergraduates' prior knowledge of DMs acquired through their exposure to EFL in secondary school. In this regard, it would be advantageous to test ESP undergraduates on a possible range of DMs that they learnt at school in order to assess their repertoire of DMs prior they commence their undergraduate course in ESP.

Limitations of the Study

We should note several limitations of the study. The first limitation involves a relatively small number of participants ($N = 25$). Hopefully, this limitation will be remedied in our future studies on DMs in undergraduate

writing. Another limitation consists in the overlap of the assigned topics (e.g., "My Favourite Meal", "My Usual Day") in the set of research tasks that, arguably, are aligned not only with the occupational ESP writing genres, but also with those of EFL by resembling, partially, EFL-level personal essays. Whilst the overlap is accounted for by the low level of the participants' English proficiency, a more ESP-oriented type of essay writing would be desirable in future studies. Yet, one more limitation of the study is that whereas the participants were instructed to write their essays without aids at home, there could be concerns whether all the participants did so. At the same time, to account for this shortcoming, we should reiterate that the study took place in the context of the ongoing full-scale war, with the shortage of electricity, the disruption of the Internet, and the problem with mobile networks. An alternative would be to execute all the tasks intramurally on campus, but again, during the war, there are daily situations when face-to-face instruction as well as any scientific/experimental work must be interrupted by the sounds of air raid sirens that mandate the students and the teaching staff to leave their usual classroom environment and relocate to the bomb shelters. In this light, offering the participants to complete the tasks at home would be a viable, yet not the best alternative to the execution of the research tasks on campus. We acknowledge the aforementioned limitation, which, hopefully, will be rectified in the normal environment on campus after the end of the war.

Conclusions

This study seeks to unpack sustainable practices in the acquisition of DMs in ESP undergraduate writing under two experimental conditions that are associated with the explicit and implicit modes of instruction. Furthermore, the study is set amid the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian war, which is characterised by systematic and purposeful targeting of universities and other educational establishments. Despite these grave circumstances, the participants in the study, who are first year ESP undergraduates, exhibit remarkable gains in the acquisition of DMs in ESP writing in the explicit conditions of instruction. However, the participants' gains are found to be unsustainable in the context of the implicit mode. These findings reveal that the participants' learning curve

can be considered as a typical, even prototypical (Kirsner et al., 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 1997) phenomenon that is in alignment with the acquisition of DMs in ESP writing in the normal war-free conditions. This finding is novel and has not been described in the prior studies. Broadly, its implications may contribute to ESP studies in conflict- and war-related educational settings.

The findings of the present study reveal that the participants' repertoire of DMs in the pre-test task is reflective of their knowledge about DMs that hails from secondary school. The analysis of the pre-test task indicates that the repertoire is limited and concomitant with a low frequency of the occurrence of DMs. These findings are in complete alignment with the literature (Aidinlou & Mehr, 2012; Andayani, 2024; Kapranov, 2018), which reports a limited use of DMs by undergraduate ESP students. The findings associated with Round 1, however, show that the participants exhibit positive gains in terms of both an increase in the frequency of the occurrence of DMs as well as broadening the repertoire of DMs. This discovery is suggestive of the benevolent effect of the explicit mode of instruction on the participants' use of DMs in their descriptive essay writing. Additionally, we may argue that a positive effect of the explicit mode of instruction could be achieved after a period of one month and a half. Importantly, however, we can posit that the positive gains in terms of the use and the frequency of the occurrence of DMs are short lived and not sustainable from the perspective of the entire semester. This finding follows from the decrease in the frequency of the occurrence of DMs as well as from the narrowing of their repertoire in Round 2, which, as mentioned, eventuated without any explicit teaching and learning of the DMs for half a semester (i.e., a quad).

From the vantage point of sustainable language learning practices, we can formulate the following linguo-didactic implications: (i) when teaching DMs to ESP undergraduates, an ESP course should capitalise on the undergraduates' knowledge of DMs that they gained in secondary school; (ii) the teaching and learning of DMs in an ESP course should be one semester in duration in order to be, at least minimally, sustainable; (iii) ESP course instructors should be aware of the fact that possible gains in the use and frequency of DMs by ESP undergraduates may within a short period of time be followed by a rather rapid decline in metadiscursive practices associated with DMs in ESP writing.

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Oleksandr Kapranov
NLA universitetinė kolegija, Norvegija
oleksandr.kapranov@nla.no
Oksana Voloshyna
Vinycios nacionalinis agrarinis universitetas, Ukraina
oks.lee5@gmail.com

BAKALAURO STUDENTŲ DALYKINĖS ANGLŲ KALBOS DISKURSO ŽYMEKLIŲ ĮSISAVINIMAS: TVARIŲ MOKYMO PRAKTIKŲ ATRADIMAS APRAŠOMOJO ESĖ RAŠYMO METODU

Anotacija. Diskurso žymeklių įsisavinimo mokant dalykinės anglų kalbos problema nebuvo išsamiai ištirta iš tvaraus mokymo, susijusio su tiesioginio (angl. *explicit*) ir netiesioginio (angl. *implicit*) mokymo būdais, perspektyvos. Straipsnyje pateikto kiekybinio tyrimo tikslas – atskleisti, ar diskurso žymeklių įsisavinimas išlieka tvarus vieną semestrą. Šiam tikslui pasiekti pasirinktas dalykinės anglų kalbos besimokančių bakalauro studijų studentų, kurių gimtoji kalba yra ukrainiečių, o kita užsienio kalba – rusų, aprašomųjų esė tekstynas. Viena tekstyno dalis buvo parašyta mokant studentus tiesioginio, kita dalis – netiesioginio mokymo metodais. Tekstynai analizuoti kompiuterine programa *AntConc* (Anthony, 2022), siekiant ištirti ilgainiui atsiradusius galimus diskurso žymeklių dažnio pokyčius. Kiekybinis dalyvių esė tyrimas atskleidė šiuos pagrindinius rezultatus: tiesioginio mokymo metodo dalyvių aprašomosiose esė diskurso žymekliai vartojami žymiai dažniau, o netiesioginio mokymo metodu parengtose esė diskurso žymeklių vartota gerokai mažiau ir rečiau. Rezultatai, tyrimo naujumas ir pedagoginės implikacijos, kurias suponuoja tyrimo rezultatai, aptarti straipsnyje.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: aprašomosios esė; dalykinė anglų kalba; diskurso žymekliai; tvaraus mokymo praktika.

Daiva Pundziuvienė

Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva

SOCIALINIŲ EMOCINIŲ KOMPETENCIJŲ UGDYMAS TAIKANT MEDIACIJOS STRATEGIJAS ANGLŲ KALBOS PAMOKOSE

Anotacija. Pastaruoju metu pasaulinėje praktikoje kalbų mokymo inovacijos neatsiejamos ne tik nuo dirbtinio intelekto (DI) naudojimo, bet ir emocinio intelekto (EI) ugdymo, ypatingą dėmesį skiriant socialinio emocinio mokymo(si) (SEL) integravimui į kalbų mokymo(si) procesą bei pereinant nuo keturių kalbinių įgūdžių modelio (klausymo, skaitymo, kalbėjimo ir rašymo) prie keturių bendravimo būdų modelio (recepcijos, produkcijos, sąveikos ir tarpininkavimo) (Council of Europe, 2020). SEL apima penkias plačias ir tarpusavyje susijusias kompetencijų sritis: savęs pažinimo, savitvarkos, socialinio sąmoningumo, santykių įgūdžių ir atsakingo sprendimų priėmimo, kurių galima mokytis įvairių dalykų pamokose, su įvairaus amžiaus mokiniais ir įvairiuose kultūriniuose kontekstuose (Durlak ir kt., 2024). SEL kompetencijoms lavinti galima taikyti įvairias metodikas, pvz., inovatyvų ir vis labiau populiarėjantį mokymo metodą – mediaciją; Bendrieji Europos kalbų metmenys (BEKM) ją apibrėžia kaip gebėjimą padėti žmonėms suprasti vieniems kitus, sudėtingą tekstą, idėją ar kultūrinį aspektą, kai negali susikalbėti ar suprasti dėl įvairių priežasčių. Siekiant išsiaiškinti, kaip mediacijos strategijos per anglų kalbos pamokas gali sudaryti sąlygas socialiai ir emociškai sustiprintam kalbos mokymuisi, šiame straipsnyje pirmiausia dėmesys skiriamas SEL sampratai ir ankstesnių tyrimų apie SEL kompetencijų tobulinimą ugdymo proceso metu analizei, pristatomas plačios apimties Lietuvos jaunimo emocinio intelekto (EI) tyrimas bei pagrindinės jo išvados. Įvadinėje dalyje aptariama mediacijos samprata, pagrindinės mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos bei jų taikymo galimybės mokant(is) kalbų. Siekiant išanalizuoti Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto (VDU UKI) studentų (*N* = 58) požiūrį į mediacijos kaip naujo metodo taikymą anglų kalbos pamokose bei pagerinti jų mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijas, buvo atliktas tyrimas. Tyrimo imtį sudarė 58 studentai, iš kurių 20 mokėsi bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygiu, 38 – akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygiu pagal BEKM. Tyrime pateikta ir anglų kalbos besimokiusiųjų savęs vertinimo analizė, skirta įvertinti pokytį mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų tobulinimo kontekste. Tyrimo dalyvių poreikiams, patirčiai ir patobulintiems gebėjimams ištirti buvo taikyta kiekybinio tyrimo metodika ir atlikti trumpi pusiau struktūruoti interviu. Rezultatai parodė teigiamą koreliaciją tarp mediacijos strategijų naudojimo per anglų kalbos paskaitas ir patobulėjusių besimokiusiųjų mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų. Remiantis atlikto tyrimo įžvalgomis, straipsnyje pateiktos praktinės mediacijos strategijų taikymo anglų kalbos pamokose ir besimokančiųjų socialinių emocinių kompetencijų ugdymo rekomendacijos.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: emocinis intelektas (EI); mediacijos veiklos anglų kalbos pamokose; „minkštieji" įgūdžiai; socialinis emocinis mokymasis (SEL).

Įvadas

Naujausios kalbų mokymo(si) tendencijos rodo, kad tradicinis keturių kalbinių įgūdžių (klausymo, skaitymo, kalbėjimo ir rašymo) lavinimo modelis jau senokai yra išplėtotas į lankstų daugiafunkcį, daugiakultūrį ir daugiakalbį modelį, suteikiantį galimybes lavinti ne tik lingvistines besimokančiųjų kompetencijas, bet ir vadinamuosius „minkštuosius" įgūdžius. Perėjimas prie keturių bendravimo būdų modelio (recepcijos, produkcijos, sąveikos ir tarpininkavimo) besimokančiajam leidžia tapti „socialiniu agentu" realiose gyvenimiškose situacijose ugdymo proceso metu bei tobulinti kompetencijas, reikalingas bendravimui „socialinėse grupėse" (Council of Europe, Language Education Policy, 2022, p. 1). Novatoriškais kalbų mokymo metodais buvo įgyvendinta idėja kalbų besimokantiesiems suteikti papildomų naudų tobulinant svarbias nelingvistines kompetencijas, tokias kaip tolerancija kitoniškumui (Sayer ir Ban, 2013), transkalbystė, gebėjimas dirbti komandoje, aukštesnė savivertė ir didesnė motyvacija mokytis (Little ir Kirwan, 2019), kūrybiškumas, gebėjimas analizuoti ir priimti sprendimus (Wallin, 2019), empatija, streso valdymas, gebėjimas greitai ir be streso įsisavinti informaciją, spartesnė akultūracija (Pundziuvienė ir kt., 2023; Pundziuvienė, 2023).

Kalbos mokymo(si) perkėlimas į kitą lygmenį įgalina ugdymo turinį, formą ir procesą glaudžiai sieti su iššūkiais šiuolaikinėje mokymo įstaigoje. Anot Vilniaus licėjaus direktoriaus Sauliaus Jurkevičiaus, vienas tokių iššūkių yra „gero *vibe'o* ir *feeling'o* kultūra": „Šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje smagi atmosfera mokykloje yra prioretizuojama, kai tuo tarpu edukacija ir įgyjamos žinios yra nustumtos į šalį" (Jurkevičius, 2025). Norėdami labiau sudominti jaunąją Z kartą, susiformavusią laikotarpiu, paženklintu gilių politinių ir psichologinių krizių, ekonominio pakilimo ir technologijų proveržio, mokytojai pradėjo integruoti IKT ir DI į mokymo(si) procesą, kuris iš tiesų tapo patrauklesnis ir efektyvesnis. Tačiau Z kartai, nemėgstančiai ilgų pamokslų, griežtų taisyklių ir ribojimų, mokymosi forma tapo svarbesnė už mokymosi turinį, mokytojai dažnai nelaikomi autoritetu, o greito vartojimo filosofija giliai šaknis įleido visur: į ugdymą, bendravimą ar laisvalaikį. Juozapas Labokas, tiriantis susvetimėjimo problemą ugdymo įstaigose, išskiria tris pagrindines sritis, kur gali atsirasti susvetimėjimas: santykiai su bendraklasiais, mokytojais

ir mokymosi veikla (Labokas, 2023). Anot mokslininko, viena tokio susvetimėjimo priežasčių gali būti socialinių emocinių kompetencijų stoka. Ar šios svarbios kompetencijos galėtų būti lavinamos per kalbų pamokas? Kokie galėtų būti įrankiai ir metodai, įgalinantys kalbų mokytojus padėti mokiniams tobulinti savo emocinį intelektą?

2012–2014 m. atliktas Lietuvos jaunimo emocinio intelekto ir jo veiksnių tyrimas parodė ryšį tarp akademinių pasiekimų ir emocinio intelekto lygio: „emocinis intelektas yra aukščiausias tų tiriamųjų, kurie yra / buvo labai geri mokiniai, žemiausias – silpnų mokinių" (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015, p. 7). Moksliniai tyrimai apie akademinio intelekto tobulinimą vis dažniau akcentuoja emocinio intelekto svarbą bei pabrėžia, kad „sėkmės susilaukiama tada, kai dėmesys skiriamas savęs pažinimui, lankstumui, savikontrolei, efektyviam konfliktų valdymui" (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015, p. 8). Svarbu paminėti, kad tyrimų autoriai vieningai sutaria, jog emocinis intelektas gali būti ugdomas kaip kompetencija. Lietuvoje populiarėja mokymai, kai jų turinys yra integruojamas su emocinės gerovės ugdymu. Pavyzdžiui, *Vilnius Coding School* programavimo mokykla suaugusiems buvo viena pirmųjų Lietuvoje, pradėjusių derinti IT ir technologijų mokymus su emocine gerove, įtraukusių vadinamąjį *mental fitness*, arba proto raumenų treniravimą, į mokymo programą, kad būtų stiprinama mąstysena, valdomas stresas ir jaučiamasi tvirtai besikeičiančiame pasaulyje (Lauciuvienė, 2025, p. 1). Čia svarbu pabrėžti, kad tokių mokymų kokybę lemia „ilgalaikis poveikis, o ne trumpalaikiai, momentiniai pokyčiai" (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015, p. 81), todėl mokymų turinio integravimas su EI ugdymu turėtų būti pagrįstas metodiškai, o mokymosi pasiekimai pamatuojami ir vertinami. Lietuvos jaunimo emocinio intelekto ir jo veiksnių tyrimas atskleidė dar vieną įdomų faktą: geriausiai savo emocijas supranta ir valdo tie, kuriems sekasi tikslieji mokslai, o efektyviau kitų žmonių emocijas supranta ir veikia tie, kuriems sekasi kalbos (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015). Ši tyrimo išvada skatina kelti dar vieną klausimą: galbūt kalbų mokymo(si) užsiėmimai galėtų tapti palankia dirva socialinėms emocinėms kompetencijoms ugdyti, ypač gebėjimui suprasti kitų žmonių emocijas, reikšti empatiją ar padėti rasti sprendimus probleminėmis situacijomis?

Vienas iš įrankių, įgalinančių kalbos mokytoją padėti besimokantiesiems tobulinti SEL kompetencijas, galėtų būti mediacijos

strategijos – kalbų didaktikos naujovė, jau taikoma lingvistiniams ir nelingvistiniams įgūdžiams tobulinti. Pagal Bendruosius Europos kalbų metmenis (2020), mediatorius, arba tarpininkas, „veikia kaip socialinis agentas, kuris kuria tiltus ir padeda kurti ar perteikti prasmę" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 90). Tokiu būdu besimokantysis vartoja kalbą realiam bendravimui ir sąveikai, dažnai daugiau dėmesio skiria kito jausenai ar poreikiams suprasti ir kuria / interpretuoja realaus gyvenimo situacijas. Tarpininkaujant sudaromos sąlygos bendrauti dviem ar daugiau asmenų, kurie negali tiesiogiai bendrauti tarpusavyje, tad tokiai sąveikai reikia ne tik kalbinių, bet ir nelingvistinių įgūdžių. Tam tikra prasme vyksta mainai – kiekvienas ką nors duoda kitam ir ką nors gauna iš kito. Perfrazavimas, apibendrinimas ar paaiškinimas yra svarbūs įgūdžiai tiek besimokant kalbos, tiek realiame gyvenime, jau nekalbant apie būtinybę suprasti ir užjausti pašnekovą, kad pokalbis būtų nuoširdus ir prasmingas. Toks kalbos mokymosi būdas skatina kūrybišką, kritišką ir empatišką mąstymą, naudojimąsi turimomis žiniomis bei sprendimų priėmimą. Morozova ir kiti (2021) pastebi, kad mediatorius turi turėti „profesinės kultūros, etikos, etiketo ir bendravimo bei derybų įgūdžių" (Morozova ir kt., 2021, p. 686). Mokslininkai North ir Piccardo, tarptautiniu mastu pripažinti mediacijos taikymo kalbų mokymui tyrėjai, daro išvadą, kad mediacijos strategijų taikymas visiškai pakeitė tradicinę kalbų metodologiją, pereinant nuo individualaus lygmens ir orientavimosi į gramatinių ar leksinių žinių įgijimą prie socialinio lygmens ir prasmės konstravimo pasitelkus kalbines ir nekalbines kompetencijas (North ir Piccardo, 2016).

Remiantis aprašytų tyrimų rezultatais ir siekiant išsiaiškinti, kaip mediacijos strategijos per anglų kalbos paskaitas gali sudaryti sąlygas socialiai ir emociškai sustiprintam kalbos mokymuisi, buvo iškelti šie **tyrimo uždaviniai:**

(1) išanalizuoti Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto (VDU UKI) studentų (*N* = 58) požiūrį į mediacijos kaip naujo metodo taikymą anglų kalbos paskaitose, siekiant pagerinti jų mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijas;

(2) ištirti anglų kalbos besimokiusiųjų savęs vertinimo analizę, siekiant įvertinti pokytį mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų tobulinimo kontekste po paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikomos mediacijos strategijos.

Šį mokslinį straipsnį sudaro trys dalys. Pirmoje dalyje pateikta trumpa socialinio emocinio mokymosi (SEL) samprata ir taikymo švietimui galimybės. Antroje dalyje aptariama mediacijos samprata, mediacijos strategijų bei veiklų taikymas mokant(is) kalbų ir pristatomi neseniai atlikto tyrimo apie kalbų mokytojų aukštojo mokslo institucijose požiūrį į mediacijos taikymą įvairių kalbų pamokose. Praktinėje dalyje pateiktas socialinių emocinių kompetencijų ugdymo, taikant mediacijos strategijas anglų kalbos pamokose, tyrimas. Galiausiai daromos išvados, analizuojama diskusija ir pateikiamos rekomendacijos.

Socialinio emocinio mokymosi (SEL) samprata ir galimybės

Bendruosius Europos kalbų metmenis papildančiame leidinyje (Companion Volume, 2020), išleistame Europos kalbų tarybos, aprašant būdus, kuriais derėtų praturtinti kalbų mokymą XXI a., pabrėžiama socialinio emocinio mokymosi svarba: mokytis kalbų padeda gerai išvystytas emocinis intelektas arba pasirengimas jį ugdyti, kad besimokantysis galėtų pakankamai įsijausti į kitų komunikacinės situacijos dalyvių požiūrį ir emocinę būseną (Council of Europe, *CEFR,* 2020). Emocinio intelekto, kaip gebėjimų aiškinimo, apibrėžimą 1997 m. pirmieji pasiūlė Mayeris ir Salovey, akcentuodami keturis susijusius gebėjimus: (1) gebėjimą tiksliai suprasti savo ir kito žmogaus emocijas, (2) gebėjimą nukreipti savo emocijas intelektualinės veiklos linkme, (3) gebėjimą suprasti emocijų reikšmę ir (4) gebėjimą reguliuoti savo emocijas (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015).

Akademinio, socialinio ir emocinio mokymosi bendradarbiavimo organizacija (CASEL, 2025) apibrėžia SEL kaip procesą, kuriuo ugdomi penki tarpusavyje susiję ir vienas kitą papildantys gebėjimai, sudarydami holistinę socialinės ir emocinės raidos sistemą:

- **savimonė** (angl. *self-awareness*): gebėjimas tiksliai atpažinti savo emocijas, apmąstyti ankstesnę patirtį ir panaudoti šią informaciją ateities sprendimams priimti;
- **savęs valdymas** (angl. *self-management*): gebėjimas reguliuoti savo emocijas ir elgesį (tai apima streso valdymą, motyvaciją toliau siekti ilgalaikių tikslų);

- **socialinis sąmoningumas** (angl. *social awareness*): gebėjimas suprasti ir įsijausti į kitų žmonių emocijas, požiūrį ir poreikius, atpažinti ir vertinti įvairovę;
- **santykių įgūdžiai** (angl. *relationship skills*): gebėjimas užmegzti ir palaikyti sveikus santykius su kitais žmonėmis;
- **atsakingas sprendimų priėmimas** (angl. *responsible decision-making*) atsižvelgiant į save ir kitus.

Šios tarpusavyje susijusios kompetencijų sritys gali būti ugdomos įvairių dalykų pamokose, su įvairaus amžiaus mokiniais ir įvairiuose kultūriniuose kontekstuose (Durlak ir kt., 2024).

Socialinio emocinio mokymo(si) koncepcija pradėta taikyti 1997 m. siekiant išsiaiškinti, ar socialinių ir emocinių kompetencijų ugdymas galėtų teigiamai paveikti mokinių akademinius pasiekimus (Timothy ir kt., 2024). Nuo to laiko įvairių sričių mokslininkai sukaupė mokslinių tyrimų apie SEL veiksmingumą ir įrodė, kad taikant aukštos kokybės SEL programą gerėja akademiniai mokinių pasiekimai, požiūris į mokymąsi, mažėja elgesio problemų ir streso lygis (Cipriano ir kt., 2023; Durlak ir kt., 2024; Greenberg, 2023). Taikydami SEL koncepciją mokytojai gali ne tik padėti mokiniams išsikelti ir siekti teigiamų tikslų, bet ir padėti suprasti, kaip empatija kitiems gali pagelbėti sukurti ir palaikyti teigiamus santykius bei priimti atsakingus sprendimus (Billy, 2021). SEL yra glaudžiai susijęs su emociniu intelektu, sąmoningumu ir jau minėtomis mediacijos strategijomis, teigiamai koreliuojančiais su padidėjusia besimokančiųjų saviverte ir geresniais akademiniais pasiekimais.

SEL tematika pasižymi mokslinių tyrimų ir sėkmės atvejų studijų gausa, tačiau vis dar trūksta tyrimų, kaip SEL kompetencijos galėtų būti ugdomos mokant(is) kalbų, kaip turėtų būti adaptuota kalbų mokymo programa ir mokomoji medžiaga, kokie mokymo įrankiai galėtų būti naudojami ugdymo procese, kaip galėtų (ir ar turėtų) būti vertinamos SEL kompetencijos, patobulėjusios per kalbų pamokas.

Mediacijos samprata ir taikymas mokant(is) kalbų

Išaugęs susidomėjimas kalbomis suformavo naują požiūrį į kalbų politiką, metodologijas ir tobulinamas kompetencijas: kalbų mokėjimas tapo

svarbus ne tik judumui, švietimui ir užimtumui, bet tapo ir viena iš aštuonių europietiškosios tapatybės kompetencijų, kurias apibrėžė Europos kalbų taryba (Council of Europe, 2018). Papildytame Bendrųjų Europos kalbų metmenų leidinyje (Council of Europe, 2020) buvo aprašyta mediacija – naujas gebėjimas, kurį galima tobulinti mokant(is) kalbų; ją taikant ugdoma daugiakalbystės / daugiakultūriškumo kompetencija. Anot North ir Piccardo (2017), mediacijos taikymo mokant kalbų pradininkų, taip buvo akcentuojama mokymosi socialinėje grupėje svarba, kartu sąveikaujant ir kuriant turinį, ko neapima tokie tradiciniai mokymo(si) įgūdžiai, kaip recepcija ir produkcija (North ir Piccardo, 2017).

BEKM (2020) mediatorius apibūdinamas kaip „socialinis agentas, kuris kuria tiltus ir padeda kurti ar perteikti prasmę, kartais toje pačioje kalboje, kartais tarp skirtingų bendravimo būdų (pvz., iš sakytinės kalbos į gestų kalbą arba atvirkščiai), o kartais iš vienos kalbos į kitą (tarpkalbinė mediacija)" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 90). Keli mediacijos taikymo mokant kalbų pavyzdžiai galėtų būti: „perfrazuoti politiko žodžius per žinias; empatiškai ir trumpai apibendrinti draugui liūdną naujieną, kuri parašyta elektroniniame laiške ar paaiškinti istorijos pamokos temą mokiniui jam suprantamesne kalba" (Hunter, 2019, p. 23). Taikant tokią kalbos mokymo(si) strategiją, besimokantieji tobulina ne tik lingvistines kompetencijas, bet ir socialinį emocinį intelektą, pasirinkdami tinkamą toną, registrą, stilių ir taikydami juos realioje gyvenimiškoje komunikavimo situacijoje. Prasmės perteikimas skirtingais bendravimo būdais (iš oficialios politiko kalbos medijose į sakytinę buitinę kalbą; iš rašytinės oficialios į empatišką sakytinę kalbą; iš mokslinės tematiškai sudėtingos rašytinės į adaptuotą šnekamąją kalbą) įgalina besimokančiuosius lavinti tokius gebėjimus, kaip kito žmogaus emocijų supratimas, savo emocijų nukreipimas intelektualinės veiklos linkme, gebėjimas reguliuoti savo emocijas – tai ir sudaro SEL kompetencijų esmę.

Taigi mediacijos kompetencija yra įvairialypė ir daug sudėtingesnė nei kiti trys kalbiniai įgūdžiai (recepcija, produkcija ir sąveika), nes dažnai apima visus šiuos įgūdžius (North ir Piccardo, 2017) ir yra svarbi tiek daugiakalbės kompetencijos, tiek socialinio emocinio ugdymo mokant(is) kalbų dalis. Remiantis BEKM aprašytomis trimis mediacijos veiklomis (teksto mediacija, sąvokų mediacija ir bendravimo proceso mediacija) bei dviem strategijomis

(mediacija sąvokoms paaiškinti ir mediacija tekstui supaprastinti), mediaciją galima taikyti mokant anglų kalbos įvairiais lygmenimis ir pristatant skirtingą mokymų turinį (Council of Europe, 2018).

Toks į konkrečias gyvenimiškas situacijas ir veiksmus orientuotas kalbos mokymo(si) metodas svarbus ir socialinės, kultūrinės bei emocinės įtraukties prasme. Svarbu ne tik tai, ar kalbos mokytojas naudoja konkrečią mediacijos veiklą ar strategiją, bet ir tai, kaip ji taikoma ir ar šis taikymas skatina ugdyti daugiakalbystės / daugiakultūriškumo ir SEL kompetencijas. Tyrimai rodo, kad praktiškas mediacijos strategijų taikymas mokant kalbų skirtingose šalyse yra gan skirtinguose lygmenyse. Pavyzdžiui, Ispanijoje mediacijos kompetencija neseniai buvo įtraukta į ugdymo programą kaip savarankiška kalbinė veikla ir šiuo metu yra penktoji kalbinė kompetencija, ugdoma ir vertinama Valensijos bendruomenės oficialiosiose kalbų mokyklose (Moya ir Jurado, 2025). Lietuvoje mediacijos taikymas mokant kalbų vis dar yra pradinės stadijos. Tyrimai atskleidžia, kad 2015 m. anglų kalbos mokytojai bendrojo lavinimo mokyklose dažniausiai naudojosi užsienyje leistais vadovėliais, kuriuose pateikiama skaitymo, rašymo, kalbėjimo ir klausymo užduočių, bet itin mažai dėmesio skiriama mediacijos užduotims ir beveik nenaudojamos daugiakalbės mokymo strategijos (Žindžiuvienė, 2015). Svarbu pažymėti, kad minėto tyrimo autorė labiau susitelkė tik į vieną mediacijos gebėjimą – vertimo kompetenciją, o kitų mediacijos strategijų naudojimas kalbų pamokose Lietuvoje nėra tirtas. 2023 m. Didžiojoje Britanijoje ir Lietuvoje buvo atliktas jungtinis tyrimas, siekiant nustatyti mediacijos vaidmenį mokantis priimančios šalies kalbos. Rezultatai parodė, kad mediacijos veiklos besimokantiesiems padėjo lengviau įveikti lingvistinį ir kultūrinį barjerą priimančioje šalyje, o besimokančiųjų gimtosios kalbos vartojimas tarpkultūrinių mediacijos veiklų metu padėjo sparčiau ir be streso tobulinti naujos kalbos kompetenciją bei išsaugoti nacionalinį identitetą svečioje šalyje (Pundziuvienė ir kt., 2023). Tačiau panašūs tyrimai tėra fragmentiniai. Mokytojams vis dar trūksta informacijos apie mediacijos strategijų naudojimą ir naudą mokant(is) kalbų, mediacijos veiklos turėtų būti integruotos į vyresniųjų klasių anglų kalbos programą, remiantis BEKM rekomendacijomis reikėtų atnaujinti bendrojo ugdymo mokymo programas ir vadovėlius, kad

ateityje mediacijos gebėjimų ugdymas ir vertinimas būtų nuoseklesnis (Žindžiuvienė, 2023).

Kossakowska-Pisarek ir kiti atliko tyrimą, kurio tikslas buvo išanalizuoti aukštojo mokslo institucijų Čekijoje, Lietuvoje, Suomijoje ir Lenkijoje kalbų mokytojų požiūrį į mediacijos taikymą įvairių kalbų pamokose (Kossakowska-Pisarek ir kt., 2022). Paaiškėjo, kad dauguma tyrime dalyvavusių kalbų mokytojų (91 %) pripažino mediaciją esant labai svarbią mokant(is) kalbų, tik trečdalis repondentų teigė suprantantys mediacijos sąvoką ir gebantys taikyti mediacijos strategijas, vis dar tradiciškai kalbų mokymą(si) orientuodami į keturis įgūdžius: skaitymą, rašymą, kalbėjimą ir klausymą (Kossakowska-Pisarek ir kt., 2022). Tyrėjai sutinka, kad tokie dalykai, kaip galimybė mokiniams išreikšti save ir jaustis gerbiamiems arba projektinis darbas, ugdantis komandinio darbo įgūdžius, yra labai svarbūs ir kalbų mokytojai dažniausiai juos akcentuoja bei lavina. Tačiau retai organizuoja mokymo(si) veiklas, per kurias mokiniai susipažintų su mokymosi strategijomis; išmoktų konspektuoti remdamiesi įvairių registrų šaltiniais; supaprastintų sudėtingą mokslinį turinį ir pateiktų paprastesnius suprantamus pavyzdžius ar jį sutrumpintų ir apibendrintų; pateiktų scenarijus, kuriais reikėtų pagelbėti į sudėtingą situaciją patekusiam žmogui ir rasti (priimti) sprendimą; mokytų tarpininkauti kilus nesutarimams ar nesusikalbant dėl skirtingų kalbų vartojimo, skirtingo mentaliteto ar nenoro suprasti, kas sudaro mediacijos kompetencijos esmę (Kossakowska-Pisarek ir kt., 2022).

Nors ir daugėja inovatyvių kalbų mokymo metodikų bei mokinių kalbinių pasiekimų tyrimų, vis dar trūksta empirinių tyrimų, kuriuose būtų nagrinėjama su kalbų mokymusi susijusi pridėtinė nauda ir jos ryšys su besimokančiųjų savivertės didinimu, socialine ir emocine gerove ir geresnėmis karjeros galimybėmis. Jau 1922 m. savo autobiografijoje „Mano gyvenimas ir darbas" žymus JAV pramonininkas, automobilių gamyklos savininkas Henry`is Fordas teigė: „jei ir yra kokia nors sėkmės paslaptis, tai ji slypi gebėjime suprasti kito žmogaus požiūrį ir matyti dalykus ne tik iš savo, bet ir iš jo perspektyvos" (Ford ir Crowther, 2005, p. 25). Ir tai gan tiksliai atspindi mediacijos koncepciją. Svarbu pabrėžti, kad mediacijos strategijų taikymo nauda yra daugialypė, t. y. šis metodas įgalina tobulinti tiek lingvistines, tiek nelingvistines kompetencijas. Todėl, anot Jewitt (2008), tai, kad į mediaciją

žiūrima kaip į grynai lingvistinių gebėjimų ugdymo metodą, neatitinka XXI a. ypatybių ir poreikių, ypač raginimo ugdyti multimodalinį raštingumą (Jewitt, 2008). Idėja vartoti kalbą kaip išteklių ir priemonę naudingiems nelingvistiniams įgūdžiams ugdyti ir kartu gerinti mokinių kalbinę kompetenciją vis dar nauja daugumoje kalbų klasių, tačiau tokio mokymo entuziastų ir tyrėjų vis daugėja.

Metodologija ir tyrimo eiga

Siekiant išsiaiškinti, kaip mediacijos strategijos mokant(is) anglų kalbos gali padėti sudaryti sąlygas tobulinti socialines emocines (SEL) kompetencijas, buvo iškelti šie **tyrimo uždaviniai:**

(1) išanalizuoti Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Užsienio kalbų instituto studentų (*N* = 58) požiūrį į mediacijos kaip naujo metodo taikymą anglų kalbos paskaitose, siekiant pagerinti jų mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijas;

(2) ištirti anglų kalbos besimokiusiųjų savęs vertinimo analizę, siekiant įvertinti pokytį mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų tobulinimo kontekste po paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikomos mediacijos strategijos.

Tyrimas grindžiamas **kiekybinių ir kokybinių tyrimo** duomenų (mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų savęs vertinimo), gautų naudojant nuomonių apklausą ir pusiau struktūruotus interviu su tyrimo dalyviais prieš ir po paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikomos mediacijos strategijos, analize. Tyrimo rezultatams gauti **taikyta metodika** – du mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijų įsivertinimo testai, paremti ataskaita apie save (angl. *self-reporting tests*). Autorė atsižvelgė į kartais išreiškiamą tyrimų, surinktų savistabos metodu, kritiką: esą tokie tyrimai reikalauja tiriamųjų savęs suvokimo, kad atsakymai būtų tikslūs. Dėl to tiriamieji buvo informuoti apie mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijas, jiems buvo paaiškintos sąvokos ir terminų sampratos. Be to, EI Lietuvoje tyrėjos Lekavičienė ir Antinienė (2015) teigia, kad savistabos metodu surinkti duomenys apie EI yra vertingi, nes yra neginčijamų mokslinių įrodymų, jog „taip surinkti duomenys turi neurobiologinius koreliatus" (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė 2015, p. 25).

Tiriamųjų mediacijos kompetencijos matavimo instrumentas buvo Likerto tipo klausimynas, parengtas remiantis mediacijos deskriptoriais BEKM (Council of Europe, 2020), kai respondentai turėjo įverti savo mediacijos kompetenciją komunikuodami anglų kalba skalėje nuo 1 iki 5 (1 reiškia „prastai", 5 – „puikiai"):

1 lentelė.

Tiriamųjų mediacijos kompetencijos matavimo instrumentas

Mediacijos deskriptorius	1	2	3	4	5
Tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje: *Aš gebu:*					
• paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams;	1	2	3	4	5
• diskutuoti tema, kaip dalykai, kurie kitos sociokultūrinės aplinkos žmonėms gali atrodyti „keistoki", kitiems žmonėms gali būti „normalūs".	1	2	3	4	5
Bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose: *Aš gebu:*					
• paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir trumpai sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus, jei tema yra žinoma ir pašnekovai kalba aiškiai;	1	2	3	4	5
• išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus, kad padėčiau joms susitarti, formuluodamas atvirus, neutralius klausimus, stengdamasis kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus;	1	2	3	4	5
• padėti nesutariančioms šalims geriau suprasti viena kitą, aiškiau išsakant ir performuluojant savo ar jų pozicijas ir nustatant poreikių ir tikslų prioritetus;	1	2	3	4	5
• suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką apie tai, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos iš šalių.	1	2	3	4	5

Tyrimui buvo pasirinktos dvi mediacijos veiklos, aprašytos BEKM (Council of Europe, 2020): **tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje** ir **bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose.** Veiklų deskriptoriai 1 lentelėje rodo, kad šios mediacijos kompetencijos papildo SEL kompetencijas ir jų neįmanoma pasiekti neugdant tam tikro socialinio emocinio intelekto. Lingvistiniu požiūriu visos veiklos kartu padeda besimokantiesiems tobulinti kalbinę kompetenciją, pavyzdžiui, gebėti angliškai papasakoti apie savo gimtąją kalbą ir pristatyti kultūrinius ypatumus, diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus, formuluoti klausimus, gebėti paprašyti pakartoti ar perfrazuoti, pateikti diskusijos santrauką ir pan. Tiriamieji klausimyną pildė du kartus. Pildydami pirmą kartą respondentai turėjo bendrųjų žinių apie mediacijos

kompetenciją, jiems buvo paaiškinta mediacijos termino samprata, tačiau mediacijos strategijos ir veiklos nebuvo praktiškai taikytos per anglų kalbos paskaitas. Antrą kartą užpildyti klausimyną tiriamųjų buvo paprašyta po anglų kalbos paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikytos tyrimo autorės pasirinktos mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos, suteikiančios galimybių tobulinti besimokančiųjų SEL kompetencijas daugiakultūrėje klasėje:

2 lentelė.

Tyrime naudotos mediacijos rūšis ir veiklos

Mediacijos veiklos rūšis	Mediacijos veikla
Tarpininkavimas bendraujant	Bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose
	Tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje

Tiriamųjų SEL kompetencijos matavimo instrumentas buvo Likerto tipo klausimynas, parengtas remiantis McBrien, Wild ir Bachorowskio (2018) socialinių-emocinių kompetencijų (įsi)vertinimo skale (SEE) (McBrien ir kt., 2018). Respondentų paprašyta atsakyti į 3 lentelėje pateiktus klausimus ir pažymėti atsakymą, geriausiai apibūdinantį jiems būdingus bruožus.

3 lentelė.

Tiriamųjų SEL kompetencijos matavimo instrumentas

SEL deskriptorius	Niekada	Dažnai	Visada	Nežinau
Bendraudama(s) moku užmegzti akių kontaktą.	1	2	3	4
Lengvai bendrauju su įvairiais žmonėmis (vaikais, bendraamžiais, dėstytojais ir pan.).	1	2	3	4
Naudojuosi žmonių kūno kalba, kad žinočiau, kaip jiems atsakyti.	1	2	3	4
Socialinio bendravimo metu mano veido išraiškos yra puikiai suderintos.	1	2	3	4
Moku pasikalbėti su žmonėmis apie jautrias situacijas, nepriversdama(s) jų jaustis nepatogiai ar nepagarbiai.	1	2	3	4
Gebu išreikšti susierzinimą, neatstumdama(s) žmonių.	1	2	3	4
Bendraudama(s) su žmonėmis naudoju tinkamą prisilietimų kiekį ir rūšį.	1	2	3	4
Pokalbiuose mano rankų gestai padeda, o ne blaško dėmesį.	1	2	3	4

SEL deskriptorius	Niekada	Dažnai	Visada	Nežinau
Atsižvelgdama(s) į situaciją, galiu lengvai pasitelkti įvairius socialinius įgūdžius.	1	2	3	4
Kalbėdama(s) rodau savo emocijas.	1	2	3	4
Gerai skaitau žmonių veido išraiškas.	1	2	3	4
Žinau, ką reikia pasakyti ir padaryti, kai pažįstamas žmogus yra nusiminęs.	1	2	3	4
Naudojuosi savo balso savybėmis, kad daryčiau įtaką kitiems.	1	2	3	4
Gebu padaryti taip, kad nepatogūs socialiniai santykiai būtų patogesni.	1	2	3	4
Jei žmonės stebėtų mane grupėje, pasakytų, kad esu lengvai bedraujanti(s).	1	2	3	4
Natūraliai moku koordinuoti savo emocines reakcijas į kitų emocijas.	1	2	3	4
Bendraudama(s) su žmonėmis laikausi atsipalaidavusios, atviros kūno laikysenos.	1	2	3	4
Savo emocijoms perteikti naudoju balsą.	1	2	3	4
Tinkamai linkteliu galva, kad kiti žinotų, jog klausausi.	1	2	3	4
Žinau, kaip nuraminti „karštą" pokalbį.	1	2	3	4
Moku pajuokauti tinkamu momentu, kad kiti žmonės jaustųsi gerai.	1	2	3	4

Čia svarbu paminėti SEL kompetencijų ar EI matavimo testų kūrimo metodologinius ypatumus bei sudėtingumą ištirti „ne tai, ką žmonės *žino*, bet kaip jie *gali / geba pasielgti*, ir galiausiai – kaip jie *iš tikrųjų pasielgtų* realybėje" (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė 2015, p. 26). Dėl minėtos priežasties tyrimo autorė rinkosi SEL kompetencijos matavimo instrumentą, paremtą tyrėjų plačiai naudojama SEE skale (McBrien ir kt. 2018), ir pagal ją adaptavo klausimyną. Kita vertus, kalbų paskaitose mediacijos strategijos ir veiklos yra orientuotos į praktinį mediacijos metodo taikymą (pvz., per „vaidmenų žaidimų"); tai sukuria gan realias sąlygas tiriamiesiems pasitikrinti, kaip jie elgtųsi vienoje ar kitoje situacijoje. Į klausimyną buvo įtraukta 15 įgūdžių, būdingų socialinei emocinei jausenai ir elgsenai apibūdinti. Minėti įgūdžiai rodo žmogaus gebėjimą suprasti savo ir kitų emocijas, prisitaikyti prie pašnekovo, parodyti savo emocijas naudojantis balsu, akių išraiška, kūno kalba, laikantis tinkamo socialinio atstumo, mokėti neįžeisti kito žmogaus, gebėti jį paguosti, pasiūlyti sprendimo būdą ir kita. Tiriamieji SEL klausimyną pildė du kartus. Pildydami

pirmą kartą respondentai turėjo bendrųjų žinių apie SEL kompetenciją, jiems buvo paaiškinta SEL termino samprata, tačiau mediacijos strategijos, orientuotos į SEL kompetencijų tobulinimą, nebuvo praktiškai taikytos per anglų kalbos paskaitas. Antrą kartą užpildyti klausimyną tiriamųjų buvo paprašyta po anglų kalbos paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikomos tyrimo autorės pasirinktos mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos, suteikiančios galimybių tobulinti besimokančiųjų SEL kompetencijas daugiakultūrėje klasėje. Norint išsiaiškinti, kaip socialines-emocines kompetencijas gali paveikti komunikacija užsienio kalba, į klausimyną buvo įtrauktas papildomas klausimas: „Pasirinkite 5 SEL įgūdžių deskriptorius, kurie jums kelia daugiausia sunkumų kalbant angliškai."

Siekiant įvykdyti tyrimo uždavinius, į anglų kalbos paskaitas buvo integruotos mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos. Keli šių veiklų pavyzdžiai ir jų koreliacijos su tobulinamomis mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijomis pateikti 4 lentelėje.

4 lentelė.

Tyrime taikytų mediacijos veiklų pavyzdžių sąsaja su mediacijos ir SEL kompetencijomis

Mediacijos veikla	Užduoties aprašymas ir anglų kalbos dalyko lygis	Tobulinamos mediacijos kompetencijos	Tobulinamos SEL kompetencijos
Tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje	MANO DAUGIAKALBIS PORTRETAS (B1) 1. Nupieškite savo portretą, nurodydami kalbas, kurios sudaro jūsų tapatybę (kurias mokate, suprantate ar norėtumėte išmokti) ir pristatykite jį partneriui(-ei). 2. Papasakokite angliškai apie savo gimtosios kalbos dialektus ir tarmes savo kolegai(-ei). Kodėl gimtoji kalba neatskiriama nuo žmogaus tapatybės? 3. Sudalyvaukite diskusijoje tema „Kas mano kultūroje gali atrodyti keista žmogui iš kitos kultūros?" Tarpininkaukite situacijoje, kai žmogus buvo įžeistas ar paniekintas dėl tarpkultūrinių skirtumų. _____	• paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams; • diskutuoti tema, kaip dalykai, kurie kitos sociokultūrinės aplinkos žmonėms gali atrodyti „keistoki", kitiems žmonėms gali būti „normalūs".	• užmegzti akių kontaktą ir jį palaikyti bendraujant; • naudotis žmonių kūno kalba, kad žinotų, kaip jiems atsakyti; • socialiai bendraujant tinkamai naudoti savo veido išraiškas; • diskutuojant tinkamai naudoti rankų gestus; • kalbant rodyti savo emocijas; • bendraujant demonstruoti atsipalaidavusią, atvirą kūno laikyseną; • naudotis savo balso savybėmis ir daryti įtaką kitiems.

Mediacijos veikla	Užduoties aprašymas ir anglų kalbos dalyko lygis	Tobulinamos mediacijos kompetencijos	Tobulinamos SEL kompetencijos
	AKULTŪRACIJA UNIVERSITETE (C1/C2) 1. Aprašykite didžiausią iššūkį ar keblią situaciją ar nemalonias emocijas, kurias patyrėte pirmosiomis dienomis universitete. Tai gali būti susiję su studentų ir dėstytojų ar kolegų santykiais, kalbos, bendravimo, psichologinėmis, aplinkos ar kitomis kliūtimis, kažkuo nauju, nežinomu ar nepatogiu, mokymo metodais, vertinimo formomis, kultūriniais ar akademiniais skirtumais, namų ilgesiu, vienišumu, kitoniškumu, pykčiu, sumišimu ir pan. Aprašykite, kaip jautėtės ir kaip su tuo dorojotės; 2. Pasirinkite vieną savo kolegos(-ės) įrašą ir parašykite atsakymą. Ar dažnai pirmakursiai ar tarptautiniai studentai susiduria su tokia situacija universitete? Ar kada nors teko patirti panašių problemų? Ką patartumėte daryti tokioje situacijoje?; 3. Vaidmenų žaidimas pagal pasirinktą problemą (darbas trise, vienas yra mediatorius); 4. Grupinis projektas: sukurti 5 minučių trukmės vaizdo įrašą, skirtą tarptautiniams studentams, paremtą nagrinėtų problemų sprendimo būdais.		
Bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose	1 SITUACIJA* (B1) „Studento Vido namuose tėvai rengia iškilmingą Naujųjų Metų sutikimą svečiams. Kai kuriuos jų Vidas pažįsta, kitus mato pirmą kartą. Vakarienės metu nuskamba garsiai sakoma mamos pastaba dėl netinkamų Vido manierų prie stalo. Pastabą išgirsta visi. Vidas sutrinka ir pasijunta pažemintas." Mediatorius turi palengvinti visų svečių bendravimą ir padėti Vidui.	• paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus; • išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus, kad padėtų joms susitarti, formuluodami atvirus, neutralius klausimus, stengdamiesi kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus;	• pasikalbėti su žmonėmis apie jautrias situacijas, nepriverčiant jų jaustis nepatogiai ar nepagarbiai; • išreikšti susierzinimą, neatstumiant žmonių; • atsižvelgiant į situaciją, pasitelkti įvairius socialinius įgūdžius; • pasakyti tinkamus žodžius nusiminusiam žmogui;

Mediacijos veikla	Užduoties aprašymas ir anglų kalbos dalyko lygis	Tobulinamos mediacijos kompetencijos	Tobulinamos SEL kompetencijos
	2 SITUACIJA* (B1) „Lidijai paskambina draugė Ona, tiesiog puolusi į paniką, nes rytoj jos laukia svarbus pokalbis su įmonės, kurioje dirba, vadovu. Ona įsitikinusi, kad pokalbis bus griežtas, o ji pasirodys per kvaila ir bus perkelta į žemesnes pareigas." Mediatorius turi padėti Onai nusiraminti ir tinkamai pasiruošti pokalbiui.	• padėti nesutariančioms šalims geriau suprasti viena kitą, aiškiau išsakant ir performuluojant savo ar jų pozicijas; • suformuluoti aiškią santrauką, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos šalies.	• nuraminti „karštą" pokalbį; •pajuokauti tinkamu momentu, kad kiti žmonės jaustųsi gerai.

* Situacijos adaptuotos remiantis EI-DARL-V2 testo emocinių-socialinių ir tarpasmeninių situacijų pavyzdžiais (Lekavičienė ir Antinienė, 2015).

Svarbu paminėti, kad siekiant anglų kalbos dalyko rezultatų studentai buvo mokomi aktyvaus žodyno, reikalingo minėtose situacijose, posakių, vartojamų diskusijose, praktikavosi tinkamai pritarti ar paprieštarauti, paprašyti pakartoti ar perfrazuoti, klausimų darybos, apibūdinti savo emocijas, tarpininkavimo kalbos (Anglų kalba B1); akademinių skirtumų įvairiose kultūrose, aptarė strategijas, kaip dorotis su psichologiniais sunkumais studijuojant, nagrinėjo profesoriaus Ringso iš Anglijos Ruskino universiteto paskaitos įrašą ir mokymo medžiagą apie žemo ir aukšto konteksto kultūras, diskusijos santraukos pateikimo ar kūno kalbos įtaigos bendraujant ar darant pranešimą (Akademinė anglų kalba C1/C2).

Tyrimo dalyviai – 58-ni įvairių studijų krypčių VDU UKI studentai; iš jų 20 mokėsi bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygiu, 38 – akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygiu pagal BEKM. Galima teigti, kad tyrime dalyvavo daugiakultūrė klasė, nes tarp respondentų buvo indų, italų, kazachų, lietuvių, lenkų ir ispanų tautų atstovų. Visos tyrimo procedūros atitiko institucijos, kurioje buvo vykdomas tyrimas, etikos standartus, tiriamieji buvo informuoti apie tyrimo tikslą ir uždavinius bei buvo gautas jų sutikimas dalyvauti tyrime. Dalyviai buvo informuoti apie teisę bet kada pasitraukti iš tyrimo be jokių pasekmių, visi duomenys buvo nuasmeninti, siekiant užtikrinti konfidencialumą.

Tyrimo rezultatai: mediacijos kompetencijos

Mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo analizė (žr. 5.1 lentelę) atskleidė, kad respondentai gana gerai moka paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos

ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams bei diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus per paskaitas net nepraktikavę mediacijos strategijų ir veiklų. Pagal penkių balų Likerto skalę (1 = blogai, 5 = puikiai), 67 % bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentų savo įgūdžius angliškai paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams ir 49 % respondentų savo gebėjimą pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus įvertino 4. Akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentų rezultatai dar geresni dėl gan aukštos anglų kalbos komunikacinės kompetencijos: 94 % tiriamųjų savo įgūdžius angliškai paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams ir 96 % respondentų savo gebėjimą pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus įvertino 5.

5.1 lentelė.

Mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai prieš mediacijos strategijų taikymą

Tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje	Anglų kalba B1 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 4)	Akademinė anglų kalba C1/C2 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 5)
Gebėjimas paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams	67 %	94 %
Gebėjimas pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus	49 %	96 %

Dėl bendravimo palengvinimo kebliose situacijose tyrimo dalyvių pasitikėjimas savo gebėjimais buvo mažesnis (žr. 5.2 lentelę): dauguma studentų pažymėjo gan prastus savo gebėjimus išsiaiškinti galimus sprendimus, kad padėtų nesutariančioms šalims susitarti, formuluoti atvirus, neutralius klausimus, kad kuo mažiau sugėdintų ar įžeistų pašnekovus (86 % bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentų savo gebėjimus pagal penkių balų Likerto skalę (1 = blogai, 5 = puikiai) įvertino 2; 64 % akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentų – 3). Panašus ir pagalbos nesutariančioms šalims geriau suprasti viena kitą grįžtamumo rodiklis: 78 % bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentų savo gebėjimus įvertino 2 ir 59 % akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentų – 3. Įsivertinant trečiąjį mediacijos gebėjimą

suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką apie tai, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos šalies, respondentų nuomonės išsiskyrė pagal anglų kalbos dalykų lygius: net 91 % bendrosios anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentų gebėjimą įsivertino 2; tik 13 % akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentų manė, kad šį gebėjimą reikėtų tobulinti, ir įvertino 3. Turint omenyje tiriamųjų anglų kalbos komunikacinės kompetencijos skirtumus, šį rezultatą gana lengva paaiškinti, be to, santraukos formulavimas yra svarbi bendrosios anglų kalbos B2 lygio mokymo programos tema.

5.2 lentelė.

Mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai prieš mediacijos strategijų

taikymą

Bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose	Anglų kalba B1 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas –2)	Akademinė anglų kalba C1/C2 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 3)
Gebėjimas paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir trumpai sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus, jei tema yra žinoma ir pašnekovai kalba aiškiai	86 %	64 %
Gebėjimas išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus ir padėti joms susitarti, formuluojant atvirus, neutralius klausimus, stengiantis kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus	78 %	59 %
Gebėjimas suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką apie tai, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos šalies	91 %	13 %

Užpildyti klausimyną antrą kartą tiriamieji buvo paprašyti po anglų kalbos paskaitų, per kurias buvo taikomos tyrimo autorės aprašytos mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos. 6.1 lentelėje pateikti rodikliai atskleidžia, kad ypač pagerėjo anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentų įsivertinimas: gebėjimą paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams 92 % respondentų įsivertino 5 (anksčiau 67 % įsivertino 4), gebėjimą pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus 87 % įsivertino 5 (anksčiau

49 % įsivertino 4). Svarbu pažymėti, kad per paskaitas studentai atrado naują tarpininkavimo daugiakultūrėje erdvėje temą, todėl jiems iš pradžių trūko reikiamų angliškų žodžių ar net žinių apie savo gimtosios kalbos tarmes. Tačiau beveik vieningai sutarė, kad norint būti įdomiems kitos kultūros atstovams yra labai svarbu gebėti perteikti savo nacionalinį identitetą ta kalba, kurios mokomasi. Per pirmąją apklausą akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentai šiuos gebėjimus buvo įsivertinę beveik puikiai, tad jų atsakymai panašūs, nors rodikliai šiek tiek padidėjo: gebėjimą paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams 97 % respondentų įsivertino 5 (anksčiau – 94 %), gebėjimą pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus 98 % įsivertino 5 (anksčiau – 96 %).

6.1 lentelė.

Mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai po mediacijos strategijų taikymo

Tarpininkavimas daugiakultūrėje erdvėje	Anglų kalba B1 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 5)	Akademinė anglų kalba C1/C2 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 5)
Gebėjimas paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams	92 %	97 %
Gebėjimas pagarbiai diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus	87 %	98 %

Remiantis tyrimo rezultatais galima teigti, kad tarpininkavimo daugiakultūrėje erdvėje gebėjimo tobulinimas ypač naudingas B1 lygio studentams. Jie išmoko naujų naudingų žodžių, susijusių su šia tema, taip pat ugdė tolerantišką požiūrį į kitoniškumą įvairiose kultūrose. Regis, akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentai lingvistine kompetencija yra labiau pažengę, tačiau jų požiūris į tarpkultūrinius skirtumus nebūtinai tapo tolerantiškesnis, todėl ši mediacijos veikla tinkama ir aukštesniame lygmenyje. Tačiau verta pagalvoti apie sudėtingesnes aukštesnio lygmens užduotis, kad studentai galėtų išreikšti savo kūrybiškumą, pasidalyti patirtimi, išreikšti empatiją ir pan. (žr. 4 lentelėje užduoties pavyzdį AKULTŪRACIJA UNIVERSITETE (C1/C2).

6.2 lentelė.

Mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai po mediacijos strategijų taikymo

Bendravimo palengvinimas kebliose situacijose	Anglų kalba B1 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas –4)	Akademinė anglų kalba C1/C2 (tiriamųjų įsivertinimas – 5)
Gebėjimas paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir trumpai sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus, jei tema yra žinoma ir pašnekovai kalba aiškiai	63 %	71 %
Gebėjimas išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus ir padėti joms susitarti, formuluojant atvirus, neutralius klausimus, stengiantis kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus	44 %	82 %
Gebėjimas suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką apie tai, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos iš šalių	39 %	93 %

6.2 lentelėje pateikti rodikliai pažymi mediacijos įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatus pritaikius mediacijos strategijas. Dėl palyginimo lentelėje pateiktas didžiausias procentas teigiamo pokyčio. Jau buvo minėta, kad Anglų kalbos B1 lygio studentai gana prastai įsivertino bendravimo palengvinimo kebliose situacijose kompetenciją prieš praktikuodamiesi mediacijos strategijas. Džiugu pažymėti, kad po mediacijos strategijų taikymo per anglų kalbos paskaitas rezultatai pagerėjo: net 63 % respondentų gebėjimą paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir trumpai sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus įsivertino 4 (anksčiau 86 % buvo įsivertinę 2); gebėjimą išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus ir padėti joms susitarti, stengiantis kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus, 44 % tiriamųjų įsivertino 4 (anksčiau 78 % buvo įsivertinę 2); gebėjimą suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką apie tai, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos šalies, 39 % įsivertino 4 (anksčiau net 91 % buvo įsivertinę 2). Svarbu priminti, kad prieš mediacijos strategijų taikymą akademinės anglų kalbos C1/C2 lygio studentai buvo gana aukštai įsivertinę savo tarpininkavimo daugiakultūrėje erdvėje kompetenciją, tačiau daug prasčiau vertino bendravimo palengvinimo kebliose situacijose kompetenciją. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad pastaroji

kompetencija po mediacijos veiklų ir strategijų taikymo per paskaitas patobulėjo: net 71 % respondentų gebėjimą paprašyti nesutariančių šalių paaiškinti savo požiūrį ir trumpai sureaguoti į jų paaiškinimus įsivertino 5 (anksčiau 64 % buvo įsivertinę 3); gebėjimą išsiaiškinti nesutariančių šalių galimus sprendimus ir padėti joms susitarti, stengiantis kuo mažiau sugėdinti ar įžeisti pašnekovus 82 % tiriamųjų įsivertino 5 (anksčiau 59 % buvo įsivertinę 3); gebėjimą suformuluoti aiškią ir tikslią santrauką, dėl ko susitarta ir ko tikimasi iš kiekvienos šalies, net 93 % įsivertino 5 (anksčiau 13 % buvo įsivertinę 3). Verta paminėti studentų reakcijas iš trumpų refleksijų po mediacijos veiklų taikymo: dauguma jų teigė, kad pagrindinė per mediacijos veiklas jiems iškilusi problema buvo ne lingvistinė (t. y. jiems pakako žodyno ar gramatinių struktūrų žinių), o mentalinė. Tradicinis mokymasis praeityje daugiausia buvo orientuotas į save, tačiau per minėtas veiklas dažnai reikėjo atsižvelgti į kito asmens jauseną, poreikius ar išsakytą nuomonę. Studentams tai buvo nauja patirtis, todėl ne tokia lengva, tačiau, anot jų, labai naudinga ir reikalinga.

Tyrimo rezultatai: socialinės emocinės kompetencijos

Tyrimo dalyviai, naudojęsi socioemocinės kompetencijos (SEE) (įsi)vertinimo skale (McBrien ir kt., 2018) bei vertinę savo gebėjimus prieš ir po mediacijos strategijų taikymą, atskleidė reikšmingus skirtumus:

1 paveikslas.
SEL įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai prieš mediacijos strategijų taikymą
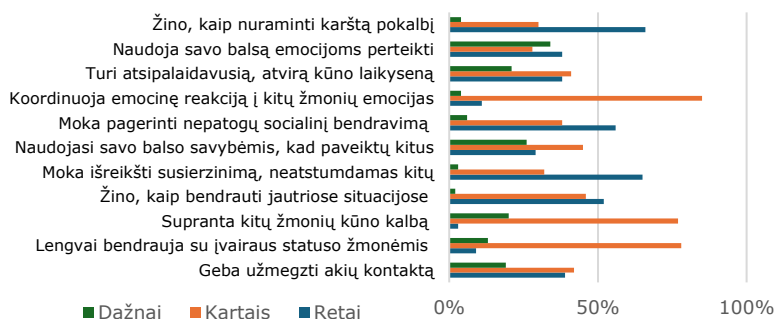
1 pav. vaizduojami tiriamųjų SEL įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai prieš mediacijos strategijų taikymą. Duomenys nėra išskirti pagal atskirus anglų kalbos dalykų lygius, kadangi respondentai turėjo įsivertinti nelingvistines kompetencijas. Rezultatai rodo, kad dauguma respondentų retai geba nuraminti „karšto" pokalbio dalyvius (66 %), išreikšti susierzinimą neatstūmę kitų (65 %), pagerinti nepatogų socialinį bendravimą (56 %), žino, kaip bendrauti jautriose situacijose (52 %) ar net užmegzti akių kontaktą (39 %). Geriausiai („dažnai") tiriamieji įsivertino gebėjimą balsu perteikti emocijas (34 %) ir savo balso savybių naudojimą paveikti kitus asmenis (26 %). Svarbu priminti, kad klausimyną pildydami pirmą kartą respondentai turėjo bendrųjų žinių apie SEL kompetenciją, jiems buvo paaiškinta SEL termino samprata, tačiau mediacijos strategijos, orientuotos į SEL kompetencijų tobulinimą, nebuvo praktiškai taikytos per anglų kalbos paskaitas.

7 lentelė.

SEL įgūdžių savęs vertinimo rezultatai po mediacijos strategijų taikymo

SEL deskriptorius	Pastebimas pagerėjimas	Žymus pagerėjimas
Akių kontakto užmezgimas ir palaikymas bendraujant	52 %	17 %
Geresnis bendravimas jautriose situacijose	68 %	11%
Susierzinimo išreiškimas neatstumiant žmonių	27 %	33 %
Lengvesnis nepatogus socialinis bendravimas	44 %	29 %
Atsipalaidavusi, atvira kūno laikysena bendraujant su žmonėmis	17 %	12 %
Balso naudojimas emocijoms perteikti	19 %	12 %
Gebėjimas nuraminti „karštą" pokalbį	63 %	8 %

Iš 11 SEL deskriptorių buvo atrinkti 7, pavaizduoti 7 lentelėje. Tyrimo duomenimis, respondentai geriausiai įsivertino patobulėjusį bendravimą jautriose situacijose (79 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo), gebėjimą lengviau bendrauti nepatogiose socialinėse situacijose (73 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo), gebėjimą nuraminti „karštą" pokalbį (71 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo) bei akių kontakto užmezgimo ir palaikymo bendraujant

(69 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo). Anot tiriamųjų, mažiausiai patobulėjo jų gebėjimas demonstruoti atsipalaidavusią, atvirą kūno laikyseną bendraujant su žmonėmis (29 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo) ir emocijų perteikimas balsu (31 % pastebimo ir žymaus pagerėjimo). Pastaruosius tyrimo rezultatus būtų galima paaiškinti tuo, kad kūno kalbos lavinimas yra tęstinis ir ilgalaikis procesas, reikalaujantis pastovaus tobulinimosi, o įsisenėjusius įpročius rodyti susikausčiusią ir uždarą kūno laikyseną gana sudėtinga pakeisti. Kadangi studentai buvo geriausiai įsivertinę gebėjimą balsu perteikti emocijas (34 %), logiška, kad nepažymėjo žymiai pagerėjusios šios kompetencijos.

Būtina pabrėžti, kad studentai ne tik praktiškai taikė mediacijos strategijas ir veiklas vaidmenų žaidimų ar kita užduočių forma, bet ir gavo teorinių žinių apie socialinės emocinės kompetencijos svarbą, jos naudą bei susipažino su trumpa naujausių tyrimų apie EI ir SEL santrauka. Tyrimo autorės tikslas buvo ne tik patikrinti studentų SEL kompetencijas ar jas praktiškai taikyti, bet ir edukuoti respondentus, kad jie matytų prasmę ir realią naudą tobulinti SEL kompetencijas. Deja, šiai edukacijai skirta mažai laiko, kad nebūtų nutolta nuo anglų kalbos dalyko programos.

Siekiant išsiaiškinti, kokį poveikį socialinėms emocinėms kompetencijoms daro komunikacija užsienio kalba, į klausimyną buvo įtrauktas papildomas klausimas: tiriamųjų paprašyta pasirinkti 5 SEL įgūdžių deskriptorius, kurie jiems kelia daugiausia sunkumų kalbant angliškai.

2 paveikslas.

SEL kompetencijos, kurios kelia daugiausia sunkumų kalbant angliškai

Kaip rodo 2 pav., tiriamieji mano, kad jiems tampa sunkiau bendrauti kalbant ne gimtąja kalba (36 %), sudėtingiau pajuokauti tinkamu momentu (23 %), demonstruoti atsipalaidavusią ir atvirą kūno laikyseną (21 %), tinkamą veido išraišką (12 %) ir rankų gestus (8 %). Įdomu, kad kai kurie gebėjimai konkrečiai susiję su kalbine kompetencija (pvz., kalbėjimas ar pajuokavimas), kiti yra nelingvistiniai (pvz., kūno kalba, veido išraiška ar rankų gestai). Refleksijos metu studentai pastebėjo, kad šiuos neligvistinius gebėjimus gali paveikti bendra psichologinė-emocinė žmogaus būsena: ar kalbėdamas užsienio kalba jis yra įsitempęs, ar atsipalaidavęs. Todėl labai svarbu kalbų besimokančiuosius mokyti atsipalaidavimo ar streso mažinimo technikų, kurios galėtų pagelbėti dalyvaujant diskusijose ar pristatant pranešimą auditorijai.

Atlikę SEL įgūdžių savęs vertinimą po mediacijos strategijų taikymo, tyrimo dalyviai beveik vieningai pripažino, kad mediacijos metodas praturtina anglų kalbos mokymą(si) metodologiškai ir turinio prasme, nes atliekamos netradicinės užduotys ir lavinamos kompetencijos, reikalingos realiame gyvenime. Anot tiriamųjų, jie labiau domėjosi mokymo procesu, matė daugiau prasmės dalyvauti atliekant užduotis, jautėsi geriau psichologiškai, nes buvo kuriamas pozityvus mikroklimatas ir vertinama jų nuomonė. Į klausimą, ar nenukentėjo lingvistiniai mokymosi rezultatai dėl kitokio užduočių pateikimo būdo, dauguma atsakė, kad toks praktinis saugiai emociškai organizuojamas mokymas(is), kai dažnai reikėdavo kokią nors dalyko temą paaiškinti kitiems, kaip tik padėjo geriau suvokti gramatines temas ar įsiminti žodyną, nes jis buvo aktyviai naudojamas.

Išvados ir rekomendacijos

Tyrimas atskleidė, kad tiriamųjų mediacijos kompetencija, susijusi su tarpininkavimu daugiakultūrėje erdvėje, yra palyginti aukšta (ypač pasiekusių aukštesnį anglų kalbos lygį), todėl respondentai gana gerai moka angliškai paaiškinti savo kultūros ir gimtosios kalbos ypatumus kitos kultūros atstovams bei diskutuoti apie tarpkultūrinius skirtumus net nepraktikavę mediacijos strategijų per paskaitas. Svarbu pažymėti, jog respondentai beveik vieningai sutarė: norint būti įdomiems kitos kultūros atstovams, labai svarbu gebėti

perteikti savo nacionalinį identitetą kalba, kurios mokomasi. Taigi šiomis mediacijos strategijomis praturtintos anglų kalbos paskaitos gali ne tik patobulinti besimokančiųjų tarpininkavimo daugiakultūrėje erdvėje kompetenciją, bet ir ugdyti jų sąmoningumą, toleranciją kitoniškumui bei nacionalinių vertybių (savo kalbos ir kultūros) puoselėjimą. Taip plėtojama darnioji daugiakalbystė, skatinant skirtingų kalbų vartojimą, vartojant besimokančiųjų gimtąsias kalbas kaip mokymo(si) šaltinį ir plėtojant transkalbystės kompetenciją mediacijos veiklų metu. Mediatorius tampa tarpininku tarp skirtingų kalbų ir registrų vartotojų bei lavina savo gebėjimą paaiškinti kultūrines bei kalbines subtilybes. Studentams, įgijusiems aukštesnę anglų kalbos kompetenciją, rekomenduojama skirti aukštesnio lygmens užduotis, kad galėtų išreikšti kūrybiškumą, empatiją, pasidalyti patirtimi ir taip tobulinti SEL kompetenciją.

Bendravimo palengvinimo kebliose situacijose sritis atskleidė mažesnį tyrimo dalyvių pasitikėjimą savo gebėjimais, tačiau šią mediacijos kompetenciją, anot tiriamųjų, gerokai patobulino paskaitos, kuriose buvo taikomos mediacijos strategijos. Svarbu pabrėžti respondentų išskirtą pagrindinę problemą, iškilusią šių mediacijos veiklų metu: ji buvo ne lingvistinė (žodyno ar gramatinių struktūrų žinių jiems dažniausiai pakako), o mentalinė. Tradicinis mokymasis praeityje daugiausia buvo orientuotas į save, o per minėtas veiklas reikėjo atsižvelgti į kito asmens jauseną, poreikius ar išsakytą nuomonę – būtent tai yra vienas svarbių SEL kompetencijos principų.

Atlikę SEL įgūdžių savęs vertinimą po mediacijos strategijų taikymo, tyrimo dalyviai beveik vieningai pripažino, kad mediacijos metodas praturtina anglų kalbos mokymą(si) metodologiškai ir turinio prasme, nes atliekamos netradicinės užduotys ir lavinamos kompetencijos, reikalingos realiame gyvenime. Tiriamųjų teigimu, mokymo procesas domino labiau, dalyvauti atliekant užduotis rodėsi prasmingiau, psichologiškai jautėsi geriau, nes buvo kuriamas pozityvus mikroklimatas ir vertinama jų nuomonė. Be to, socialinėms emocinėms kompetencijoms gali daryti įtaką komunikacija ne gimtąja kalba, todėl rekomenduojama kalbų besimokančiuosius mokyti atsipalaidavimo ar streso mažinimo technikų, kurios padėtų jiems dalyvaujant įvairiose komunikacinėse veiklose ir nesumenkintų turimų SEL kompetencijų.

Atsižvelgdami į socialinio emocinio ugdymo vertę ir naudą, kalbų mokytojai galėtų padėti besimokantiesiems ugdyti emocinį intelektą. Tai sustiprintų besimokančiųjų savivertę ir pagerintų akademinius rezultatus. Kadangi bendrosios SEL programos nėra sukurtos atsižvelgiant į anglų kalbos besimokančiųjų poreikius, anglų kalbos mokytojams reikia adaptuotos medžiagos ir priemonių, kad galėtų įgyvendinti SEL kompetencijos ugdymą. Mediacijos veiklos ir strategijos kaip naudingas įrankis galėtų pasitarnauti tobulinant SEL kompetenciją, tačiau būtų tikslinga įtraukti mediaciją į kalbų mokymo programą kaip penktą lingvistinę kompetenciją. BEKM tai pasiūlė jau 2020 m. (BEKM, 2020) ir kai kurios šalys (pvz., Ispanija) jau sėkmingai įgyvendino savo kalbų politikoje (Moya ir Jurado, 2025).

Tyrimo ribojimais galima laikyti mažą imtį ir tikėtinai nežymų poveikį akademinei bendruomenei, jeigu socialinio emocinio ugdymo kultūra nėra bendra visos mokymo institucijos politika. Metodologine prasme panašiems tyrimams ateityje būtų galima taikyti sudėtingesnę metodiką ir tyrimo instrumentus (pvz., EI-DARL situacijų subtestus); tai leistų tiksliau nustatyti patobulintas SEL kompetencijas.

Inovatyvių kalbų mokymo metodikų ir mokinių kalbinių pasiekimų tyrimų daugėja, tačiau vis dar trūksta empirinių tyrimų, kuriuose būtų nagrinėjama su kalbų mokymusi susijusi pridėtinė nauda ir jos ryšys su besimokančiųjų savivertės didinimu, socialine ir emocine gerove bei geresnėmis karjeros galimybėmis. SEL tematika pasižymi mokslinių tyrimų ir sėkmės atvejų studijų gausa, bet reta tyrimų apie tai, kaip SEL kompetencijos galėtų būti ugdomos mokant(is) kalbų, kaip turėtų būti adaptuota kalbų mokymo programa ir mokomoji medžiaga, kokie mokymo įrankiai galėtų būti naudojami ugdymo procese, kaip galėtų (ir ar turėtų) būti vertinamos SEL kompetencijos, patobulėjusios per kalbų pamokas. Šis tyrimas teorine prasme prisideda prie socialinio emocinio ugdymo sampratos, vertės ir naudos viešinimo bei išryškina probleminius klausimus, kuriuos įžvelgti leido tyrimo eiga ir rezultatai. Praktinė šio tyrimo reikšmė sietina su naujos metodikos (mediacijos strategijų) taikymu, siekiant ugdyti kalbų besimokančiųjų socialines emocines kompetencijas. Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad tyrimas prisideda prie daugiafunkcio, daugiakultūrio ir daugiakalbio kalbų mokymo modelio kūrimo Lietuvoje.

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Daiva Pundziuvienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
d.pundziuviene@vdu.lt

MEDIATION STRATEGIES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM TO BUILD STUDENTS' SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COMPETENCES

Abstract. In recent global practice, innovations in language teaching / learning go hand in hand not only with the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI), but also with the development of Emotional Intelligence (EI), with an emphasis on the integration of Social Emotional Learning (SEL) into the language teaching/learning process, and a shift from a four-skill model of language skills (listening, reading, speaking, and writing) to a four-communication mode model (reception, production, interaction, and mediation) (Council of Europe, 2020). SEL encompasses five broad and interconnected domains of competences: self-knowledge, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills and responsible decision-making, which can be learned in a variety of subject areas, with students of different ages and in different cultural contexts (Durlak et al., 2024). Various methodologies can be used for developing SEL competences, for example the innovative and increasingly popular teaching method – mediation, which the CEFR defines as the ability to help people understand each other, a complex text, an idea, or a cultural aspect when they cannot communicate or understand for various reasons. In order to investigate how mediation strategies in the English language classes can facilitate socially and emotionally enhanced language learning, the present research focuses primarily on the concept of SEL and the analysis of previous research on the enhancement of SEL competences in the educational settings, presenting a large-scale study of emotional intelligence among the Lithuanian youth. The introductory part also introduces the concept of mediation, the main mediation activities and strategies, and their potential application in language teaching / learning. In order to analyse the attitudes of students (N = 58) of Vytautas Magnus University Institute of Foreign Languages (VMU UKI) towards the use of mediation as a new method in the English language classroom and to improve their mediation and SEL competences, a study was conducted. The sample consisted of 58 students, 20 of whom were studying General English at B1 level and 38 of whom were studying Academic English at C1/C2 level according to CEFR. This study also presents a self-assessment analysis of the English language learners to assess their improvement in mediation and SEL competences. A quantitative research methodology and short semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore the needs, experiences and improved competences of the research participants. The results showed a positive correlation between the use of mediation strategies in the English language classes and the learners' improved mediation and SEL competences. Based on the insights gained from the study, the paper provides practical recommendations for the use of mediation strategies in the English language classes and the development of learners' socio-emotional competences.

Keywords: Emotional Intelligence (EI); mediation activities in the English language classroom; 'soft' skills; socio-emotional learning (SEL).

Badriyah Ulfah
Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia
Utami Widiati
Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia
Sri Rachmajanti
Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia
Utari Praba Astuti†
Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia

THE LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF AN ENGINEERING PROFESSOR: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL EXPERIENCES

Abstract. One of the key aspects of exploring language identity in multicultural and multilingual environments is the transition from one's native language to shared languages. This transition refers to the shift between languages that individuals experience within both everyday interactions and professional settings. However, this transition process remains underexplored despite its complexities. The present study seeks to address this gap by investigating the effects of language transitions on academics, especially those working in non-language disciplines. It aims to explore the complexities of language identity through the narrative of an engineering professor with over 30 years of academic experience in Indonesia, England, and Malaysia. Adopting a qualitative narrative inquiry approach, the researchers employed semi-structured interviews to examine the professor's personal and professional journey, capturing detailed accounts of his experiences with Indonesian, English, and Malay. Key findings reveal that language adaptation extends beyond proficiency, encompassing emotional, cultural, and professional dimensions. The professor's transition from vernacular languages to Indonesian, and later to English and Malay, highlights the challenges and strategies involved in balancing professional obligations with the imperative of cultural preservation. Immersion in English-speaking environments has significantly shaped his self-perception and communication styles, while returning to his hometown introduced complexities in reconciling global and local identities. The findings suggest a need for greater sensitivity to the broader implications of language transitions, particularly among academics outside language-focused disciplines, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of language identity in diverse academic contexts.

Keywords: cross-cultural experiences; English-speaking environment; language identity; multilingual; multicultural.

Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, language serves as a cornerstone of identity, shaping how individuals perceive themselves and interact with others across cultural and linguistic boundaries. According to Piacesca (2019), language identity as a dynamic and multifaceted concept reflects the ways individuals relate to their native and acquired languages, influencing their sense of self and belonging. In multicultural and multilingual environments, this identity is often shaped by transitions between languages, as individuals navigate the complexities of adapting to shared languages while preserving their native linguistic roots (Maliutina & Oberemko, 2020). Such transitions, however, are not merely linguistic shifts; they encompass emotional, cultural, and professional dimensions, often accompanied by feelings of uncertainty and insecurity as individuals reconcile differing linguistic and cultural norms (Walz & Fitzgerald, 2020). Despite the profound implications of these transitions, research remains limited, leaving a gap in understanding how language identity evolves in diverse professional and cultural contexts.

Adapting to a new language in multicultural contexts is a multifaceted process that extends far beyond linguistic proficiency. As Chao (2023) emphasizes, it touches on deep aspects of cultural and social identity, often creating tension between adopting a new language and maintaining one's native language and cultural heritage. As individuals navigate these environments, they must balance their sense of belonging with the different linguistic and cultural customs they encounter (Markey et al., 2023). This process significantly affects their psychological and emotional well-being (Mosanya & Kwiatkowska, 2023). Therefore, moving from a native language to a common language requires not only learning new words and grammar but also adjusting to new cultural and social norms (Bahtiyarovna, 2019). Additionally, the dominance of global languages like English can put extra pressure on individuals to conform, which may overshadow their original language and cultural identity.

In multicultural environments, immersion in English-speaking settings significantly influences how individuals navigate their language identity. While Wang et al. (2022) argue that exposure to English in both inner and outer-

circle countries enhances proficiency and self-perception as competent English speakers, Hayakawa et al. (2022) highlight concerns about native language attrition and cultural identity shifts due to increased reliance on English. Furthermore, the global dominance of English creates implicit hierarchies, associating proficiency with success and higher social status, prompting individuals to prioritize English over their native languages (Mashwani & Noori, 2023). This pressure can result in internal conflicts as individuals struggle to reconcile English-speaking expectations with the desire to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage (Hajar & Mhamed, 2024). Such conformity pressures significantly impact individuals' connections to their native languages and cultures, intensifying in educational settings where teachers face dual challenges of personal linguistic adaptation and supporting linguistically diverse students (Atobatele & Mouboua, 2024; Muniroh et al., 2022). Despite extensive research on language teachers, limited studies address how academics in non-language disciplines, typically lacking formal language training, navigate these challenges (Ardi et al., 2025; Do & Hoang, 2023). Therefore, further exploration is needed to fully understand the impact of immersion in English-speaking environments on individuals with diverse linguistic backgrounds and professional roles.

Exploring how language identity evolves requires a deeper understanding of individuals' lived experiences, particularly how they negotiate their sense of self within diverse linguistic and cultural contexts. Personal narratives offer valuable insights into this complex interplay, highlighting varied ways individuals navigate their evolving language identities and sense of belonging (Zhang & Lütge, 2024; Zhou & Liu, 2023). Therefore, this study focuses on the narrative of an engineering professor who has used Indonesian, English, and Malay as mediums of instruction. By examining the professor's journey, the challenges and strategies involved in adapting to different linguistic environments and the impact on both personal and professional identity can be uncovered. Furthermore, as universities in Indonesia and other countries increasingly adopt English as a medium of instruction (Bolton, 2023), the experiences of educators such as the professor whose linguistic trajectory spans a remarkable more than 30-year of academic career across Indonesia, England, and Malaysia become essential in informing policy and practice.

Grounded in four pivotal research questions, the exploration seeks to unravel the multifaceted tapestry of language identity amid shifting contexts:

1. How does one navigate the intricacies of language identity, transitioning from the vernacular to national language, and eventually to English as the medium of instruction?

2. To what extent does immersion in English-speaking environments, both in inner and outer circle contexts, shape one's language adaptation and self-perception as an English speaker?

3. How do cross-cultural experiences throughout an academic career influence the evolution of language identity?

4. How does the return to one's native country after years of academic career abroad impact language identity?

Language Identity in Multicultural Environments

Language identity is a core component of an individual's self-concept, significantly influencing how they perceive themselves and engaged with others within multicultural contexts. It shapes social interactions, interpersonal communication, and the ability to navigate diverse cultural environments (Zhou & Liu, 2023). As individuals interact with various languages and cultural frameworks, their linguistic identity continuously adapts, reflecting their personal, social, and cultural experiences (Zhang & Lütge, 2024). Thus, language identity is understood as a dynamic construct that is constantly reshaped by the settings in which speakers live and communicate.

Multiple factors contribute to this evolving identity, including socioeconomic class, professional roles, age, gender, and broader sociocultural dimensions such as race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation further influence language practices (Ma, 2024). Additionally, personal experiences, such as family interactions, childhood memories, and significant life events, create deep emotional connections to language, making it not only a tool for communication but also a reflection of cultural heritage and identity (Fitriyah et al., 2024). Consequently, language serves not only as a practical tool for communication but also as a living reflection of who individuals are, how they want others to perceive them, and how they preserve cultural traditions.

Understanding language identity, therefore, is essential for appreciating the ways in which individuals negotiate their place in increasingly multicultural societies.

Transitioning Linguistic Identity

Transitioning linguistic identity involves a deeply intricate process of adapting to new languages, navigating cultural nuances, and meeting social expectations. Arcidiacono et al. (2019) emphasize that individuals who frequently move between different cultural contexts often encounter challenges in clearly defining their identity, which can impact their mental health and overall well-being. This continuous adaptation demands flexibility in linguistic resources to communicate effectively and create meaning within multicultural environments.

Beyond linguistic competence, Karlik (2023) asserts that this transition extends beyond linguistic competence to include embracing unique cultural experiences, perspectives, and insights offered to each language, and it requires individuals to explore their cultural roots, upbringing, and evolving connections to multiple languages within deeper cultural and historical context. Moreover, this blending of languages and cultures creates a dynamic interplay that further enriches an individual's linguistic identity (Watiningrum, 2023). Ultimately, the interaction of multiple languages and cultures enriches linguistic identity, shaping how individuals perceive themselves and their place within diverse social landscapes.

Immersion in English-Speaking Environments

Immersion experiences significantly shape the process of language adaptation, influencing an individual's linguistic competence, cultural awareness, and sense of identity. Immersion in English-speaking environments involves constant exposure to the language, either by staying in an English-speaking country or participating in English-speaking activities and communities (Nalyvaiko et al., 2021). This immersion enhances linguistic proficiency and helps individuals grasp cultural nuances and social interactions

tied to the language (Kakita & Palukuri, 2020). Furthermore, Kotzor et al. (2021) believe that being surrounded by native speakers allows for the natural acquisition of rhythm, intonation, and colloquial expressions not easily learned through formal education, as well as cultural references and idiomatic expressions essential for effective communication.

Yet immersion is not an unalloyed good. Onosu (2021) believes that immersion can lead to isolation, cultural disconnection, and challenges in maintaining one's native language. Furthermore, Poudel (2022) adds that it may also unintentionally perpetuate linguistic and cultural dominance, marginalizing other languages and cultures, ultimately hindering meaningful interactions. Thus, understanding and managing the complexities of immersion are essential to fostering meaningful linguistic growth while safeguarding cultural diversity and identity.

Cross-Cultural Experiences and Language Identity

Cross-cultural experiences play a significant role in shaping and redefining an individual's linguistic identity. Eslami et al. (2023) mention that interactions across cultural boundaries profoundly influence how individuals perceive themselves through language. Additionally, Wahyuni et al. (2023) also believe that through processes of identity negotiation, individuals incorporate elements from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, thus developing more flexible and adaptable identities. Therefore, Baghana et al. (2023) conclude that engaging in diverse cultural practices involves navigating different linguistic conventions, dialects, and nonverbal communication patterns, which ultimately shape how individuals interpret and express themselves linguistically.

However, exposure to heterogeneous linguistic norms can also spark identity conflicts. Cox et al. (2021) report that exposure to varied linguistic norms can also generate identity conflicts, complicating efforts to maintain a stable linguistic identity and potentially triggering confusion or identity crises as individuals juggle multiple cultural influences. Furthermore, Hayawaka et al. (2022) mention that pressures to conform linguistically might diminish authentic language expression, sometimes reinforcing stereotypes or biases.

Zhang and Lütge (2023) further highlight that identity negotiation in multicultural settings may lead individuals toward assimilation rather than genuine integration, prompting them to sacrifice parts of their original language identity to fit in. Therefore, effectively navigating cross-cultural experiences demands balancing openness to diversity with a commitment to preserving one's linguistic and cultural authenticity.

Impact of Returning to Native Country

Returning to one's native country after extended periods abroad often results in significant shifts in an individual's language identity. Casado et al. (2023) note that prolonged international experiences frequently alter how returnees perceive and utilize their native language upon coming home. According to Włosowicz (2020), changes in cultural context and social interactions influence the ways individuals engage with their native languages. Factors contributing to these shifts include altered linguistic proficiency, exposure to new cultural norms, and the ongoing influence of foreign language practices (Román, 2022).

Personal narratives underscore the challenges of re-establishing a cohesive language identity after returning home, with some individuals struggling to readjust linguistically (Hajar & Mhamed, 2024). Conversely, Zhang and Wang (2022) observe that others experience a renewed appreciation for their native language, finding that foreign language skills gained abroad can complement and enrich their native linguistic abilities. Consequently, returning home after years abroad involves complex negotiations of linguistic identities, reflecting a dynamic interplay between past international experiences and renewed connections to native cultural contexts.

Methodology

Research Design

This study uses a qualitative narrative inquiry to explore language identity through participant's personal experiences. Narrative inquiry, as outlined by Mertova and Webster (2020), allows the participant to share

personal stories, revealing the complexities and subjective interpretations of language identity development. By focusing on participant's own words, the method uncovers deeper meanings and emotions that go beyond surface-level descriptions (Sudarwati et al., 2022). Thus, the narrative data collected in this study provides detailed insights into the evolving relationship between language, culture, and identity, particularly throughout an academic journey across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts.

Participant's Profile

The participant in this study is referred to as Professor Eyta (a pseudonym). Prof. Eyta was born and raised in Palembang, Indonesia, where he also completed his primary and secondary education. For his tertiary education, he initially obtained a diploma in Mechanical Engineering. This diploma degree is a three-year vocational qualification typically awarded by Indonesian polytechnics. Later, he completed a one-year top-up program provided by the university to earn a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering. He continued his academic journey in the United Kingdom, obtaining a master's degree and a Ph.D. in Engineering. Prof. Eyta has extensive academic and professional experience in Indonesia, England, and Malaysia, holding various academic leadership roles such as Department Head, Deputy Dean, and Dean. He currently serves as a professor in the Occupational Health and Safety department at a university in Indonesia. Prof. Eyta's career spans over three decades, and he has supervised numerous postgraduate students from diverse international backgrounds and published extensively in engineering-related fields.

Data Collection

Before collecting data, ethical considerations were carefully addressed by obtaining informed consent from the participant. The participant was clearly informed about the purpose of the study, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and the use of a pseudonym to protect the identity. Participation proceeded only after the participant explicitly agreed to these conditions and granted permission to share the narrative for research purposes.

Data were collected through a face-to-face semi-structured interview with the participant in his office. The interview lasted 50 minutes and 27 seconds and was conducted in English to ensure the participant's comfort in expressing his experiences. To ensure data reliability, the session was recorded concurrently using two devices (an audio recorder and a video recorder) as a precaution against any potential device failure. This conversational-style interview provided the flexibility to explore key research questions while allowing the participant to share the stories openly. The interview served as the primary data source for the study, with its transcript later analyzed to uncover patterns in language identity and adaptation. The interview was structured with nine open-ended questions that mapped onto the study's four research questions: three questions addressed research question 1, and two questions each targeted research questions 2, 3, and 4.

For Research Question 1 (multilingual backgrounds), the participant reflected on childhood language experiences, including the use of local language, Indonesian, and English, and how these transitions shaped his linguistic identities and communication patterns over time. For Research Question 2 (language adaptation), the participant described his experiences in English-speaking environments (in England and Malaysia), discussing changes in his language use and self-perception during immersion in those contexts. For Research Question 3 (cross-cultural experiences), the analysis examined how interactions with diverse cultural backgrounds influenced the participant's language identity, focusing on shift in communication styles and social adaptation across different cultural contexts. Last, for Research Question 4 (returning to the native country), the interview explored how the participant's language use and identity evolved after returning to Indonesia, focusing on how past experiences and the current environment shape their self-perception as speakers today.

Data Analysis

After the interview, the audio and video recordings were transcribed verbatim using an AI transcription service (Transkrip.com by Meeting.ai),

yielding a transcript of 6,413 words. This study employed a thematic approach to analyse the interview data, identifying recurring themes, patterns, and narratives that reflect the evolution of language identity in multicultural environments. The transcripts were reviewed and coded, with key concepts systematically grouped into broader themes that capture the essence of participant's experiences and perspectives. These themes were then analysed in relation to the four research questions to explore the complex dynamics of language, culture, and identity. The thematic analysis provides a comprehensive view of the emotional and professional dimensions of language identity evolution, offering insights into how personal and academic experiences intertwine to shape identity in diverse linguistic environments.

To enhance rigour, the six-phase procedure of Braun and Clarke (2006) guided the thematic analysis: (a) familiarisation, (b) initial coding, (c) theme search, (d) theme review, (e) theme definition, and (f) reporting. The coding was conducted inductively in NVivo 14, allowing data-driven codes to emerge without imposing pre-existing categories. After open coding, axial coding was used to collapse related codes into higher-order categories. NVivo's "Text Search" query was subsequently employed as a validation step—specific lexical items, such as English, identity, adapt, return, were searched to ensure that no relevant excerpts had been overlooked. Thus, keyword searches served only as a completeness check; the codes and themes themselves were generated inductively from the participant's narrative.

For Research Question 1, the analysis identified themes related to the participant's multilingual backgrounds, including childhood language experiences and transitions between different languages over time. Research Question 2 focused on themes concerning language adaptation, such as changes in language use and self-perception during immersion in English-speaking environments. Research Question 3 examined how cross-cultural experiences influenced language identity, focusing on interactions with diverse cultural groups and changes in communication styles across different contexts. Finally, Research Question 4 explored the impact of returning to one's native country on language identity, including changes in language use and self-perception since moving back to Indonesia.

Results

Language Identity in Multicultural Environments and Transitioning Language Identity

Prof. Eyta's language identity developed through a series of six key transitions, each shaping his sense of self across personal, cultural, and professional contexts. These stages represent the evolution of his language use from vernacular languages at home to adapting within multicultural and international environments. Each transition brought unique challenges and growth, reflecting the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and professional identity. By examining these six stages ranging from early childhood exposure to vernacular languages, to his recent experiences re-integrating into Indonesia's academic landscape. This study reveals how language identity is continuously reshaped over time. Below there is a summary table of his language transitions.

Table 1

Key Language Transitions and The Impact

	Stage / Transition	Key Experiences	Emotional Response	Impact on Identity	Statement
1	Vernacular Languages at Home	Spoke Padangnese and Palembangnese at home and locally.	Strong cultural pride and Sense of belonging	Built a foundation in cultural heritage and family bonds.	"My parents spoke Padangnese at home, especially when they argued" "When I started mingling with friends outside home, I spoke Palembangnese"
2	Multicultural Neighbourhood	Encountered Javanese, Sundaneses, and Bugis languages in the community	Adaptability and curiosity	Developed ability to navigate diverse linguistic environments.	"My neighbourhood had a mix of cultures, such as Bugis and Javanese, Sundanese which influenced my language."

	Stage / Transition	Key Experiences	Emotional Response	Impact on Identity	Statement
3	Formal Schooling in Indonesian	Shifted to Bahasa Indonesia in a formal school setting.	Initial anxiety and gradual acceptance	Strengthened academic language skills and formal communication.	"My strict teacher emphasized proper spelling… it influenced my strong dislike for misspellings."
4	British Education and Accents	Studied in England, adapting to various accents and dialects.	Initial struggle, eventual confidence	Enhanced professional identity and linguistic flexibility.	"The English was different… living with a host family helped me to adapt."
5	Malaysian English (Manglish)	Worked in Malaysia, using Manglish in professional settings.	Pride in adaptability and professional growth	Promoted inclusive communication and achieved career advancement.	"Malaysia's education system mimics the UK's… this contributed to my rapid promotion."
6	Return to Indonesia and Local Reintegration	Resumed teaching in Indonesia, integrating English as a medium of instruction.	Cultural pride and renewed linguistic challenges	Reintegrated local identity with global perspectives.	"Promoting English in meetings is important, but I also want to respect and teach our local language."

Immersion in English-Speaking Environments

Prof. Eyta's journey of language immersion and identity transformation can be best understood through a series of language proficiency milestones and corresponding identity shifts. Each milestone marks a significant step in his English proficiency, from initial translation barriers to bilingual professional use. These shifts also reflect changes in his personal and professional identity, revealing how immersion in English-speaking environments has reshaped his language processing, communication style, and self-perception. The following table presents these milestones alongside key identity and communication changes, illustrated by Prof. Eyta's own reflections, to provide a cohesive view of his evolving language identity.

Table 2

English Proficiency Milestones and Identity Changes

Stage		English Proficiency Milestone	Identity and Communication Change	Statement
1	Initial English Learning:	Early exposure to English, basic grammar and vocabulary, relying on translation.	Initial Hesitancy: Translation required before speaking, causing hesitation in communication.	"In the beginning, I was always thinking twice before speaking in English... It made me feel like an outsider."
2	Direct Thinking in English	Immersion in England allowed him to think directly in English, eliminating the need for translation.	Identity Shift at Home: English became the primary language at home, with Bahasa Indonesia reserved for conversations with his wife.	"The experience in England is really changing… I got so used to it that I do not have to convert my thoughts to English, it comes naturally." "I speak Bahasa only to my wife. My children speak English, so our household language shifted to English."
3	Adaptation to Malaysian English (Manglish)	In Malaysia, adapted his English to reflect local mannerisms, making communication more relatable.	Cultural Communication Style: Adapted language style to foster rapport, integrating local customs to fit in with the academic community.	"To make people comfortable, I adjust my English to match the local style. It makes my coworkers and my students feel like I am part of them."
4	Bilingual Professional Use	In Indonesia, combined English with Bahasa Indonesia to enhance clarity and maintain respect for cultural norms.	Global-Local Identity Balance: Blended British directness with Indonesian norms to navigate professional roles effectively.	"Promoting English in academic settings is important, but I also use Bahasa when needed to connect and make complex ideas clear." "My time in England shaped my direct way of speaking, and I keep that here in Indonesia. It brings clarity in meetings and is a unique part of my communication style."

Cross-Cultural Experiences and Language Identity

Prof. Eyta's cross-cultural experiences in England and Malaysia profoundly influenced his language identity and communication approach. These experiences involved adapting his speech and style to align with diverse

cultural norms, which allowed him to foster connections, assert his authority, and navigate the complex nuances of multilingual environments. His encounters highlight the impact of linguistic adaptation in reducing social distance, enhancing professional credibility, and shaping perceptions of identity across cultural boundaries. The following table outlines the four main aspects of his cross-cultural adaptation, along with his personal reflections, illustrating how each experience contributed to his evolving language identity.

Table 3

Cross-Cultural Experiences and Language Identity Adaptation

Aspect of Adaptation	Key Experience	Impact on Language Identity and Communication	Statement
Adaptation to Local Accents and Speech Patterns	Adjusted speech to match local accents and rhythms.	Created a sense of belonging and connection, reducing social distance and building rapport.	"To make people comfortable and make sure I'm part of them, I adapt my speech."
Cultural Sensitivity and Connection	Despite English policy, often used Bahasa Melayu to connect with colleagues.	Emphasized the social role of language in building bonds; demonstrated respect for cultural preferences in multilingual contexts.	"Language connects people. Even though I speak English, they still mix it with Malay, and that is fine."
Misidentification and Perceived Identity	Experienced misidentification due to his accent.	Highlighted the fluid nature of language identity and how linguistic markers can blur cultural boundaries.	"They thought I was Filipino or Chinese. Sometimes, people even said I sounded Japanese."
Professional Adaptation and Authority	Adopted a direct, assertive communication style influenced by England and Malaysia experiences.	Shifted away from traditional Indonesian indirect styles, enhancing his authority and credibility in professional settings.	"They did not expect an Indonesian to be assertive, but I refused to simply agree."

Impact of Returning to Native Country

Returning to Indonesia after extensive use of English abroad marked a significant shift for Prof. Eyta, impacting both his professional and personal

language use. While his transition to native languages, Palembang and Bahasa Indonesia, was initially smooth, the long-term immersion in English left residual influences on his language habits, occasionally creating challenges when switching back. His experience underscores the cognitive and cultural effects of prolonged foreign language immersion, highlighting the interplay between linguistic fluency, habitual language use, and identity. The following table summarizes these key aspects of his return, including his reflections, which illustrate how he balances his multilingual identity and cultural adaptability upon returning to his home country.

Table 4

Impact of Returning to Native Country on Language Identity

Aspect of Transition	Key Experience	Impact on Language Identity and Communication	Statement
Transition to Native Language Use	Seamlessly returned to using Palembang and Bahasa Indonesia.	Maintained fluency in native languages, reflecting his strong foundation.	"There is no issue when I am back, I speak Palembang as well as Bahasa Indonesia."
Habitual Language Shifts	Found English habits ingrained, occasionally struggling to find words in Indonesian.	Prolonged use of English created subtle cognitive shifts, impacting native language processing.	"Switching from the habit is different for me. After teaching so long in English, sometimes I struggle to find the words in Indonesian."
Maintaining English in Professional Settings	Promoted English use in meetings and policies to maintain international standards.	Demonstrated a commitment to English proficiency while balancing native language with professional needs.	"I made a regulation here that everyone must speak English. Even in our monthly meetings, everything is done in English."
Multilingual Identity	Views himself as a communicator rather than confined to one language.	Embraces adaptability across languages, viewing language as a tool for connection.	"Rather than stamping myself as an English speaker or whatever, I think of myself as a communicator."
Practical Approach to Communication	Prioritizes ease of communication over linguistic precision.	Reflects a pragmatic view, emphasizing comfort and connection over language strictness.	"As long as I can communicate well, in a way that people are comfortable, that is what matters."
The Link Between Language and Culture	Recognizes the inseparable nature of language and cultural context.	Understands language as a vehicle for cultural nuances, shaping his communication practices.	"Language comes with culture. It cannot be separated from culture."

Discussion

Language Identity in Multicultural Environments and Transitioning Linguistic Identity

Prof. Eyta's linguistic journey illustrates how language identity continuously adapts in multicultural environments, aligning with the dynamic interplay of personal, social, and cultural influences on language use (Zhou & Liu, 2023). His early use of Palembangnese and Padangnese at home created deep emotional connections and a sense of belonging, echoing the emphasis on emotional connections to language through family interactions (Fitriyah et al., 2024). Furthermore, transitioning to Bahasa Indonesia in school, with a strict emphasis on correct spelling, mirrors Bahtiyarovna's (2019) insights on the significant impact of formal education on language practices.

Moreover, Prof. Eyta's adaptation to various English accents in England and Singapore or Malaysian English underscores the cognitive flexibility required in different linguistic landscapes. Besides, his professional experiences in teaching and academia highlight how language identity is influenced by one's profession and sociocultural environment (Ma, 2024). This adaptability and ability to maintain native languages while becoming proficient in new one support Zhang & Lütge's (2024) discussion on balancing acts in multicultural settings. His experience in Malaysia, where English and Arabic were primary languages of instruction, showcases the role of professional demands in shaping language use and identity (Ma, 2024). The acceptance he received in these settings also underscores the importance of social support in language adaptation, resonating with Hajar and Mhamed's (2024) findings.

Throughout his journey, Prof. Eyta's narrative reflects the theoretical perspectives that view language identity as fluid and evolving, influenced by his social class and profession (Ma, 2024). Moreover, his ability to navigate and negotiate his language identity in response to diverse contexts exemplifies how individuals adapt and maintain their cultural heritage through language. Ultimately, Prof. Eyta's story highlights that language identity is not fixed but continuously negotiated, shaped by emotional attachments, educational

experiences, professional roles, and sociocultural interactions across diverse linguistic settings.

Immersion in English-Speaking Environments

Prof. Eyta's immersion in England profoundly demonstrates the benefits and complexities of deep linguistic exposure, reflecting Nalyvaiko et al.'s (2021) insights on how such immersion enhances proficiency and cultural understanding. His ability to think and speak directly in English, bypassing mental translation, aligns with Kotzor et al. (2021) findings on acquiring natural language nuances through consistent exposure. However, this immersion also led to challenges in reverting to Bahasa Indonesia, echoing Onosu's (2021) concerns about potential disconnection from one's native language. Prof. Eyta's adaptation to local contexts in Malaysia, including adjusting his English to connect with colleagues and switching to Malay when necessary, illustrates Poudel's (2022) discussions on balancing institutional language expectations with practical communication needs. His straightforward communication style, shaped by his English experience, facilitated his career advancement in Malaysia, supporting Kakita & Palukuri's (2020) views on the role of cultural interactions in immersion. Overall, Prof. Eyta's experience reflects the dynamic and evolving nature of linguistic identity, highlighting the interplay of personal, social, and cultural factors in language transition and adaptation.

Cross-Culture Experiences and Language Identity

Prof. Eyta's cross-cultural experiences vividly illustrate the dynamic nature of language identity in multicultural environments, where linguistic adaptation is both a necessity and a reflection of deeper cultural interactions. His conscious efforts to adjust his speech to local accents and incorporate idiomatic expressions align with the notion that language is a tool for reducing social distance and fostering connections (Rohmah et al., 2024; Eslami et al., 2023). This process of linguistic modification highlights the flexibility required

to navigate diverse cultural contexts. Despite institutional pressures to maintain English, Prof. Eyta recognized the cultural significance of Bahasa Melayu, reflecting an inclusive approach to cross-cultural competence that values linguistic diversity. His experiences of being misidentified due to his accent underscore the complex relationship between language and identity, where linguistic adaptation can blur traditional cultural boundaries (Baghana et al., 2023). Moreover, his shift toward a more straightforward communication style, influenced by his experiences in England and Malaysia, illustrates how cross-cultural interactions can reshape professional identities and communication norms (Zhang & Lütge, 2023). These adaptations, while enhancing his effectiveness in multicultural settings, also highlight the potential challenges of maintaining a consistent language identity amidst diverse cultural influences (Cox et al., 2021; Hayakawa et al., 2022). Prof. Eyta's journey reflects the intricate balance between embracing linguistic diversity and preserving a coherent language identity, supporting the broader literature on the impact of cross-cultural experiences on language and identity.

Impact of Returning to Native Country

Prof. Eyta's return to Indonesia after years abroad reveals the complexities of language identity, where maintaining his native languages meets the challenge of adapting to new language habits. While he remained fluent in Palembangnese and Indonesian, his long-term use of English made it difficult to switch back smoothly, showing how extended exposure to a foreign language can alter speech patterns (Román, 2022). His prior overseas experiences have also influenced his teaching practice and professional conduct upon returning, for instance, he introduced an English-only policy in departmental meetings to uphold international standards, directly reflecting the influence of his overseas experience on his practices. This continued use of English in academic settings reflects a dual language identity, as he balances native-language interactions with the global orientation he gained abroad (Zhang & Wang, 2022; Włosowicz, 2020). Seeing himself as a "communicator" rather than being confined to one language, Prof. Eyta also adopts a practical multilingual approach in both teaching and administration, prioritizing clarity

and comfort in communication over strict linguistic correctness. This pragmatic outlook, shaped by his cross-cultural experiences, enhances his adaptability and cultural understanding in his academic role. Therefore, his experience highlights how personal, cultural, and professional influences come together to shape language identity in today's globalized world.

Conclusion

Considering the growing adoption of English as a medium of instruction in universities across Indonesia, Malaysia, and beyond, this study provides crucial insights into the nuanced evolution of language identity, particularly within non-language academic disciplines. Through the narrative of Prof. Eyta, an engineering professor with over 30 years of academic experience spanning Indonesia, England, and Malaysia, this research uncovers the profound complexities involved in linguistic transitions. By focusing on a professional in a field where the primary emphasis is on technical and scientific content rather than language acquisition, the study highlights how language adaptation is not merely about acquiring proficiency but is deeply intertwined with emotional, cultural, and professional dimensions. Prof. Eyta's journey illustrates the challenges of navigating multiple linguistic landscapes—transitioning from vernacular languages to Bahasa Indonesia, and then to English and Malay—while balancing the demands of professional efficacy and cultural preservation.

The research also reveals how immersion in English-speaking environments shapes self-perception and communication styles, and how returning to one's native country after years abroad can complicate language identity, necessitating ongoing negotiation between global and local identities. By examining these dynamics, the study contributes to a more holistic understanding of language identity in multicultural and multilingual settings, affirming the fluidity and complexity of this process while also challenging the notion of a stable linguistic self. Ultimately, these findings inform educational policy and practice, emphasizing the need for sensitivity to the broader emotional and cultural implications of language transitions in academic environments, especially for professionals outside of language-focused disciplines.

Limitation

This study has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings. Firstly, as a qualitative narrative inquiry, the research is inherently limited in scope and generalizability due to the participation of only one individual. Although this approach provides rich, in-depth insights into the complexities of language identity, the findings reflect a single personal journey and cannot be directly generalized to other contexts or individuals. Secondly, the participant's extensive experience across Indonesia, the United Kingdom, and Malaysia may represent a unique trajectory not necessarily reflective of experiences common to professionals from other disciplines or cultural backgrounds. Lastly, since data were primarily gathered through self-reported narratives, the data inherently rely on personal reflections and memories, which could be influenced by retrospective interpretation. Future studies could extend this research by including multiple participants across various disciplines and cultural contexts to deepen the understanding of language identity development in diverse multicultural settings.

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Appendix

Interview Questions Guidelines

Research Question 1: Multilingual Background	
1	How did you talk when you were a kid? Did you speak the language people use in your home country, Palembang?
2	When you were learning another language, how did that affect the way you talk? Like, when you learned Indonesian, did it change how you speak?
3	When you were in England and later working in Malaysia, where they use English in different ways, did that make you talk differently too?
Research Question 2: Language Adaptation	
1	After spending time in England, do you feel like you speak English more now?
2	When you were teaching in Malaysia, where English is not the first language, did you have to change how you spoke?
Research Question 3: Cross-Cultural Experiences	
1	How did meeting people from different places change the way you speak?
2	Have you noticed any changes in how you talk over time, especially in different situations?
Research Question 4: Impact of Returning to Native Country	
1	Since coming back to Indonesia, did that change the way you speak?
2	Can you talk about how your background and where you live affect how you see yourself as a speaker?

Badriyah Ulfah
Negeri Malang universitetas, Indonezija
badriyahulfah@uigm.ac.id
Utami Widiati
Negeri Malang universitetas, Indonezija
utami.widiati.fs@um.ac.id
Sri Rachmajanti
Negeri Malang universitetas, Indonezija
sri.rachmajanti.fs@um.ac.id
Utari Praba Astuti†
Negeri Malang universitetas, Indonezija

INŽINERIJOS PROFESORIAUS KALBOS TAPATYBĖ: NARATYVINIS TYRIMAS APIE DAUGIAKULTŪRINES IR DAUGIAKALBES PATIRTIS

Anotacija. Vienas pagrindinių aspektų, tyrinėjant kalbinę tapatybę daugiakultūrėje ir daugiakalbėje aplinkoje, yra perėjimas nuo gimtosios kalbos vartojimo prie kitų kalbų įsisavinimo ir vartojimo. Šis perėjimas reiškia kalbų kaitą, kurią asmenys patiria tiek bendraudami kasdien, tiek profesinėje aplinkoje. Tačiau dėl savo sudėtingumo šis procesas dar nėra pakankamai ištirtas. Straipsnyje nagrinėjama, kokį poveikį perėjimas nuo vienos kalbos į kitą turi akademinio pasaulio žmonėms, ypač nekalbinių disciplinų atstovams. Tikslas – ištirti kalbinės tapatybės sudėtingumą pasitelkus inžinerijos profesoriaus, turinčio daugiau nei 30 metų akademinės patirties Indonezijoje, Anglijoje ir Malaizijoje, naratyvinį pasakojimą. Taikant kokybinį naratyvinio pasakojimo tyrimo metodą, buvo panaudoti pusiau struktūruoti interviu ir užfiksuoti išsamūs profesoriaus patirties aprašymai indoneziečių, anglų ir malajų kalbomis. Pagrindiniai tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad kalbos adaptacija išplečia kalbos mokėjimo ribas ir apima emocines, kultūrines bei profesines dimensijas. Profesoriaus perėjimas nuo vietinių kalbų vartojimo prie indoneziečių, vėliau – prie anglų ir malajų kalbų, atspindi iššūkius ir strategijas, išryškėjančius stengiantis išlaikyti pusiausvyrą tarp profesinių reikalavimų ir kultūros išsaugojimo. Anglakalbė aplinka smarkiai paveikė jo savęs suvokimą ir bendravimo stilių, o grįžimas į gimtąjį miestą sukėlė sudėtingų problemų derinant globalią ir vietinę tapatybę. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo: reikia jautriau vertinti perėjimo nuo vienos kalbos vartojimo prie kitų kalbų vartojimo pasekmes. Siekiant giliau suvokti kalbinę tapatybę įvairiose akademinėse aplinkose, tai ypač aktualu kalbant apie dėstytojus, dirbančius ne su kalba susijusiose srityse.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: anglakalbė aplinka; daugiakalbystė; daugiakultūriškumas; kalbinė tapatybė; tarpkultūrinė patirtis.

ISSUES IN TRANSLATION

VERTIMO KLAUSIMAI

Rūta Eidukevičienė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
Kristina Aurylaitė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

"WOR(L)D": AESTHETIC AND EXPERIENCED MULTILINGUALISM IN AKVILINA CICĖNAITĖ'S NOVEL "ANGLŲ KALBOS ŽODYNAS" / "A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH" (2022)

Abstract. This article analyzes manifestations of multilingualism, focusing on their aesthetic and thematic functions in Akvilina Cicėnaitė's autofictional novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas* [*A Dictionary of English*] (2022), which employs numerous languages, most frequently English, in a predominantly Lithuanian text to explore the migrant experience. The novel follows a Lithuanian writer and her French-Canadian husband on a road trip across Australia, in which both currently reside, and constantly find themselves in a state of translation between languages, different realities, and cultures. Each chapter of the novel is titled with an English word, forming a dictionary-like structure which frames the narrator's meditative reflections. The research problem of the article is how multilingualism is made evident in Cicėnaitė's text and what literary functions it performs in the novel. The analysis draws on theoretical propositions about literary multilingualism by Rainier Grutman (2006, 2024), Till Dembeck (2020), Werner Helmich (2016), Marianna Deganutti (2022), and others, as well as about the functions of multilingualism in fiction by Till Dembeck and Anne Uhrmacher (2016), András Horn (1981), Markus Huss (2021) and others. Central to the analysis is their emphasis on the constructedness of multilingual configurations in literary texts and the two functions, aesthetic and thematic ("experienced" multilingualism), literary multilingualism performs. First, the analysis explores how the novel's narrative structure is supplemented with multilingual structures, which transform the text into a carefully organized multilingual textual space and enhance the exploration of the migrant's condition. Then the analysis discusses the instances of "experienced" multilingualism, which root the narrative in specific social and cultural realia of multicultural and multilingual Australia. The article links the analysis of multilingual manifestations in Cicėnaitė's text to the writer's exploration of the experience of displacement, the condition of the migrant figure, and her efforts to find a relevant artistic expression for it.

Keywords: aesthetic and experienced multilingualism; Akvilina Cicėnaitė; dictionary; literary multilingualism; migration literature; "staged" code-switching.

"*Words are suitcases crammed with culture*." (Gunnars, 2022, p. 13)

Introduction

This article discusses manifestations of multilingualism, focusing on their aesthetic and thematic functions in Akvilina Cicėnaitė's (b. 1979) latest novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas* [A dictionary of English] (2022). Its plot follows a married couple embarking on a road trip across Australia during the COVID pandemic. The characters are the first-person narrator, who is a Lithuanian writer living in Sydney, Australia, and her French-Canadian husband, who has accepted a job contract there. Both characters are migrant figures, who find themselves in the state of constant translation between languages, different realities, and cultures. The novel is largely autobiographical: the Lithuanian writer and translator Akvilina Cicėnaitė has spent the last 13 years living in Sydney, but she regularly visits Lithuania. In her literary *oeuvre*, Cicėnaitė often reflects on the experiences of living on a foreign continent as well as on the issues of mobility, e.g. in the essay "Apie nostalgiškas, nomadiškas ir nebaigtines tapatybes" [About nostalgic, nomadic and non-finite identities] (2013); in the novels for young adults (*Kengūrų slėnio paslaptis* [The secret of the Kangaroo valley], 2014; *Raudonosios uolos prakeikimas* [The curse of the Red Rock], 2015); and, particularly, in the novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas*.

After the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990, diasporic literature has received significant critical and scholarly attention; in recent years, such attention has been directed to new (trans)migratory literature by Lithuanian writers who live abroad but write in Lithuanian and are published in Lithuania, aiming at the Lithuanian reader (Kolevinskienė, 2016, p. 101). Nonetheless, despite the prominence of the topic of migration in literary texts, explicitly multilingual fiction is quite a recent trend in Lithuania. More than a decade ago, the literary critic Dalia Satkauskytė (2011) noted that there was little evidence of linguistic hybridity in Lithuanian literature (p. 123). However, the recent decade has seen a number of publications, of both fiction and autofiction, in which multilingual manifestations are much more prominent and often foregrounded, e.g. the novels by Gabija Grušaitė, Akvilina Cicėnaitė, Dalia Staponkutė, and others. Contemporary diasporic writers now feel they have more freedom to choose the language/s in which they write; for instance, the poet Rima Juškūnė (Palubinskienė) has spoken about "a third space" in her

writing and everyday life: "Man ir daugeliui mūsų, vadinamųjų emigrantų ir imigrantų, būdingas transnacionalizmas, manęs yra daug abiejose vietose, ir dar daugelyje kitų, ir tų vietų manyje taip pat daug" (in Tumasonytė, 2015, para. 2).[1] Such writers are now embracing hybridity and accepting transnationalism as a symbolically established phenomenon (Pulkauninkė, 2024, pp. 134–135). Notably, these texts are mostly written by women authors, and they often deal with migrant or nomadic experiences as well as evoke foreign languages to reflect on the various ways characters adjust to other environments, feeling linguistically—and thereby culturally and socially—spaced out, or, by contrast, smoothly traversing both linguistic and cultural codes.

Still a rather recent phenomenon, explicitly multilingual contemporary Lithuanian writing has not been analyzed extensively (e.g., Laurušaitė, 2019; Eidukevičienė, 2020, Eidukevičienė & Aurylaitė, 2023). By contrast, in other countries, texts which explore issues of migration and the (post)colonial condition and employ such textual devices as intratextual code-mixing and code-switching have gained significant scholarly attention (Kellman & Lvovich, 2022, pp. 18–19). In 2023, Brill Publishing launched *The Journal of Literary Multilingualism*, which examines texts from around the world, written in non-native languages, in a mix of languages, or alternating languages – that is, employing textual strategies shaped by multilingual and multicultural contexts. Notably, the latest issue of the journal focuses on "the linguistic composition of Australia's multicultural, transnational literary landscape" (Edwards & Hogarth, 2024, p. 162), to which writers such as Cicėnaitė contribute.

In her novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas*, Cicėnaitė consistently makes the presence of foreign languages, most frequently English, explicit. Moreover, she employs the English language to provide a structure for her novel – that of a dictionary. Simultaneously, the text speaks *about* languages, both native and foreign, offering a thematic meditation about the narrator's experiences as a migrant as she and her husband adjust to the realities of an Australian

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[1] Just like many of us so-called emigrants and immigrants, I am transnational. There is a lot of me in both places [Lithuania and Denmark], and in many more, and there is a lot from these places in me, too. (Here and subsequently, translation by the authors of the article).

metropolis and deal with the three "disruptions" which Salman Rushdie (1991) singles out as definitive of the figure of the migrant: the loss of the home place, acquiring a new language, and adapting to new social norms (p. 277–278).

This article explores the various manifestations of multilingualism as employed in Cicėnaitė's novel, seeking to supplement the still scarce body of analysis of explicitly multilingual contemporary Lithuanian writing. The research problem of this article is how multilingualism is made evident in Cicėnaitė's text (how foreign-language insertions are marked, placed, integrated, explained, etc.) and what literary functions it performs in the novel. To conduct such an analysis, the article draws on theoretical propositions about literary multilingualism by Rainier Grutman (2006, 2024), Till Dembeck (2020), Werner Helmich (2016), Marianna Deganutti (2022), and others, as well as about the functions of multilingualism in fiction by Till Dembeck and Anne Uhrmacher (2016), András Horn (1981), Markus Huss (2021) and others. Of particular importance is their emphasis on the constructedness of multilingual configurations in literary texts and on the two equally important functions, aesthetic and thematic ("experienced" multilingualism), literary multilingualism performs. This article links the analysis of multilingual manifestations in Cicėnaitė's text to the writer's exploration of the experience of displacement, the condition of the migrant figure, and her efforts to find a relevant artistic expression for it.

Multilingualism in Literature: Theoretical Framework and Methodological Approaches

Rainier Grutman (2006, 2024) has repeatedly foregrounded the importance of recognizing the authorial constructedness of multilingual manifestations in literary texts as opposed to various forms of code-switching and code-mixing that occur in real-life situations. In an essay published in 2006, he proposed the term 'heterolingualism' to refer specifically to multilingual configurations in literary texts, arranged to perform particular stylistic and/or thematic functions, emphasizing that they are never attempts to mimetically reproduce real-life speech patterns (Grutman, 2006, p. 18–19). Although the term 'heterolingualism' has not been

embraced by international scholarship and has not replaced 'multilingualism' in the area of literary studies, Grutman (2024) continues to underscore how multilingual manifestations are always 'staged' and 'enacted' in literary texts and insists on accordingly modifying terms and concepts borrowed from sociolinguistics because such strategies as code-switching in texts are always more "produced than [they are] reproduced, enacted instead of merely being portrayed," be it narration or direct speech (pp. 22, 19). The modified terms, such as 'staged code-switching,' are helpful "to foster awareness of the specific nature of the phenomenon as it appears in literature and, additionally, provide a better understanding of where and when it tends to appear" (Grutman, 2024, p. 20).

Grutman's emphasis on the constructedness of code-switching in literary texts foregrounds the importance of recognizing the stylistic effects of foreign language insertions and the patterns they establish in a specific text rather than focusing merely on their contents. That is, he highlights the aesthetic aspect of literary multilingual configurations. This aesthetics is also an important focus of the scholars Till Dembeck and Anne Uhrmacher (2016), who insist on distinguishing between what they call "experienced" and "aesthetic" literary multilingualism, which supplement each other in any given text (p. 10). In the case of "experienced" multilingualism, attention is paid to the thematic use of different languages "with regard to their cultural, social, political implications" and on "the experiences [these languages] transport, or at least connote, such as migration, being part of a (linguistic) minority, etc." (Dembeck, 2017, p. 1). On the other hand, focusing on "aesthetic" multilingualism, analysis considers "multilingual situations that demand to include [. . .] purely aesthetic or rhetoric patterns into the picture" (Dembeck, 2017, p. 3). Dembeck and Uhrmacher criticize the tendency to over focus on the social, ideological, and political aspects of multilingual texts, thereby marginalizing the aesthetic effects of multilingual configurations (Dembeck & Uhrmacher, 2016, p. 11). This is particularly true of the study of multilingual migration and travel literature, borderland novels, or works written by minority writers, because texts dealing with various forms of social integration or exclusion have a greater tendency to invite an analysis of multilingual social contexts, disregarding specific aesthetic patterns, which can be extremely

important in enhancing the thematic—"experienced"—aspects, as will be discussed in the subsequent analysis of Cicėnaitė's novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas*.

That both thematic and aesthetic aspects of literary multilingual configurations are equally important can be seen in, for instance, Dirk Skiba's (2010) discussion of multilingualism in migration literature. He focuses on the strategies such texts use in order to make the multilingual and multicultural contexts comprehensible for their (usually) monolingual readers. In his analysis, he considers annotations added by the writers to explain foreign words (footnotes, endnotes, glossaries), doubling, or the translation following an original phrase, as well as meta-linguistic insertions, where the narrator functions as a multilingual mediator and comments on the foreign language or culture (Skiba, 2010, pp. 327–328). Thus, while such an analysis can seem to be foregrounding the importance of the contents of foreign-language insertions, which need to be made accessible for their readers, it also considers the constructedness of the comprehension aids as used in specific texts.

Earlier analyses of multilingual texts, too, addressed both thematic and technical / aesthetic functions of textual insertions in foreign languages, acknowledging their constructedness. For instance, András Horn notes that explicit code-switching can be used as a means of characterization; to convey the "illusion of greater realism"; to convey nuances of meaning that are easier to express in other languages; for quotations from foreign-language texts (to perform various functions in a specific text depending on their source) or of popular sayings; to reproduce phonetic qualities of foreign utterances; or to create comic effects (Horn, 1981, pp. 226–227). The range of functions Horn identifies in his article addresses both what Dembeck and Uhrmacher (2016) categorize as "experienced" multilingualism (Horn's comments about "illusion of greater realism") and "aesthetic" multilingualism (e.g. Horn singling out comic or sound effects of foreign utterances). In a similar way, but without employing the term "aesthetic," Werner Helmich's (2016) discussion of explicit manifestations of multilingualism in literary texts relies precisely on their constructedness and aesthetic effects. He proposes that an analysis focus on such strategies as adding graphic emphasis to insertions in foreign languages; their placement in the text, including direct speech and narration; their individual length and total number (e.g. individual lexemes, sentences, phrases

of different sizes and their total proportion in the text); the degree of penetration or mixing; comprehension aids; connotations of individual foreign languages; and the degree of correctness (Helmich, 2016, pp. 30–32). Markus Huss (2021) draws attention to more explicitly aesthetic multimodal—visual and acoustic—aspects of literary multilingualism and their effects, including incomprehension, when foreign insertions do not convey a message but intrude into textual space as unfamiliar sights and sounds, or noise/s (pp. 156–157).

Addressing the number of foreign-language insertions in literary texts, Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman (2008) argue that "the actual quantity of foreignisms in a text is less important than the qualitative role they play within its overall structure, i.e. their potential as functional elements" (p. 17). In this way, they reiterate the importance of recognizing the presence of foreign insertions in the text as arranged, that is, constructed, and invite an analysis of their aesthetic effects. This is equally important in the case of latent multilingual practices, which "carry multilingualism without being quantitatively relevant" (Deganutti, 2022, p. 595). Marianna Deganutti (2022) defines latent multilingualism as "the presence of languages in a text even when they are not immediately perceptible" (p. 595). Grutman (2024) describes such forms as "multilingualism in the absence of code-switching," which he explains as follows:

> What I have in mind are texts that foreground more than one language (and are therefore multilingual) but without being in any way 'rooted' in diegetic codeswitching, without refracting or 'translating' bilingual speech events, as no such events took place in the fictional universe. (p. 28)

Deganutti notes that scholars have traditionally paid more attention to explicitly manifest instances of multilingualism, "which are the first to jump out in a text, breaking the narrative's linguistic homogeneity", although latent multilingual practices "are more widespread than manifest practices – it happens more often that multilingual stories, encounters, backgrounds, etc. are offered monolingually to the assumedly monolingual reader than they are directly inserted in a foreign tongue inside a text" (2022, p. 595). What is important, according to her, is that manifestations of latent multilingualism influence fundamentally the way literary texts are read and understood, even

though they are not explicitly disrupted by deliberately staged instances of code-switching:

> Latent practices spur us to vertical readings – in other words, to understand what happens beyond the surface of the narrative, to investigate how multilingualism functions in narratological terms (e.g. how the author, the narrator, the reader interact in the story, what is filtered and mediated and by whom). (Deganutti, 2022, p. 610)

For an analysis of latent manifestations of multilingualism, Deganutti, referencing other scholars, suggests looking at such aspects as language overlaps, fictional translation or "translational mimesis" (Meir Sternberg), "signalization" and "evocation" (Petr Mareš), "language references" and "language reflections" (Gulia Radaelli), as they all contribute "to raising linguistic awareness" and displaying multilingualism "in a less disruptive way, which allows the monolingual reader to overcome his limitations" (Deganutti, 2022, pp. 602–604, 610).

Drawing on the propositions and employing the concepts discussed above, the subsequent sections of the article undertake an analysis of Akvilina Cicėnaitė's novel, focusing on its aesthetic and "experienced," or thematized multilingualism. First, the analysis explores how the novel's narrative structure is supplemented with multilingual structures, which transform the text into a carefully organized multilingual textual space and enhance the exploration of the migrant's condition, which is at the core of the narration. Then the analysis shifts the focus to the examples of "experienced" multilingualism, which root the narrative in specific social and cultural realia of multicultural and multilingual Australia.

The Aesthetics of a Dictionary: Configuring a Multilingual Textual Space

Akvilina Cicėnaitė's novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas* follows a nameless married couple—a Lithuanian woman and her French-Canadian husband—on a lengthy road trip from their home in Sydney to Broken Hill in the far west region of the Australian outback, and back. The trip is envisioned as a brief

family holiday during the COVID pandemic, when the Australian continent closed its borders to non-residents, and the main narrative line follows the route that has been planned in advance, punctuated by numerous stops in various towns and at various sites. This is not the couple's first road trip, and both assume familiar roles: the wife drives, whereas the husband shows the way (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 46). The narration is rather seldom broken up by dialogue, the verbal exchanges between the characters shown as brief and fragmented, for instance, a repetitive invitation to continue the journey:

> Einam?
> Einam. (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 63, 92, 136, 180, 185)[2]

The scarce conversational fragments in this novel are not marked with conventional punctuation and formatting used to signal direct speech in written texts. More frequently, the husband's words are reported and blend into the narrator's internal monologue. The novel is written in the mode of a stream-of-consciousness as the sites, sights, and stops along the route trigger the narrator's insights, associations, and memories as well as related and unrelated musings. This results in a highly fragmented narrative, which constantly escapes the linear chronological structure of the road story and allows the narrator, in her mind, to traverse both geographical and temporal boundaries, with frequent flashbacks to the narrator's years as a graduate student in New Zealand, her move and adjustment to Sydney, the visit to her husband's native Montreal, and her own past in Lithuania. The novel's narrator thereby travels through landscapes both external and internal, juggling and trying to make sense of various experiences, phenomena, and languages. Notably, the main characters in the novel are not named; this foregrounds their status as migrants, which implies constant movement, not naming themselves, and not identifying with any specific place (Ivanova, 2023, para. 6).

One recurrent motif in the narrative is that of language: the novel explores the role the native and acquired languages play in the couple's relationship as well as in their lived experience as immigrants in Australia,

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[2] Let's go?
  Let's go.

which is highly multicultural and multilingual, particularly when it comes to its metropolises, such as Sydney. Cicėnaitė's novel offers a thematic meditation about the narrator's experiences as she and her husband deal with the three "disruptions" that Salman Rushdie (1991) identifies as defining the figure of the migrant: the loss of the home place, "enter[ing] an alien language," and learning to adapt to new social norms and codes (pp. 277–78). Cicėnaitė's narrator herself quotes from the same book by Rushdie while musing about her native Vilnius, which has turned into "an imaginary city" rooted in the memories, which keeps returning to her in dreams and mental images, overlaying the sights in front of her eyes: "Išvykę rašytojai neišvengiamai susiduria su netekties jausmu, troškimu atgauti prarastąją teritoriją, atsigręžti atgal netgi rizikuodami virsti druskos stulpu, rašė Salmanas Rushdie" (p. 199).[3] Due to such disruptions, migrants "are by definition fragmented beings" (Wilson, 2018, p. 57). Therefore, both attempting to reconstruct what has been lost and to make sense of the new condition, the migrant is "obliged," as Rushdie puts it, "to find new ways of describing himself, new ways of being human" (pp. 277–78). A similar idea is reiterated by Rita Wilson (2018) in her discussion of contemporary migrant writers in Italy: she notes how "their polyvocal works test the boundaries of form as they explore the limits of expression and thus the boundaries of the self" (p. 55). Cicėnaitė's narrator, too, speaks about the need to invent a new language, a language of departures and returns, a language which could overcome the silence in her and her husband's relationship and, implicitly release the tensions cause by the disruptions and fragmentation in her own experience as a migrant (p. 272).

To foreground these motifs beyond a thematic exploration of them, Cicėnaitė imposes upon her disjointed narrative the structure of a dictionary, as identified in the title of the novel, *Anglų kalbos žodynas* [A Dictionary of English]. Each chapter in the novel uses an English word as its title, arranged alphabetically. As a structure, the dictionary in Cicėnaitė's novel subjects a predominantly Lithuanian text to the alphabet and vocabulary of a foreign language, underscoring the central tension between the narrator's native

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[3] Writers who are exiles or emigrants or expatriates are inevitably haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt, wrote Salman Rushdie.

Lithuanian and the language of the host country, English. Highlighted as chapter titles on a separate page and added on every second page of the book, they clash with the Lithuanian text that immediately follows as the titular word is not introduced immediately, sometimes only several pages in:

Afterlife

Tą rytą priešgaisrinės sirenos suveikė dėl laiku neišjungto skrudintuvo. Išgirdau kauksmą duše tiesdama ranką užsukti vandenį, užsimečiau suknelę ant drėgno kūno, įsispyriau į basutes ir išėjau pro duris pasiėmusi tik raktus, miegamajame ant grindų palikusi pradėtą krauti krepšį. (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p.8)[4]

Graphically marked with italics inside the text, which, as mentioned earlier, otherwise refuses to signal direct speech with conventional punctuation, the English words unsettle the Lithuanian text visually. The reader is meant to notice and acknowledge them, despite the fact that s/he might already know their meaning, and despite Cicėnaitė's frequent cushioning of such insertions with explanations or translation, before or after a foreign word or phrase, as, for instance, in the first and second quotations, respectively:

Norėjau […] priglausti pamestą, brokuotą, *broken*. (p. 38)

[…] galvojau, kaip išversti žodį *broken*. Šio žodžio reikšmė buvo platesnė, nei galėjai pastebėti iš pirmo žvilgsnio, nei apskritai norėjai žinoti. Sugadintas, palaužtas, brokuotas galėjai būti visaip. *Broken* galėjo būti ir žmogus sulaužytais sparnais. (p. 28)[5]

Formatted this way, the English insertions are intended to disrupt the text as sights or spectacles, taking up space in it, adding a multimodal

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[4] Afterlife
That morning, the fire alarm got activated by a toaster, forgotten by some neighbour. I was in the shower, about to turn the water off when I heard the blaring; I put on a dress, my skin was still damp, put on the flip-flops and went out. I took only the keys, leaving a half-packed travelling back on the floor in the bedroom.
[5] I wanted […] to shelter the lost, the broken, *broken.*
I thought how to translate the word *broken.* Its meaning was wider than you would think, than you wanted to know. You could be broken, damaged, ruined in all kinds of ways. A man with broken wings could be *broken.*

aspect to the text's multilingual configuration, implying the constant need to translate and explain. Notably, such insertions of a foreign language do not attempt to convey an impression of code-switching during conversations; even when the text inserts a sentence uttered by a character in English, it is obvious the entire exchange between its participants takes place in this language: "Kartą į veterinarijos kliniką senutė plastikiniame maišelyje atnešė gatvėje rastą į skraistę suvyniotą rožinę kakadu lūžusiu sparnu. Paukštį apžiūrėjęs veterinaras pasakė nebegalįs jo pagydyti. *Some broken things can't be fixed*, pasakė jis apgailestaudamas" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 27).[6] All such linguistic disruptions take place in the internal monologue of the narrator, "staging," to borrow Grutman's (2024) phrase, the disruptions related to language and culture that define the migrant, as suggested by Rushdie (1991, pp. 277–78). They also foreground the state of the migrant and the new "nomadic citizen" as a "polyglot[t] travelling in between languages, in a permanent stage of (self-)translation," as Reine Meylaerts puts it (2006, p. 1), leading also to "[t]he writing and reading act of multilingual literary texts [being] defined as an ongoing *translation* process between the languages involved" (Meylaerts, 2013, p. 520).

Despite the central image of an English dictionary, Cicėnaitė's novel is not bilingual but multilingual: the text is dotted with words and brief phrases in languages as different as Latin (e.g., pp. 22, 32, 35, 64, 65, 229, 240); the narrator's husband's native French (e.g., pp. 141, 280, 290); Polish (pp. 199, 263), Spanish (p. 230), Brazilian Portuguese, Italian, Japanese (pp. 199, 158), Aboriginal languages (e.g., p. 286); all such insertions are graphically marked with italics. In some cases, languages are invoked only latently by identifying them, e.g. Russian, which she remembers from her childhood in Vilnius (p. 199), or various languages spoken by immigrants in Sydney (p. 158). However, the presence of these other languages does not suggest the narrator's discomfort in relation to them.

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[6] Once an old woman came into the veterinary clinic. She brought a pink cockatoo, wrapped in a scarf; she had found it on the street, its wing was broken. The vet examined the bird and said he was not able to help it. *Some broken things can't be fixed*, said he, apologetically.

Notably, even the narrator's childhood memories uncover her familiarity with multilingual realities. In one of the numerous episodes in which she remembers Vilnius, the narrator says, inserting a sentence in Polish: "*Wilno jest cudem*, tyliai galėjau ištarti savo pamiršta kalba, bet argi galima iš tikro pamiršti kalbą, argi pamiršęs kalbą nepamirštum savęs?" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 199).[7] The sentence is graphically marked, as usual, but unlike in most other cases when it comes to foreign insertions, it is not translated or explained. Reminding the reader of Vilnius's own multicultural and multilingual history, the untranslated sentence in Polish also signals not only the narrator's familiarity with the language, but a degree of comfort, even intimacy that she admits to not having with English when she speaks of lacking the sense of it: "Neturiu anglų kalbos jausmo ir turbūt niekada neturėsiu" (p. 106). By contrast, Polish, although "forgotten," is described as an inextricable part of the narrator's selfhood: as she contemplates whether one can truly forget a language, her conclusion is that forgetting a language would entail forgetting oneself (p. 199). Polish is the narrator's first language among several learned in her childhood: "Išmokusi tarti pirmuosius žodžius, iš pradžių kalbėjau tik lenkiškai, prosenelės kalba, pati to nežinodama gyvenau savo uždaroje, miniatiūrinėje užsienio teritorijoje. Sesuo mokė lietuviškų žodžių, kiemo vaikai – rusiškų" (p. 104).[8] In this passage, she also metaphorically describes languages in spatial terms: her great grandmother's Polish constructs a "foreign territory" at home, coexisting with the sister's Lithuanian, whereas the outside – children's games in the yard – is linked to Russian.

One of the last chapters of Cicėnaitė's novel, titled "Wor(l)d," reiterates a similar motif, albeit in a different way, foregrounding, already in its title, the connection the narrator wants to see between words and worlds, that is, entire systems and structures or sets of meaning that they open to. The chapter reads in its entirety:

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[7] *Wilno jest cudem* [Vilnius is a miracle], I could say silently in my forgotten language, but can you really forget your language; wouldn't you forget yourself if you forgot your language?

[8] After I learned to pronounce my first words, at first I spoke only Polish, the language of my great-grandmother; without being aware of it, I lived in my own secluded miniature foreign territory. My sister was teaching me Lithuanian words, the children outside – Russian ones.

Jau miegi?
Ar pastebėjai, kad tik viena raidė skiria *word* ir *world*?
Kaip manai, ar tai ką nors reiškia?
Man norisi tikėti, kad reiškia.
Jei nemiegi, kartok paskui mane.

One word at a time.

jei suis	*aš esu*
tu es	*tu esi*
il, elle est	*jis, ji yra*
nous sommes	*mes esame*
vous êtes	*jūs esate*
ils, ells sont	*jie, jos yra* (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 280)[9]

Although addressed to the narrator's husband, these lines are part of the narrator's internal monologue, not an actual conversation. They stage an imaginary attempt to teach him the narrator's native Lithuanian: she speaks of this repeatedly in the chapter preceding "Wor(l)d," in which the repetition extends over several pages and creates an incantatory effect as the narrator lists numerous aspects of Lithuanian she wants to teach him, including reading and writing, words and swearwords, and how to pronounce them, past simple and past frequentative tenses, but also eating, driving, and making love in Lithuanian:

> **Aš išmokysiu tave lietuviškai**, pasakiau jam, o gal norėjau pasakyti, tada, kai mus užklojo naktinė Voga Vogos tyla be menkiausio garso, kokia būna mieste, kuriame nieko nevyksta. **Išmokysiu tave** kitokių namų. [...] **Išmokysiu tave** valgyti lietuviškai, skaityti lietuviškai, rašyti lietuviškai, vairuoti lietuviškai, keiktis lietuviškai, mylėtis lietuviškai. [...] **Išmokysiu tave**, kad visi šie žodžiai reikalingi, kad negalima pamiršti nė vieno. **Išmokysiu tave**, kaip juos ištarti. [...] **Išmokysiu tave** mylėti būtąjį kartinį ir būtąjį dažninį laiką. **Išmokysiu tave** tikėti būsimuoju laiku. [...]
> O tada tu galėsi išmokyti mane prancūziškai. (pp. 274–76; emphasis added)[10]

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[9] Are you asleep?
 Have you noticed only one letter separates *word* and *world*?
 Do you think it means something?
 I would like to believe it does.
 If you are not sleeping, repeat after me.
  One word at a time.
[10] **I will teach you** Lithuanian, I told him, or maybe I just wanted to tell him that after the silence of the Voga Voga night covered us like a blanket, the total silence of a city

The passage and the chapter end with the narrator's suggestion that later he teach her French, and the chapter "Wor(l)d," which follows immediately after, thus stages an imagined lesson during which both participants are expected to switch from English, in which they speak to each other, to their mother-tongues, Lithuanian for the narrator, and French for her French Canadian husband, the language he admits to forgetting (p. 160). This exchange structured upon the principle of translation thus foregrounds the motif of a dictionary, which at this point can be seen as being given a metaphorical meaning to suggest the relationship between the narrator and her husband. The imagined lesson stages a rhythmical exchange of phrases which conjugate the verb "to be" in French and English, translating from his native French to her native Lithuanian. The lines are formatted to resemble poetic stanzas, in which each line can be read as an independent sentence, asserting the existence of various Subjects, in two languages.

Formatted this way, the page containing in the chapter "Wor(l)d" is thus a carefully constructed multilingual space, in which lines in the three languages relevant in the couple's relationship are arranged in such a way as to invite to a dialogue with one another, leaving it to the reader to explore the similarities and differences between the sentences, particularly their spelling and pronunciation, that is, the multimodal aspects of visuality and sound (e.g. the similarity of the French "tu es" and the Lithuanian "tu esi"). Notably, too, the lines conjugating the verb "to be" in Lithuanian are also italicized, the graphic emphasis reserved in the predominantly Lithuanian text to mark words and phrases in other languages or quotations from poems. Thereby these Lithuanian lines are subsumed by the format of the poem and a bilingual language game, in which both languages participate on equal terms without any unease or tensions.

The latter mark only the narrator's relationship to English and the English-speaking society of Australia, the host country, in which her status,

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where nothing ever happens. **I will teach you** a different home. **I will teach you** to eat in Lithuanian, to read in Lithuanian, to write in Lithuanian, to drive in Lithuanian, to swear in Lithuanian, to make love in Lithuanian. [...] **I will teach you** that all these words are necessary, that none can be forgotten. **I will teach you** to pronounce them. [...] **I will teach you** to love the past tense and the past frequentative. **I will teach you** to believe in the future tense. [...]
And then you can teach me French.

unlike her husband's, is still precarious as she is not a citizen. For instance, during a stop at a car park, she notices a garbage can with the words "NO VEGAN" spray painted on it and says to her husband:

> Dar betrūksta užrašo GO BACK WHERE YOU BELONG, tarstelėjau.
> Jis būtų skirtas ne man, atsakė vyras.
> Ne tau. Nes tu turi Australijos pilietybę ir valgai mėsą.
> Ir angliškai kalbu be akcento, pridūrė vyras.
> Su Šiaurės Amerikos akcentu, pataisiau jį. Tavęs, kaip ir manęs, dar klausia, iš kur esi, nors jau penkerius metus nebuvai grįžęs į Monrealį. (Cicėnaitė 2022, p. 160)[11]

In addition to her heightened awareness of not belonging in Australia, the narrator is also more sensitive than her husband to their accents, albeit quite different, marking them as outsiders. But she also perceives English as "jarring," intrusive and possibly disruptive as it enters the language of migrants: "Bet sykiu man ausį rėžė emigrantų kalba – vos išvažiavę jie į kiekvieną sakinį prikaišiodavo angliškų žodžių, tarsi angliškai kalbėdami atrodytų protingesni, o iš tikro kabindavosi už tų žodžių kaip už ramentų, bergždžiai ieškodami savo neišverčiamam naujam gyvenimui tūrio ir svorio" (p. 158).[12] In this passage, the narrator once again underscores the migrant's state of "permanent (self-)translation," to borrow Meylaert's phrase (2006, p. 1), the state which is both thematized in the novel and organizes the narrative, employing the structure of a dictionary.

The narrator is not new to English, the language she first learnt at school in Lithuania (p. 106), used during her graduate studies in New Zealand, in her marriage, and in the numerous years in Sydney (p. 167). Nonetheless, what she focuses on are the moments when English, which she assumed she

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[11] All that's missing is the line, GO BACK WHERE YOU BELONG, I mumbled.
It wouldn't be meant for me, answered my husband.
It wouldn't. Because you have Australian citizenship and eat meat.
And my English has no accent, added my husband.
You have North American accent, I corrected him. You, just like me, still get asked where you are from, though you haven't been to Montreal in five years.
[12] But at the same time, I found the language spoken by emigrant jarring – as soon as they left, they would start cramming English words into every sentence, as if that would make them sound smarter, but in reality they were hanging onto those words as if these were crutches, vainly searching for substance and weight for their untranslatable new lives.

knew, would "laugh in [her] face" (p. 158). As the narrator explains: "Galėčiau mintinai išmokti visą žodyną, bet vis tiek jausiuosi *lost in translation*, pasiklydusi vertime, srovės nublokšta liksiu paraštėje. Visuomet atsiranda žodis, kuris neturės ribų, krantų, atitikmenų. Žodis, kurį reikės išgalvoti" (p. 159).[13] This leads to her exploration of individual words as utterances, as messages, but also as sounds and sights, as Cicėnaitė herself says in an interview (in Tüür, 2022, para. 7), and as can be seen, for instance, in the chapter "Wor(ld)," whose title constructs a pun, highlighted in the following line:

> Ar pastebėjai, kad tik viena raidė skiria *word* ir *world*?
> Kaip manai, ar tai ką nors reiškia?
> Man norisi tikėti, kad reiškia. (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 280)[14]

Notably, unlike with the majority of other foreign, particularly English, insertions, neither the word "word" nor "world" is translated: indeed, translating them would mean erasing the pun. In a similar way, each chapter is centred around the titular word, which is discussed, analysed, exemplified, put in contexts, compared to Lithuanian words, linked to the narrator's experiences. In some cases, an English word even relieves anxieties caused by specific social norms to which the narrator does not conform, for example:

> Ieškodama prieglobsčio anglų kalboje, radau atsakymą, atsivėrusį dviem žodžiais – *childless* ir *childfree*. *Childless*, arba bevaikė, buvo žodis, kurį visi žinojo, tai buvo įdagas kaktoje, nuosprendis, žodis, žymintis neturėjimą, praradimą, skausmą [...].
> *Childfree*, arba laisva nuo vaikų, buvo žodis, kurį žinojo ne visi, žymintis moterį, išdrįsusią patikėti, kad ji ir jos kūnas gali būti vertingi patys sau, netapę *kito* tąsa, paslaptingu indu kitai gyvybei sukurti.
> Aš tiesiog esu aš. Aš nesu *-less*. [...]

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[13] I could learn an entire dictionary by heart, but I will still feel *lost in translation*, lost in translation, carried away by a flow, stranded into the margins. There will always be a word which will have no boundaries, no shores, no equivalents. A word which I will need to invent.

[14] Have you noticed only one letter separates *word* and *world*?
Do you think it means something?
I would like to believe it does.

Nesu nei *child-less*, nei *child-free*. Aš tiesiog esu aš; aš tiesiog esu *free*. (pp. 39–40)[15]

What is also important is that such passages uncover the very different principles at work behind multilingualism and translation: as Grutman (1998) points out, while multilingualism "evokes the co-presence of two or more languages (in a given society, text or individual)" and thus is supplementary, translation "involves a substitution of one language for another" (p. 157).

Thus the novel is structured as a wordbook, in which each chapter's English titles are arranged alphabetically, and the final chapter "Zzzz" brings all the previous titular words together, integrating them into the description of the characters' return to their home in Sydney as their trip is over. Asked about the selection, Cicėnaitė speaks about words being connected to her personal experiences or suggestive of the issue of untranslatability, but she also admits to some being rather random or even unexpected choices (in Tüür, 2022, para. 7). Indeed, apart from the alphabetical order in which the words used for the chapter titles are set, it is difficult to trace one single consistent thematic pattern behind them. The list reads, in its entirety: "Afterlife," "Broken," "Childfree," "Damaged," "Eternity," "Falling," "Ghosts," "Homesick," "Intimacy," "Jetlag," "Kismet," "Lost," "Missing," "Nevermore," "Outback," "Petrichor," "Quiet," "Reality," "Serendipity," "Thanatophobia," "Unicorn," "Virga," "Wor(l)d," "Xenophobia," "Yearning," and "Zzzzz." The words are not linked to the geography behind the road trip, or to the two characters' stories of migration, although the name of their current country of residence, Australia, starting with "A" would seem a tempting choice: the more so that in the opening chapter of the novel, titled "Afterlife," the narrator remembers a border guard at the airport in Sydney returning her passport and greeting her with "*Welcome to Australia. Welcome home*." (Cicėnaitė 2022, p. 10)

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[15] Looking for refuge in the English language, I found an answer which opened up for me in two words – *childless* and *childfree*. *Childless*, or without children, was a word everybody knew; it was a mark branded onto one's forehead, a verdict, a word marking not-having, loss, pain […].
Childfree, or free from children, was a word not everybody knew, describing a woman who dared to believe that she and her body can be valuable in themselves, without becoming an extension of somebody *else*, a mysterious vessel to create a new life.
I am just me. I am not *-less*. […]
I am neither *child-less*, nor *child-free*. I am just me; I am simply *free*.

However, only one titular word, the untranslatable "outback," references Australian realia. The words on the list are nouns and adjectives/ participles, and even an onomatopoeia ("Zzzzz"); some are negative in meaning, such as "broken," "damaged," "lost," "missing," or "xenophobia," and convey discomfort or longing (e.g. "jetlag," "falling, "ghosts," or "yearning"), while others are positive, e.g. "serendipity"; many are recognizably English, while some are borrowings from other languages, e.g. "kismet," "petrichor," "virga"; some denote abstractions, while some others refer to specific cultural realia ("outback"), legendary beings ("unicorn"), or are intertextual references ("nevermore," the title of Edgar Allen Poe's poem, passages from which are quoted in the correspondent chapter). What is in common among most of the titular words is challenges translating them into Lithuanian as each opens up to an entire "world." As Laimantas Jonušys (2023) suggests in his review of the novel, Cicėnaitė's dictionary of English is explicitly Lithuanian as it seeks to convey and address the discomfort and cultural tensions which mark the narrator's state as a migrant (para. 8). Still, the Lithuanian migrant's musings are subjected to the logic of a foreign alphabet, which restricts the number of the words as well as arranges them in a sequence.

In her analysis of alphabetization as used in literary texts, Jacquelyn Ardam (2014) identifies two "competing" ways of understanding and employing the alphabetical sequence and its "distinctive orderly aesthetic": seeing it as "a horizontally organized, nonhierarchical trope of metonymy, or as a vertically oriented, hierarchical trope of metaphor" (pp. 138, 139). The metonymic reading underscores the alphabet as "pure form" (Ardam, 2014, p. 139), in which the ordering of the elements is, as pointed out by Susan Stewart (1978), arbitrary and non-hierarchical, lacking a meaningful order (p. 190). In other words, "Z isn't worth more than A is. It's just further along" (Ardam, 2014, p. 139). Nonetheless, according to Ardam, "[i]n almost all literary texts, the [alphabetical] sequence functions as a metaphor for order or power, the symbolic register, or even for civilization itself" (2014, p. 138). The metaphorical interpretation relies on the fact that, as Roland Barthes (1994) puts it, "everyone knows [the alphabet], recognizes it, and agrees on it," thereby endowing the sequence of arbitrary signs – letters – with meaning (p. 147).

In Cicėnaitė's novel, both interpretations supplement each other. On one hand, there being no single consistent identifiable pattern to the titular words for the chapters gestures towards the metonymical reading of the alphabetical order and supplements the mode of the stream of consciousness of the narrative: there is no particular reason why a specific word is mentioned in a specific place. Indeed, the novel can be read as any dictionary or reference text, picking out specific titular words and thus chapters in whichever order. Yet, as musings on specific words are frequently not contained withing the limits of a specific chapter, but extend into others (see also Ivanova 2023, para. 4), the alphabetical order of the chapter titles becomes linked to the narrative structure, that of the road story, which establishes the novel's chronology and linearity. Along with its foreign alphabet, the dictionary in/of the novel becomes a metaphor: the motif of the travel of the main narrative line is extended to suggest a travel in the English language, following the route set by its alphabet and with specific words becoming sites and sights on which the traveller-narrator's gaze dwells for longer.

Experienced Multilingualism in the Novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas*

Analyzing multilingual literary texts, it is equally important to address the fact that they can refer to the real-life socio-historical realia and can also employ different multilingual practices to foreground them. Akvilina Cicėnaitė's novel focuses on two immigrants in Australia, finding themselves in the state of constant translation between languages, different realities, and cultures. The characters' lived or "experienced" multilingualism is mostly reflected in latent form, supplementing the narrator's personal musings with theoretical insights and concepts, such as the "third space', the "imaginary homeland", etc.; yet such musings can be disrupted by explicit instances of multilingualism, as in the passage in which the narrator remembers her arrival in Australia, which would become her new home. She begins by commenting on the gradual loss of her native language because of her move to an English-speaking environment and ends with the untranslated English phrase "*Welcome to Australia. Welcome home*,"

foregrounding the issue of belonging and that shift into a different language:

> […] pasijutau lyg pirmosiomis dienomis Pietų pusrutulyje, kai atvažiavau manydama mokanti angliškai, **bet iš tikro supratau kas antrą žodį, apkurtau, atsitrenkiau į uždarytas kalbos duris**. Bėgo dienos, savaitės, mėnesiai, pamažu ėmiau atgauti klausą, užsklęstos durys prasivėrė, galėjau šmurkštelėti į kalbos vidų, užuosti naujumu kvepiančių žodžių formas, nešiotis juos pakibusius ant liežuvio galo, vieni švelnūs it šuns kailis, kiti švitriniu popieriumi nudilginantys pirštus. **Anuomet dar nežinojau, kad viskas klostosi maždaug taip: iš pradžių nežinai svetimos kalbos žodžių. Paskui juos įsimeni, bet vis pamiršti. Tada imi pamiršti žodžius gimtąja kalba. Tada dalis tavęs pradeda gyventi tik vienoje kalboje. Galiausiai atsiranda neišverčiamumas.** Iš viso žmogaus lieka pusė, kaip tada, kai pagaliau ištrūksti iš didžiojo banginio Airbus A380 vidurių […]. Atiduodamas pasą jis [pasienietis] mostelės man praeiti. *Welcome to Australia. Welcome home*. (Cicėnaitė, 2022, pp. 9–10; emphasis added)[16]

As the literary critic Eglė Mikulskytė notes, one of the central issues addressed in the novel is how to "tame" the in-between state and to accept the language of the new country (Mikulskytė, 2023, para. 2). As the narrator continuously reflects on this issue, three distinct layers of "experienced" multilingualism can be identified in the text: 1) the global and historical overview (the Australian continent and its multicultural / multilingual history), 2) the multilingual Australian society and, in particular,

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[16] […] I suddenly felt the way I had during my first days in the Southern Hemisphere, where I had arrived, thinking I knew English, **but in fact, I could only understand every other word and felt I was going deaf, hitting on the closed door of the language**. With passing days, weeks and months, I slowly began to regain my hearing: the locked door opened a crack, and I could slip inside, into the language, and breath in the shapes of its words, which smelled of newness. I carried those words hanging on the tip of my tongue – some soft like the fur of a dog, some coarse, like sandpaper**. I didn't know then that it works like this when it comes to a foreign language: at first, you don't know the words. Then you memorize the words but keep forgetting them**. **Then you start forgetting words in your own mother tongue. Then part of you starts living in one language only. And eventually, you have to deal with untranslatability.** You have been reduced by half, like when you finally break away from the bowels of the great whale Airbus A380 and line up at the immigration gate […]. Handing back my passport, he [the border guard] waves me to go ahead. *Welcome to Australia. Welcome home*.

the metropolitan space of Sydney, 3) the Lithuanian narrator's relationship with her French-Canadian husband as they communicate with each other in English.

Australia, the Multilingual Continent

"With a continuing civilisation of over sixty thousand years and approximately 250 languages surviving into the twenty-first century, Australia has always been a multilingual nation-continent", says the introduction to the recently published special issue of the journal *Literary Multilingualism* (Edwards & Hogarth, 2024, p. 161). In the novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas*, the global and historical perspective on multilingualism finds expression in a latent form, employing what Deganutti (2022) calls "language reflections" (p. 610), when the narrator speaks about Australia's Aboriginal tribes and their languages, erased by British settler colonialism: "Prieš kolonizaciją žemyne gyveno daugiau nei penki šimtai čiabuvių genčių, kalbėta dviem šimtais penkiasdešimčia skirtingų kalbų, kiekvienoje kalbų grupėje dar būta skirtingų dialektų. […] praradus kalbą užmarštin nugrimzta ištisi pasauliai, prarandamos nesuskaičiuojamos kultūrinės visatos" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, pp. 160–61).[17] In this context, the narrator reflects on how quickly English "covered this continent" and speculates about "what it would be like now without the dominance of English" (p. 287). She makes an ironic comparison of the English language to the invasive species brought to the Australian continent by the colonizers: "Jeigu anglų kalba būtų gyvūnas, ji būtų triušis" (p. 288).[18] It is worth noting that critics such as Mikulskaitė (2023) consider the reflections on multi-ethnic and multilingual Australia in the novel to be even more successful than the descriptions of the narrator's in-between state as a migrant or the analysis of the relationship with her husband (para. 4).

Driving the car to the Australian outback with her husband, the narrator ponders about the extinct Aboriginal languages and the English

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[17] Before the colonisation, this continent had been home to more than five hundred indigenous tribes. They spoke two hundred and fifty different languages, and each language group also had different dialects. […] with the loss of a language, entire worlds sink into oblivion. Countless cultural universes are lost.

[18] If English were an animal, it would be a rabbit.

toponyms which preserve traumatic cultural memory of the continent. The following passage is an example of such musings, textually presented by combining latent and explicitly manifest forms of multilingualism, the latter instances graphically marked with italics:

> Vienos iš tų pirmųjų tautų kalbų mirė visiems laikams. Kitos kalbos miega ir gal dar kada nors pabus. Vienoms kalboms mirštant, kitos prisimena – žemyno žemėlapis nužymėtas vietų, pavadintų *Massacre, Poisoned Waterhole Creek, Haunted Creek, Murderers Flat, Massacre Inlet, Slaughterhouse Gully*. Gal kolonijų istorija ir bus nugalėtojų istorija, bet kalba išduos praėjusių amžių nusikaltimus. (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 285)[19]

The novel refers to the initial clashes between the new settlers and the Aboriginal tribes, to the "fundamental misunderstanding" (p. 286) between the two groups, the forced assimilation of Aboriginal peoples, and attempts to preserve Aboriginal languages. In a fast-changing world, the narrator searches for stability and permanence, and brings up the motif of immortality, particularly the immortality of a language, or at least of individual words: "Nemirtingumo ieškau žodžiuose – savo ir svetimos kalbos." (p. 183)[20] Forgetting is often equated with death; to forget a language is to forget oneself: "argi galima pamiršti kalbą, argi pamiršęs kalbą nepamirštum saves?" (p. 199).[21] The narrator's reflections on the Aboriginal cultures and languages that have been erased by settler colonialism echo the motif of death, repeatedly evoked in the novel: time after time, the narrator mentions global catastrophes, particularly those ravaging the Australian continent (p. 153), contemplates her own possible death (p. 13), and imagines the loss of her loved ones in the face of the COVID pandemic (p. 16).

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[19] Some of the languages of those first peoples are dead. Others have been asleep, and there is a chance they may wake up at some point. While some languages die, others remember – the map of this continent is dotted with places named *Massacre, Poisoned Waterhole Creek, Haunted Creek, Murderers Flat, Massacre Inlet, Slaughterhouse Gully*. The history of the colonies may be the history of the victors, but the language betrays the crimes of the past.
[20] I look for immortality in words – in my own and in those of a foreign language.
[21] can you really forget your language; wouldn't you forget yourself if you forgot your language?

Alongside the narrator's reflections on Australia's multilingual past and her composing a personal dictionary of English, she tells the story of Patyegarang, a fifteen-year-old Aboriginal girl of the Gadigal tribe. At the end of 18th century, Petyegarang taught English lieutenant William Dawes (1762–1836) the language of her people and, as explained by the narrator, she is thought to be one of the first people to have taught an Aboriginal language to the early colonists in New South Wales (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 286). Petyegarang assisted Dawes in documenting the Eora language, spoken by the Gadigal people and other tribes, sometimes referred to as the Sydney language. During this collaboration, Patyegarang learned to speak and read English from Dawes: "Antipodal as they were, this pair still managed to converse regularly, often intimately, studying each other's utterances, feeling a trust grow that can fairly be called affection" (Gibson, 2010, p. 245). This relationship of two people from two different worlds, learning each other's language, becomes an expectation that the narrator projects onto her own marriage. As discussed in the previous section of the paper, this becomes particularly evident in the chapter "Wor(l)d" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 280), in which the narrator stages an imaginary language lesson for her husband. Both examples foreground the need to explain/translate for each other and thereby employ the central image of the novel – that of a dictionary – as a metaphor for a relationship.

In Cicėnaitė's novel, Australia is described as a continent of numerous extinct Aboriginal languages, and simultaneously, one that contains multitudes of languages and cultures due to waves of immigration and globalization (2022, p. 288). The narrator and her husband are two of hundreds of thousands of immigrants, contributing to a cultural and linguistic mix of contemporary Australia. The novel explores the issue of migration and postcolonial condition, employing what Deganutti (2022) calls "language references" and "languages reflections" (p. 610), as well as intra-textual code mixing, including in the Lithuanian narrative not only English but also some Aboriginal words, e.g., "tariadyaou", "tyerabarrbowaryaou", or "putuwa" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 286), thereby bringing extinct languages back to life, albeit temporarily, raising linguistic awareness, and, at least in part, freeing her own narrative from the dominance of English-language insertions.

Multilingualism and the Metropolitan Space of Sydney

The second and very important aspect of experienced multilingualism in Cicėnaitė's novel is related to the narrator's identity as she feels she is "nenusakomos tautybės, nenusakomo amžiaus, nenusakomos profesijos, jaučiausi nenusakoma" (2022, p. 13)[22] and, particularly, to her relationship to the metropolitan multicultural and multilingual space of Sydney, or the host society in general.

In line with the metaphor of the dictionary, which structures the novel, Sydney is also presented as an alphabet: the narrator's adjustment to the new continent, the new city and the new cultural and linguistic environment is described as beginning with the letter A (p. 10). A little later comes a more specific parallel between the city and a dictionary: "Sidnėjus turėjo daug veidų, skirtingose jo kampuose galiojo skirtingos taisyklės, – ir vėl galėjau pasijusti prašalaite, miesto abėcėlėje įstrigusia jei ne ties A, tai ties C raide" (p. 33).[23] The narrator wanders the streets of Sydney, comparing different suburbs, observing people, and learning a new dialect:

> **Mokiausi australiško žargono, nors visa paslaptis dažniausiai buvo trumpinti žodžius:** taip *afternoon* virsta *arvo, avocado – avo*, *barbacue – barbie, breakfast- brekky*. Dar buvo kitų, kuriuos galėjai išmokti mestelėti su australišku nerūpestingumu: *Chrissie, crikey, devo, esky, fai dinkum, flat out, good on ya, heaps, lollies, Maccas, mate, mozzie, no drama, no worries, pissed, reckon, sickie, Straya*! (p. 62; emphasis added).[24]

A middle class intellectual with a long personal experience of migration and linguistic competences (that is why numerous other languages besides

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[22] of indescribable nationality, of indescribable age, of indescribable occupation. I felt indescribable.

[23] Sydney had many faces, and different rules governed different parts of the city – and thus I felt like an outsider once again, stuck in the city's alphabet – maybe not at the letter A, but certainly at C.

[24] **I was learning Australian English, although the main secret was simply to abbreviate most words**: thereby, *afternoon* becomes *arvo, avocado* becomes *avo, barbacue* becomes *barbie, breakfast* becomes brekky. There were other words, too, which you could learn to insert here and there with ease: *Chrissie, crikey, devo, esky, fai dinkum, flat out, good on ya, heaps, lollies, Maccas, mate, mozzie, no drama, no worries, pissed, reckon, sickie, Straya!*

English are present in the novel, latently or explicitly), the narrator gets to know Sydney and its surroundings rather quickly. She adapts to the city's lifestyle and feels she has unlocked the doors to a new cultural and linguistic environment. In this, Cicėnaitė's narrator stands in contrast to the Lithuanian or East European migrant workers in Great Britain, as described in the texts by other Lithuanian writers, e.g. by Paulina Pukytė in her multi-genre book *Bedalis ir labdarys* (A Loser and a Do-gooder) (2013) or by Unė Kaunaitė in her novel *Žmonės iš Alkapės* (People from Alkapė) (2015). Cicėnaitė's narrator embraces the changes that have accompanied her move to Sydney: "Šiame saulėtame pusrutulyje tapo nebesvarbu, kas buvo anksčiau" (2022, p. 36).[25] According to Ineta Pulkauninkė (2024), this is how a non-traumatized creative mind works – it is able to detect, analyze, and perceive other variations of itself, to tolerate the doubling of ethnic identity (transnational identity), and, if necessary, to re-create the identity in relation to oneself or others in the new social context (p. 140).

On the other hand, the narrator admits that she is still influenced by her Nordic background and her native language:

> **Bet įgimta kito krašto sakinių melancholija buvo per giliai įsigėrusi į odą.** Jos negalėjai nuplauti. Jos kvapai buvo neišdizenfekuojami. […].
> **Mano širdis buvo kompasas, kuris rodė kryptį į šiaurę**.
> (p. 36; emphasis added)[26]

The narrator describes her state as a migrant crossing landscapes, cultures, and languages through latent multilingualism, e.g. in the chapter "Eternity," she reflects on what it would mean for her to grow old and to die in this strange city, Sydney, surrounded by a foreign language, thereby explicitly acknowledging her own Otherness:

> Galvodavau apie tai, ką reikštų pasenti šitaip, angliškai, ką reikštų mirštant klejoti lietuviškai ir niekas aplinkui tavęs

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[25] In this sunny hemisphere, it no longer matters what used to be before.
[26] **But the innate melancholy of the sentences of the home country had penetrated your skin too deeply**. You couldn't wash it away. Its smell could not be extinguished with any detergent. […].
My heart was a compass that pointed North.

nesuprastų, **ką reikštų užgesti šalia žmonių, su kuriais nesieja nei kalba, nei kultūra**, tik vienas bendras žmogiškumas; **ką reikštų klajoti ilgais pomirtiniais koridoriais, kur dvasios nekalba tavo kalba, kur jos išvis neturi tavo kalbos žodyno**. (p. 68–69)

Ir jei mirsiu čia, tolimame žemyne, mieste, kuriame taip lengva ištirpti, gal niekas ir nesužinos, kad esu mirusi. **Jei bendruomenė žodžiais neišglostys mano veido ir neišlydės vardo**, gal iš tikro ir nebūsiu mirusi. (p. 273)[27]

Living in Sydney, she feels "divided" and frequently speaks with her husband "about staying or going back" (p. 79). In the chapter "Homesick", the narrator admits that for them – modern nomads – home was "čia ir ten. Namai reiškė gyvenimą pasidalijus, pusiau čia, pusiau kitur, visur laikinai, su laikrodžiais, rodančiais skirtingų laiko zonų valandas" (p. 111).[28] In her review of Cicėnaitė's novel, the writer Sandra Bernotaitė (2022), who also spent a decade living in Australia, notes that *Anglų kalbos žodynas* is a novel that breaks through barriers and shows both sides, allowing you to feel both here and there; she adds that the novel feels relatable to those who live in Lithuania and those who have emigrated (Bernotaitė, para. 4).

In this context, latent and explicitly manifest forms of multilingualism can be seen as one of the main means of characterization, as proposed by Horn (1981, p. 226). As modern nomads, Cicėnaitė's protagonists are constantly on the move, employing different languages and adjusting to different cultures. For example, travelling across Australia, the narrator notes that she is gaining a better understanding of the host society and language:

Žinosime, ką reiškia *bogan* – tas žodis turi atitikmenų kitose šalyse ir kitose kalbose, ar tai būtų *rednecks*, ar *white trash*,

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[27] I would often think about what it would mean to grow old like this, in English; what it would mean to die delirious, raving about in Lithuanian with nobody around to understand you; **what it would mean to fade aways near people with whom you share no language and no culture, only mere human-ness; what it would mean to wander along the long corridors of the afterlife, where spirits don't speak your language, where they don't even have a dictionary of your language**.
And if I die here, on this distant continent, in a city where it is so easy to dissolve, maybe no one will ever know that I am dead. **If my community does not caress my face and say goodbye to my name**, maybe I will not even be really dead.
[28] Home was both here and there. Home meant a life divided, half here, half elsewhere, everywhere temporarily, with clocks showing the hours of different time zones.

ar runkeliai, ar buduliai. Tai tie, kurie dėvi berankovius marškinėlius, geriau žinomus kaip *wifebeaters* [...] Jeigu jiems pavyksta praturtėti, pavyzdžiui, dirbant kasyklose, būna praminti *cashed-up bogans*, taškosi pinigais ir trokšta pademonstruoti turtus. (2022, pp. 80–81)[29]

Multilingualism also comes into play when the foreign phrases inserted into the main text are popular quotations or famous sayings (Horn, 1981, p. 227), for instance, when the narrator reflects on climate change and sustainability, she adds: "*The future is now. There is no Plan(et) B. You'll have to excuse us, kid, we're in a bit of a pickle here*" (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 53); elsewhere, she reiterates George Floyd's famous phrase "*I can't breathe*" (p. 251). One can also find shorter or longer passages from English literary texts (e.g. chapter "Nevermore" quotes from Poe's poem several times), and such intertextuality adds another dimension to a narrative, rooted in social and cultural realia.

Differently from some rather sophisticated or abstract English words used for the chapter titles, other English words included in the text of the novel often refer to the everyday realities, thus creating an "illusion of greater realism," to borrow Horn's phrase (1981, p. 227). They include, for example, global companies (*McDonald's*, *Kellogg's, Kmart, etc.*), Australian music bands (*Cold Chisel, Midnight Oil, Savage Garden, Grinspoon*), Australian products (*Vegemite, Shapes*), cultural realia of Sydney (*Bra Boys*), as well as the meteorological phenomena of the continent (*East Coast Low, Dust devil, southerly change*). The latter are integrated into the narrative through explanations provided by the narrator's husband, a meteorologist: "Kai susituokėme, jau žinojau, kad *rain* yra ne tas pats, kas *showers*, kad *serein* yra lengva dulksna, krintanti iš giedro dangaus po saulėlydžio, o *thanatophobia* yra baimė prarasti mylimą" (p. 16).[30] In this case, explicit code-

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[29] We will already know what *bogan* means – the word has equivalents in other countries and other languages, be it *rednecks, white trash*, or sheeple. It describes those who wear tank tops, better known as *wifebeaters* [...] If these people manage to make money, for example, by working in the mines, they get nicknamed *cashed-up bogans*. These like to splash out on fancy things and are always eager to show off their wealth.
[30] When we got married, I already knew that *rain* is not the same as *showers*, that *serein* is a light mist which falls from the clear sky after sunset, and that *thanatophobia* is the fear of losing someone you love.

switching staged in the text also helps, to use Horn's phrasing, "convey nuances of meaning that are easier to express in other languages" (1981, pp. 226–227).

In general, the narrator tries to find what could facilitate her adjustment to and, at least partial, integration into the new society. A multilingual configuration constructed in the text and the "comparisons" provoked between the languages included in it (Deganutti, 2022, p. 596) are a sign of complex identity of an individual navigating the global world and accommodating several linguistic and cultural dimensions in his/her daily life. New linguistic experiences allow the narrator to add to her own world-view new concepts and ideas, and give voice to previously unnamed feelings, e.g. "thanatophobia," the fear of death or, as it is explained in the novel, the fear of losing a loved one.

Multilingualism in the Relationship of the Couple

In Cicėnaitė's novel, experienced multilingualism is related not only to the social and public sphere, but, even more importantly, to the intimate relationship, as the protagonists—a Lithuanian woman and her French-Canadian husband—communicate exclusively in English, a language foreign to both, albeit to a different extent. Sometimes the narrator sees her multilingual marriage as a chance to broaden her worldview and boost linguistic competence: "Sužinojau, kad angliškai meilė skamba kitaip nei lietuviškai. […] Sužinojau, kad įsimylėjimas angliškai yra *falling in love*. Sužinojau, kad mylėti galima ir antrąja, ir trečiąja, ir ketvirtąja kalba, kad jausmas gali atsiverti tarpuose tarp žodžių" (2022, p. 77).[31] Sometimes, she feels sad and anxious about the lack of a common language and wonders if her husband also feels that "mes neturime bendros kalbos. Ar žino, kad santuoka yra bendro žodyno paieškos" (p. 121).[32] These words also foreground the motif of a dictionary,

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[31] I learned that love sounds different in English and in Lithuanian. [...] I learned that in English you *fall in* love. I learned that one can love in a second, third or fourth language, and that feelings can open up in the spaces between words.
[32] we have no common language. Does he know that marriage is a search for a common vocabulary.

which, in addition to providing Cicėnaitė's narrative a structure, also serves as a metaphor of a relationship.

In the novel, the narrator tells her life story, but also her husband's, so the reader learns about their backgrounds and the history of their relationship. As already mentioned, there is very little dialogue in the text, and as much as there is conveyed in Lithuanian, the narrator assuming the role of what Deganutti (2022) calls a "fictional translator" (p. 610). Only when she wants to stress the growing emotional distance between them, does the narrator include some lines said by her husband in English, the language they speak to each other in. The effect of linguistic and emotional tension is even stronger because these English lines are a response to the narrator's request, which in the text is written in Lithuanian: "Papasakok man istoriją, paprašiau. [...] *I have no stories to tell*, atsakė jis." (Cicėnaitė, 2022, p. 117)[33]; and "*I have no stories to tell*, dar sykį pakartojo jis. *I'm a lonely little planet in a big universe and like it that way*" (p. 120).[34]

If one compares the two characters, the husband seems to be less connected to his native Canada and his first language, French: as the narrator puts it, "Jo širdis buvo kompasas, kurio rodyklė nustojo rodyti kryptį į šiaurę" (p. 120).[35] The impression is that the narrator's husband finds it easier to cope with the loss of his homeland; in contrast to his wife, he manages to escape "nuo savo *mother tongue*" (pp. 143–44).[36] After he moves to Australia, "[j]is gavo progą perrašyti save naujai kalbai, kurią puikiai mokėjo" (p. 119).[37] As for the narrator, the new continent and the new language are at times perceived by her as restrictive and imprisoning, so breaking free from English sometimes implies breaking free from Australia: "Anglų kalba mus suvedžiojo. [...] Ji turėjo tapti mums laisve, bet tapo dar vienu kalėjimu" (p. 157); „Australija man tapo kalėjimu" (p. 272).[38] Thus an analysis the connotations of individual foreign languages in the text, as proposed by Helmich (2016,

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[33] Tell me your story, I asked [...] *I have no stories to tell*, he replied.
[34] *I have no stories to tell*, he repeated once more. *I'm a lonely little planet in a big universe and like it that way*.
[35] His heart was a compass whose needle had stopped pointing North.
[36] from his *mother tongue*
[37] He got a chance to rewrite himself in a new language he knew well.
[38] English has led us astray. [...] It was supposed to set us free, but it has become one more prison" (p. 157); "Australia became a prison for me.

p. 32), in the case of Cicėnaitė's novel reveals an ambivalent attitude to them: English is simultaneously seen as a shelter and a prison; it both liberates and limits the protagonists, turning them into global citizens, but also into internally divided, fragmented—"damaged"—individuals, particularly when it comes to the narrator (pp. 50–51, p. 106). The tension in their relationship, miscommunication and silence, and the differences of their experience, all uncovered during their journey to Broken Hill, are also fueled by the fact that for the narrator's husband, forgetting his French and Canada means something very different than to her: "Žinojau tik tai, kad jis niekada nesigailėjo. Australija buvo jo laisvė" (p. 301).[39]

The narrator frequently reflects on the possible return to her native Vilnius, but she wants to return there with her husband, in which case, language would become an even bigger issue and barrier. In a moment of intimacy, she muses how she would like to teach her husband Lithuanian, but also about Lithuanian and how fundamentally it pervades the narrator's being and selfhood:

> **Aš išmokysiu tave lietuviškai**, pasakiau jam, o gal tik norėjau pasakyti […]. Tu suprasi, kodėl negaliu būti angliškai, kai mano kaulai dainuoja lietuviškai, kai jų daina degina mūsų namų grindis, lubas ir sienas. Tu suprasi, kodėl sakau, kad negaliu čia likti, negaliu čia mirti. **Dabar nesupranti, nes mes kalbame skirtingomis kalbomis.** […] **Aš išmokysiu tave savo sunkiausios, giliausios, melancholiškiausios kalbos**, ir tu suprasi, kodėl kartais pardedu dusti [...]
> **O tada tu galėsi išmokyti mane prancūziškai.** (p. 274; emphasis added)[40]

However, the narrator acknowledges that Australia has become their home, so they must find a language that will bring them "closer together":

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[39] All I knew was that he never regretted it. Australia was his freedom.
[40] **I'll teach you Lithuanian**, I told him, or maybe I just wanted to tell him […] You will understand why I cannot be in English when my bones are singing in Lithuanian, when their song sets the floors, ceilings and walls of our house on fire. You will understand why I say I cannot stay here; I cannot die here. **You don't understand yet because we speak different languages. [**…**] I will teach you my language – the hardest, deepest, and most melancholic**, – and you will understand why I sometimes feel as if I were suffocating […]
And then you can teach me French.

Mokysimės esamojo, būtojo kartinio, būtojo dažninio ir būsimojo laiko. Mokysimės pripildyti beprasmybę prasmės. Rasti priebėgą žodžiuose. [...] **Išsigalvosime naują, išvykusiųjų, kalbą; migrantų, popieriniais lėktuvėliais skriejančių į tą patį tikslą**. (p. 314; emphasis added)[41]

As is evident in these passages, in a multicultural and multilingual relationship, language becomes "a zone of negotiation", to borrow another Lithuanian writer Dalia Staponkutė's phrase: speaking about language is the only way to overcome the discomfort of being split into two parts (in Gimbutaitė, 2017, para. 10), both in real life and in fiction.

Conclusions

Creative incorporation of multiple languages in Akvilina Cicėnaitė's novel *Anglų kalbos žodynas* is an example of another contemporary Lithuanian writer setting out to break linguistic and cultural boundaries in her text. The sometimes-provocative ways contemporary Lithuanian literature has recently embraced multilingualism, particularly its explicit manifestations, used in abundance and carefully "staged," to borrow Rainier Grutman's phrase (2024, p. 22), also reveals the extent to which certain texts meet the current tone of global migration and mobility literature. Cicėnaitė's entire novel, from beginning to end, is a play with language/s, which supplements the first-person narrator's reflections about language and the history of Australia, observations of Sydney and its people, and exploration of her personal relationships and transformations of identity. In a text like this, the technical aspects of multilingualism—the number, localization or length of insertions in other languages (mainly English) into the narrative—are less important than the functions they perform, structurally and visually enhancing the themes related to the migrant condition, explored in the text.

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[41] We will learn about tenses: the present tense, the past simple and past frequentative, and the future tense. We will learn to fill meaninglessness with meaning. […] **We will invent a new language, the language of those who have left, the language of the migrants aboard paper airplanes, flying to the same destination**.

Foreign languages in Cicenaitė's novel are incorporated for both aesthetic and thematic purposes. A multilingual configuration constructed in the novel imposes upon it a structure, that of a dictionary, which supplements the narrative structure of a road story. In addition to organizing the narrator's meditative narration, it also offers instances of intertextuality and word play. Simultaneously the dictionary in the novel is also a central motif and metaphor, foregrounding the narrator's multilingual and multicultural experiences in Australia with her French-Canadian husband. The dictionary and the processes of translation implied in it are used as a metaphor of relationships: with other human beings, with other places, languages & cultures.

The novel's explicit multilingualism also illustrates the voice of the global migrant generation. The first-person narrator frequently reflects on the status of various languages, particularly the gradual shift from the mother tongue to English, which is presented rather ambivalently. For 'global nomads', English is a refuge and a means of communication, both in the host society and in an intercultural relationship. At the same time, the narrator explores the role English played to silence the former cultural polyphony of the Australian continent and foregrounds her own personal discomfort at being unable appease homesickness and suppress the echoes of her own native language, despite her seemingly comfortable bilingualism, transcultural identity as well as her experience and skills in navigating different cultural codes: this is evident in the narrator's description of the English language as a "prison," simultaneously acknowledging how this experience is extremely subjective as her husband feels "freed" from his mother tongue. It is also important that the linguistic and cultural tensions in the consciousness of the migrant and his/her (dis)integration in/to the new space are also reflected in the personal story of the Lithuanian narrator's relationship with her French-Canadian husband.

Analyzing multilingual fiction, particularly multilingual migration and mobility literature, it is always dangerous to overfocus on the social and ideological aspects of the texts, disregarding specific aesthetic play, which can be extremely important, as is evident in the novels, such as *Anglų kalbos žodynas* by Cicėnaitė. We therefore want to emphasize the importance of addressing both experienced/ thematized multilingualism and its aesthetic staging in a given text, with particular attention to explicit code-switching, but

also to latent multilingualism, which is sometimes easier to overlook and overhear.

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Rūta Eidukevičienė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
r.eidukeviciene@vdu.lt
Kristina Aurylaitė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva
k.aurylaite@vdu.lt

„WOR(L)D": ESTETINIS IR PATIRTINIS DAUGIAKALBIŠKUMAS AKVILINOS CICĖNAITĖS ROMANE „ANGLŲ KALBOS ŽODYNAS" / "A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH" (2022)

Anotacija. Šiame straipsnyje analizuojamos daugiakalbystės apraiškos, sutelkus dėmesį į estetinę ir teminę funkcijas Akvilinos Cicėnaitės autofikciniame romane „Anglų kalbos žodynas" (2022). Lietuvių kalba parašytame tekste, reflektuojant migrantų patirtis, vartojamos įvairios kalbos, dažniausiai anglų. Romane pasakojama apie lietuvių rašytoją ir jos Kanados prancūzų kilmės vyrą, gyvenančius Australijoje ir automobiliu keliaujančius po šalį. Jiedu nuolat jaučiasi esą vertimo būsenos – tarp skirtingų kalbų, realybių ir kultūrų. Kiekvienas romano skyrius, pavadintas anglų kalbos žodžiu, kuria žodyno struktūrą, padedančią sujungti meditatyvines pasakotojos refleksijas. Tyrimo problema – kaip Cicėnaitės tekste atsiskleidžia daugiakalbystė ir kokias literatūrines funkcijas ji atlieka. Analizė remiasi teorinėmis prielaidomis apie literatūrinę daugiakalbystę, suformuluotomis Rainierio Grutmano (2006, 2024), Tillio Dembecko (2020), Wernerio Helmicho (2016), Mariannos Deganutti (2022) ir kitų; taip pat daugiakalbystės funkcijų grožinėje literatūroje apibrėžimais ir klasifikacija, kurias aptaria Tillis Dembeckas ir Anne Uhrmacher (2016), Andrásas Hornas (1981), Markusas Hussas (2021) ir kiti. Remiamasi šiais pagrindiniais principais: literatūrinių tekstų daugiakalbystės „režisavimu", t. y. konstravimu, ir dviem pagrindinėmis literatūrinės daugiakalbystės atliekamomis funkcijomis – estetine ir temine („patirtine" daugiakalbyste). Pirmoje analizės dalyje nagrinėjama, kaip romano naratyvinė struktūra papildoma daugiakalbėmis struktūromis, kurios tekstą paverčia kruopščiai sukonstruota daugiakalbe tekstine erdve, padedančia atliepti migrantų padėtį ir būvį. Antroje analizės dalyje aptariami „patirtinės" daugiakalbystės pavyzdžiai, kurie naratyvą įtvirtina konkrečiomis socialinėmis ir kultūrinėmis daugiakultūrės ir daugiakalbės Australijos realijomis. Cicėnaitės tekste pasireiškiančios daugiakalbystės analizė straipsnyje siejama su rašytojos tyrinėjimais apie migranto patirtį ir pastangomis rasti tam tinkamą meninę išraišką.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: Akvilina Cicėnaitė; estetinė ir patirtinė daugiakalbystė; literatūrinė daugiakalbystė; migracijos literatūra; „surežisuota" kodų kaita; žodynas.

Xinyu Hou
Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China
Deyan Zou
Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China
Shuhan Zhang
Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China

ADAPTIVE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES FOR CULTURE-LOADED TERMS IN *CHRONICLE OF A BLOOD MERCHANT*: A THREE-DIMENSIONAL ECO-TRANSLATOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Abstract*.* In the context of globalization, the effective transmission of culture through translation has become a pressing concern, particularly in literary works where culture-loaded terms present significant challenges. This study investigates the translation strategies applied to culture-loaded terms in *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* by Yu Hua, focusing on the English version translated by Andrew F. Jones. Based on eco-translatology's "three-dimensional" transformation theory—including linguistic, communicative, and cultural dimensions—this study explores the following question: How does the translator employ adaptive translation strategies for different categories of culture-loaded terms in *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* to achieve dynamic balance across the three dimensions? A qualitative analysis of eight representative examples, categorized according to Nida's classification of culture-loaded terms, reveals that different translation methods such as literal translation, free translation, and explanatory paraphrasing are selectively employed to negotiate cultural specificity. While the translator demonstrates a strong tendency toward communicative effectiveness and linguistic fluency, some cultural depth is inevitably compromised. The study argues for a more integrated approach to strategy selection under eco-translatology, one that maintains cultural integrity without undermining readability. Through analysis, this study reveals translators' strategic preferences across different culture-loaded terms and examines their implications for cultural transmission, offering insights into the balance of linguistic, communicative and cultural dimensions.

Keywords: Chinese literature; culture-loaded terms; eco-translatology; literary translation; Yu Hua.

Introduction

In the context of accelerating globalization, China's increasing global influence has led to a significant shift in translation paradigms—from "translating the world" to "translating China" (Huang, 2018). This transformation reflects not only China's enhanced national power but also presents a critical mission for contemporary Chinese translators. Literary translation, as a vital medium for cultural transmission, has gained prominence in this process, particularly in conveying China's rich cultural heritage to international audiences.

Translation plays a fundamental role in facilitating cross-cultural communication and fostering mutual understanding between different societies (Venuti, 1995). However, the translation of culture-loaded terms presents unique challenges, as these terms are deeply embedded in the source culture's context and often lack direct equivalents in the target language (Nida, 1964). This complexity demands a delicate balance between linguistic accuracy and cultural authenticity.

Among contemporary Chinese literature, Yu Hua's works stand as significant vehicles for cultural transmission. Yu Hua (1960-present), a representative of avant-garde literature, has produced influential works including *To Live, Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, and *Brothers*. *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, first published in Harvest (1995) (Ma, 2019), was acclaimed as one of the "10 Most Influential Works of the 1990s" by China's leading critics and literary editors (Song, 2013). The novel's international edition, translated by Andrew F. Jones, has received widespread recognition across more than 40 countries. Critics have particularly praised its portrayal of Chinese family life during turbulent times, noting its blend of profound affection and dark humor (Jiang, 2010).

The novel serves as a profound reflection of Chinese society's transformations and individual destinies (Wang, 2021), embodying rich cultural connotations through its distinctive literary style and abundant culture-loaded terms. Previous research has identified significant challenges in translating such terms in Yu Hua's works, as exemplified by Zhao's (2022) analysis of voice transformation in *To Live. Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* presents similar

challenges, containing numerous culture-loaded terms that require careful consideration in translation.

To address these translation challenges systematically, this study employs eco-translatology, a theoretical framework developed by Hu (2008). This approach conceptualizes translation within an ecological framework, examining the interrelationships between textual ecosystems, translation environments, and translator adaptation. Comprehensive perspectives of eco-translatology make it particularly suitable for analyzing the translation of culture-loaded terms, as it considers linguistic, communicative and cultural dimensions of translation.

This study examines translation strategies for culture-loaded terms in the English translation of *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* through the "three-dimensional" transformation framework of eco-translatology. Specifically, it explores how translators employ different strategies across various categories of culture-loaded terms and identifies patterns in their adaptive selections across linguistic, communicative, and cultural dimensions. By analyzing specific examples and evaluating their effectiveness across linguistic, communicative, cultural dimensions, this study seeks to contribute to the broader discourse on cultural translation strategies and provide practical insights for translating Chinese literature in a global context.

Literature Review

Overview of Translation Studies on Yu Hua's work

Research on the translation of Yu Hua's works has evolved significantly over the past decades, encompassing various analytical perspectives and methodological approaches. This section presents a systematic review of existing scholarship, focusing on translation analyses and challenges.

Analysis of Yu Hua's Translated Works

Scholarly examination of Yu Hua's translated works has demonstrated increasing sophistication in methodology and scope. The field has witnessed

substantial development in translation study's methodology, from early explorations of basic translation principles to more nuanced analyses of cultural transfer and reader reception. Research in translation studies has primarily concentrated on study methodologies and theoretical frameworks (Jiang, 2024; Liu, 2014; Sun & Han, 2021; Wang, 2022; Zhou & He, 2024), and international dissemination patterns (Jiang, 2024). These studies have collectively contributed to a deeper understanding of how Yu Hua's works traverse linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Regarding *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* specifically, scholars have approached the text from various analytical angles. Wang (2022) conducted an in-depth analysis through communicative translation and semantic translation frameworks, revealing the intricate balance between maintaining semantic fidelity and achieving effective cross-cultural communication. Building on this foundation, Zhu & Wu (2022) examined its translation strategies from the perspective of fidelity principle, particularly focusing on how cultural elements and narrative style are preserved in translation.

Translation Challenges in Yu Hua's Works

Translating Yu Hua's literary works involves complex challenges at the intersection of language, culture, and ideology. Scholars have long recognized persistent cross-cultural communication barriers (Guo, 2010; Jiang, 2024; Li et al., 2022), yet efforts to systematically categorize these difficulties remain crucial to advancing translation practice. One such early and influential attempt is Liu's (2014) five-fold framework, which identifies core issues including the selection and implementation of translation strategies, sensitivity to ideological shifts, value divergences across cultures, and the representation of literary aesthetics.

The relationship between these challenges is notably dynamic and complex. Strategy selection directly influences methodological choices, while evolving ideological contexts can quickly render established translation approaches less effective. Cultural issues and dialect translation have emerged as particularly significant challenges (Wang, 2022; Wang & Quan, 2017), requiring translators to balance authenticity with accessibility. Yang (2019)

provided valuable insights through documenting actual translation experiences, highlighting specific challenges in translating seemingly simple but culturally loaded language, making concise expressions meaningful to target readers, maintaining narrative logical structures, and preserving emotional depth within simple language constructs.

More recent scholarships have expanded this understanding further. Studies have emphasized the importance of maintaining stylistic consistency across translations while preserving cultural nuances (Yu, 2024), managing varying levels of cultural acceptance in different target audiences (Zhao, 2020), and addressing emerging contemporary translation issues (Zhou & He, 2024). These challenges become particularly acute when dealing with culturally specific elements and historical references that may lack direct equivalents in target languages.

Culture-Loaded Terms

This section examines culture-loaded terms in translation, focusing on their definitions, classifications, and the translation challenges they present. It provides the conceptual background necessary for analyzing these culture-loaded terms in Yu Hua's literary works.

Definition and Classification

In 1996, Spanish translator Javier Franco Aixelá introduced the concept of culture-loaded terms in Western countries（Aixelá, 1996/1999). He argued that culture-loaded terms are textual elements that create translation challenges due to cultural differences between source and target languages, either because they do not exist in the target culture or because they carry different cultural connotations or functions. (Aixelá, 1996/1999, p. 58) Drawing on the comparison between source and target languages, Mona Baker (2018) defined culture-loaded terms as terms that are present in the source language and may lack direct equivalents in the target language. These words can be specific or abstract and may pertain to religious beliefs, social customs, or culinary traditions (Baker, 2018, p. 19-20). According to Newmark's view

(1988), culture-loaded terms are linguistic expressions that embody the distinctive ways of life and manifestations peculiar to a specific language community, reflecting cultural concepts that may lack equivalent representation in other language systems (Newmark, 1988, p. 94).

Different scholars have different classifications of culture-loaded terms. Nida (1945) classifies culture-loaded terms into five types: ecological, material, social, religious, and linguistic. Aixelá (1996/1999) categorizes culture-loaded terms into two main groups: proper nouns (further divided into conventional proper nouns and loaded proper names) and common expressions (encompassing objects, institutions, habits, and opinions specific to different cultures). Adapting Nida's classifications, Newmark (1988) classified culture-loaded terms into five categories: ecology, material culture, social culture, organizations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts, and gestures and habits. Among these, the influential and commonly employed method is to draw on Nida's classification of culture-loaded terms. Therefore, this study chooses Nida's classification of culture-loaded to conduct an analysis.

Challenges in Translating Culture-Loaded Terms

Currently, the translation of culture-loaded terms poses some difficulties: 1. lack of accuracy (Li & Zhao, 2013; Wang ＆ Yang, 2015); 2. cultural difference (Hao, 2015; Wang, 2011); 3. political issues; 4. lack of systematism and consistency (Li & Zhao, 2013). All these have affected the quality of foreign publicity and hindered Chinese culture "going global". The status quo points to one fact: the translation of culture-loaded terms calls for further study.

The translation of culture-loaded terms distinguishes between macro-level strategies and micro-level methods. At the macro level, Venuti's (1995) domestication and foreignization represent fundamental approaches, while Toury (1995) highlights the influence of translation norms on strategy selection. At the micro level, translators employ various methods: Newmark's (1988) literal and free translation and Baker's (2018) addition and omission, and Nida's (1964) dynamic equivalence. These methods can be flexibly combined

to serve the translator's chosen overall strategy when handling culture-loaded terms.

These established models offer important analytical tools for specific translation contexts. As a complementary approach, eco-translatology presents an integrative framework where strategy use is seen as adaptive behavior across linguistic, communicative and cultural dimensions. It views strategies as "the translator's selection of translation strategies or translation methods to adapt to the translational eco-environment" (Hu, 2020b, p. 248). This shift justifies re-examining classical strategies through a dynamic, multi-dimensional lens in translating culture-loaded terms.

Eco-Translatology Framework

The eco-translatological approach represents a significant paradigm shift in translation studies, offering a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding translation processes and outcomes. This section examines the development and application of eco-translatology in contemporary translation studies.

Theoretical Foundation and Development

The eco-translatological framework, rooted in ecological principles within translation studies (Wang, 2004), was further advanced through Professor Hu's pioneering work in developing the Translation Adaptation and Selection Theory (Hu, 2003) and the subsequent "three-dimensional" transformation framework (Hu, 2011). This theoretical system has gained increasing recognition for its holistic approach to translation analysis.

Recent applications of eco-translatology have demonstrated its versatility across various translation domains, including subtitle translation (Cao et al., 2022), political document translation (Li, 2024), and literary translation analysis (Zhang & Umeanowai, 2023). This broad application spectrum has both enriched the theoretical framework and provided practical insights for different translation contexts.

"Three-Dimensional" Transformation

"Three-dimensional transformation" in eco-translatology refers to the coordinated adaptation across linguistic, communicative and cultural dimensions, guided by the principles of multi-dimensional adaptation and adaptive selection (Hu, 2020a). These dimensions are interdependent and collectively constitute the ecological environment in which translators operate.

The linguistic dimension involves the restructuring of language elements to ensure clarity and stylistic appropriateness. The cultural dimension focuses on the accurate conveyance of cultural connotations, requiring sensitivity to both source and target cultures. The communicative dimension concerns the intended function and reception of the translation, aiming to preserve pragmatic intent (Hu, 2020a). As these dimensions interact dynamically, three-dimensional transformation becomes an integrative process that balances form, meaning, and function to achieve ecological equivalence.

Within this framework, translation strategies serve not as isolated techniques but as adaptive tools that enable transformation across dimensions. Different strategies are context-sensitive responses to ecological constraints (Hu, 2020b, p. 247). They function to achieve dynamic balance rather than mechanical equivalence (Hu, 2020a, p. 136), allowing for a flexible and purpose-driven approach to the translation of culture-loaded terms. This ecological perspective on translation strategies provides a valuable framework for analyzing how culture-loaded terms are handled in literary translation.

In conclusion, this study employs the three-dimensional transformation framework of eco-translatology to assess translation strategies for culture-loaded terms in Yu Hua's *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*. Translation choices are evaluated across linguistic, cultural, and communicative dimensions, demonstrating that effective translation necessitates adaptive selection—prioritizing the most relevant dimension for each context while preserving the overall textual ecology. Drawing on Nida's (1945) classification, this analysis excludes ecological terms due to their cross-cultural commonality and instead concentrates on the remaining four categories—material, social, linguistic, and religious culture-loaded terms. Through comparative textual analysis of the source text (ST) and target text (TT), this research investigates

how adaptive strategies address the unique challenges of translating culturally specific elements, balancing cultural specificity with communicative efficacy within an integrated theoretical framework.

Analysis of Translation of Culture-Loaded Terms from the Perspective of Eco-Translatology

This study selects eight culture-loaded terms from *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* based on the following considerations. Written in 1995, the novel portrays China's social transformation from the 1950s to the 1980s. The selected terms reflect this sociohistorical context and are crucial for international readers to grasp the temporal and cultural setting. Through Xu Sanguan's perspective, the narrative depicts grassroots life using plain yet culturally embedded language. These terms are not only vital for plot development and character portrayal but also serve as representative cases of different aspects of social and cultural life.

Therefore, this section analyzes the translation of these culture-loaded terms by first explicating their cultural significance in the source context, then identifying the translation strategies employed, and finally evaluating these strategies through the three-dimensional transformation model of eco-translatology—linguistic, communicative, and cultural. Alternative strategies are also considered to highlight the trade-offs between readability and cultural representation.

Material Culture-Loaded Terms

Material culture-loaded terms represent tangible cultural elements that reflect the physical manifestations of society, including artifacts, tools, clothing, food, and architectural features (Newmark, 1988, p. 97–98). In *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, such terms are particularly prevalent in descriptions of daily life and social activities, serving as crucial vehicles for conveying the authentic atmosphere of mid-20th-century China.

Example 1

ST: "Nǐ shì shuō Huáng Càn Càn de? Nà shì huángjīnguā;
pángbiān de, nà lùyōuyōu de shì lǎotàipóguā." (你是说黄灿灿的？
那是黄金瓜；旁边的，那绿油油的是老太婆瓜。) [Are you talking about
the golden yellow one? That's the golden melon; the bright
green one beside it is the old-lady melon.]。(Yu, 2013, p. 18)

TT: "Do you mean those shiny yellow ones? Those are Goldens.
The glossy green ones to the side are Old Lady melons." (Yu,
2003, p. 18)

Analysis: In the ST, the terms "黄金瓜" (huángjīnguā) and "老太婆瓜"
(lǎotàipóguā) refer to regionally specific melon varieties in Chinese agricultural
traditions. "黄金瓜", literally "golden melon", was historically recognized as one
of Shanghai's four famous melon varieties in the mid-20th century, while "老太
婆瓜", colloquially named "old lady melon", refers to the Huzhou melon variety,
traditionally valued for its soft texture considered suitable for elderly
consumption. The translation of these terms is particularly challenging as they
embody local agricultural knowledge and regional cultural identity that have no
direct equivalents in English-speaking cultures. In the English translation, they
are rendered as "Goldens" and "Old Lady melons" respectively, adopting
a literal translation strategy that preserves the basic semantic meaning while
adapting to target language conventions.

From an eco-translatological perspective, this strategy realizes
the linguistic dimension through semantic transparency and naturalness.
The communicative dimension is also served, as the terms remain intelligible
and contextually appropriate. Meanwhile, the cultural dimension is simplified,
since the historical background and regional specificity of the melons are not
made explicit.

Table 1

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Analysis
Literal Translation	Goldens / Old Lady Melons	Maintains linguistic fluency; reduces cultural specificity

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Analysis
Functional Description	Yellow specialty melons and soft green melons for the elderly	Enhances readability; extends text length
Transliteration + Annotation	Huangjingua (a prized Shanghai melon variety) / Laotaipogua (traditional Huzhou melon)	Preserves cultural integrity; creates textual intervention

The chosen approach represents a compromise that favors readability and narrative coherence over cultural detail—a decision aligned with the novel's primary function as literary entertainment rather than cultural documentation. It also contributes to what Venuti (1995) terms "domestication", where cultural differences are minimized to enhance readability for target audiences. A more balanced approach might incorporate brief contextual clues that hint at the cultural significance without disrupting narrative flow, thereby preserving some cultural depth while maintaining readability.

Example 2
ST: Xǔ Sānguān jǔqǐ shǒu shàng nà fù zǎo jiù pòlàn le de shǒutào, tā de shǒu yī yáobǎi, nà shǒutào shàng de duànxiàn hé yī jié yī jié de duàntóu jiù xiàng <u>bōlànggǔ</u> yīyàng huàngdàng qǐlái, Xǔ Sānguān shuō: "Zhè fù shǒutào dài le sān nián duō le." (许三观举起手上那副早就破烂了的手套，他的手一摇摆，那手套上的断线和一截一截的断头就像<u>拨浪鼓</u>一样晃荡起来，许三观说："这副手套戴了三年多了。") [Xu Sanguan raised the worn-out gloves in his hand. As he waved his hand, the broken threads and loose ends on the gloves swayed like <u>a rattle drum</u>. Xu Sanguan said, "I've worn these gloves for more than three years."] (Yu, 2013, p. 42)

TT: Xu Sanguan lifted up his hands to show them his tattered old gloves. When he waved his hands, loose threads swung back and forth like so many <u>pendulums</u> from the places where they'd already worn through. "I've worn this pair for three years now." (Yu, 2003, p. 43)

Analysis: The term "拨浪鼓" (bōlànggǔ) refers to a traditional Chinese folk rattle drum, often associated with children, vendors, and festivals. Structurally, it consists of a small double-sided drum with two beads attached

to strings, which strike the drum as it is rotated. In this scene, it serves as a vivid metaphor for the dangling threads of Xu Sanguan's tattered gloves, blending visual description with cultural resonance. The translation challenge lies in conveying both its physical attributes and rich cultural associations when used metaphorically in the text to describe the dangling threads of Xu Sanguan's tattered gloves. In the English translation, "拨浪鼓" is rendered as "pendulums", a shift from literal to free translation. While the metaphor is retained, the cultural specificity is replaced with a more general visual reference.

From the eco-translatological perspective, this strategy strengthens the linguistic and communicative dimensions: it ensures readability and allows target readers to grasp the intended image without requiring cultural knowledge. However, the cultural dimension is downplayed, as the term's folk connotations are not conveyed.

Table 2

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Free Translation	pendulums	Ensures target language fluency; diminishes cultural markers
Functional Equivalence	rattling back and forth	Focuses on sensory experience; sacrifices object specificity
Transliteration + Explanation	Chinese rattle-drums (bolanggu)	Preserves cultural reference; sacrifices sensory experience

The chosen approach represents a compromise that favors immediate visual comprehension and narrative fluency over cultural authenticity—a decision aligned with the novel's primary function as an engaging narrative rather than a cultural exposition. Although "pendulums" lacks cultural equivalence, it preserves narrative tone and visual clarity. In contexts where cultural representation is prioritized, such as literary anthologies or annotated editions, a literal rendering supplemented by brief explanation may offer a more ecologically balanced alternative.

Social Culture-Loaded Terms

Social culture-loaded terms encompass expressions that reflect interpersonal relationships, social hierarchies, customs, and behavioral norms deeply embedded in Chinese society (Newmark, 1988, p. 98–99). In *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, such terms frequently appear in familial interactions, community relationships, and social rituals, playing a vital role in portraying the complex social fabric of Chinese society.

> Example 3
> ST: Tā zài dàjiē shàng de xíngzǒu, shǐ tā de piàoliang xiàng chuānguò zhè zuò chéngzhèn de héliú yīyàng bèi rénmen suǒ shúxī, zài zhèlǐ rénmen dōu jiào tā Yóutiáo Xīshī... "Nǐmen kàn, Yóutiáo Xīshī zǒuguò lái le."... "Yóutiáo Xīshī zǒu dào bùdiàn lǐ qù le, tā tiāntiān dōu yào qù bùdiàn mǎi piàoliang de huābù." (她在大街上的行走，使她的漂亮像穿过这座城镇的河流一样被人们所熟悉，在这里人们都叫她<u>油条西施</u>……"你们看，<u>油条西施</u>走过来了。"…… "<u>油条西施</u>走到布店里去了，她天天都要去布店买漂亮的花布。") [Her walks along the street made her beauty as familiar to people as the river flowing through the town. Here, people called her the <u>Youtiao Beauty</u>... "Look, the <u>Youtiao Beauty</u> is coming."... "The <u>Youtiao Beauty</u> has gone into the fabric shop. She goes there every day to buy pretty printed cloth."] (Yu, 2013, p. 21)
>
> TT: Her strolls through the streets made everyone feel as if her pretty face were as familiar as the stream that flowed across town. And almost everyone in town knew her as the <u>Fried Dough Queen</u>. "Look, there goes the <u>Fried Dough Queen</u>. Did you see the <u>Fried Dough Queen</u> go into the fabric shop? She buys some pretty new pattern practically every day." (Yu, 2003, p. 21)

Analysis: The term "油条西施" combines "油条" (Yóutiáo), a common Chinese breakfast item, with "西施" (Xīshī), one of the Four Beauties in ancient China. Applied to Xu Yulan, this nickname blends everyday culinary reference with classical aesthetics, reflecting both her occupation and beauty. The term "西施" carries significant literary and historical connotations beyond mere physical beauty. Therefore, the term's complexity lies in "西施", which carries both beauty and historical-literary significance. The translation faces two challenges: conveying this dual meaning of "西施" and finding an English

equivalent for "油条". In the English translation, the term is rendered as "Fried Dough Queen," a strategy best described as free translation with cultural substitution. This choice preserves occupational identity and public prominence but omits the classical reference to feminine beauty embedded in "Xishi."

Table 3

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Cultural Substitution	Fried Dough Queen	Adapts to target language conventions; neutralizes historical reference
Descriptive Translation	the beautiful fried dough vendor	Clarifies meaning; loses cultural naming convention
Transliteration + Annotation	Youtiao Xi Shi (named after one of China's Four Great Beauties)	Maintains cultural allusion; challenges comprehension

From the eco-translatological perspective, the translation performs effectively in the linguistic and communicative dimensions, offering target readers a vivid and idiomatic expression. However, it weakens the cultural dimension, particularly by removing the intertextual resonance and aesthetic significance tied to "西施." This omission results in a flattened character image, stripping away the culturally coded femininity and elegance present in the source term.

This strategy reflects what Hu (2020a) describes as "adaptive selection," privileging readability and fluency over cultural specificity. However, given the richness of the source metaphor, alternative strategies may offer different benefits. As Liao (2000) argues, transliteration with annotation helps preserve the cultural essence of the original while enhancing the expressive range of the target language, which can be especially relevant for culturally-loaded terms like "Xi Shi" with significant historical connotations (Liao, 2000,

p. 239). This highlights the need to balance fluency with cultural representation when translating metaphorical expressions.

> Example 4
> ST: Xǔ Yùlán xīnxiǎng shì shéi lái le, zěnme huì yǒu zhème duō rén, tā jiù zǒu dào ménkǒu yī kàn, kàndào shì Fāng Tiějiàng tāmen, Xǔ Yùlán de liǎn yīxiàzi bái le, tā duì Xǔ Sānguān shuō: "Tāmen shì lái <u>chāojiā</u> de." (许玉兰心想事谁来了，怎么会有这么多人，她就走到门口一看，看到是方铁匠他们，许玉兰的脸一下子白了，她对许三观说"他们是来<u>抄家</u>的。") [Xu Yulan wondered who had come and why there were so many people. When she went to the door and saw it was Blacksmith Fang and the others, her face suddenly turned pale. She said to Xu Sanguan, "They've come to <u>confiscate</u> our property."] (Yu, 2013, p. 70–71)

> TT: Xu Yulan, wondering who all these people might be, walked to the door to see. When she saw that it was Blacksmith Fang, her face went white and she said to her husband, "They've come to <u>confiscate our things</u>." (Yu, 2003, p. 71)

Analysis: The term "抄家"(chāojiā) refers to politically motivated home raids and property confiscation during the Cultural Revolution period. Beyond its literal meaning, it carries deep socio-historical trauma in Chinese context. In the novel, this weight is conveyed through contextual elements that highlight fear and social disruption. A major translation challenge lies in conveying the term's historical dimension—its immediate recognition among Chinese readers as a marker of a specific historical period. The translation strategy employed can be classified as generalization with functional equivalence, prioritizing narrative coherence over cultural-historical specificity. The translator relies on surrounding context—Xu Yulan's pale face and evident fear—to communicate the severity without explicitly marking the term's historical significance.

From the eco-translatological perspective, this translation shows selective adaptation across different dimensions. The linguistic dimension achieves basic comprehensibility, while the communicative dimension successfully conveys the immediate narrative function—expressing the character's fear and the action's coercive nature. However, the cultural dimension experiences some reduction, as the specific historical-political weight of "抄家" is not fully captured.

Table 4

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Generalization	confiscate our things	Simplifies for readability; removes historical context
Functional Translation	raid our home and seize everything	Conveys severity of action; generalizes political specificity
Transliteration + Explanation	conduct a chaojia (political house raid during the Cultural Revolution)	Preserves historical context; interrupts narrative flow

The translation emphasizes narrative immersion and minimizes explicit cultural-historical references, relying on contextual cues rather than terminology to convey political undertones.

The translation of "抄家" demonstrates how translators navigate between cultural marking and narrative integration, representing an ecologically appropriate choice that maintains emotional coherence while allowing political dimensions to emerge through the unfolding story rather than explicit lexical signaling.

Linguistic Culture-Loaded Terms

Linguistic culture-loaded terms encompass expressions related to unique linguistic features, idioms, proverbs, colloquialisms, and other language-specific elements that are distinctive to the society (Liu & Qin, 2024). In *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, these terms appear frequently in character interactions and narrative descriptions, serving as critical elements in the story's cultural backdrop.

Example 5
ST: Xǔ Sānguān zài lǐwū yǎoyáqièchǐ, xīnxiǎng zhège nǚrén zhēnshi yòu bèn yòu chǔn, dōu shuō jiāchǒu bùkě wàiyáng,

kěshi zhège nǚrén zhǐyào wǎng ménkǎn shàng yī zuò, shénme
chǒushì dōu huì bèi hǎn chūqù. Tā zài lǐwū yǎoyáqièchǐ, tīngdào
Xǔ Yùlán hái zài wàimiàn kūsù. (许三观在里屋咬牙切齿，心想这个
女人真是又笨又蠢，都说家丑不可外扬，可是这个女人只要往门槛上一坐，
什么丑事都会被喊出去。他在里屋咬牙切齿，听到许玉兰还在外面哭诉。)
[Xu Sanguan gritted his teeth in the inner room, thinking how
stupid and foolish this woman was. There's a saying that family
shame should not be aired in public, but this woman would
broadcast all their shameful affairs as soon as she sat on
the doorstep. He continued grinding his teeth as he heard Xu
Yulan still crying and complaining outside.] (Yu, 2013, p. 37)

TT: Xu Sanguan stood inside the door gnashing his teeth in
frustration. This woman, he was thinking to himself, is a stupid
fool. You're not supposed to air your dirty laundry, and here
she is sitting on the doorstep crying for the whole world to hear,
and there's no telling what kind of idiocy she'll come up with
next. Xu Sanguan gnashed his teeth as he listened to Xu
Yulan's tearful litany. (Yu, 2003, p. 37)

Analysis: The idiom "家丑不可外扬"(jiāchǒu bùkě wàiyáng) encapsulates a traditional Chinese value that emphasizes keeping family disgrace private to protect collective honor. In this scene, the expression reflects Xu Sanguan's anger as his wife Xu Yulan publicly exposes their domestic conflicts. The phrase is culturally saturated, drawing on notions of propriety and social decorum, and functions as a moral reproach as well as a character judgment. Therefore, it presents a key translation challenge to express the original's embedded cultural attitudes toward family reputation and social harmony. In the English translation, the idiom is rendered as "air your dirty laundry," an established metaphor in English that conveys the act of revealing personal or shameful matters in public. This is a case of idiomatic substitution via free translation, in which form is sacrificed to preserve communicative function.

From the eco-translatological perspective, the choice maintains fluency and rhetorical tone within the linguistic and communicative dimensions, aligning with the conversational style of the novel. However, the cultural dimension is partly weakened: The family-honor ideology embedded in the source idiom are not explicitly conveyed, potentially flattening the sociocultural depth of the original.

Table 5

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Idiomatic Equivalence	air your dirty laundry	Achieves natural expression; shifts cultural framework
Communicative Paraphrase	keep family problems private	Clarifies behavioral norm; loses rhetorical force
Literal + Cultural Explanation	family shame should not be aired in public, as our tradition teaches	Retains cultural values; extends text length

While the idiomatic substitution conveys the intended emotional tone and pragmatic function, it represents a shift from the traditional ethical framing embedded in the original. This shift reflects a broader tendency in translation to prioritize communicative effectiveness over cultural or philosophical fidelity.

> Example 6
> ST: "Yǒu yī jù lǎohuà shuō de duì, jiàn duō shí guǎng, zhè yī nián ràng wǒ zhǎng le shí suì, rénxīn gé dùpí, zhīrén zhīmiàn bù zhīxīn. Dào le jīntiān hái bù zhīdào nà zhāng dàzìbào shì shéi xiě de, nǐ píngrì lǐ <u>xīnzhí kǒukuài</u>, dézuì le rén nǐ dōu bù zhīdào, wǎnghòu nǐ kě yào shǎo shuōhuà le, gǔrén shuō yánduōbìshī..." ("有一句老话说得对，叫见多识广，这一年让我长了十岁，人心隔肚皮、知人知面不知心。到了今天还不知道那张大字报是谁写的，你平日里<u>心直口快</u>，得罪了人你都不知道，往后你可要少说话了，古人说言多必失……") ["There's a saying that's true: experience broadens one's knowledge. This year has aged me by ten years. You can never truly know what's in someone's heart. To this day, we still don't know who wrote that big-character poster. You're too <u>straightforward and outspoken</u>, offending people without even knowing it. From now on, you should talk less. As the ancients said, 'The more one speaks, the more likely one is to err'..."] (Yu, 2013, p. 171)
>
> TT: "There's an old saying that still rings true. The more you see, the more you learn about the world. I think I must have aged ten years in the last few months. It's true that 'you can know a man's face but not his heart.' We still don't know who's responsible for that poster. Who knows? <u>You usually don't mince words</u>, so you might have offended any number of

people. From now on, you better be more careful. The ancients said that the more you say, the more you lose." (Yu, 2003, p. 173)

Analysis: The Chinese idiom "心直口快"(xīnzhí kǒukuài) refers to someone who speaks frankly and impulsively, often without regard for social consequences. While occasionally positive in tone, here it functions as a warning against indiscreet speech, reflecting cultural expectations of verbal restraint and emotional control. Therefore, the challenge in translating "心直口快" lies in balancing the need to maintain its critical tone while preserving the symmetrical structure of this four-character Chinese idiom. In the English translation, it appears as "you don't mince words," a fluent and idiomatic rendering. This reflects a free translation method based on idiomatic equivalence, emphasizing stylistic naturalness over cultural specificity.

From the eco-translatological perspective, the translation performs adequately in its communicative dimension, with "don't mince words" effectively preserving the critical undertone. In terms of the linguistic dimension, the symmetrical structure inherent in the four-character Chinese idiom "心直口快" is not reflected in the translation. Regarding the cultural dimension, the Chinese original embodies the traditional cultural attitudes toward straightforwardness—a complex mixture of appreciation for honesty and subtle criticism of lacking tactfulness—which is somewhat diminished in the English rendering. However, given that the idiom's primary function is character portrayal rather than cultural transmission, the compromise in both structural symmetry and cultural connotations can be considered a justifiable strategic choice in the translational eco-environment.

Table 6

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
literal translation	straight in heart, quick in speech	Preserves source form; compromises target language fluency

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Explanatory Translation	speak too frankly without thinking of consequences	Explicates social implications; becomes more verbose
Transliteration + Explanation	have that xinzhikoukuai temperament (being honest but tactless)	Preserves cultural concept; creates linguistic foreignization

The chosen translation "you don't mince words" successfully preserves both the semantic content and interpersonal tone. From an eco-translatological standpoint, the strategy prioritizes narrative coherence, with the partial loss of cultural specificity representing a contextually acceptable simplification.

Religious Culture-Loaded Terms

Religious culture-loaded terms refer to expressions that reflect the relationship between Chinese people and their religious beliefs, including religious rituals, doctrines, deities, and religious concepts specific to Chinese culture (Xiang, 2016). In Yu Hua's work, religious culture-loaded terms play a significant role in establishing the religious context and metaphorical framework of the narrative.

Example 7
ST: "Zhè jiù jiào <u>è yǒu è bào, shàn yǒu shàn bào</u>. Zuò le huài shì bù kěn chéngrèn, yǐwéi biérén jiù bù zhīdào le, lǎotiānyé de yǎnjing kě shì kàn de qīngqīngchǔchǔ..." ("这就叫<u>恶有恶报，善有善报</u>。做了坏事不肯承认，以为别人就不知道了，老天爷的眼睛可是看得清清楚楚…") ["This is what we call <u>karma - evil deeds bring evil consequences</u>, and good deeds bring good rewards. When people do wrong but refuse to admit it, thinking others won't know, Heaven's eyes see everything clearly..."] (Yu, 2013, p. 145)

TT: "This is what is meant by karma. <u>You get what you deserve</u>. You do something bad and try to pretend that you didn't do it, but Old Man Heaven always knows exactly what's going on…" (Yu, 2003, p. 146)

Analysis: The phrase "恶有恶报，善有善报" (è yǒu è bào, shàn yǒu shàn bào) expresses a traditional moral view grounded in Chinese Buddhism and folk ethics: that good and evil deeds will ultimately meet with corresponding reward or punishment. It serves as a culturally resonant warning, emphasizing the inevitability of moral retribution, often personified through divine observation. Translating this Buddhist-rooted phrase faces three challenges: First, conveying its Buddhist-rooted concept of moral retribution; second, maintaining its warning function about divine justice; and third, preserving the symmetrical parallel structure that reinforces the cause-effect relationship in the original.

In the translation, the phrase is rendered through a combined strategy: cultural substitution ("karma") and explanatory paraphrase ("you get what you deserve"). This reflects a balance between cultural retention and communicative accessibility.

From the eco-translatological perspective, the choice performs well across all three dimensions: the linguistic dimension partially preserves the original's symmetrical structure while maintaining fluency; the communicative dimension preserves tone and function; and the cultural dimension is retained through the globally recognized concept of karma.

Table 7

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Functional Equivalence	you get what you deserve	Achieves concise expression; secularizes religious concept
Semantic Translation	evil deeds will be punished, good deeds rewarded	Maintains moral message; flattens rhetorical structure
Cultural Equivalent + Explanation	karma: evil deeds bring evil returns, good deeds bring good rewards	Preserves religious framework; requires cultural knowledge

The chosen translation strategy preserves both ethical force and cultural familiarity, making it a successful example of adaptive equivalence across linguistic, communicative and cultural boundaries.

Example 8
ST: "Wǒ mìng kǔ a, Hé Xiǎoyǒng tǎng zài yīyuàn lǐ miàn dōu kuài yào sǐ le, yīshēng jiù bù liǎo tā, chéngxī de Chén xiānsheng yě jiù bù liǎo tā, zhǐyǒu Yīlè néng jiù tā, Yīlè yàoshi shàng le wǒ jiā wūdǐng qù hǎn hún, hái néng bǎ Hé Xiǎoyǒng de hún gěi hǎn huílái, Yīlè yàoshi bù qù hǎn hún, Hé Xiǎoyǒng jiù sǐ dìng le, wǒ jiù yào zuò guǎfu le..." ("我命苦啊，何小勇躺在医院里面都快要死了，医生救不了他，城西的陈先生也救不了他，只有一乐能救他，一乐要是上了我家屋顶去喊魂，还能把何小勇的魂给喊回来，一乐要是不去喊魂，何小勇就死定了，我就要做寡妇了……") ["Oh, how bitter my fate is! He Xiaoyong is lying in the hospital near death. The doctors can't save him, even Mr. Chen from the west side of town can't save him. Only Yile can save him. If Yile would go up on our roof to call back his soul, he might be able to summon He Xiaoyong's soul back. If Yile won't perform the soul-calling ritual, He Xiaoyong will surely die, and I'll become a widow..."] (Yu, 2013, p. 149)

TT: "My fate is bitter, He Xiaoyong is lying in the hospital on the brink of death, and the doctors can't do anything to help him. Mr. Chen over on the west side can't help either, Only Yile can save him. If only Yile would climb up on our roof and call his soul back from the brink, he might live. If Yile doesn't call back his soul, he'll die for sure. And I'll be left a widow." (Yu, 2003, p. 151)

Analysis: The term "喊魂"(hǎn hún) refers to a traditional Taoist ritual aimed at summoning a person's lost soul, typically performed when someone is gravely ill or unconscious. It reflects Chinese folk beliefs in the separability and mobility of the soul, and the perceived power of ritual speech to restore life force. In the narrative, this is presented not metaphorically, but as a culturally grounded and emotionally urgent intervention. The translation challenge of "喊魂" lies in capturing both its ritual dimension as a soul-summoning practice and its cultural belief that the soul can leave the body, while conveying that this is a real ritual people perform. In the English version, "喊魂" is rendered as "call his soul back," a literal translation strategy that conveys the basic action but omits reference to its ritualistic or spiritual context.

From the eco-translatological perspective, this translation functions effectively in the linguistic and communicative dimensions through its fluent expression and narrative tension. In the cultural dimension, however, the religious and communal aspects of the ritual are only partially transmitted, potentially leading readers to interpret it as fantasy or metaphor rather than a cultural practice.

Table 8

Comparison of Different Translation Methods in Three Dimensions

Alternative Strategy	Example Translation	Ecological Impact
Literal Translation	call his soul back	Maintains narrative flow; generalizes ritual specificity
Functional Description	perform a life-saving spiritual ritual	Highlights purpose; loses cultural-religious specificity
Transliteration + Explanation	perform the hanhun ritual (a Taoist soul-summoning ceremony)	Preserves religious practice; adds explanatory burden

While functionally effective, the chosen translation simplifies a culturally significant act. In contexts where cultural transmission is prioritized, a descriptive rendering may better preserve the ritual's symbolic and spiritual value.

Conclusion

This study examined the translation strategies for culture-loaded terms in Yu Hua's *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* through the lens of eco-translatology. The findings show how the translator achieves dynamic balance across linguistic, communicative and cultural dimensions by adopting adaptive strategies tailored to contextual demands. Material culture-loaded terms are mostly rendered through literal or free translation; social terms often involve free translation with cultural substitution or generalization; linguistic terms are handled with idiomatic expressions to ensure functional equivalence; and

religious terms combine cultural substitution, paraphrase, and literal translation—though some cultural depth may be lost. These strategies embody the translator's ecological choices and adaptive transformation in a multilingual context.

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations. It focuses on a single work and translator, with analysis limited to eight representative examples of culture-loaded terms. The qualitative approach, while detailed, lacks quantitative data and reader reception studies. Future research could address these limitations through comparative studies of multiple translations, quantitative analysis, and empirical studies of reader response. By advocating for flexible, adaptive, and audience-sensitive translation strategies, this study aligns with the broader goal of promoting sustainable multilingualism—ensuring that diverse cultural voices are preserved while enabling effective cross-cultural communication. Ultimately, the study underscores the importance of nuanced, flexible translation approaches that sustain both linguistic diversity and intercultural understanding.

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Xinyu Hou
Daliano užsienio kalbų universitetas, Kinija
2633676499@qq.com
Deyan Zou
Daliano užsienio kalbų universitetas, Kinija
deannazdy@163.com
Shuhan Zhang
Daliano užsienio kalbų universitetas, Kinija
978661958@qq.com

ADAPTYVIOS VERTIMO STRATEGIJOS KULTŪRINIU TURINIU PRISODRINTIEMS TERMINAMS KŪRINYJE „PREKIAUTOJO KRAUJU KRONIKA“: TRIMATĖ EKOLOGINĖ VERTIMO ANALIZĖ

Anotacija. Globalizacijos kontekste veiksmingas kultūros perdavimas per vertimą tapo aktualia problema, ypač verčiant literatūrinius kūrinius, nes kultūrinio turinio prisodrinti terminai kelia didelių iššūkių. Šiame tyrime nagrinėjamos vertimo strategijos, taikomos kultūriškai reikšmingiems terminams, Yu Hua kūrinyje „Prekiautojo krauju dienorašis“, remiantis Andrew F. Joneso vertimu į anglų kalbą. Laikantis ekotranslatologijos „trijų dimensijų“ transformacijos teorijos, apimančios lingvistinę, komunikacinę ir kultūrinę dimensijas, nagrinėjamas klausimas: kaip vertėjas taiko adaptyvias vertimo strategijas skirtingoms, kultūriškai reikšmingų terminų kategorijoms „Prekiautojo krauju kronikoje“, siekdamas dinamiškos pusiausvyros tarp trijų dimensijų? Aštuonių reprezentatyvių pavyzdžių kokybinė analizė, suskirstyta pagal Nidos kultūriniu turiniu prisodrintų terminų klasifikaciją, rodo: siekiant suderinti kultūrinį specifiškumą, selektyviai taikomi įvairūs vertimo metodai, tokie kaip pažodinis vertimas, laisvas vertimas ir aiškinamasis parafrazavimas. Nors vertėjas demonstruoja stiprią tendenciją siekti komunikacinio efektyvumo ir kalbinio sklandumo, neišvengiamai nukenčia tam tikras kultūrinis gilumas. Tyrime pateikti argumentai už labiau integruotą strategijos pasirinkimo metodą pagal ekotranslatologiją, išlaikantį kultūrinį vientisumą ir nekenkiantį skaitymui. Analizuojant išryškėjo vertėjų strateginiai prioritetai, susiję su skirtingo kultūrinio turinio prisodrintais terminais, ir jų pasekmės kultūrinei transliacijai, pateikiant įžvalgas apie kalbos, komunikacinio ir kultūrinio aspektų pusiausvyrą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: ekotranslatologija; Yu Hu; kinų literatūra; kultūriškai įkrauti terminai; literatūros vertimas.

Giedrė Pranaitytė
Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Lietuva

LAISVĖS, KRIKŠČIONIŠKOJO TIKĖJIMO RAIŠKOS IR CENZŪROS SANKIRTOS GROŽINĖS LITERATŪROS VERTIMUOSE: HARRIETOS BEECHER STOWE ROMANO „DĖDĖS TOMO TROBELĖ" ATVEJIS

Anotacija. Literatūros kūrinių vertimo ir cenzūros sąsajos yra viena įdomiausių mokslinės analizės sričių, apimanti ne tik lingvistines ar kultūrines, bet ir politines problemas. Šiame straipsnyje dėmesys sutelkiamas į sovietinę cenzūrą amerikiečių autorės Harrietos Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" vertimui į lietuvių kalbą, publikuotam 1951 metais. Pirmiausia, atliekant šį tyrimą, siekta įdėmiau pažvelgti į teorinius svarstymus apie glaudų ir ne visada deramai įvertinamą vertimo ryšį su politika. Atlikus skirtingų mokslinių šaltinių apžvalgą, galima drąsiai tvirtinti, kad Nicole'ės Doerr (2018) prielaida dėl politinio vertimo dominavimo yra pakankamai pagrįsta. Cenzūros įsigalėjimą iš esmės palaikė autorių ir vertėjų baimė dėl literatūros kūrinių tematikos ir potencialiai negatyvaus politinio literatūros traktavimo. Tiriamojoje straipsnio dalyje nagrinėjama, kaip sovietinės cenzūros kontrolė trukdė „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" vertime į lietuvių kalbą deramai perteikti autorės religines įžvalgas, slypinčias originaliame knygos tekste, kadangi jos glaudžiai susietos su Šventojo Rašto knygų fragmentais. Sovietų ideologijos priešiškumas krikščionybės idėjoms ir krikščioniškosioms vertybėms buvo sistemingas ir nuoseklus, nes būtent autentiškas tikėjimo praktikavimas tapo esmine kliūtimi komunistinio režimo siekiui kurti naują sovietinį žmogų skurdinant požiūrių įvairovę ir naikinant religinę pasaulėžiūrą.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: „Dėdės Tomo trobelė"; Harrieta Beecher Stowe; krikščionybė; politinis vertimas; sovietinė cenzūra; tikėjimas.

Įvadas

Subtilus vertėjo santykis su grožinės literatūros tekstu dažnai kelia įvairių klausimų tiek skaitytojams, tiek socialinių reiškinių analitikams, tiek šią veiklos sritį tyrinėjantiems mokslininkams. Kaip teigia brazilų vertimo ekspertė profesorė Marie-Hélène Catherine Torres, visada būtina prisiminti, kad „literatūros kūrinių vertėjas sąmoningai ar nesąmoningai dalyvauja kovoje už matomumą, t. y. tarptautinį literatūros pripažinimą", todėl jam neretai tenka sunki atsakomybė profesionaliai nuspręsti, kad „bus perteikiama viena kultūrinė ir literatūrinė tam tikros sistemos vizija, o ne kita" (Torres, 2012, p. 53). Praktiniu lygmeniu taip pat iškyla sudėtinga dilema, nes vertėjas turi ne tik atskleisti skaitytojui dar nepažįstamus svetimos kultūros elementus, bet ir įskiepyti juos į savąją kultūrą tarsi kitos rūšies obels šakelę į jauną vaismedį. Dažniausiai taip siekiama išplėsti kultūrines ribas, pagilinti vertybinį supratimą bei supažindinti skaitytoją su menkiau pažįstamais socialiniais ir istoriniais reiškiniais.

Perteikiant originalų literatūros kūrinį gimtąja kalba, vertėjui tenka susidurti su įvairiomis gyvenimo sritimis, o jų ypatumai neretai sunkiai išreiškiami lingvistinėmis priemonėmis. Pavyzdžiui, religinės praktikos ir mistinės patirtys dažnai pasitelkiamos skirtingose kultūrose ir perteikiamos grožinėje literatūroje, kad atskleistų visuomenės moralinį kompasą, jos pokyčius ir žmonių vidinio gyvenimo modelius. Be to, nagrinėdami verstinius literatūros tekstus, galime daugiau sužinoti, kaip kitõs kultūros erdvei priklausantys žmonės reaguoja į egzistuojantį kalbos barjerą, ir parodyti, kokiais būdais žmonijos istorijos tėkmėje transformuojasi kiekvienos kalbos turima galia keisti tikrovę. Galiausiai, svarbu atsižvelgti į verčiamų tekstų pobūdį ir potencialius jų skaitytojus, nes, vertimo teoretiko Eugene'o Nidos nuomone, „santykis tarp žinios ir jos priėmėjo turi būti iš esmės toks pat, koks buvo tarp pirminių priėmėjų ir žinios" (Nida, 1964, p. 159). Paprastai siekiama, kad brandžiam skaitytojui skirtas literatūrinio teksto vertimas būtų išsamus ir tikslus, o vaikų literatūroje – lengvai suprantamas ir įdomus, perteikiantis esminę autoriaus idėją; todėl antruoju atveju lieka daugiau erdvės vertėjo interpretacijai ir galimoms teksto adaptacijoms. Įdomu, kad pirmasis sutrumpintas ir adaptuotas Harrietos Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo

trobelė" vertimas lietuvių kalba buvo išleistas dar 1923 metais. Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos puoselėtojas ir redaktorius Jonas Jablonskis apžvalginėje recenzijoje, skirtoje šiam tekstui aptarti, išsakė daug kritinių pastabų, esą vertėjas K. Karklys „visai nepasirūpinęs savo vertimo kalbos dalyku", todėl prastos kokybės leidinys „nedaro nei garbės, nei naudos Lietuvos mokyklai" (Jablonskis, 1959, p. 302). Griežtas nurodytų klaidų ir leksinių netikslumų įvertinimas liudija didelį dėmesį profesinei vertėjo atsakomybei ir kartu rodo Lietuvos visuomenės jautrumą redaktoriaus darbui bei rašytinės kalbos taisyklingumui.

Esama dar vieno svarbaus aspekto – mūsų dienomis literatūros kūrinių vertimas vis dažniau suvokiamas ne tik kaip intensyvių pastangų reikalaujanti lingvistinė veikla ar sudėtingas intelektualinis iššūkis, bet ir kaip svarbių, kartais kontroversiškų politinių įžvalgų perteikimo priemonė. Moiros Inghilleri teigimu, įvairūs literatūros kūriniai neretai suvokiami „kaip potencialiai įtakingi" būtent dėl savo perteikiamos ideologinės ar vertybinės žinios, todėl politinio elito atstovai tam tikrais atvejais gali imtis aktyviai kontroliuoti „kultūrinės gamybos procesus per įvairias cenzūros formas" (Inghilleri, 2018, p. 147). Kasdieniame darbe vertėjams neretai kyla esminių praktinių klausimų: kokius literatūros kūrinius iš tiesų reikia versti? Kaip prisitaikyti prie oficialiosios politikos tendencijų ir išvengti cenzūros gniaužtų? Šių atsakymų paieškos gali būti ilgos, sudėtingos ir jautrios, ypač jei valstybės santvarka nėra demokratinė.

Šiame straipsnyje dėmesys skiriamas sovietinės cenzūros apraiškoms, kurių galima aptikti skaitant 1951 m. „Valstybinės grožinės literatūros leidyklos" išleistą Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" vertimą į lietuvių kalbą (vertėja Vanda Šiugždinienė). Per kelis vėlesnius dešimtmečius knygos leidimas buvo kartojamas redaktoriams minimaliai pataisius stilių, tačiau taip ir neatkūrus cenzūruotų romano vietų. Analizuojant Šiugždinienės vertimo tekstą, akivaizdu, kad sovietų cenzoriams labiausiai kliuvo būtent krikščioniškieji kūrinio aspektai ir aktyvią religinę praktiką liudijantys kultūros elementai. Be to, pasitaikė ir praleistų istorinių faktų; tikėtina, kad tai galėjo nutikti dėl elementarios patikimų žinių stokos, atsiradusios gyvenant Sovietų Sąjungoje, geležine uždanga atskirtiems nuo laisvojo pasaulio.

Turint omenyje sudėtingą literatūros vertimų, politikos ir

krikščioniškosios pasaulėžiūros santykį, straipsnyje siekiama atsakyti į tris tiriamuosius klausimus: 1) Kokioms aplinkybėmis literatūrinio kūrinio vertimas gali būti laikomas politiniu veiksmu? 2) Dėl kokių priežasčių užsienio literatūros kūrinių vertimai patekdavo į sovietų cenzorių rankas? 3) Kaip sovietinės cenzūros kontrolė sumenkino galimybes lietuvių kalba perteikti Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" krikščioniškąją žinią? Be abejo, siekiama aptarti įdomiausius minėto romano lietuviškojo vertimo ir originalaus teksto skirtumus, kurie atskleidžia cenzūros taikymą praktikoje. Šiame straipsnyje dėmesys sutelktas į konkretų Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" vertimą į lietuvių kalbą, tačiau ateityje būtų tikslinga atlikti kelių sovietų okupacijos laikotarpiu cenzūruotų literatūros kūrinių lyginamąją analizę ir atskleisti dar platesnę mokslinę perspektyvą. Rašant straipsnį naudotasi viešai prieinamais tekstais, moksliniais šaltiniais ir leidiniais, publikuotais lietuvių, anglų ir prancūzų kalbomis, kad būtų užtikrinta kuo didesnė skirtingų požiūrių ir akademinių interpretacijų įvairovė.

Mokslinės įžvalgos apie literatūros kūrinio vertimo tapsmą politiniu veiksmu

Beecher Stowe asmenybė šiuolaikinėje amerikiečių pasaulėžiūroje glaudžiai siejama su skirtingų rasių lygybės siekiu, abolicionizmo idėjomis ir krikščioniškojo švietimo idealais. 1852 m. atskira knyga publikuotas romanas „Dėdės Tomo trobelė", be abejo, laikomas populiariausiu rašytojos kūriniu, tačiau jo kelias į literatūrinį pripažinimą buvo sudėtingas ir truko net kelis dešimtmečius. Denise Kohn, Sarah Meer ir Emily B. Todd įžvalgiai pažymi, kad Beecher Stowe literatūrinis paveldas, nepaisant didelio populiarumo visame pasaulyje, tebėra interpretuojamas skirtingai: viena vertus, ji dažnai įvardijama kaip „amerikiečių autorė, rašanti apie amerikietiškas problemas", kita vertus, reikia pripažinti, kad „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" simboliškai atskleidžia anuo metu jau įvykusį lemtingą „kultūrinės įtakos posūkį, kai amerikiečių rašytojai nutolo nuo europietiškų modelių imitavimo ir perėjo prie naujų, tik amerikiečiams būdingų, meno formų eksporto" (Kohn, Meer ir Todd, 2006, p. xi). Be to, itin novatoriška, kad šio romano tekste atvirai keliamas moralinis iššūkis Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose tuo laikotarpiu egzistavusiai socialinei ir

politinei santvarkai, pabrėžiant juodaodžių vergovės apraiškų ir autentiškų krikščioniškųjų vertybių priešpriešą. Būtent šio romano provokuojančios kontroversijos puikiai iliustruoja tyrėjos Nicole'ės Doerr teorines įžvalgas: mokslininkė siūlo puoselėti politinio vertimo sampratą, kadangi vertėjai, kuriems tenka tarpininkų tarp skirtingų kultūrų vaidmuo, neretai stimuliuoja tam tikrą intelektualinį ryšį su politinę galią turinčiais lyderiais, bet kartu ir pristato jau kitokį požiūrį į susidariusį *status quo,* todėl „praktikams ir teoretikams aišku, kad visokeriopas vertimas yra politinis" (Doerr, 2018, p. 68).

Laisvė ir tikėjimas – dvi esminės romano temos, tačiau dėl egzistencinių klausimų ir kultūrinių skirtumų dažnai kyla tokios iniciatyvos kaip „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" vertimų į kitas kalbas adaptavimas ir cenzūravimas. Vokiečių tyrinėtoja Annika Rosbach, kalbėdama apie dažniausiai pasitaikančius minėto romano originalaus teksto ir vertimo į vokiečių kalbą skirtumus, akcentuoja kultūrinį dėmenį ir tvirtina, kad vertimo proceso metu „kultūrinis turinys perkeliamas iš vienos terpės, t. y. kalbos, į kitą kalbą", todėl vertėjui atitenka ne tik neutralaus tarpininko, bet ir aktyvaus kūrėjo vaidmuo, nes jo verčiamas „tekstas yra ne tik tas pats tekstas kita kalba, bet taip pat kultūrų ir kalbų sąlyčio zona" (Rosbach, 2015, p. 77). Vis dėlto, šiame subtiliame kontekste žalingą cenzūros fenomeną derėtų aptarti plačiau, nes būtent jis dažnai pasitelkiamas kaip veiksmingas įrankis, padedantis atmesti ideologiškai nepageidaujamas interpretacijas ir taip paveikti vidines skaitytojų nuostatas. Tyrinėtoja Francesca Billiani pabrėžia, kad cenzūrą reikėtų suvokti kaip „prievartinį ir jėga paremtą veiksmą, kuris įvairiais būdais ir skirtingais lygmenimis blokuoja, manipuliuoja bei kontroliuoja tarpkultūrinę ir transnacionalinę sąveikas", o išsamiau analizuojant šio negatyvaus veiksmo žalingas pasekmes būtina prisiminti: „siekiant apriboti žodžio ir komunikacijos laisvę, cenzūra nustato, kas turi būti priimtina estetiniu, socialiniu ir kultūriniu požiūriu" (Billiani, 2020, p. 56). Skirtingose žmonijos istorijos epochose cenzūros ir kūrybos laisvės santykis ne kartą drastiškai keitėsi. Mokslinėje literatūroje taip pat gausu įvairių interpretacijų, tačiau bene taikliausiai savo viešoje kalboje „Apie cenzūrą" šį reiškinį apibūdino indų kilmės britų rašytojas Salmanas Rushdie:

Jei kuriantis menininkas nerimauja, ar rytoj vis dar bus laisvas,

vadinasi, jis nebebus laisvas jau šiandien. Jei jis bijo savo pasirinktos temos ar pasekmių dėl jos traktavimo būdo, jo pasirinkimą lems ne talentas, o baimė. Jei nesame įsitikinę savo laisve, vadinasi, nesame laisvi. <...> Efektyviausiai veikiant, cenzoriaus melui iš tikrųjų pavyksta pakeisti menininko tiesą. Manoma, kad tai, kas cenzūruojama, nusipelnė cenzūros. (Rushdie, 2012, p. 3–4)

Panašią dilemą profesiniame gyvenime patiria ir vertėjas, nes turi apsispręsti, kaip tinkamai perteikti konkretaus literatūros kūrinio idėją, ką reikia pabrėžti, o ką, galbūt, praleisti. Šį sprendimą priimti tampa dar sunkiau dėl demokratijos trūkumo, autoritarizmo apraiškų ar net totalitarinių politinių režimų įsigalėjimo. Svarbu prisiminti, kad Šiugždinienės atliktas Beecher Stowe romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" vertimas pasiekė lietuvių skaitytojus dar Josifo Stalino vadovavimo Sovietų Sąjungai metais, kai pasitelkus karinę jėgą buvo įtvirtinama Lietuvos okupacija, o tremčių ir fizinio susidorojimo grėsmė nepaklūstantiems primestai prievartai buvo reali ir aiškiai suvokiama.

Užsienio literatūros kūrinių vertimai ir jų kontrolė sovietų cenzūros akiratyje

Stalino stiprinama ir vėlesnių Sovietų Sąjungos komunistinių lyderių aktyviai palaikoma cenzūra naikino vertėjų laisvę savarankiškai rinktis ir versti naujus, aktualius literatūros kūrinius. Oficiali planuojamų publikuoti vertimų tvirtinimo procedūra paprastai buvo vykdoma keliais skirtingais lygmenimis. Tyrinėtoja Samantha Sherry nurodo, kad „pagrindinis sovietų cenzūros aparato padalinys buvo Vyriausioji literatūros ir leidybos reikalų valdyba, dažniausiai žinoma sutrumpinta savo pilno pavadinimo forma *Glavlitas*", kuris kelias būstines turėjo įvairiuose sovietų okupuotos Lietuvos miestuose; tačiau žemesniame lygmenyje papildomą būsimų leidinių patikrą dar atlikdavo „griežtai reguliuojama ir centralizuota leidybos sistema, taip pat užtikrinanti, kad cenzūra būtų įtvirtinta leidyklų ir žurnalų veikloje" (Sherry, 2015, p. 45 ir 54). Europietiškos ir amerikietiškos literatūros prieinamumo ribojimas sovietiniam režimui buvo paranki priemonė siekiant keisti Lietuvos žmonių pasaulėžiūrą. Klasikiniai grožinės literatūros kūriniai neišvengiamai skatino skaitytojus laisvai mąstyti, kritikuoti nerimą keliančius socialinius reiškinius,

puoselėti moralines vertybes. Tai visiškai nesiderino su komunistų vadovybės siekiu užtikrinti savosios ideologijos dominavimą, nepalikus erdvės galimoms alternatyvoms. Komentuodamas šį sudėtingą laikotarpį ir neigiamą jo poveikį laisvos minties sklaidai, istorikas Arūnas Streikus tvirtina:

> XX a. penktojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje prasidėjo lemiama Lietuvos kultūrinio gyvenimo sovietizavimo stadija. Pasikeitę viešos retorikos akcentai, represinių priemonių naudojimas, knygų leidybos ir periodinės spaudos kontrolės griežtinimas, aktyvesni *Glavlito* veiksmai valant knygų fondus rodė valdžios pastangas kuo greičiau įdiegti vėlyvajam stalinizmui būdingą visuotinės ideologinės kontrolės modelį. (Streikus, 2009, p. 87)

Geriausiu atveju, draudžiamos knygos likdavo nesunaikintos ir patekdavo į specialiuosius bibliotekų fondus, prieinamus tik siauram režimo jau patikrintų žmonių ratui. Nepageidaujamų leidinių laikymas asmeninėse bibliotekose jų savininkams galėjo sukelti daug nemalonumų, įskaitant kratas ir konfiskaciją. Lietuvoje patriotines nuostatas puoselėjusių inteligentų namuose dažnai būdavo slepiama Adolfo Šapokos „Lietuvos istorija", nes būtent šis istorikas „akcentavo tautinę ambiciją kovoti dėl vietos tarp pasaulio tautų, grumtis dėl teisės pasaulio kultūroje tarti kuo garsesnį lietuvišką žodį" (Selenis, 2008, p. 15). Sovietinio saugumo pareigūnų susidomėjimą taip pat kėlė 1931 m. publikuota Stasio Matijošaičio-Esmaičio „Lietuvos istorijėlė" ir kiti dar prieškariu parašyti vadovėliai, nes tokiuose leidiniuose būdavo pateikiamas sovietams nepalankus požiūris į Lietuvai svarbiausius istorinius įvykius. Be to, kai kurios visame pasaulyje pripažintos verstinės knygos, pavyzdžiui, britų autoriaus George'o Orwello romanai „Gyvulių ūkis" ir „1984-ieji" arba Friedricho Nietzsche'ės filosofiniai veikalai, ilgus dešimtmečius taip pat buvo priskiriamos griežtai draudžiamos užsienio literatūros kategorijai.

Estų tyrinėtoja Epp Lauk nurodo, kad visoje Sovietų Sąjungos teritorijoje įvestą cenzūrą buvo mėginama pateisinti potencialiomis išorės ir vidaus grėsmėmis, įvairiems politiniams oponentams tariamai siekiant „užpulti ir sunaikinti socializmą, todėl sovietiniai žmonės turėjo būti budrūs ir nepasitikėti viskuo, kas nebuvo oficialiai patvirtinta" (Lauk, 1999, p. 22). Ypač griežtą cenzorių patikrą patirdavo knygos, kuriose būdavo nagrinėjami tikėjimo ir asmeninio apsisprendimo klausimai. Religinės idėjos literatūros kūriniuose

būdavo atmetamos kaip itin pavojingos, o krikščioniškas nuostatas palaikantys asmenys iš anksto laikomi nepakankamai lojaliais komunistinei santvarkai. Sovietų Sąjungoje dirbusių literatų ir menininkų kūryba tapo gana skurdi ir ideologizuota, ypač sovietiniam režimui privertus juos laikytis socialistinio realizmo sąlygotų ribojimų. Lenkų mokslininkas Jacekas Wojciechas Kwiatkowskis teigia, kad „socialistinis realizmas sąmoningai ignoravo visą krikščioniškosios viduramžių Europos palikimą", nes krikščionybės tradicija grindžiamos kultūros apraiškos neatitiko ateistinę pasaulėžiūrą ginančio sovietinio žmogaus modelio (Kwiatkowski, 2018, p. 148). Komunistinės valdžios aparatui atstovaujančių pareigūnų politinės ambicijos kontroliuoti verstinės literatūros srautą sudarė palankias galimybes įtvirtinti dar griežtesnę cenzūravimo praktiką, nepalikus atsitiktinių spragų laisvos intelektualinės minties sklaidai.

Būtent dėl ideologinių priežasčių įvairių vakarietiškų kūrinių dalys neretai būdavo pašalinamos kupiūruojant jau parengtų vertimų tekstus baigiamuoju leidybos etapu. Kaip teigia socialistinio realizmo poveikį vertimo teorijos ir praktikos vystymuisi nagrinėjusi Susanna Witt, sovietinėje tikrovėje literatūros vertimų svarba smarkiai sunyko dėl „daugiausia neigiamo požiūrio į vertėjus kaip į „nepatikimą" žmonių kategoriją", tačiau būtina pabrėžti, kad užsienyje kuriančio rašytojo vaidmuo paprastai būdavo laikomas svarbesniu nei jo kūrinių tekstus kitakalbiams skaitytojams perteikiančio profesionalaus vertėjo darbas (Witt, 2016, p. 52). Menkinant vertėjo darbo reikšmę, buvo tikslingai siekiama dar didesnio kūrybinės laisvės suvaržymo: konkretaus leidinio redaktorius neretai tapdavo dar vienu cenzoriumi, o vertėjų ir valstybinių leidyklų bendradarbiavimą smarkiai komplikuodavo dažni įtarinėjimai politiniu nepatikimumu ir neklusnumu sovietų režimui.

Britų žurnalistas Johnas Selfas, nagrinėdamas cenzūros apraiškas skirtingais istorijos laikotarpiais, apibūdina sudėtingą literatūros ir politinės galios santykį tokiais žodžiais: „Knygos perteikia žinias, o žinios yra galia, todėl jos kelia grėsmę valdžiai – tiek vyriausybėms, tiek save valdžion pasiskyrusiems lyderiams, kurie nori turėti žinių monopolį ir kontroliuoti savo piliečių mąstymą. Veiksmingiausias būdas realizuoti šią galią knygoms – jas uždrausti" (Self, 2022, p. 2). Vis dėlto, intelektualinių impulsų stokojantys skaitytojai sovietų okupuotoje Lietuvoje dažnai ieškodavo neteisėtų būdų gauti

draudžiamų tekstų, todėl palaipsniui atsirado įvairių pogrindžio sąlygomis išspausdintų leidinių. Sovietų Rusijos teritorijoje netgi veikė neoficiali sistema, plačiau žinoma kaip „sovietinis *samizdato* fenomenas, remiamas suinteresuotų skaitytojų, kad būtų dauginami ir platinami draudžiami tekstai", todėl ten gana sėkmingai ir sparčiai augo „klestinti juodoji užsienio literatūros rinka, susiformavusi reaguojant į pasaulinės literatūros kūrinių poreikį tarp rusų skaitytojų" (Baer, Müller, St-Pierre ir Cuilleanáin, 2012, p. 95). Pažymėtina, kad prancūzų kalba rašiusio poeto ir lietuvių diplomato Oscaro V. Miloszo (Oskaro Milašiaus) kūrybos tritomis, slapta parengtas Kauno intelektualų ir iliustruotas grafikės Gražinos Didelytės piešiniais, yra vienas įdomiausių tokios nelegalios verstinės literatūros pavyzdžių mūsų šalyje.

Pogrindinės lietuviškos spaudos leidėjas ir redaktorius Algirdas Patackas, vėliau tapęs Kovo 11-osios akto signataru ir Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo nariu, straipsnyje „Oskaro V. Milašiaus grįžimo į Lietuvą vingiai" prisiminė, kad pastangos intelektualiai priešintis ir kūrybinės aspiracijos laikinojoje sostinėje buvo ryškiai juntamos, todėl „sumanyta išleisti pilną O. V. M. raštų rinkinį – ne tik poeziją, bet ir jo poetines misterijas bei dramas", o tuos tekstus lietuvių kalba parengė sovietų žlugdytas ir galimybės dirbti netekęs Vaclovas Šiugždinis, kuris okupacijos metais „taip ir liko „nespausdintinu", nors turėjo aukščiausią vertėjo iš prancūzų kalbos kvalifikaciją" (Patackas, 2012, p. 9–11). Pabrėžtina, kad profesinių pareigų netektis ir kasdienio pragyvenimo šaltinio praradimas dažnai tapdavo eliminavimo iš visuomenės forma, palaikančia stiprią lietuvių inteligentijos baimę ir paprastai taikoma tiems sovietiniam režimui priešiškiems žmonėms, kuriems per stebuklą pavyko išvengti blogesnės lemties: įkalinimo, Sibiro tremties arba prievartinio psichiatrinio gydymo.

Krikščioniškojo tikėjimo apraiškos kaip ideologinė kliūtis sovietų cenzoriams „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" vertime į lietuvių kalbą

Beecher Stowe romanas „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" pradedamas kelių puslapių apimties autorės įvadiniu žodžiu, kuris neįdėtas į lietuviškąjį vertimą. Šiame originaliame tekste aptariamas ir įvertinamas tuo istorijos laikotarpiu

JAV teritorijoje egzistavęs juodaodžių asmenų vergovės reiškinys. Jis aiškiai pasmerkiamas remiantis krikščioniškosios moralės principais. Įdomu, kad rašytoja ypač pabrėžia svarbų meno kūrėjų vaidmenį, jiems savo profesine veikla siekiant teisingesnės visuomenės ir kartu užtikrinant „didžiųjų krikščioniškosios brolybės principų plėtrą" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 1; vertimas – šio straipsnio autorės). Įdomu, kad žmogaus laisvės kaip Dievo dovanos idėją Beecher Stowe glaudžiai susieja su Senajame Testamente pasakojama pranašo Mozės vadovaujamų izraelitų išėjimo iš Egipto vergovės istorija. Be to, pabrėžiama kiekvieno krikščionio pareiga priešintis priespaudai. Rašytoja drąsiai tvirtina, kad žmogaus laisvė priklauso vien tik Dievui net tada, kai „politikai ginčijasi, o žmonės, veikiami prieštaringų interesų ir aistrų, svyruoja tai į vieną, tai į kitą pusę" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 3; vertimas – šio straipsnio autorės). Ji neapsiriboja pateikusi vien savo įžvalgas, bet kelis kartus remiasi ir Biblija, cituodama 72 psalmę bei Izaijo knygos 42 skyrių, kuriame kalbama apie Viešpaties pažadą atstatyti prarastą teisingumą ir sustiprinti persekiojamus tikinčiuosius. Be abejo, gausios Šventojo Rašto citatos, tvirta krikščioniška pozicija ir raginimas ginti teisę gyventi laisvam prieštaravo Sovietų Sąjungoje puoselėjamai ateistinei pasaulėžiūrai. Kadangi šio teksto skleidžiamos moralinės žinios neįmanoma priderinti prie sovietinės cenzūros reikalavimų, jis buvo tiesiog pašalintas iš lietuvių kalba parengto leidinio.

Originaliame romano tekste pagrindinio veikėjo vergo Tomo autentiškas santykis su krikščionybe pirmą kartą detaliau paaiškinamas jo šeimininko Arturo Šelbio pokalbyje su atvykusiu vergų prikliu Denu Heiliu: „He got religion at a camp-meeting, four years ago; and I believe he really *did* get it" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 6). Skaitant šį trumpą sakinį tampa visiškai aišku, jog Tomo atsivertimas į krikščionybę yra įvykęs jau prieš ketverius metus, jam apsilankius religiniame sambūryje. Kaip nurodoma internetiniame leidinyje „Encyclopaedia Britannica", angliškas terminas *camp-meeting* būdavo vartojamas kalbant apie evangelizacinį renginį, dažniausiai įvardijamą kaip „tam tikro pobūdžio dvasinio atgimimo susirinkimas po atviru dangumi", nes tokius viešus sambūrius „XIX amžiuje Amerikos pasienyje rengdavo įvairios protestantų denominacijos" (Petruzzello, 2021, p. 1). Juose paprastai būdavo giedama, priimami sakramentai, meldžiamasi, o daugeliui nuošaliose nausėdijose ar tolimuose pasienio regionuose gyvenančių žmonių

pasitaikydavo reta galimybė susitikti ir pasidalyti tikėjimo patirtimi. Romano tekste lietuvių kalba ši frazė nėra išversta, palikta tik dalis apibūdinimo, tiesiog įrašius daugtaškį cenzūruotoje vietoje: „Tomas yra geras, patikimas, sumanus ir pamaldus žmogus ..." (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 6). Šis praleidimas nuskurdina vertimą, nes ne tik sunaikinamas pagrindinio herojaus pasaulėžiūrai svarbus tikėjimo aspektas, bet ir dingsta itin įdomi istorinė ypatybė.

Kentukyje gyvenančio vergvaldžio Arturo Šelbio požiūris į esminius krikščionybės principus vaizduojamas gana dviprasmiškai. Jis dažniausiai apibūdinamas kaip savo vergams palankus žmogus, tačiau šio veikėjo moraliniai principai ne visai nuoseklūs, kadangi pirmenybė akivaizdžiai teikiama asmeniniams ir verslo interesams. Jo religinės nuostatos, įsigilinus į originalo tekstą, atsiskleidžia kaip paviršutiniškos ir neatsiejamos nuo šeimos ryšių su žmona Emile. Romane nedviprasmiškai pabrėžiama:

> In fact, **if not exactly a believer in the doctrine of the efficiency of the extra good works of saints, he really seemed somehow or other to fancy that his wife had piety and benevolence enough for two**—to indulge a shadowy expectation of getting into heaven through her superabundance of qualities to which he made no particular pretension. (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 16)[1]

Skaitant šią ištrauką anglų kalba, galima nesunkiai identifikuoti rašytojos akcentuojamas teologines įžvalgas apie krikščionio atliekamų gerų darbų ir šventumo svarbą bei puoselėjamą viltį būti išganytam, o po mirties patekti į Dievo Karalystę. Tekste lietuvių kalba visos šios teologinės nuorodos tikslingai praleistos. Jų vietoje įrašomi labai trumpi, vertybine prasme nereikšmingi ir jokios moralinės žinios neperteikiantys sakiniai. Arturas Šelbis trumpai charakterizuojamas tik kaip **„abuojas religijos klausimams"** ir pabrėžiamas asmeninis jo įsitikinimas, kad **„žmonos pamaldumo ir gerumo turėjo pakakti jiems abiem"** (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 15–16). Sovietų cenzoriams be skrupulų ištrynus Beecher Stowe užuominas apie krikščioniškąją amžinojo gyvenimo doktriną, vertime atsiranda paradoksalus neaiškumas, nes lietuvių skaitytojas nebesupranta, kodėl pamaldumas ir gerumas toje vergvaldžių šeimoje vis dar laikomi reikalingomis vertybėmis.

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[1] Šiame ir kituose sakiniuose aptariamas vietas pajuodino straipsnio autorė.

Vienas įdomiausių „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" personažų – Arturo Šelbio sutuoktinės Emilės Šelbi jaunoji tarnaitė Eliza. Knygoje nuosekliai atskleidžiama šios moters asmeninė drama, kai jos sūnelis Haris parduodamas vergų pirkliui Denui Heiliui, lygiai kaip ir ištikimasis Tomas, nes šeimininkas šiuo sandėriu nori padengti savo skolas. Įdomu tai, kad romane Beecher Stowe pateikia atskirą pastabą tvirtindama, jog Eliza nėra vien vaizduotės kūrinys – toji moteris egzistavusi realiame gyvenime. Angliškame tekste aptinkamas toks paaiškinimas: „Eliza, such as we have described her, is not a fancy sketch, but taken from remembrance, as we saw her, years ago, in Kentucky" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 18). Rašytoja pabrėžia atsimenanti ją – kadaise Kentukyje sutiktą moterį. Pastaba gana svarbi siekiant giliau suprasti kūrinį, nes parodo autorės kūrybinio proceso sąsają su negailestinga socialine tikrove. Vertime šis sakinys praleistas, tačiau toks sprendimas atrodo gan keistas, nes jo negalima paaiškinti nei leksiniu ir gramatiniu sudėtingumu, nei ideologiniais sumetimais.

Pabrėžtina, kad Elizos sielvartas, išgyventas anksčiau mirus dviem jos vaikams, vertimo tekste taip pat nėra iki galo atskleistas dėl iš dalies praleistų religinių sąsajų. Kalbėdama apie skaudų Elizos netekties patyrimą, Beecher Stowe pateikia įdomią formuluotę: „[...] she mourned with a grief so intense as to call for gentle remonstrance from her mistress, who sought, with maternal anxiety, **to direct her naturally passionate feelings within the bounds of reason and religion"** (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 21). Lietuviškame vertime autorės įžvalga smarkiai supaprastinama. Tikėjimo ir proto ryšys netenka savo svarbos, o vietoj originalios minties apie poreikį gedulo metu suvaldyti žmogiškąsias aistras akcentuojama būtinybė **„paklusti sveikai nuovokai ir dievo valiai"** (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 19). Cenzūros įtaką atskleidžia net rašyba, nes žodis „Dievas" visame tekste lietuvių kalba pabrėžtinai rašomas mažąja raide, tikslingai menkinant krikščioniškąją Kūrėjo sampratą. Be to, tai prieštarauja ilgametei lietuvių rašybos tradicijai tokius žodžius kaip „Dievas", „Motina" ir „Tėvynė" rašyti didžiąja raide, simboliškai parodant šiems dalykams ypatingą pagarbą.

Romane aprašomas trumpas Elizos susitikimas su sutuoktiniu Džordžu Hariu, pasiryžusiu bėgti į Kanadą, kad išsivaduotų iš vergovės. Čia taip pat aptinkame krikščioniškojo tikėjimo elementų. Ypatingas dėmesys skirtas maldai ir pasitikėjimui Dievu net sudėtingiausiomis situacijomis. Maištaujančio

Džordžo Hario personažas savo ugningu pasipiktinimu oponuoja nuolankiai ir religingai Elizai, o jo dvasinę dramą rašytoja atskleidžia prašymu: „Pray for me, Eliza; perhaps the good Lord will hear *you*" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 29). Žvelgiant iš krikščioniškos perspektyvos, šis užtarimo maldos prašymas santuokoje – natūrali dvasinė praktika: vis dar tikinčiam Džordžui Hariui atrodo, kad Dievas gali maloningai išklausyti už jį sukalbėtas nuoširdžias žmonos maldas. Subtilus dialogas nuosekliai plėtojamas toliau ir papildomas pasitikėjimo motyvu. Atsiliepdama į nerimo kupinus Džordžo žodžius, Eliza ramiai ragina vyrą patį neapleisti asmeninių maldų ir pavojingus savo planus patikėti Viešpačiui: „O, pray yourself, George, and go trusting in him; then you won't do anything wicked" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 29). Šiame kontekste malda suvokiama kaip lemtingo asmeninio apsisprendimo dalis, nes Dievas paliko žmogui laisvą valią pasirinkti gėrį ar blogį, Jėzaus teikiamą išganymą ar amžinąjį sielos pasmerkimą. Vertime į lietuvių kalbą šio pokalbio įvertinti neįmanoma, nes religinės prasmės prisodrintos frazės yra praleistos, akivaizdžiai siekiant kiek galima labiau ateizuoti vertimą.

Nieko nežinodamas apie vergvaldžio Arturo Šelbio ketinimus parduoti jo sūnų Harį, Elizos skausmą Džordžas simboliškai palygina su Švč. Mergelės Marijos kančiomis. Originaliame romano tekste pateikiama dramatiška religinė įžvalga: „I tell you, Eliza, that **a sword will pierce through your soul** for every good and pleasant thing your child is or has; it will make him worth too much for you to keep!" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 27). Beecher Stowe kūrinyje įterpta fraze **„tavo sielą pervers kalavijas"** (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 27; vertimas – šio straipsnio autorės) sumaniai konstruoja įdomią teologinę nuorodą į biblinę senolio Simeono pranašystę apie būsimą Jėzaus auką ir skausmingą Dievo Motinos vaidmenį žmonijos atpirkimo istorijoje. Evangelijos pagal Luką antrajame skyriuje galime rasti beveik identišką mintį:

> Kūdikio tėvas ir motina stebėjosi tuo, kas buvo apie jį kalbama. O Simeonas palaimino juos ir tarė motinai Marijai: „Štai šis skirtas daugelio Izraelyje nupuolimui ir atsikėlimui. Jis bus prieštaravimo ženklas, – **ir tavo pačios sielą pervers kalavijas**, – kad būtų atskleistos daugelio širdžių mintys."

(Lk 2,33–35)[2]

Šventojo Rašto ištrauką lyginant su originaliu Beecher Stowe romano tekstu, skaitytojo akims atsiskleidžia jautri paralelė, nes mažasis vergas Haris sutapatinamas su persekiojamu Kūdikėliu Jėzumi, o Eliza tampa itin artima Švč. Mergelei Marijai. Lietuvių skaitytojams šis krikščioniškąjį tikėjimą liudijantis vaizdinys būtų iš tiesų lengvai atpažįstamas ir gana artimas, nes įvairiuose tradiciniuose Sopulingosios Dievo Motinos paveiksluose ir skulptūrose dažnai galima pamatyti septyniais kalavijais pervertos Švč. Mergelės Marijos Širdies motyvą, simbolizuojantį septynis jos patirtus sielos skausmus dėl Jėzaus Kančios. Vis dėlto „Dėdės Tomo trobelės“ vertime į lietuvių kalbą jokios užuominos apie kalaviju pervertą širdį nerasime, nes sovietų cenzūruotame tekste jos nebelikę. Įrašomas tik jokių sąsajų su Šventuoju Raštu neturintis sakinys: „Sakau tau, Eliza, kiekvieną laimės valandėlę, kurią tau suteikia sūnus, vėliau aplaistysi graudžiom ašarom“ (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 24–25). Lietuviškojo vertimo tekstas, šiuo konkrečiu atveju, dėl cenzūros praranda savo metafizinę gelmę, o jo meninė vertė taip pat smarkiai sumažėja.

Antrą rimtą tikėjimo išbandymą Džordžas Haris patiria jau vėliau, slapstydamasis nuo persekiotojų ir apsimesdamas turtingu keliaujančiu ispanu. Nedideliame Kentukio viešbutyje jis sutinka buvusį savo darbdavį misterį Vilsoną, kuriam pasiryžta atvirai papasakoti apie patiriamus sunkumus ir pavojus. Beecher Stowe šiuo dviejų vyrų pokalbiu originaliame tekste atskleidžia Džordžo abejones Dievo egzistavimu:

> "O, I've seen things all my life that have made me feel that there can't be a God. **You Christians don't know** how these things look to us. There's a God for you, but is there any for us?"
>
> "O, now, don't—don't, my boy!" said the old man, almost sobbing as he spoke; "don't feel so! There is — there is; **clouds and darkness are around about him, but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne. There's a God, George, — believe it; trust in Him, and I'm sure**

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[2] Visos Šventojo Rašto citatos žymimos naudojant tradicinį formatą ir nurodant konkrečios knygos santrumpą, skyriaus numerį ir eilutės numerį. Informacija apie Šventojo Rašto leidinį pateikiama literatūros sąraše.

He'll help you. **Everything will be set right, — if not in this life, in another."** (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 153)

Dominuojantis dialogo elementas yra krikščioniškojo atpildo viltis amžinybėje bei Dievo teismo ir Jo vykdomo teisingumo samprata. Džordžas mėgina radikaliai atsiskirti nuo visų tikinčiųjų vartodamas kreipinio formuluotę „Jūs, **krikščionys**, nežinote" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 153; vertimas – šio straipsnio autorės). Vis dėlto misteris Vilsonas nuoširdžiai stengiasi nuraminti liūdesio apimtą bičiulį. Jis sumaniai pagilina teologinį diskusijos aspektą, ne tik primindamas Džordžui būtinybę tikėti ir pasitikėti Dievu, bet pasitelkdamas 97 psalmės poetišką fragmentą: **„Jį gaubia debesys ir tamsa, ant teisumo ir teisingumo stovi jo sostas"** (Ps 97, 2). Beecher Stowe šioje kūrinio vietoje skaitytojams nepateikia jokios tiesioginės nuorodos į Šventąjį Raštą, tačiau jos tekste vartojama formuluotė yra identiška 97 psalmėje užrašytai eilutei. Šiugždinienės vertime į lietuvių kalbą toji diskusija trumpinama ir radikaliai keičiama. Džordžo sakomas kreipinys pakinta pabrėžiant jau ne tikėjimo, o rasės svarbą: „Jūs, **baltieji**, nežinote" (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 124). Be to, nebelieka psalmės fragmento, raginimų tikėti ir pasitikėti Dievu, turint omenyje krikščioniškąją amžinybės perspektyvą. Jų vietoje įrašomas vienas pokalbį greitai užbaigiantis sakinys: **„Dievas padės tau, viskas bus gerai, tikėk manim!"** (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 124). Tokios manipuliacijos vėl parodo cenzūros palaikomą negatyvią tendenciją nuskurdinti lietuviškojo vertimo tekstą, keičiant arba visiškai panaikinant svarbias kultūrines ir religines romano ypatybes.

Krikščioniškoje pasaulėžiūroje Dievo valia ir žmogaus laisvė – suderinami dalykai, dažnai papildantys vienas kitą. Tikima, kad tampame iš tiesų laisvi, kai mūsų pasirinkimai tarsi įsišaknija Dievo valioje. Be to, pasitikėjimas Aukščiausiuoju – ne vien teologinė nuostata, padedanti atmesti įvairias politinės ar socialinės priespaudos formas, bet ir dvasinis kelias, vedantis į sielos ir proto išsilaisvinimą. Kovoje už laisvę patiriama kančia, šiame kontekste, interpretuojama kaip didelė kaina, kurią neišvengiamai moka kiekvienas asmuo, ryžtingai pasirinkęs savo asmeninę būtį grįsti krikščioniškųjų vertybių pamatais. Beecher Stowe tai parodo Deno Heilio, gaudančio iš vergijos bėgančią Elizą, netikėtu prisipažinimu. Originaliame tekste Denas Heilis savo bičiuliui Tomui Lokeriui tvirtina:

> I'll say this now, I al'ays meant to drive my trade so as to make money on 't, fust and foremost, as much as any man; but, then, **trade an't everything, and money an't everything,'cause we 's all got souls**. I don't care, now, who hears me say it,—and I think a cussed sight on it,—so I may as well come out with it. I b'lieve in religion, and one of these days, when I've got matters tight and snug, I calculates to tend to my soul and them ar matters; and so **what's the use of doin' any more wickedness than's re'lly necessary?**—it don't seem to me it's 't all prudent. (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 90)

Skaitant šią originalaus teksto ištrauką pastebimi du svarbūs elementai: pirmiausia, Heilis apibūdina save kaip tikintį asmenį, ir aptinkame teiginį: **„prekyba nėra viskas ir pinigai nėra viskas, nes mes visi turime sielas"**; dar vėliau jis išsako savo abejones dėl žiaurumo bendraujant su vergais retoriškai klausdamas: **„kokia nauda daryti dar daugiau blogio, nei iš tiesų reikia?"** (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 90; vertimas – šio straipsnio autorės). Tampa akivaizdu, kad šiame fragmente rūpestis siela ir prievartos daromos žalos suvokimas siejami su esminiu krikščionišku įpareigojimu mylėti artimą ir kasdienę tikrovę vertinti iš metafizinės amžinojo gyvenimo perspektyvos. Be abejo, sovietiniams cenzoriams šios religine pasaulėžiūra grindžiamos įžvalgos pasirodė nereikalingos. Įdomu ir tai, kad Beecher Stowe originaliame tekste Elizos pasiryžimą pereiti užšalusią upę su mažu vaiku ant rankų apibūdina naudodamasi įspūdingu bibliniu vaizdiniu: "Her first glance was at the river, which lay, **like Jordan, between her and the Canaan of liberty** on the other side" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 71–72). Geografiniu požiūriu Jordano upė tebėra svarbi visam Vidurio Rytų regionui, nes teka net per kelias valstybes, būtent per Siriją, Jordaniją, Libaną ir Izraelį. Judaizmo išpažinėjams ir krikščionims imponuoja šios upės dvilypė simbolinė reikšmė: viena vertus, perėję Jordaną po ilgų klajonių dykuma, izraelitai pagaliau atėjo į Pažadėtąją Žemę, antra vertus, būtent šios gana nedidelės upės vandenyse buvo pakrikštytas Jėzus Kristus. Tyrinėtoja Francesca de Châtel įžvalgiai pabrėžia: „Jordano upė nuo Biblijos laikų būdavo prisodrinta paveikių simbolinių prasmių: ji yra riba ir perėjimo punktas, dvasinio atgimimo ir išgelbėjimo metafora bei šventojo vandens šaltinis" (de Châtel, 2014, p. 4). „Dėdės Tomo trobelėje" minėtam skirtingų religinių tradicijų tikėjimo simboliui

suteikiama papildoma literatūrinė reikšmė, nes pačiame romane užšalusi upė tampa lemtinga riba gyvybės kaina laisvės siekiančiai juodaodei vergei. Paradoksalu, bet vertimo tekste Jordano upės įvardijimo taip ir nerasime.

Originaliame Beecher Stowe tekste aptinkame dar vieną intriguojantį posakį „the Canaan of liberty“ (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 72). Tikslus jo vertimas į lietuvių kalbą skambėtų kaip „laisvės Kanaanas“. Pabrėžtina, kad senųjų laikų Kanaano teritorija, dabar dažnai vadinama Palestina, dvasine reikšme judėjams ir krikščionims svarbi kaip Pažadėtosios Žemės pirmavaizdis. Biblijos Išėjimo knygoje aiškiai išsakomas Dievo pažadas hebrajams juos „išgelbėti iš egiptiečių rankų ir nuvesti iš to krašto į gerą ir erdvų kraštą, į kraštą, tekantį pienu ir medumi“, kad užtikrintų savo ištikimiesiems atgaivą ir klestėjimą (Iš 3, 8). Autorės sukurta įdomi Kanaano ir dieviškojo laisvės pažado religinė sąsaja „Dėdės Tomo trobelės“ vertime į lietuvių kalbą ir vėl praleista. Toje vietoje įrašytas tik trumpas sakinys: „Pirmiausia ji pažvelgė į upę – anoje pusėje jos laukė laisvė!“ (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 59). Tikėtina, jog Šventajame Rašte daug sykių kartojamas dieviškasis laisvės pažadas, skirtas egiptiečių pavergtai žydų tautai, sovietiniams cenzoriams atrodė itin pavojingas tiek dėl galimų politinių paralelių su Sovietų Sąjungos okupacija, tiek dėl brutalioje priespaudoje gyvenančių lietuvių tautinio išsilaisvinimo vilčių. Turint visa tai omenyje, nelieka abejonių, kad Beecher Stowe kūrinio originaliame tekste kelis kartus pasitelktas Kanaano motyvas Šiugždinienės vertime dingsta būtent dėl cenzūros.

Sudėtingas ir valios pastangų reikalaujantis sprendimas, kai neišvengiamai tenka rinktis tarp tikslaus teisinių reikalavimų vykdymo ir krikščioniško meilės artimui imperatyvo, romane rodomas naudojantis dar vieno personažo – senatoriaus Berdo pavyzdžiu. Nagrinėjant kūrinį tampa aišku, kad balsuodamas jis parėmė įstatymą, griežtai draudžiantį padėti nuo savo šeimininkų pabėgusiems vergams, tačiau vos sužinojęs apie Elizos ir jos sūnaus patiriamus pavojus, ne tik atveria jiems namų duris, bet ir drąsiai imasi iniciatyvos apsaugoti bėglius. Beecher Stowe atskleidžia šią situaciją sumaniai kurdama moralinę dilemą, iškylančią loginiais argumentais besivadovaujančiam įstatymų leidėjui ir jo giliai tikinčiai sutuoktinei Merei Berd, neseniai išgyvenusiai netikėtą sūnelio Henrio mirtį. „Dėdės Tomo trobelės“ skaitytojas taip subtiliai supažindinamas su esmine krikščioniškosios teologijos

tiesa apie būtinybę eiti dvasiniu meilės keliu net tada, kai tai yra pavojinga ir neparanku. Evangelijos pagal Joną 13 skyriuje Jėzaus Kristaus lūpomis skelbiamas Didysis Meilės įsakymas: „Aš jums duodu naują įsakymą, kad jūs vienas kitą mylėtumėte: kaip aš jus mylėjau, kad ir jūs taip mylėtumėte vienas kitą!" (Jn 13, 34). Įdėmiai analizuojant Beecher Stowe originalų romano tekstą, galima nesunkiai pastebėti, kad senatorius Berdas tylomis renkasi vykdyti ne tuo metu jau galiojantį JAV įstatymą, o šį svarbiausią dieviškąjį paliepimą. Tokiam jo dvasiniam apsisprendimui pritaria ir žmona, krikščionišką pareigą paklusti tik Dievui taikliai primenanti lakonišku paraginimu: „Obeying God never brings on public evils. I know it can't. It's always safest, all round, to do as *He* bids us" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 107). Turint omenyje totalitarinę sovietinės santvarkos prigimtį, vidinės laisvės poreikio ir Dievui teikiamos pirmenybės idėjos buvo laikomos itin grėsmingomis prievarta diegiamam komunistiniam režimui. Taigi dar vienas nepageidaujamas fragmentas cenzorių iniciatyva negailestingai ištrintas iš „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" vertimo į lietuvių kalbą. Filosofo Vosyliaus Sezemano teigimu, „laisvės problema atsiranda *religijos sferoje* ir vaidina ten svarbų vaidmenį" (Sezemanas, 1988, p. 84). Remiantis tokia nuostata galima tvirtinti, kad būtent tikėjimo suvokimas ir autentiškas jo praktikavimas suteikia žmogui galimybę bent iš dalies atsikratyti įvairių socialinės ir politinės priespaudos apraiškų, puoselėjant savo unikalią tapatybę ir intymų santykį su Dievu, grindžiamą asmeninio apsisprendimo laisve.

Įdomu, kad „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" vertime į lietuvių kalbą nėra ir kitų reikšmingų krikščioniškąjį tikėjimą liudijančių teologinių aspektų. Pirma, tikslingai praleidžiamos Dievą ir jo pagalbą nelaimingiesiems bei gailestingumą mininčios frazės: „The Lord helped me; nobody knows how much the Lord can help 'em, till they try"; „Lord have mercy on us!"; „Now, John, I don't know anything about politics, but I can read my Bible; and there I see that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate; and that Bible I mean to follow" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 107, 112–113). Antra, į lietuvių kalbą neišverstos kūrinyje esančios mintys apie amerikiečių teisės ir krikščionybės ryšius bei labdarybės tradiciją; neįtraukiami ir dvasinę senatoriaus dramą bei jo žmonos širdies skausmą liudijantys romano fragmentai. Galiausiai, manipuliuojama kūriniu ir tada, kai reikia parodyti

senatoriaus Berdo artimo bičiulio Džono Van-Trompo pažiūras krikščionybės atžvilgiu. Tekste lietuvių kalba jo nusivylimas vergiją palaikančiais dvasininkais gana aiškiai akcentuojamas tokiu sakiniu: „Štai ką aš jums pasakysiu: daugelį metų nelankiau bažnyčios todėl, kad kunigai tikindavo, jog biblija pateisina vergiją" (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 99). Palikdami tik šį sakinį ir praleisdami kitus originalaus kūrinio elementus, sovietų cenzoriai subtiliai konstruoja šio personažo kaip įsitikinusio ateisto įvaizdį, o žodis „biblija" vertime rašomas mažąja raide, sąmoningai demonstruojant nepagarbą Šventajam Raštui. Beecher Stowe „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" originaliame tekste patį žodį „Bible" rašo tik didžiąja raide, paminėdama šį tikintiesiems svarbų veikalą net 62 kartus. Be to, pateikdama papildomą personažo paaiškinimą, taip pat neišverstą į lietuvių kalbą dėl cenzūros, autorė pabrėžia, kad patyręs dvasinę krizę ir bendraudamas su vergijai nepritariančiu pastoriumi, Džonas Van-Trompas galiausiai įsilieja į bažnytinę bendruomenę praktikuoti savo tikėjimo: „I never jined the church till I found a minister that was up to 'em all in Greek and all that, and he said right the contrary; and then I took right hold, and jined the church, — I did now, fact" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 123). Šios romano autorės įžvalgos, akcentuojančios personažo asmeninį religinį apsisprendimą ir teisę keisti nuomonę, be abejo, neatitiko sovietų siekio propaguoti ateistinį požiūrį į pasaulį kaip vienintelę įmanomą vien juslėmis apčiuopiamos tikrovės interpretaciją. Būtent todėl komunizmui ideologiškai nepalankūs literatūriniai aspektai vėl radikaliai atmetami, nepaisant Beecher Stowe pirminio kūrybinio sumanymo.

Pagrindinio knygos veikėjo dėdės Tomo staigaus atskyrimo nuo šeimos, pardavimo į JAV pietinėje dalyje esančias plantacijas ir tragiškos mirties istorija taip pat papildyta gausiais krikščioniško tikėjimo liudijimais ir bibliniais elementais. Personažas skaitytojui pristatomas jaukioje namų aplinkoje, leidžiantis vakarą su savo mažais vaikais, žmona Chloja, bičiuliais ir jaunuoju šeimininkų sūnumi Džordžu. Ketvirtajame romano skyriuje Beecher Stowe gana išsamiai aprašo, kaip, šeimos vakarienei pasibaigus, dėdė Tomas vadovauja maldos susirinkimui, kurio metu, daugeliui susirinkusiųjų įdėmiai klausantis, garsiai skaitoma Biblija, giedamos šlovinimo giesmės ir himnai. Autorė originaliame tekste ne tik cituoja tris eiliuotas ištraukas iš religinės muzikos kūrinių, tačiau įterpia tikslius trijų giesmių pavadinimus:

There were others, which made incessant mention of **"Jordan's banks," and "Canaan's fields,"** and the **"New Jerusalem;"** for the negro mind, impassioned and imaginative, always attaches itself to hymns and expressions of a vivid and pictorial nature; and, as they sung, some laughed, and some cried, and some clapped hands, or shook hands rejoicingly with each other, as if they had fairly gained the other side of the river. (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 41–42)

Reikia turėti omenyje, kad rašytojos nurodytos giesmės „Jordano krantai", „Kanaano laukai" ir „Naujoji Jeruzalė" yra laikomos amerikiečių nacionalinio muzikos paveldo dalimi, ir šiandien atliekamos bažnyčiose per pamaldas, įtraukiamos į populiarių dainininkų ir chorų repertuarą. Beecher Stowe savo knygoje glaudžiai sieja šią muziką su juodaodžių pasaulėžiūra ir jų puoselėjama tradicija emocingais ritmiškais judesiais ar net šokiu garbinti Dievą. Apmaudu, kad visi šie reikšmingi krikščioniškojo tikėjimo ir amerikiečių kultūros aspektai lietuvių skaitytojui taip ir liko nežinomi – Šiugždinienės vertimo tekste jų nerasime dėl aktyvaus sovietinės cenzūros ribojimų taikymo. Kaip teigia tyrinėtojos Nijolė Maskaliūnienė ir Gintarė Juršėnaitė, sovietinės okupacijos sąlygomis vykdavusio verstinių knygų rengimo ir jų leidybos proceso metu dažnai būdavo pasitelkiama „prevencinė cenzūra", kurią derėtų interpretuoti kaip pavojingą ir žalingą reiškinį, kai primetamas griežtas „draudimas kultūros produkto pasirodymui tikslinėje kultūroje" (Maskaliūnienė ir Juršėnaitė, 2023, p. 6). Šiame straipsnyje aptariamu atveju matyti, kad draudžiamas ne visas konkretus amerikiečių kanoninės literatūros kūrinys „Dėdės Tomo trobelė", o verčiant į lietuvių kalbą preciziškai šalinami ar iškraipomi religinę ir vertybinę žinią perteikiantys originalaus teksto fragmentai ir subtilesnio išmanymo reikalaujantys kultūros elementai.

Reikia pabrėžti, kad Beecher Stowe minimos giesmės jau seniai peržengė visas rasinės atskirties sąlygotas istorines ribas, todėl mūsų dienomis jas savo repertuarui neretai renkasi būtent baltaodžiai dainininkai: didelės sėkmės susilaukusią ir muzikaliai atnaujintą „Jordano krantų" versiją yra atlikusi amerikiečių kantri muzikos grupė „Alabama", australų dainininkė Sylvie Paladino savo įspūdingu vokalu suteikė naują populiarumo impulsą „Naujajai Jeruzalei", o klasikinio gospelo pavyzdžiu pripažinti „Kanaano laukai" tebeskamba solisto Porterio Wagonerio ir vokalinio ansamblio „The Blackwood

Brothers Quartet" garso įrašuose. Svarbu tai, kad tiek „Dėdės Tomo trobelėje",
tiek šių religinių muzikos kūrinių poetiniuose tekstuose plėtojamos Šventajame
Rašte dominuojančios žmogaus sielos laisvės, Dievo veido ilgesio, tikėjimo ir
vilties temos, kurios simboliniu lygmeniu galėtų iškilti kaip patrauki dvasinė
alternatyva sovietinės propagandos bekompromisiam siekiui sukurti naująjį
komunistinį žmogų, pasyviai egzistuojantį politine prievarta ir karine galia
kontroliuojamame materialiame pasaulyje.

Dėdės Tomo personažas patiria daug fizinių ir dvasinių išmėginimų, o
galiausiai – tragišką mirtį. Keliaudamas drauge su vergų pirkliu Denu Heiliu, jis
taip pat yra priverstas tapti sukrečiančių kančių liudininku, kai dėl įprasto vergų
pardavimo ar viešų varžytinių spalvotosios moterys be gailesčio atskiriamos
nuo savo vaikų. Beecher Stowe net kelis kartus pabrėžia siaubingose
situacijose atsidūrusių nelaimingųjų bejėgiškumą ir neviltį. Originaliame
knygos tekste atskleidžiama, kad dėdė Tomas mėgina guosti motiną, netekusią
kitam šeimininkui parduoto savo kūdikio: „Tom drew near, and tried to say
something; but she only groaned. Honestly, and with tears running down his
own cheeks, he spoke of a heart of love in the skies, of a pitying Jesus, and an
eternal home; but the ear was deaf with anguish, and the palsied heart could
not feel" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 172). Šiame romano fragmente moraliniu
argumentu tampa esminė krikščioniškoji samprata, primenanti, kad
gailestingasis Jėzus yra nukryžiuotas ir kenčia drauge su dvasinį ar fizinį
išbandymą patiriančiu žmogumi. Be to, pabrėžiama, jog po mirties nuoširdaus
tikinčiojo dangiškuose sielos namuose laukia amžinasis gyvenimas.
Psichologijos ir teologijos mokslų daktaro Henrio Jozefo Machielio Nouweno
teigimu, brutalios tikrovės akivaizdoje „reikia priminti, kad mūsų taurė yra ir
skausmo, ir džiaugsmo taurė ir kad vieną dieną galėsime džiaugsmo paragauti
tiek, kiek dabar ragaujame skausmo" (Nouwen, 2014, p. 49). Vis dėlto,
originaliame „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" tekste aiškiai parodoma, jog toji kenčianti
moteris nesugeba priimti jai siūlomos tikėjimo paguodos ir galiausiai
nusiskandina upėje. Vertime į lietuvių kalbą šiai situacijai aptarti randame tik
trumpą ir neutralų sakinį: „Tomas atsisėdo arčiau ir mėgino ją paguosti, bet ji
tik dejavo" (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 138). Deja, kaip ir anksčiau aptartais
sovietinės cenzūros taikymo atvejais, minėti krikščioniškosios pasaulėžiūros
aspektai, perteikti anglų kalba, lietuvių skaitytojams lieka nežinomi, nes buvo

sąmoningai neišversti.

„Dėdės Tomo trobelės" puslapiuose autorė taip pat atvirai demonstruoja, kad vergijos šalininkai ir jos priešininkai dažnai stengiasi religiniais argumentais pagrįsti priešingas pozicijas ir apginti jas kaip visiškai priimtinas amerikiečių visuomenei. Prancūzų tyrinėtoja Nicole Savy pabrėžia, jog menkinantis ir rasistinis požiūris į juodaodžius vergus būdavo skatinamas klaidingai interpretuojant Šventąjį Raštą, nes didelė dalis anuo metu gyvenusių krikščionių išskirdavo būtent „tris odos spalvas, baltą, geltoną ir juodą, kurios esą yra kilusios iš trijų Nojaus sūnų: Šemo, semitų protėvio, Jafeto, europiečių protėvio, ir prakeiktojo Hamo, afrikiečių protėvio" (Savy, 2015, p. 35). Senojo Testamento „Pradžios knygoje" užrašyta trumpa biblinė istorija apie miegančio Nojaus nuogumą pajuokusio Hamo nederamą elgesį ir ant jo paties sūnaus Kanaano dėl to kritusį senelio prakeikimą. Nojaus ištarto prakeikimo formuluotė siejama su sunkia vergo lemtimi: „Tebūna prakeiktas Kanaanas! Jis bus žemiausias vergas savo broliams" (Pr 9, 25). Remdamasi minėtu Biblijos fragmentu, dvyliktame knygos skyriuje Beecher Stowe išsamiai aprašo Ohajo upe laivu plaukiančių keliautojų pokalbius apie vergijos naudingumą bei teisėtumą. Įspūdžiui sustiprinti originaliame tekste skirtingais variantais net kelis kartus pakartojama ta pati prakeikimo frazė: „Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be"; „Cursed be Canaan"; „Cussed be Canaan" (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 162–164). Vertime į lietuvių kalbą keleivių diskusija smarkiai sutrumpinta, nors dvi prakeikimo formuluotės bent iš dalies išverstos: „Tebūnie prakeiktas Kanaanas ir tebūnie jis tarnų tarnas"; „Tebūnie prakeiktas ..." (Bičer-Stou, 1951, p. 131–132) Originaliame tekste pateikta ir krikščioniškąjį tikėjimą autentiškai išpažįstančio keliautojo oponuojanti nuostata, kad egzistuoja neginčijama moralinė pareiga ginti kenčiančius juodaodžius. Denas Heilis, atmetantis sąžinės priekaištus ir aktyviai dalyvaujantis šeimas brutaliai išskiriančioje vergų prekyboje, taip pat netikėtai išgirsta svarbų perspėjimą:

> "My friend," he said, speaking with thick utterance, "how can you, how dare you, carry on a trade like this? Look at those poor creatures! Here I am, rejoicing in my heart that I am going home to my wife and child; and the same bell which is a signal to carry me onward towards them will part this poor man and his wife forever. Depend upon it, God will bring you

into judgment for this." (Beecher Stowe, 2009, p. 164)

Šiame fragmente, kuris irgi nebuvo išverstas į lietuvių kalbą, ne tik palyginama skirtingų rasių žmonių šeiminė padėtis, akcentuojamas nepavydėtinas vergų likimas, tačiau pabrėžiama ir krikščionims svarbi tikėjimo tiesa, jog kiekvieno žmogaus po mirties laukia asmeninis Dievo teismas, kuriame reikės atsakyti už nuodėmes ir blogus darbus. Iš esmės, kaip rodo aptariamų romano „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" vertimo į lietuvių kalbą pavyzdžių analizė, tekstas yra dažnai trumpintas būtent sovietams ideologiškai nepageidaujamose kūrinio vietose. Be to, visiškai ignoruojant autorių teises, publikuotoje knygoje lietuvių kalba niekur nėra nurodyta, kokiu amerikietišku originaliu leidiniu vertėja naudojosi. Galiausiai, oficialus romano vertimo pavadinimas „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" yra trumpesnis, nes nebelieka papildomos originalios angliškos formuluotės „or, Life Among the Lowly". Sovietinę cenzūrą tyrinėjusi Nijolė Maskaliūnienė nurodo, kad šiuolaikiniams mokslininkams dažnai sudėtinga paaiškinti, kokie veiksniai lėmė konkretaus verčiamo teksto dalių modifikavimą: „Nežinome, kodėl vertėjas nusprendė vienaip ar kitaip versti kokį nors elementą. Negalime tvirtai teigti, ar iškarpymus, o juolab stilistinius keitimus lėmė vertėjo, o gal redaktoriaus ar leidėjo dorovė, baimė, bendras ideologinis fonas ar komerciniai interesai" (Maskaliūnienė, 2025, p. 4). Vis dėlto, pripažįstant vertimo kaip politinio veiksmo svarbą, galima daryti pagrįstą prielaidą, kad tuo metu dirbusiai vertėjai Šiugždinienei buvo pateiktas reikalavimas keisti arba kupiūruoti „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" originalų tekstą, taip įgyvendinant komunistų ideologams priimtiną sprendimą ir klaidinant skaitytojus. Sovietų okupacijos laikotarpiu dažnai būdavo vadovaujamasi gana paprasta žmonių protų kontrolės taisykle: sąmoningai riboti galimybę netrukdomai skaityti politinei ir partinei vadovybei neparankų literatūros kūrinį, nepalikus intelektualinės erdvės svarstyti ir jame keliamų vertybinių problemų.

Išvados

Literatūros tekstų vertimas visame pasaulyje pagrįstai laikomas didelių intelektualinių pastangų, lingvistinių žinių ir praktinės patirties reikalaujančia veikla. Profesionaliam vertėjui, norinčiam gimtąja kalba tinkamai atskleisti skaitytojams dar nepažintą kitakalbio rašytojo pasaulį, dažnai tenka didelė

atsakomybė. Jis privalo ne tik sklandžiai perteikti autoriaus mintis, glūdinčias verčiamoje knygoje, subtiliai atskleisti kūrinyje dominuojančią vertybių sistemą ir savitą stilių, bet ir imtis asmeninės kūrybinės iniciatyvos – užduoties kantriai tiesti naujus bendravimo ir supratimo tiltus tarp skirtingų valstybių ir tautų. Šis sudėtingas ir daug kantrybės reikalaujantis tarpininko tarp kultūrų vaidmuo netikėtai stumteli vertėjus arčiau tarptautinių santykių arenos, kurioje vyksta intensyvūs politiniai ir diplomatiniai procesai. Būtent todėl susiformavo gana aiškus vertimo teoretikų požiūris, kad patį vertimo procesą dažnai galima pripažinti politiniu veiksmu.

Nagrinėjant istorijos tėkmėje užsimezgusius subtilius literatūrinių veikalų vertimo ryšius su tarptautine politika, galima nesunkiai pastebėti, kad demokratijos tradicijų neturinčiose ar totalitarinėse valstybėse sprendimai, nurodantys, kokias naujas knygas derėtų versti ir kaip tai turėtų būti atliekama, neretai atsidurdavo oficialių pareigūnų ir institucijų akiratyje, kartais netgi griežtą intelektualinę kontrolę vykdančių cenzorių valioje. Sovietų Sąjungoje buvo išplėtota itin skvarbi publikuojamų tekstų cenzūravimo sistema, užtikrinanti, kad knygose ir žurnaluose nebūtų skelbiama komunistinei ideologijai prieštaraujančių įžvalgų. Tokios politinės kontrolės tendencijos ne tik sparčiai sumažino užsienio literatūros vertimų pasiūlą, bet ir ilgiems dešimtmečiams pavertė profesionalius vertėjus įtartinais asmenimis, kuriuos galima griežtai bausti atimant galimybę dirbti. Skaitytojams visaip ieškant alternatyvių būdų gauti verstinės literatūros knygų, sovietinėje Rusijoje ir okupuotoje Lietuvoje atsirado pogrindžio sąlygomis publikuojamų leidinių: nuo poezijos ir prozos iki filosofijos ir teologijos tekstų. Vis dėlto, tokia pogrindinė leidyba buvo nepastovi ir pavojinga dėl politinių persekiojimų.

Beecher Stowe romanas „Dėdės Tomo trobelė" yra laikomas amerikiečių literatūros klasikos kūriniu, kuriame keliami amžinieji laisvės ir krikščioniškojo tikėjimo klausimai. Lietuvoje 1951 m. publikuotas Vandos Šiugždinienės minėtos knygos vertimas buvo smarkiai kupiūruotas, todėl jo analizė leidžia geriau pastebėti, kas labiausiai kliūdavo sovietų cenzoriams. Tyrinėjant lietuviškąjį vertimo tekstą matyti, kad itin kruopščiai praleisti būtent krikščioniškąjį tikėjimą liudijantys elementai ir Šventojo Rašto citatos bei parafrazės. Be to, prapuola nemažai kultūrinių originalaus romano aspektų, pavyzdžiui, religinės muzikos kūrinių pavadinimai ir giesmių tekstų fragmentai.

Kartais tekste lietuvių kalba dingsta tik pora kūrinio eilučių, bet yra skyrių, kuriuose nebelieka net kelių originalaus romano puslapių. Trūkstamų vietų pasitaiko nemažai, todėl daugelio netikslumų negalima aiškinti neatsakingo redagavimo problemomis ar vertėjos neapdairumu.

„Dėdės Tomo trobelės" puslapiuose Beecher Stowe išsakomi raginimai priimti reikalingus sprendimus ir kovoti už laisvę dieviškajai Apvaizdai padedant akivaizdžiai prieštaravo komunistinei ideologijai, todėl pasitelkus vertėją buvo mėginama šias autorės idėjas nukenksminti, tikslingai trumpinant ir ateizuojant tekstą. Labiau įsigilinus į susiklosčiusią situaciją stebina tai, kad būtent sovietų cenzūruotas „Dėdės Tomo trobelės" tekstas lietuvių kalba su nedideliais kosmetiniais papildymais tebėra leidžiamas ir platinamas mūsų šalyje. Lieka tikėtis, kad bėgant ketvirtajam atkurtosios Lietuvos nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiui sulauksime naujo, tikslaus ir kokybiško šio jaudinančio pasaulinės literatūros šedevro vertimo.

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Giedrė Pranaitytė
Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania
giedre.pranaityte@vdu.lt

INTERSECTIONS OF FREEDOM, EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND CENSORSHIP IN TRANSLATED LITERARY WORKS: THE CASE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE'S NOVEL "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"

Abstract. The connection between translation and censorship is one of the most inspiring subjects for the academic analysis that not only covers linguistic or cultural problems but sheds more light on important political issues as well. The current article focuses on the practical application of Soviet censorship techniques to the translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin" into Lithuanian. This canonical oeuvre of American literature was translated into the Lithuanian language and published in 1951. The aim of this article is to cast an attentive look at the theoretical considerations on the existing interconnection between the realms of translation and politics since these phenomena are seldom assessed in detail. After making an overview of different academic sources, it is possible to claim that Nicole Doerr's (2018) basic premise on the prevalent existence of political translation is quite well-justified. The phenomenon of censorship, in turn, still happens to be sustained by the fear of authors and translators due to the potentially negative political evaluation of the dominant themes of certain literary works. The empirical part of the article is devoted to the examination of the Soviet censorship operating in practice in order to explain in what ways the translation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" into Lithuanian has failed to properly convey religious beliefs of the writer, which are closely linked to various fragments of the Bible. The hostility of the Soviet political elite towards essential Christian concepts was always systematic and consistent. However, the authentic practice of faith eventually turned into the essential obstacle to the political ambitions of the Communists to create a new Soviet man while diminishing the variety of existing attitudes and destroying the worldview based on religion.

Keywords: Christianity; faith; Harriet Beecher Stowe; political translation; Soviet censorship; "Uncle Tom's Cabin".

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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.

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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.