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## GLOTTODIDACTICA

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# I. ARTICLES

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## Trajectories of language and the culture of the Gopali community in the Chitlang Valley

**ABSTRACT.** Language pedagogy primarily casts light on cultural trajectories of language use in certain communities. By examining these of the Gopali community in the Chitlang Valley, located 28 miles southwest of Kathmandu, this preliminary study delves into various applied aspects of language use in the area. Preliminary observations indicate that the Gopali, a subset of the Newar ethnic group, have a distinctive linguistic and cultural identity in Nepal. However, they have yet to be recognized as a separate ethnic community despite their unique language, marital exchange, origin stories, and cultural practices. Currently subsumed under the Newar subset, the Gopali language is on the brink of extinction primarily because of an increasing level of influence exerted by Nepali, Tamang and Kathmandu-based Newar accents on Gopali speakers. As the misrecognition of language and culture was historically linked with the political-economic access of the community, we observed the impact of the political economy on the Gopali of Chitlang. This paper has been developed on the basis of data elicited from various narratives, key informant interviews (KII), life histories, language surveys, and observations conducted in October, 2021. Thus, the interpretation has been made in relation to various political, social and economic relations of language use and cultural changes. In consideration of multilingualism as a norm of language education, this study has also explored the impact of multilingualism among the younger generation in the Chitlang Valley. The study can help policymakers introduce mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) to children in the Gopali community.

**KEYWORDS:** language shift, Guthi, the Gopali language, Gopali identity, political economy in Nepal.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Language and culture are specific to geographical territories. Thus, linguistic and cultural diversity emerges as a result of geographical diversity. People of different communities reside in different areas and they bring unique linguistic and cultural trajectories with them. In this paper, we have studied the trajectories of language and culture in the Gopali community of Chitlang, located 28 km South-West of Kathmandu and 195 km East-West of Pokhara. Chitlang is located in Thaha Municipality of Makawanpur district and Bagmati Province of central Nepal. It is an ancient cultural and linguistic mosaic settlement, where inscriptions dating back to the Lichchhavi Era have been found. They were discovered in Toukhel,<sup>1</sup> Ward No. 10 of Thaha Municipality, established by King Amshubarma (in *Sambat* 37) of the Kathmandu Valley. The inscription says that King Amshubarma gave the land to shepherds and established a settlement for them in Toukhel, Nhulgaun and Kunchhal of Chitlang. Some historians believe that these people are called Gopalis as the descendants of rulers of the Gopal Bansi<sup>2</sup>. Currently, Chitlang hosts multiple languages and cultures such as Tamangs in former Ward No. 1, Brahmin-Chhetri, Newar and Magars in former Ward 2, 7, 8, and 9 and standard Newar dialects and cultures in former Ward 3, 4, 5, and 6. It has become a truly multilingual valley where we find different castes, ethnicities, and language communities.

Chitlang is the nearest and most popular tourist destination for inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley and tourists shortly visiting the capital city with limited time and resources. Thus, one of the vibrant historical and cultural valleys of Nepal has been drastically changed because of ongoing developments and frequent migrations in recent years. More importantly, frequent visits by domestic and international tourists have amplified the urgency of the conservation of the historical, linguistic, cultural, and natural diversity of Chitlang. At present, it is difficult to preserve the language and culture of the Gopali because of various socio-political reasons, including migration, media and globalization.

Gopali culture and people are listed as one of the distinct and unique ethnic communities in Chitlang. They have been a potential subject of close observation and in-depth investigation by many scholars. Gopalis, who consider themselves descendants of Gwalas, once moved to Sonitpur (currently Thankot locality of Kathmandu) from Gujrat of India (Dwarika) during *Dwapar Yuga*<sup>3</sup> with Lord Krishna. When Lord Krishna established the Gopal Kingdom in the Kathmandu

<sup>1</sup> Former Ward No. 6 of Chitlang VDC.

<sup>2</sup> Gopal Bansi was the first ruling dynasty of the Kathmandu Valley.

<sup>3</sup> A pre-Vedic period in the ancient Indian time and time of Mahabharata.



Valley (in Chitlang), he returned to Dwarika. The Gopal or Gwalas ruled for a long time (521 years and nine generations of kings) before they were defeated by the Mahispal (Buffalo herders) and the Kirant Kings<sup>4</sup>.

As some historians and anthropologists have noted, the Gopal rulers belonged to the *Nep* ethnic group, and *Par* name was derived from the group who tamed buffaloes. The *Nep* and *Par* ethnic groups were interested in herding cows and buffaloes, respectively. It is now considered that the word *Nepal* is derived from *Nep* and *Par* and it means herders of cows and buffaloes. Buffalo herders naturally preferred to live near forest areas and pastures for fodder for their cattle. They lived in the vicinity of the Chitlang Valley: Tistung, Palung, Thankot, Balambu, and Kisipidi. Eventually, Gopali people, entering from the Kathmandu Valley to the northern part of Makawanpur, settled in Bajrabarahi, Chitlang and Daman. Other localities of their permanent residence include: Kunchhal, Gahate, Kulgaun, Papung, Toukhel, Nhulgaun and Shikharkot of Thaha municipality. In Chitlang, they have lived in Taukhel and Nhulgaun for a long time. According to Hari Bahadur Gopali (49) of Toukhel, around 80 households are now settled in this place.

In the first ever ascendancy of Nepal, the Gopal dynasty established a system of governance on this territory. The Gopali ethnic group remained powerful in the Kathmandu Valley till the beginning of the *Licchavi* era<sup>5</sup>. They continued their settlements in various areas of the Kathmandu Valley along some of the villages of Chitlang. At that point, Gopali people, shifting slightly northwest of the valley, settled in Machhegaun, Balambu, Kirtipur, Thankot, Chitlang, Tistung and Palung in search of jobs and pastures for their cattle.

Language revitalization can promote individual languages and cultures. Language teaching can work as a vehicle to transmit or introduce different cultures and languages of different territories. As a result, we can use teaching as a means of bringing indigenous languages and cultures to the forefront. The Gopali language and culture should be promoted and maintained through teaching, and its trajectories should be reflected through different resources and materials.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are various narratives of the origin and classification of the Newar culture and language in and around the Kathmandu Valley. D.R. Regmi (1960) noted that the Newars existed as early as the sixth century BC and that they be-

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<sup>4</sup> Historians and anthropologists believe that Kiratas ruled over the Kathmandu Valley from about 900 BC to 300 AD.

<sup>5</sup> The Licchavi dynasty ruled in the Kathmandu Valley from around 450 to 750 AD.

longed to the confederacy of the Vrijji clans. He argues that the term Newar did not connote any particular racial type at the moment. It is purely a geographical concept that signifies anyone who lived in the valley irrespective of their racial origin and features (Regmi 1960). In line with his claim, David Gellner (2005) argued that there was a religious and cultural plurality among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley during the Lichhavi and Malla periods. In the eighteenth and even during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, many ancestors of Newars, who today identify as Hindu Shresthas, had Buddhist priests and Buddhist allegiances (Gellner 2005). Similarly, Regmi (1960) noted that the Newar conveyed the sense of an ethnic group in the most ancient days, but afterwards this group was subjected to multiple racial adjustments, e.g. adopted different types of migrants, from Austroids to Dravidians and then to Mongols and Aryans. Gopal Singh Nepali (1965) also argued that the Newars have specific caste and social stratification with a specific culture, religion and language.

On the basis of the above-mentioned literature, it can be assumed that the Newars were culturally different communities and their migration around the valley changed their culture, language and identity. In line with this front of linguistic variation, Charles Tylor (1994) argued that the recognition of this minority group is important for the proliferation of its language and culture. Anthropologists have also noted that the language and culture of these communities transformed through the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and assimilation. For example, Barth (1969) and Fisher (2001) argue that ethnic boundaries of language and culture were changed in the context of politics and livelihood strategies of the people. Dominant language and culture not only lured people but also pressured them to adopt the mainstream language and culture. In the case of the classification of caste and ethnicity, Susan Bayly (1995), Barnard Cohn (1999) and Nicholas Dirks (2001) argue that the classification and objectification of the minority group were political projects, which we can notice in the Gopali language within the Newar category.

Both Gellner (2005) and Toffin (2007) agree that the Newars adopted the cultures and rituals of the powerful Hindu Shah Kings to secure their favour after the unification movement (1743–1769). In the Kathmandu Valley, many Shresthas who traditionally had Vajracharya priests, switched to Brahmans and adopted forms of Hinduism closer to those of the now dominant Parbatiya during the Rana and Shah Regimes (Gellner 2005). Gautam (2018, 2020, 2021, 2022a) describes various sociolinguistic aspects of the Newar language with a special focus on the study of language use and attitudes based on recent migrations, urbanization and development activities after the 1990s political change in Nepal. In light of this, we can also explore the Gopali language of the Chitlang Valley on the basis of Newar history and cultural variations.

### 3. THE STUDY CONDUCTED

This research was primarily based on data collected in a questionnaire (Gautam 2021), key informant interviews (KII) and ethnographic observations. Apart from primary data, other necessary data have also been taken from different secondary sources on recent trends in multilingualism and language contact in Nepal.

In October 2021 both authors visited the Gopali settlements for a fortnight. They approached Hari Bahadur Gopali, an ex-teacher, political activist and leader at Taukhel in the Chitlang Valley. After two days of rapport building, he introduced the authors to the Gopali community and enabled their stay there. Thanks to this introduction, they could not only visit historical sites and public places in the Chitlang Valley but also were allowed to observe rituals, cultural practices and daily lives of the Gopali people. Furthermore, they interacted with other communities neighbouring with the Gopali people. They got in contact with women, men, elderly people, school students in the community to explore their language and cultural shifts among various age groups and generations. A local Gopali language speaker and a typical Newar from Kirtipur supported the authors in differentiating between the Gopali and Newar linguistic and cultural practices.

The questionnaire (Gautam 2021) was written in the English language; however, the medium for data collection was the Nepali language. The questionnaire included 20 questions to explore multilingualism and language shift in the Gopali community. The KII were purposively selected on the recommendation of the Gopali people from the Chitlang Valley. Out of the total 30 informants, only 15 sampled informants were asked about their use of languages for different activities in their day-to-day lives. Both authors also used notebooks and a recorder to store data. The recorded data were transcribed and translated into English. All informants' consent was ensured before data collection data and the pseudonyms were used in the discussion of the research findings.

**Table 1.** The informants in the present study

SN	Informants places of residence	Informants' gender		Total no.
		Male no.	Female no.	
1	Taukhel	13	7	20
2	Bisunkhe	3	2	5
3	Kalantu	3	2	5
Total		19	11	30

Source: authors' field notes (2021).

## 4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY: THE GOPALI LANGUAGE

The Gopali language is a variety of Newar which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Gopali people use this language for communication within their community and among family members, which means its use is limited mostly to oral communication. Gopali differs from the standard Newar in accent, vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence structure and lexicon. It is currently undergoing a language shift towards Nepali, English and Hindi because of various sociopolitical reasons. For example, while listening to the young Gopali speakers during the authors' field visit, they observed examples of code-mixing including Nepali, Hindi, English and Tamang words. Gopali is spoken with a long accent which is difficult to understand even for the Newar speakers living outside Chitlang. Various phonological features, including vowel deletion, can be noticed in its pronunciation. People other than Gopali noticed that the language is spoken differently with many supra-segmental features like stress and intonation. For example, *khuche* (Eng. a dog) becomes *khche* (with the deletion of /u/). The authors' preliminary observation indicates that a detailed further study is required to get complete information on the linguistic variation and characteristics of the Gopali language.

### 4.1. Multilingualism and language contact

On the basis of the field observation and the survey data, it can be concluded that multilingualism is very common among Gopali people living in the Chitlang Valley. They use different languages for different domains and activities. Table 2 below shows the languages used in different activities.

**Table 2.** Language used in different activities by the Gopali people (all figures in percentages %)

Domains	Gopali (G)	Nepali (N)	Both (G+N)	English	Hindi
Religious festivals	26.64	13.32	46.62	-	-
Cultural programs	26.64	13.32	46.62	6.66	6.66
Birth ceremonies	33.33	19.98	66.66	-	-
Marriage ceremonies	19.98	13.32	53.28	-	-
Death ceremonies	33.33	26.64	59.94	-	-
Cultural festivals	33.33	33.33	53.28	-	-

Source: authors' field notes (2021).

Table 2 shows the use of multiple languages in various activities related to the religious and cultural domains of the Gopali people. What can be gleaned from it is that the frequency of the use of Gopali is comparatively higher than that of Nepali but it is less so than that of the bilingual use of Gopali and Nepali in all the different domains. When asked about the reason behind this linguistic variation, one of the informants (Ramlal, 67 M) said with exasperation: “What to do, sir? Most of the young people in our community like to speak Nepali and consequently we have also started speaking more Nepali” (Gopali: *k garnu sir hamro umer sammakale bolchhan tara ahileka ketaketiharu nepalimai bolna man garchan.hunda hunda haami pani po badhi nepali bolna thaliyo ta*). Ramlal’s response confirms what is a frequent occurrence in numerous minority communities around the world. They are forced to speak languages of the societal majority because of migration and other social-cultural influences (Gautam & Poudel 2022a; Szczepaniak-Kozak et al. 2023: 62–64, 75–77). On top of that, Hari Gopali, the chief of *Guthi*<sup>6</sup>, claims that elder Gopali people mix the Gopali language with other tongues, including Nepali and English, especially in communication with children and young people in the community. Younger generations in the Chitlang Valley tend to speak more Nepali and English than Gopali itself because of increasing tourism in the region, their exposure to the mass media and extensive use of social media. Hari Gopali reasons that the unification of the state and administration requires a command in the Nepali language which is the official link, or *lingua franca* even, among various communities living in the Chitlang Valley and outside.

## 4.2. Language shift and change

As mentioned earlier, most of the causes of language shift among Gopali speakers are rooted in various socio-historical reasons (Gautam 2012, 2019, 2022b). The elder generations in the Gopali community blame earlier language changes on the incumbent government policy during the *Panchayat* Era (1961–1990). It forced them to use the Nepali language instead of their ancestors’ (heritage) language. This resulted in Gopali’s speaking multiple languages, such as Nepali, English, Hindi and Tamang, especially when they move to the urban areas from their traditional homelands (extending from Taukhel to Chitlang), and afterwards to the Kathmandu Valley. However, during their

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<sup>6</sup> The *Guthi* is a system that has been part of the Newar social system in the Kathmandu Valley since the 5th century BC.

field survey the present authors observed a recent significant language shift in the Gopali community resulting from other factors. Most recently, the Chitlang Valley has become one of the most popular tourist destinations for the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. The road connections from Thankot to Markhu and Dakshinkaali shortened the travel to two or three hours, which has changed the lifestyles of the local population. The authors also observed that most children at the ages between four to twelve years watch Hindi TV cartoons at home. Furthermore, youths who frequently decide to move out of the community prefer Nepali and English to their first language (Gopali) whereas politicians and entrepreneurs prefer Nepali to their heritage languages in casual conversations with other people. At the same time, during the field trip it was observed that around 98% of the cellular phone users spoke Nepali in their conversations. The use of different languages by Gopali people in the domains classified under the umbrella term media and entertainment is presented in Table 3 below.

**Table 3.** The use of different languages by Gopali people in media and entertainment (all figures in percentages %)

Domains/Languages	Gopali	Nepali	Hindi	English
Watching television	-	53.28	53.28	13.32
Listening to the radio/music	-	79.92	53.28	13.32
Listening to interviews	-	66.66	13.32	6.66
Reading newspapers	-	100	-	19.98

Source: authors' field notes (2021).

Table 3 shows that Nepali, Hindi and English are used by the Gopali people of the Chitlang Valley. The use of the heritage language, i.e. Gopali, is very infrequent. In that sense, Gopali people are oblivious to the gradual extinction of their indigenous heritage language because of an increasing level of impact of the mass media and entertainment outlets in this speech community. This is a matter which can raise concerns as, generally, such a shift in language may bring a gradual shift and change in the visibility as well as identity of the speakers (Gautam & Poudel 2022b). These narratives, with a substantial amount of supporting data, contradict the common assumption that local languages are the main sources of communication and the key to intercultural understanding among people living in the same surroundings (Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2022). This may only be true only for communities which are robust and resilient.

## 5. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY: GOPALI CULTURE

Gopali belongs to the common Newar culture but it observes different traditions and practices in the Chitlang Valley. On the basis of the observations conducted during their field trip, the present authors conclude that there are distinct cultural practices in this region. They observed, for example, unique songs and dances in various rites and rituals together with occasional feasts and festivals. The Gopali main folk dances are: *Hile Naach* (Eng. Dancing with mud), and *Gai Jatra* (a special festival of the Newar community). The Gopali have also been able to maintain *Barabarse Nacha* (a typical dance staged every 12 years), *Bade Nacha* (a kind of dance devoted to God Bajrabahrahi), and *Soyat Vinayak Nacha*. They also perform different varieties of folk songs, such as *Baramase*, *Tamimye* and children songs on different occasions and in various places. Members of this community also sing and dance according to the season and lunar position, which they celebrate with different cultural interests.

### 5.1. Food and dress

In the morning, Gopali people eat their traditional food called *Dhindo* (porridge-like food made of corn and millet flour) with vegetable curry, lintel and tomato pickles. They prefer beaten rice, bread and milk tea in the day snacks. People working in the field prefer *Thon* (fermented rice beer) and *Bajee* (beaten rice) in the afternoon. Food varieties for the evening include seasonal vegetables, meat, rice, *Gundruk* (fermented mustard leaves), *Sinabali* (fermented radish). While Gopali children and students prefer biscuits, noodles and readymade bread available in the local market, elderly Gopali prefer *Mali* (made of flour), roasted corn, curd, buffalo meat and *Thon*. Most of them drink liquor during festivals and family rituals. One can observe that elder Gopali people prefer their traditional food items, whereas youths and children prefer rice and fast foods. When asked to share their traditional dishes with the present authors, they were reluctant to do this. At that point, they might have speculated that the educated and residing in the urban area scholars do not prefer *Dhindo*. They also said that their traditional foods are not as delicious as Newar dishes in Kathmandu.

According to Hari Gopali, this local community have their own traditional and ritual dresses but they have been replaced by readymade fancy clothes. Only occasionally is it possible nowadays to meet elderly people wearing their traditional dresses. The present researchers did not see children or youths wearing

traditional dresses. A traditional female clothes are *Hakku Patasi* (a black home-made sari), a white home-made *Jani* (also called *Patuka*, which is worn around the waist), *Putulan* (a kind of blouse), and *Gacha* (a shawl). Girls and women wear varieties of silver and golden ornaments, and beads made of silver coins. Using gold ornament is a recent phenomenon among Gopali women. Traditional Gopali male dresses include *Tapalan* (a home-made garment like Nepali Daura), *Khesa tupuli* (a cap made of *khesa*), *Jani* (a white waist-cloth) and a coat. Men also wear half pants, *suruwal*, *Istakot* and shoes made of leather, clothes and straw materials or *Nalu* (a plant fibre). School children and youths wear readymade clothes available in the market.

Informants, including Hari Gopali, are worried about the loss of their traditional dresses as they are identity markers of the local community. According to the informants in this study, Gopali children and youths do not wear traditional dresses because of the modern education system and westernized lifestyles. Modern education has become the marker of social advancement and educated persons prefer to wear fashionable and readymade clothes.

## 5.2. Gods and festivals

The Gopali primarily worship the following Gods: Bhimsen, Ganesh Mahadeva and Krishna. They believe in the place-specific God Mahadeva called also *Champakeshor*, *Gaikeshor*, *Unmenteshor*, and *Pandukeshor*. Similarly, they also worship local Gods/Goddesses, including Chuni, Satkany, Panchkanya, Snakes, water and special trees.

Bhakta Gopali (48 M) revealed to the authors that the Gopali follow and celebrate various local Hindu and Newar festivals along with Gopali ones. Because of their closer interaction with the Newar community, they celebrate Newar festivals together with *Gathemangal*, *Gaijatra*, *Yanya Punhi*, and *Byanjankegu*. However, they do not celebrate and practice *Jankko*, a Newar ritual of elderly people. Hari Gopali said that centuries-old Gopali deities have been forgotten and the community started worshipping Newar Gods. In this sense, they have undergone the process of Newarization. Additionally, it is very difficult to convince the youngest generations to speak their heritage language and cultivate their ancestors' culture. One of the Gopali youths who participated in the present study claimed that they celebrate festivals of all people living in Chitlang and outside. For example, these days, some Gopali also celebrate the birthdays of their children, which is not a Gopali tradition. In recent decades, some of the Gopali people have converted to Christianity.



### 5.3. Guthi system

One of the powerful socio-cultural institutions of the Gopali community and transformation of language, culture and collective memory, Guthi operates as a politico-judicial body to regulate the decision-making process on socio-cultural and governance issues of the community. The activities of the Guthi are different from one locality to another. The major function of the Guthi is to create unity among Gopali by organizing different social-cultural functions for collective solidarity.

In Guthi there are five *Naikes* (the heads of the community) from five main settlements and five *Thakali* (the oldest males in the community) from all settlements. Other functionaries of the Guthi are three *Bahidar* (record keepers) from the three main settlements and the Guthi members called *Chhimies*. All of these social practices and sacred functions strengthen and recharge the socio-cultural unity in the region, a sense of fraternity, and solidarity among the Gopalis. For example, the Guthi organises *Chunnishikari Puja* three times a year, one month-long *Dapha Bhajan* in October, *Kumari Puja*, *Gokeshor Puja* on the day of *Shree Panchami*, and *Bhosala Puja* at the beginning of the Nepali New Year.

Traditionally, Guthi was androcentric in character, i.e. it comprised only male members. Later, it became inclusive, with both male and female members included in the general body of this social institution. Although Hari Gopali claimed that there is no gender discrimination in their social and cultural practices, male members have exercised a greater socio-cultural status, privilege and decision-making *Gautamity*<sup>7</sup> in the Guthi system.

In the past, when the community was completely based on agriculture and livestock husbandry, it relied on a labour exchange system. The system of reciprocity of labour was not only limited to agricultural activities but was also practised in the construction of houses, feast arrangements, caring for the sick and collective activities in the village. By exchanging labour, the Gopali were involved in the reciprocity of labour and feast rather than making money or securing profit in any form. Migration and commercialization of labour resulted in a deficit for traditional agricultural work which became socio-problematic for the community when the new generation left the traditional professions. However, the community still practice reciprocity in making food and feasting among the community members. For example, the community members work for the host family voluntarily.

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<sup>7</sup> The name of the Guthi system in the Gopali community.

## 5.4. Gopali rituals

While comparing Gopali and Newar rituals, we find many similarities and differences. Hari Gopali drew the authors' attention to the life cycle rituals. Observable differences are the rituals of *Ihi* (marriage of a girl with Bel, an auspicious fruit) and *Bara* (a ritual of keeping the girl in isolation after *Ihi*), which initially were the core customs in the Newar culture. Gopalis do not observe *Ihi* and *Bara* rituals in Chitlang. Instead of these ceremonies, Gopali girls practise fasting and a new dress-wearing ritual which is called *Gunyu-cholo* (a set of traditional lady's dresses). Giving *Gunyu-Cholo* to a girl is a Hindu caste girl pre-menstrual ritual. Both *Ihi*, *Bara* and *Gunyu-Cholo* are observed before the first menstrual period.

According to Hari Gopali, the rites and rituals of the Gopali are beyond the Newari socialization as the community learned cultural and economic practices not only from the Newar and Hill Hindu castes. They were an independent, resourceful and integrated community with very rich ritual and cultural uniqueness. In the course of the state formation, the political, economic and cultural downfall of the Gopali started. Their language and culture were ignored because of the politics of marginalization (Gautam 2022b) in the history of Nepal and they adopted language and cultures from outside their community. Hari also added that the issue of recognition fueled culture and language minoritization. In his own words: "Gopali are not Newar but the government pushed us under the category of Newar". Consequently, Gopali identity has not been officially recognized by the Nepalese government and the minority is currently subsumed into the larger category: Newar. The hybridity of recognition was articulated both in the language and culture of the Gopali people.

### 5.4.1. Birth ritual

The Gopali observe a four-day long ritual of birth purification called *Macha Byanki*. During the birth of a child, they call a midwife called *Derima* (a lady having special knowledge and skills to handle the occasion). The first floor of their traditional house is considered a labour room during the delivery. Both a newborn baby and mother should sleep on paddy straw on the ground floor. On the fourth day, their caste priest purifies the mother, her baby, the house and the whole kinship group. Then the newborn baby is exposed to the sun outside. The locals also offer varieties of food to the God of Sun and other Gods, commencing the mother's change of diet after the labour.

The system of traditional birth rituals changed when Gopali people started visiting health posts and hospitals so the ritual of laying on the ground floor on

paddy straw is nowadays discontinued. According to the information obtained in this study, the new generation does not follow the traditional cultural rules of the Gopali because they have learned new birthing and baby care knowledge from schools, campaigns and trainings in the community outside. These days, those who follow traditional birthing rites are considered backward and uneducated.

#### 5.4.2. Hair cutting (Bhusha Khaya)

The first hair-cutting ritual is usually performed on a boy at the age of six to twelve years. According to Ramji Gopali, this initiation rite is an imitation of the Newar and Hindu high caste ritual. Most of the Gopali do not perform *Bartabandha* (boy's initiation) rituals if the hair-cutting ritual is performed. Local people consider this initiation ritual as a relatively recently adopted celebration. The maternal uncle and the father's sister play the main roles on this occasion. Usually the hair-cutting ritual takes place on *Bartabandha*. However, if this happens that any of them cuts the boy's hair earlier than *Bartabandha*, the hair should be kept safely and offered to the water in the stream or river on an auspicious occasion. This signifies that the hair should not be cut and thrown away casually for the first time.

#### 5.4.3. Marriage (Bya)

The marriage practices of the Gopali are similar to the Hindu marriage system. There used to be a child marriage system but nowadays boys and girls at the age of 16 years are considered mature for marriage in Gopali culture. In reality, thanks to education and social awareness campaigns, nowadays Gopali people enter marriage around the age of 20 within and outside their community. The informants in the study also mentioned that sometimes arranged and elopement marriages are observed within the community. If a couple opt for an elopement, the boy's relatives organize a special ritual and feast (*Leratei*) with the consent and acceptance of the girl's parents. While most of Gopali marriages are bonded in the traditional system, love and inter-caste marriages are also becoming popular.

#### 5.4.4. Death ritual (Si)

In terms of its structure and functions, *Si-Guthi* is similar to the this observed in the Newar community in the Kathmandu Valley. Because of the existence of a strong Guthi system, the Gopali *Si-Guthi* manage all the funeral and death

rituals (meaning that all households in Taukhel are members of *Si-Guthi*). All members of *Si-Guthi* should participate in a death procession with a piece of firewood. Each member of the *Si-Guthi* is assigned with a role and a ritual task. In the case of a household's absence in the procession and ritual, the *Guthi Gautamity* can punish the entire household.

After the death of a person, their family members and close relatives should mourn for thirteen days. In the past, this ritual was practised by Newar priests from the Kathmandu Valley. But these days, they may invite both Newar and Hindu priests, depending on their availability. Like in the Upper Hindu cast, the death of a senior member of the family requires that the family mourning period lasts for a year. This process includes a variety of grieving activities and the deceased's sons and daughters wearing white clothes as a symbol of memory and loss of the relative.

## 6. TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND LIVELIHOOD

The Gopali have practised traditional knowledge of agriculture and medication for centuries. Management of drainage irrigation, using water power for stone grinding of corn and cereals, making fermented food and vegetables, and practicing traditional medicine and *Baidhya* (pharmacist) were remarkable traditional knowledge of the people. This is evidenced, for example, in many water-run grinding machines (*Pani-Ghatta*) spotted near Taukhel and Chitlang. According to the local people, the taste of organic food from the water mill is different from commercial food offered in the market. One can also see *Sinabali* (fermented radish) drying in the sun in the area.

Agriculture is the main livelihood occupation in the Chitlang Valley. The Gopali agriculture system is still based on the oxen-pulled plough. The produce includes paddy, potatoes, wheat and maize for serial food, and cabbage, chilly, radish and various seasonal vegetables as monetized crops. The local people categorize the lands based on the types of crops they produce. Irrigated plain terraces are considered fertile where rice, potato, cabbage and maize are produced on the second type of land. Millet, wheat, corn, and beans are produced on slope and unirrigated lands.

The Gopali have special knowledge of resource management and animal husbandry, the latter remaining a traditional occupation in the valley. It was directly connected with the fertility of the land for sustainable agriculture. The land they have lived on is generally plain and fertile as well as closely connected with pasturelands and forest. Pasturelands and forests are resources to keep large numbers of livestock. The Gopali used to keep animals in sheds (*Goths*) dispersed

across different locations before the valley experienced intensified migration. The location of the *Goths* was usually far away from households. Nowadays, many Gopalis have left their tradition of building Goth because of the decreasing availability of pasturelands and forest areas. They took to other ways of living like teaching or doing business (e.g. retail, driving). Some of them decide to look for work in Kathmandu or migrate abroad in search of employment.

## 7. POLITICAL ECONOMY AND GOPALI IDENTITY

As a generic term, political economy means how state decisions and policies are influenced by more politically and economically powerful groups in a particular society. Political-economic paradigm in anthropology ranges from the evolution of political society to the role of ideology in the political-economic processes including hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Morton Fried (1967) focused on the analysis of political-economic relationships on the evolution of society from egalitarian to stratified societies. His approach relied heavily on Polanyi's (1957) ideas of reciprocity and redistribution to account for the political integration of each society. Distribution of state resources is important to the community to deploy resources of power strategically to their own political and economic ends. This is well reflected in the Gopali community of the Chitlang Valley as governing bodies are now urging the local governments to preserve their culture and language and to commodify their traditional skills and cultures through tourism and economic activities.

Comaroff and Comaroff (2009: 12) embrace that identity is a powerful organizing bond in social life today. They note that "the amount of energy individuals expended claiming, cultivating, expressing or bemoaning the lack of identity in the sense of belonging is among the most compelling of contemporary concerns" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 12). During the field visit, the authors heard from Hari Gopali: "We were virtually ignored in the past. However, after the restoration of democracy and the establishment of federal Nepal, we are prioritized by the outsiders rather than the governmental bodies. These days, people from different places visit us and listen to the stories of the Gopali people in Chitlang Valley". Hari's report indicates that the Gopali people in the Chitlang Valley have now clearly understood the value and recognition of their language, culture and history. This statement also indicates the dissatisfaction of the local community with being virtually ignored by the government and in legislature.

Bourdieu's political economic theory of "symbolic power" and "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) could also be applied to analyze individual and structural violence (humiliation, dishonour, insignificance and misrecogni-

tion) of the Gopali community in everyday life. This distinction between direct, coercive violence and structural violence correlates with the distinction made by Bourdieu (1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) between “primary” and “secondary” forms of power. The latter is termed “symbolic power” and “symbolic violence”, in which people exercise power without the direct application of physical force. The Gopali of the Chitlang Valley have been assimilated within the single category of the Newar community which reflects the issue of power relationship.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS AND TEACHING IMPLICATIONS

Language and culture have traditionally been closely linked with many aspects of communication (Thomason 2015: 26). The collective knowledge that indigenous people and other non-indigenous people possess is the most valuable treasure of multilingualism. In a multilingual context of teaching and learning English in Nepal, the trajectories of the language and culture of different communities constitute the contents and resources for teaching. Gopalis of Chitlang have been found as distinct linguistic and cultural communities though they come under the subsets of Newar communities. The Gopali of the Chitlang Valley are different from others in their social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and orientations. Their historical and cultural trajectories have been predicted and exoticized without proper research on-site. As the present study indicates, their local cultures, language use, and stories of settlement differ across the villages in the Chitlang Valley. In many ritual practices, they are close to the Newar, but the Gopali practice them differently in Chitlang. For example, while *Ihi* (a girl’s marriage to *Bel*) and *Bara* (a ritual of leaving the girl in isolation for some time) are mandatory rituals of the Newar, the Gopali do not observe these rituals. Instead of *Bara*, they have the tradition of fasting for five days and giving *Gunyu-cholo* (a set of traditional ladies’ dresses) to the girl.

Charles Tylor (1994) argued that the recognition of the minority group was important for the proliferation of its language and culture. Linguists and anthropologists have also noticed that the language and culture of minorities transform through the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and assimilation (Barth 1969; Fisher 2001). They argued that ethnic boundaries of language and culture were changed in the context of politics and livelihood strategies of the people. This is mirrored in what happened to the Gopali, who have been subsumed into the Newar category by the government although they are linguistically and culturally distinct. At the same time, individual members of the community have been shifting towards Nepali, English and other languages because of the pressure of the mainstream tradition and culture.

The data gathered during the observation conducted by the present authors and from the key informants provide evidence that the region inhabited by the Gopali is rich in folklore; the people themselves maintain a traditional social structure, social solidarity, and long-standing norms and values. The loss of traditional knowledge, culture and folklore has been observed as an unintended consequence of education and labour migration. The younger generation is less willing to preserve traditional knowledge, practices and cultural dances. In this regard, this study implies that linguistic and cultural traditions can be maintained in a community by integrating them into school curricula and syllabi. They should represent the trajectories of different languages and cultures of different communities so that the students can familiarize themselves with their heritage and be encouraged to take further initiatives.

Unlike socio-cultural practices, various shifts and changes are noticed in the language use and attitudes (Gautam & Adhikari 2023) among the Gopali. They tend to mix Nepali, Newar, Tamang, Hindi and English words in everyday conversation while conversing Gopali, which leads to this language's lesser use. In this context, it is strongly recommended to start mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) in schools across the valley along with a local curriculum that would reflect the socio-historical uniqueness of the Gopali people and community. Thus, this study has significant implications for devising multilingual pedagogy to preserve and promote different languages and cultures. Such changes are fully sanctioned by the Constitution of Nepal (2015), which confers the right to basic education in the mother tongue (Article 31.1), the right to use the mother language (Article 32.1), and the preservation and promotion of local tongues (Article 32.3).

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### Trajektorie języka i kultury społeczności Gopali w Dolinie Chitlang

**ABSTRAKT.** Nauczanie języka powinno przede wszystkim uwzględniać kulturowe trajektorie stosowania języka w danych społecznościach. Niniejsze badanie poświęcono różnym aspektom językowym i kulturowym w obrębie społeczności Gopali zamieszkującej Dolinę Chitlang, położoną 28 mil na południowy zachód od Katmandu. Wstępne obserwacje wskazują, że Gopali (społeczność w ramach grupy etnicznej Newar) stanowi odrębną tożsamość językową i kulturową w Nepalu. Jednak nie została ona jeszcze uznana za osobną grupę etniczną, pomimo charakterystycznego języka, historii, pochodzenia i praktyk kulturowych. Obecnie język Gopali jest zagrożony wyginięciem głównie z powodu rosnącego wpływu wywieranego przez inne języki używane w Dolinie Katmandu. Autorzy badania zaobserwowali, że błędne zakwalifikowanie tego języka i kultury jest historycznie powiązane z aspektami polityczno-ekonomicznymi i ma wpływ na zmiany, których doświadcza lud Gopali. Niniejszy artykuł został opracowany na podstawie danych uzyskanych w wywiadach narracyjnych, wywiadach z kluczowymi informatorami, *life stories* (historii życia), badań językowych i obserwacji przeprowadzonych w październiku 2021 roku. Interpretacji danych dokonano w odniesieniu do różnych politycznych, społecznych i ekonomicznych relacji oraz zmian kulturowych. Uznając wielojęzyczność za normę edukacji językowej, w niniejszym projekcie zbadano również wpływ wielojęzyczności na nowe pokolenie w Dolinie Chitlang. Badanie może pomóc decydom w wprowadzeniu wielojęzycznej edukacji opartej na języku ojczystym (MTB-MLE) w społeczności Gopali.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** zmiana języka, Guthi, język Gopali, tożsamość, ekonomia polityczna, edukacja.

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## **Trends in European language education policy on teacher education: Teaching foreign languages to young learners**

**ABSTRACT.** Contemporary language education to young learners is seeing an increased focus on individual variation, due to students' special educational needs and the diversity of contexts in which instruction takes place. This leads to the increased creativity of teachers and the emergence of innovative practices in various areas of teaching languages to children. On the other hand, due to globalization and international cooperation, language teaching experiences a degree of standardization. One source of this may be the impact of European education policy. Due to such influential tools as the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages or the European Portfolio for Pre-Primary Educators, educational systems find it convenient and useful to apply some of these assumptions. Therefore, it is important to make an overview of trends in European education policy in reference to teaching young learners, to indicate what kind of support can be given to language instructors in their work with children. The research question posed in the paper is to what extent the most important European policy documents and tools prove relevant in the practice of young learner educators? The analysis indicates the viability of selected European policy tools, modifications of their use across the years and new forms of implementation in the social media era.

**KEYWORDS:** language education, teaching young learners, teacher development, European language policy.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Teaching foreign languages to Young Learners (YL), rewarding as it may be, is also an extremely difficult task, given children's short attention span, differences in reading / writing ability, and a need for multi-sensory input calling for a great variety of activities. YL teachers are responsible not only for developing skills and building appropriate pronunciation and grammar,

but also for fostering learners' motivation, triggering their interest in the new language and appreciation for foreign cultures. Foreign language classes are, after all, often the first occasions for encountering elements or representatives of other cultures.

All of these responsibilities necessitate a systematic and principled approach to teaching, which would be impossible without an equally well-reasoned and methodologically sound framework of training. The purpose of the current paper is to examine how the most important policy documents of the Council of Europe and the European Union help organise YL teaching, facilitate its planning and implementation as well as shape contemporary teacher development.

## **2. THE EUROPEAN POLICY DOCUMENTS ON TEACHING LANGUAGES TO YOUNG LEARNERS**

European education policy stresses the need for equal educational opportunity and access to foreign language (FL) learning and for that reason promotes the idea of an early start of language learning. The value of the early start is no longer considered a controversial issue due to the consensus that FL is among the areas of school knowledge that can be introduced to the curriculum early and one that has a beneficial influence on the overall development of the child. A comparative analysis of the process of implementing early FL programmes in the EU member states between 2003 and 2016 (European Commission 2017) proves that the idea has been highly valued since the publication of the White Paper on education and training in which the Commission stated that for proficiency in three Community languages to be developed, foreign language learning needs to start at the pre-school level, with systematic continuation in primary education and a second foreign language added at the secondary level (Commission of European Communities 1995: 44). While regarded by some as not realistic and not fully implemented in all countries, this obligation resulted in quite a few countries lowering its starting age considerably, with foreign language instruction starting at early kindergarten (Poland, Luxembourg, Belgium at the age of 3; Greece at the age of 4, Cyprus and Malta at the age of 5 – European Commission 2023).

The current section will present the framework of European language policy through its documents, organised by particular institutions (European Commission, Council of Europe, European Centre for Modern Languages). Hence, chronology of presentation is maintained within particular institutions.

Early FL programmes gained momentum after the announcement of Barcelona Presidency Conclusions with 'the mother tongue plus two languages'

formula (European Commission 2002). An early start of language learning now receives unanimous support from EU member countries (European Commission 2023).

It is now widely understood that the cognitive, social, and emotional development of very young learners (VYs) is supported by input of and exposure to a new language (Chanifa et al. 2020; Jurkic et al. 2023). The groundbreaking *Recommendation* published by the Council of Europe (CoE) encouraged 46 member states and six observer states to teach at least one foreign language in the school system and promoted the early start in language education (CoE 1998). The decision was later supported by the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML 2010) in the powerful *Graz declaration* signed by ten leading associations of applied linguistics, language teaching and language testing.

The European Union soon joined forces with the Council of Europe. At the Barcelona meeting of 18 member states and 10 pre-accession countries the formula of ‘the mother tongue plus 2 languages’ was introduced (European Commission 2002). Later the European Commission launched *The new framework strategy for multilingualism* (2005) inviting governments of its 28 EU member states to engage in promoting multilingualism, encouraging citizens to learn more languages, lowering the starting age for the first foreign language and, consequently, the starting age for a second foreign language (European Commission 2005).

Although member states responded positively to these recommendations by lowering the starting age in primary education, a relatively small number of member states actively promoting language education in kindergartens became a matter of grave concern manifested in the policy document titled *Language learning at pre-primary school level: Making it efficient and sustainable* (European Commission 2011). As “the available information is sporadic and much of it has not been systematically stored or monitored” (European Commission 2011: 29), the document analyses possible reasons for the situation pointing to the demotivating role of inappropriate methodologies and the lack of continuity. It also lists benefits of early language learning and calls for raising awareness of administrators and parents. Researchers, however, perceived new EU recommendations as encouraging early language learning in non-formal contexts (Enever 2012: 18).

The European Union (2019) confirmed its stance on language education in the *Recommendation on a comprehensive approach to the teaching and learning of languages* as well as in a multitude of other reports and studies (e.g. Hélot & Bonacina-Pugh 2023; Staring & Broughton 2020). Developments of the last quarter century demonstrate full synergy in the language-oriented activities of all major European institutions, an orchestrated effort resulting in the wide promotion of materials aimed at supporting language teachers and learners.

These publications referred to as ‘tools and documents’ ([www.ecml.at](http://www.ecml.at); [www.coe.int](http://www.coe.int)) demonstrate not only the role of CoE, EU and ECML as enabling institutions, but also make readers aware of the recency of language provision for young learners (Enever 2018).

The *European language portfolio* (ELP) was the first document issued by the Council of Europe (2001b) and the first for which the need had been determined at the Intergovernmental Rüşchlikon Symposium in 1991 (Council of Europe 1992). The self-assessment oriented ELP format based on can-do statements was then used by member states to design documents appropriate for their country’s educational context, yet not every set contained a portfolio for pre-school and primary school learners. Many CoE member states decided, however, to address this age group. Poland, for example, prepared a set of five documents including one for kindergarten children and one for the 10-15 age group. Although ELP was designed for learners, its content was meant to raise educators’ awareness of ways to enrich or modify their teaching according to the needs of particular age groups. While the concept itself is well-established to have seen the development and implementation of numerous portfolios for the YL age group<sup>1</sup>, it is evident how after the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century with great interest in the ELP concept, the second and third decades have seen more consolidation and reflection than novel development. Thus, YL teachers are advised to compare portfolios from different countries for the same age group, observe and reflect upon solutions used and, possibly, compile their own electronic versions.

In its original 2001 version the *Common European framework of reference for languages* (CEFR), published in the same year as the *European language portfolio*, mentions *children* only in relation to concepts of immersion, motivation and the development of intercultural competence (Council of Europe 2001a: 137, 138, 148). The term *young learners* is used only once (p. 31) when the need for more A1 level descriptors is stressed. It may only be inferred that the concept of *younger basic users* invoked in the discussion of the role of task completion (p. 180) or the term *younger learners* used in comments on the length of texts (p. 166) refer to YLs, and that the terms *young people*, *younger learners* and *young persons*, used more often in the text (e.g., on pages 3, 5, 94, 123, 148), refer to school students, but no age reference is offered. Yet, the benefit rather than the deficit model of analysing language competences adopted in CEFR (2001) was meant to change teacher educators’ approach to ways of teaching languages across age groups and, in consequence, change the attitudes of graduates from teacher training institutions.

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<sup>1</sup> See the ECML ELP website at <https://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/Curriculaandevaluation/EuropeanLanguagePortfolio/Browseportfolios/tabid/4182/language/en-GB/Default.aspx?&TargetGroup=enf> for children-oriented portfolios.

*The CEFR Companion volume* (Council of Europe 2018) takes a step forward nuancing official recommendations into educational practice by directly addressing the needs of YL and stating that “two collations of descriptors for young learners from ELPs are provided: for the 7-10 and 11-15 age groups respectively” (Council of Europe 2018: 51) with sets prepared by Szabó (2018a, 2018b). A particularly important contribution of *the CEFR Companion volume*, organising language instruction of YL, was its introduction of pre-A1 level in a number of scales for modes of language use (reception, production, interaction and mediation), skills and sub-skills. The subdivision of the starting stage into two levels, pre-A1 and A1, enables finer estimation of learner progress at the very beginning of their learning career, which should help motivate YL.

The European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz in its second medium-term programme (2004–2007) focused on the promotion of lowering the starting age for language education as well as on identifying good practices in implementing the early start ([www.ecml.at](http://www.ecml.at)). YLs’ language awareness was addressed in several projects and publications, such as *Janua Linguarum – The gateway to languages. The introduction of language awareness into the curriculum: Awakening to languages* (Candelier 2008), and a comprehensive *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures* (Camilleri et al. 2012).

The Council of Europe, with its main institutional aim of promoting human rights and intercultural dialogue, established intercultural competence as an educational objective to be introduced into language teaching curricula from early stages of language learning. In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, two documents were developed for this purpose. The *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education*, first published in 2002 and systematically updated until its last version of 2016 (Beacco et al. 2016), aims to support teachers and educational decision-makers in their endeavours to implement recommendations of the Council of Europe. *Autobiography of intercultural encounters* (Byram et al. 2009) offers a self-reflection and a self-assessment tool for various age groups with written and oral versions for younger learners. Guidance and support for teachers of YLs are offered by the *Autobiography of intercultural encounters for younger learners* in the form of a separate version for children up to the age of 10–12 who need adults’ or teachers’ help in reading, writing and reflecting upon their encounters. Assistance to YL educators is offered on the Council of Europe’s AIE website (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/autobiography-intercultural-encounters>) through provision of facilitators’ notes with suggestions on how and when to use the *Autobiography* with children, text and picture cards to structure discussions, information about ethical issues and a feedback form for facilitators (Council of Europe 2009).

Council of Europe issued two documents to support YL educators directly targeting their self-assessment of didactic skills: one is appropriate for the teaching of various age groups, i.e. the *European portfolio for student teachers of languages* – EPOSTL (Newby et al. 2007) and another one directly addressing pre-school language education, the *European portfolio for pre-primary educators* – PEPELINO (Goullier et al. 2015). The former, though not directed specifically at teachers of children but general in its nature, is an invaluable tool for all YL educators due to its highly systematic approach to describing specific stages of the language teaching process from investigating the instructional context, through understanding and choosing methodology and appropriate resources, planning and conducting lessons, fostering independent learning to assessing students' progress. A self-assessment portfolio for pre-primary educators, PEPELINO, is of great value in both pre- and in-service education of YL teachers since it offers basic information on topics included in the document to facilitate self-reflection on the descriptors related to four domains with two fields of competences each: adopting appropriate behaviour, creating favourable learning environments for children, observing and supporting each child's development, and cooperation. Fields of competence within each domain are approached from the point of view of knowledge, attitudes and skills (Goullier et al. 2015: 8–9). Its applicability in the Polish pre-primary context has been particularly aptly indicated in the study by Rokita-Jaśkow and Król-Gierat (2021).

As can be seen from the above, trends in the European policy in relation to the teaching of languages in general and to working with YLs in particular have been communicated more and more precisely over the last three decades. Yet, in individual countries (European Commission 2017, 2023), due to a variety of social, financial and political reasons, CoE and EU recommendations have been implemented at a different rate in examination, curriculum development, schoolbooks, and teacher training.

### **3. THE EUROPEAN LANGUAGE POLICY AS REFLECTED IN TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMMES**

However readily member states of the Council of Europe and the European Union decided to implement early FL programmes, which also benefitted from earlier educational reforms, administrators responsible for the operation faced a considerable number of organisational difficulties. Implementation of an early start in language learning called for changes in teacher education, yet it could not take place in a vacuum. Training new YL teachers had to start in existing educational contexts with different and often dynamically changing legislation



and budgetary provision (European Commission 2023). What is more, teachers were prepared primarily to teach in upper-primary and secondary schools with relatively little emphasis on language education at pre-school level (Garton et al. 2011: 16).

### 3.1. Main issues in teacher education and the European reaction

Breakthrough in the 1990s, a result of advancements in second language acquisition (SLA), pedagogy, psychology, sociology and anthropology, brought significant changes in teacher education, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. The most important changes were in the skills- and competence-based orientation of trainee-centred programmes, their integration with university education, balancing curricular time dedicated to foundation disciplines, and increased emphasis on the development of reflective practitioners during field experience supported by the mentoring process (Komorowska & Krajka 2020). Lowering the age of introducing a first FL into the school curriculum could only be a gradual process, by no means facilitated by the former obligatory status of Russian as the first FL taught from a later age in most post-Soviet bloc countries. Teachers were prepared primarily to teach in upper-primary and secondary schools with relatively little emphasis on language education of YLs. This issue was explicitly pointed out in Recommendation 1 of the British Council report which states that “the pre-service and in-service training of teachers to teach young learners needs to be considerably strengthened. The needs of in-service teachers are particularly acute, given that many did not start their careers as teachers of English or as teachers of young learners” (Garton et al. 2011: 16). These needs were addressed in a significant number of in-service programmes which, however, faced difficulties due to low levels of teachers’ language competence and pedagogical skills (Enever 2012: 20).

This particular aspect of the situation did not seem to be helped by a new, otherwise valuable, document directly related to the structure and content of language teacher education. More than a decade after the breakthrough mentioned above, the European Union sponsored a project to provide a comprehensive framework facilitating comparisons of pre-service language teacher education programmes titled the *European profile of language teacher education – EPLTE* (Kelly & Grenfell 2004). The document presented four parts of holistically viewed teacher education operationalised by 40 descriptors grouped in the categories of 1) structure, 2) knowledge and understanding, 3) strategies and skills, and 4) values. Aspects addressed in post-1990s teacher education programmes were all represented, enriched by learning to teach in a multi-

cultural environment, developing information and communication skills and awareness of the role of ongoing teacher development. Yet, once again, the teaching of young learners was not specifically targeted. It should also be noted that, as with every framework, categories offered in EPLTE need to be carefully selected by decision-makers responsible for constructing teacher education programmes in their countries because all descriptors prove to be context-sensitive. For instance, “a period of work or study in a country or countries where the trainee’s foreign language is spoken as native” (Kelly & Grenfell 2004: 11) is not possible to be effectively implemented in every national system for political and / or financial reasons.

The quality of teacher education programmes in a particular country largely depends not only on their content and methods which naturally change over time, but also on the organisation of language education in each national school system at a given moment in time. In some local contexts, generalists or semi-qualified (those in the process of gaining full qualifications, e.g., after the first-cycle study programme) subject teachers are responsible for language education, which means that teachers are expected to teach either all school subjects or two or three of those subjects with a FL as one of several fields of specialisation (e.g. Denmark). In some contexts, however, only qualified teachers are employed, i.e. those who are specifically qualified to teach a target language. Categories are by no means clearly separated, as generalists may decide on a specialisation in only one of the subject areas, e.g., a FL. The situation is dynamic as national budgetary provision in many countries, e.g. in Poland, is unstable, directly influencing the number and quality of teacher education programmes, therefore, legislation regulating expected qualifications tends to change and so does teacher status (European Commission 2023). In some countries, educational systems could also differentiate lower-level teachers (ISCED levels 0–2) from higher-level ones (ISCED levels 3–8) in terms of obligatory qualifications, with the bachelor’s degree and master’s degree as obligatory requirements respectively, which used to be the case in Poland in the first decade of the 2000s. In Poland, for instance, the educational reform of 2017 moved a three-tier primary / middle / upper secondary school system (ISCED level 1/ISCED level 2/ISCED level 3) back to a two-tier primary / secondary one (ISCED levels 1 and 2/ISCED level 3), thus forcing qualified middle school teachers to start working towards secondary school teaching qualifications as their third-year middle school students found themselves in the first year of a full secondary school. The move also adversely affected the status of primary school teachers who are often unfairly considered less qualified. What is more, the reform of 2015, which lowered the starting age to the kindergarten (ISCED level 0), placed new obligations on pre-school educators.

### 3.2. The impact of European policy documents and projects on pre-service teacher education

Enriching teacher education programmes by modules preparing trainees to teach YLs faced not only organisational difficulties presented above, but also content-oriented ones. Although an early start of FL learning is viewed as a factor enhancing children's cognitive and affective development while also contributing to their understanding of different cultures, little attention has been paid to the role of the teacher. Variables such as teachers' proficiency in L2 and their ability to use age-appropriate methodology were thoroughly examined in a study by a team of researchers investigating contexts of YLs' language education in Croatia, England, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Sweden within a longitudinal EU *Early language learning in Europe* (ELLiE) project (Enever 2011).

Despite insufficient research data, institutional frameworks for educating teachers of YLs seem to be relatively uniform across the European school systems, as training programmes are now located within universities, most of which function according to Bologna requirements and most of which use *The European profile for language teacher education* (Kelly & Grenfell 2004) for designing their curricula, although again the teaching of young learners was not specifically targeted therein. Differences can be noticed in certification systems for graduates from non-philological departments as well as in affiliation of programmes: some are run by philology, others by linguistics, and some by pedagogy departments. Organisational decisions, however, rarely influence curricular objectives; despite differences in university structure, teaching programmes do not seem to differ considerably in the set of students' competences they aim to develop (Komorowska & Krajka 2021). Yet, emphasis on particular competences is not always the same and, in consequence, university systems inevitably differ in the quality of professional competence of YL teachers: philology-located programmes tend to better equip graduates with higher-level practical language skills as well as knowledge of linguistics enabling them to explain grammar intricacies better, sometimes at the expense of more advanced age-appropriate pedagogical skills.

On the other hand, classroom observations of teaching of graduates from pedagogy-located language teacher training programmes show that they demonstrate a slightly lower level of language proficiency and shallower knowledge about language, yet compensated by a greater repertoire of techniques for working with children from different age groups. Most importantly, the latter group will be much better prepared in terms of teaching literacy skills, which gains great importance with migrant children from different cultures with a typologically close yet alphabetically different language (e.g., Ukrainian children learning English in Polish kindergartens and primary schools – ISCED levels 0–2).

The content of pre-service programmes also poses problems which have not been reflected on in the European policy. Although psychology courses are usually present alongside pedagogical ones, cross-curricular links needed in the everyday life of an active teacher are not always provided. This puts into question validity of philosophy of foreign language teacher development as laid out in ministerial standards for Poland. In consequence, teacher trainees and novice teachers often find themselves unprepared when confronted with strong opinions about overburdening children with too early FL instruction in primary schools, finding to their surprise that as many as 15 percent of parents can find FL useless (Fojkar & Piżorn 2015). Teachers need to be able to convince parents that children develop self-reflection, self-assessment and self-expression through the introduction of attractive and engaging activities, such as roleplay, dancing, singing, painting, and drawing. Although the language efficiency of an early start is sometimes questioned (Jaekel et al. 2022), factors such as the longer period of language teaching, YLs' motivation and the value of early contact with otherness justify the promotion of the early start in language education (Candelier 2008; Camilleri Grima et al. 2012). Benefits can be expected when age-appropriate methods of language teaching are employed, especially given that successful teaching of these age groups is associated not only with the amount and length of exposure to the target language, but also with the interplay of other cognitive, affective, and contextual variables (Muñoz 2014; Pfenninger 2014). Teachers' knowledge of these issues should be accompanied with skills to communicate those ideas to a wider public.

Establishing rapport with children and communication with their parents is another field that deserves special attention in pre-service teacher education courses. Parents' involvement, partially implemented in some of the commercial methods for Young Learners for reporting learning or assessing progress, is an important step towards bringing language instruction outside the classroom inside monolingual home environments (see Le Pichon-Vorstman et al. 2020), helping to implement the "time-and-place" strategy instead of "one-parent-one-language" approach (Komorowska & Krajka 2016). Novice teachers should also be made aware of opportunities and problems related to children's bilingualism. Moreover, they need to be equipped with strategies fostering the development of early bilingualism to successfully shape pre-primary environments as natural bilingual spaces along the lines of promoting multilingualism by both the Council of Europe and the European Union.

At present, teachers have become better prepared to promote bi- and multilingualism, also due to the activity of the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) in Graz and their projects related to pre-school language education (e.g., *Janua Linguarum* – Candelier 2008) and parent-teacher contacts: *Involving*

*parents in plurilingual and intercultural education* (www.ecml.at), while the promotion of *The European portfolio for pre-primary educators – PEPELINO* (Goullier et al. 2015) helps to equip novice teachers with instruments to start a stable and friendly cooperation with parents.

Although issues related to language teaching methodology had not been directly addressed in most of the documents published in Brussels and Strasbourg, the educational practice was enriched thanks to numerous tools and documents published and promoted by the ECML as outputs of their projects (www.ecml.at), which help to shape pre-service teacher training programmes so as to ensure a high quality of early language teaching. Now that the early start in learning FL has reached pre-school, programme designers are aware of the fact that novice teachers preparing for work with very young learners need to be made aware of stages in children's play to be able to plan language exposure and provide appropriate input, thoughtfully followed, depending on the child's developmental age, by a teacher's elicitation moves, such as a request for showing an object, a prompt or even giving a false answer to a question challenging a child to correct the information offered. Techniques of planning and organising activities preferred by children and contributing to their sustained motivation, such as games, storytelling and singing, which should not be neglected in methodology syllabuses can also be found as ready-made classroom suggestions and tasks in the *European language portfolio* (see above).

Relatively less guidance has been offered on issues of assessment, which, obviously, teachers need to be ready for. Publications promoted by the OECD (Laveault & Allal 2016) put emphasis on learning-oriented assessment, i.e. on assessment *for* learning rather than assessment *of* learning, however, skills to integrate assessment and teaching, to provide positive and constructive diagnostic feedback as well as to employ alternative techniques, such as observation, portfolio assessment, self- and peer assessment (Nikolov & Timpe-Laughlin 2021) need to be given more attention in the work of European institutions.

### **3.3. In-service YL teacher education in traditional and online social media contexts**

Institutional frameworks for in-service teacher education differ not only across international but also across national contexts to a much greater degree than those for pre-service teacher training. Courses are run by universities in the form of post-graduate programmes and usually offer teaching qualifications. Training conducted by educational centres or publishing houses tends to be shorter and can range from one day to several weeks. Programmes, therefore, differ in

objectives and types of certifications, on the one hand, because European policy recommendations are general in character (Staring & Broughton 2020), and on the other hand, because national and even regional contexts differ considerably (European Commission 2020). Apart from differences in length, aims, affiliation and certification, Continuous Professional Development (CPD) programmes differ in models. Particular courses have varied objectives, content and methods because CPD of language teachers is usually understood as either addressing lacks in pre-service education or as updating teachers on recent developments in foreign language teaching (FLT) and SLA. In Kennedy's (2005) terminology, *Training models* focus on skills development, *Deficit models* address certain gaps or deficits in teachers' competences, *Coaching models* provide one-to-one mentoring, *Community of practice models* are based on a concept of common learning and shared knowledge, whereas *Transformation models* aim at changing teachers' attitudes, methods, and strategies (Komorowska & Krajka 2021). The design and methods of these models do not make them appropriate for pre-service teacher education programmes.

#### 4. DISCUSSION: NEW CHALLENGES AND NEW SOLUTIONS

Problems arise when in-service teacher education curricula do not provide time to address challenges raised by practising teachers and their individual difficulties which differ across contexts and may lead to stress and burnout, which affect experienced teachers much more than novices. Teachers need information on issues which are difficult to address in pre-service teacher education due to time constraints, e.g. on techniques of teaching YLs with a range of learning difficulties. Teachers participating in development programmes often request information on skills related to conflict prevention and management reflecting the frequency of tensions not only among kindergarten and school staff, but also between teachers and parents. They, however, need their emotions and identities to be taken into consideration in the process of developing their professional competences (Nazari et al. 2022), which, unfortunately, is not possible in pre-service education due to highly limited curriculum time.

In-service teacher education also faces new challenges which include teaching multi-level, plurilingual and multicultural classes as well as moving towards alternative assessment (Enever 2011; Garton et al. 2011; Kos 2021; Nikolov & Timpe-Laughlin 2021). While teacher development programs are too slow to address such new problems as they usually respond to ministerial standards which might be published every few years, this role is often taken over by Facebook communities, where teachers share their classroom stories, discuss professional

needs, and seek solutions to actual problems. Such Facebook groups are used by their members not only for creating their own personal learning networks, but also as arenas for promoting their products, services, or events, such as school plays or song festivals.

The quality of in-service teacher education may be improved by the use of good practices, an activity strongly supported by main international institutions. The European Union publishes sets of case studies demonstrating innovative teaching methods for age groups from 7 to 15, such as the *Accelerative integrated method of foreign language teaching* (AIM) employed in Canada and the Netherlands (Le Pichon-Vorstman et al. 2020). As practical implementation of language policies, the European Centre for Modern Languages supports teachers by offering rich examples of plurilingual pedagogies and practices, strategies helpful in the implementation of bilingual education, content and language integrated learning (CLIL), but also ways of assisting migrant children in appropriating the language of schooling ([www.ecml.at](http://www.ecml.at)). Early efforts to develop a methodology of teaching YLs undertaken by the British Council in former Eastern-bloc countries such as Poland led to training networks of educators, organising trainings in many countries, holding YL conferences or developing sets of resources. Thanks to this, nowadays, support in terms of materials no longer needs to be offered physically, but can be mostly present in the online sphere, for instance through the highly comprehensive online LearnEnglish Kids portal<sup>2</sup>, featuring a number of interactive Listen+watch, Read+write, Speak+spell, Grammar+vocabulary, Fun+games and Print+make resources.

No matter how strongly further development of novice and more experienced YL teachers can be enhanced by self-reflection and autonomously conducted action research (Edwards 2020), in-service teacher education programmes are always in demand. Yet, the role and effectiveness of coaching in CPD remains a vastly underresearched area. The need is acute in YL teachers' education, an issue which became apparent during the pandemic and which cannot be ignored in times of crisis (Ersin & Attay 2021; Mullen 2021).

## 5. CONCLUSION

Local contexts differ considerably in terms of resources provision, curriculum, assessment and teaching quality. Yet research demonstrates that although learning can take place in a variety of contexts and conditions, effective learning is possible if learners' attitudes are positive and if teachers'

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<sup>2</sup> <https://learnenglishkids.britishcouncil.org/>.

enthusiasm, their ability to establish a good rapport with their learners and to keep them on-task are among the key factors contributing to children's success (Enever 2011). All these factors raise the importance of reflective practice and mentoring as no pre-service training programme is successful without a properly focused practicum, well-prepared in terms of lesson observation and post-lesson reflection tools, enriched by supportive supervision and professional counselling offered by both university- and school-based mentors (Aslan et al. 2022; Tian & Louw 2020).

The diverse opportunities for development presented in this paper, opened up by crucial CoE documents (in particular, *the CEFR Companion Volume*, EPLTE, EPOSTL, AIE) and put into practice via ECML projects (e.g., PEPELINO), will hopefully change the practice of language teaching in YL classrooms. The language policy documents, innovative as they may be, have been underutilised and their use in wider teaching population will hopefully increase if pre-service training institutions integrate them into university curricula to theoretical concepts presented in curricula. Most notably, with the current online development opportunities, YL teachers are more than likely to benefit from Web-based MOOCs, MOOC camps, Facebook groups or online degree programmes to expand their expertise and gain new skills and qualifications to foster more effective learning.

In a highly globalised world and among enhanced opportunities for connecting teachers, even in remote geographical areas, YL teachers can gain professional knowledge and skills from a variety of sources (though with a need to assess their credibility and validity), benefiting from collective experience of professionals from all over the world.

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### Trendy w europejskiej polityce językowej dotyczącej kształcenia nauczycieli: nauczanie języków obcych najmłodszych uczniów

ABSTRAKT. Współczesne kształcenie językowe dzieci staje przed koniecznością indywidualizacji procesu nauczania z uwagi na zróżnicowane potrzeby edukacyjne uczniów oraz różnorodność kontekstów, w których przebiega proces kształcenia. W rezultacie prowadzi to do kreatywności

nauczycieli i powstawania innowacyjnych praktyk. Jednocześnie w efekcie procesów globalizacyjnych ma miejsce pewna standaryzacja nauczania, również pod wpływem wdrażania założeń europejskiej polityki językowej. Pojawienie się tak ważnych narzędzi jak Europejski System Opisu Kształcenia Językowego czy Europejskie Portfolio dla Nauczycieli Przedszkolnych ma istotny wpływ na proces kształcenia nauczycieli. Z tego powodu główne pytanie badawcze artykułu brzmi: na ile najważniejsze dokumenty i narzędzia UE / Rady Europy okazują się przydatne w nauczaniu dzieci. Analiza pokazuje istotność wybranych narzędzi, modyfikacje ich zastosowania na przestrzeni lat oraz nowe formy wdrażania w erze mediów społecznościowych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: kształcenie językowe, nauczanie dzieci, doskonalenie nauczycieli, europejska polityka językowa.

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## **Lifeworld dimensions in language education and the integration of refugee students in Germany: Results from a study with Ukrainian refugees**

**ABSTRACT.** This paper examines the educational challenges and language acquisition processes of newly immigrated students in Germany, with a focus on children and adolescents who have fled Ukraine. Utilizing qualitative interviews with Ukrainian refugees, the study explores the impact of migration, particularly due to the Russian war against Ukraine, on the language education of these individuals in German as a Second Language settings. The interviews, which were conducted with women who have fled Ukraine, and include their perspectives on familial language practices and educational orientations, reveal the complexities faced by this population in their host country. The paper discusses the implications of experiences of flight, language use within the family, structural changes in educational approaches, and the Ukrainian online schooling in sustaining educational continuity. The findings underscore the need for trauma sensitive, culture informed, and language-specific pedagogy, alongside the importance of considering the emotional and psychological well-being of refugee students. The paper calls for more nuanced research, and didactic considerations that align with the diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds of refugee students.

**KEYWORDS:** migration, language education, German as a second language, Ukrainian refugees in Germany, educational integration.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Language education aimed at immigrant students who acquire the German language in the context of fleeing their home countries has posed a unique challenge for schools in Germany since 2015, and in particular for German as a second language (Deutsch als Zweitsprache: DaZ) instruction, and has been addressed by various disciplines. The discussion in educational sciences and the didactics of German as a second language is mainly concerned with questions of schooling

and second language acquisition of newly immigrated students (cf. Ahrenholz et al. 2018; Benholz et al. 2016; Birkner et al. 2022b; Cornely Harboe et al. 2016b; Gamper et al. 2020; Massumi et al. 2015; McElvany et al. 2017; Otto et al. 2016; Ohm et al. 2023; von Dewitz et al. 2018). In addition to various schooling models and the development of language skills in selected areas, the discussion also addresses the impact of fleeing as a particular form of migration on (language) learning processes (cf. Cornely Harboe et al. 2016a; Cornely Harboe et al. 2018; Plutzar 2016; Plutzar 2019; Quehl 2019; Reiter 2019). Many questions regarding the design of German teaching and learning processes for different age groups, school types, and proficiency levels remain open (cf. Birkner 2022a: 10). However, there is a broad consensus that cultural-, trauma-, and language-sensitive teaching that takes existing (language) skills and (language) learning experiences into account and builds upon them, should be a fundamental principle of language work with newly immigrated students (cf. Bredthauer & von Dewitz 2022; Brummel & Kimmelman 2017; Cornely Harboe et al. 2016a; Consortium BiSS-Transfer 2021).

The issue resurfaced in 2022 after the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, as a result of which many people were forced to leave Ukraine and seek refuge in other countries. In Germany, the first representative survey<sup>1</sup> of refugees from Ukraine shows that 80% of the adults are women, 77% of whom came without a partner and 48% with minor children (cf. Brücker et al. 2022: 1). According to KMK school statistics, as of December 2023, 222569 children and adolescents who have fled Ukraine have been enrolled in general and vocational schools in Germany (cf. KMK 2023). The number of children at the preschool level is unknown.

For research and practice, the following question arises: On which findings regarding the schooling of newly immigrated students can we build, and which specific migration conditions of Ukrainian refugee children and young people should be taken into account?

In our paper, we consider refuge as a distinct form of migration, examining familial language practices and the educational orientations of Ukrainian refugee families. These aspects, highlighted by interviewees, merit consideration in ongoing discussions about integration and the teaching of German as a second language.

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<sup>1</sup> In the study "Refugees from Ukraine in Germany" (IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP Survey), "in the first wave, 11,225 Ukrainian nationals aged 18 to 70 years old were surveyed, who moved to Germany from February 24, 2022, to June 8, 2022, and were registered by the residents' registration offices" (Brücker et al. 2022: 3).

## 2. STUDY AND METHOD

This paper is based on findings from an exploratory qualitative interview study “Linguistic situation of Ukrainian refugee families in Germany”, which was conducted with women who have fled from Ukraine. The search for interview participants was conducted via personal contacts and social media. The interviews took place from June 2022 to January 2023 in the form of video conferences and telephone calls. The criteria for participation in the study were 1) entry into Germany after or shortly before February 24, 2022, and 2) a familial relationship with one or more children or youths. The interview guide focused on the language situation of the family before and after the flight and included questions about the languages spoken at home in Ukraine and family language in Germany, as well as languages learned or mastered. 24 guided interviews have been conducted with Ukrainian refugees, ranging in length from 12:46 to 57:28 minutes and averaging 34.8 minutes. The total duration of the audio recordings is 835 minutes or 13.9 hours. Participants chose the language for the interviews, resulting in mainly Ukrainian (with two partially in Russian) interviews, which were then transcribed by a multilingual research assistant.

Two researchers are using a summarizing content analysis to evaluate the interview transcripts. The goal of this approach is to reduce the material to retain only the essential content. This process aims to create a manageable corpus that, through abstraction, still reflects the original material (cf. Mayring 2015: 67). The analysis of the narratives was also carried out in accordance with narrative analysis (Schütze 1983), with a focus not only on the ‘what’ but also on the ‘how’.

The data evaluation, guided by the summarizing content analysis (Mayring 2015), centers on several key areas: familial language practices, the multilingualism of children and young individuals in both daily life and school settings, and their viewpoints on schooling (cf. Orobchuk & Skintey 2023; Skintey et al. 2023; Skintey & Orobchuk 2024, forthcoming). The project aims to shed light on the context of flight and its influence on language practices and language acquisition, and to develop didactical implications on this basis. Thus, the project focuses on three target groups: children, adults, and the family as a cooperative space. Additionally, interviews with teachers (n=5) were conducted to include their perspectives. Although these interviews are not intended to be used as primary data in the current study, they have been instrumental in defining the focal points of the research.

When interpreting the results, some limitations of the study must be considered. The sample selection process may introduce potential bias, as those who participated might have had a pre-existing interest in the project’s focus, potentially rendering the sample as less representative. Additionally, the use of

digital tools for interviews could have altered interaction dynamics. The socio-cultural and national commonalities between the researchers and the participants could influence the breadth of shared information and lead to a ‘fraternization effect’, causing participants to subconsciously avoid controversial topics or omit information, a phenomenon noted by Baros (cf. 2010: 376–379). Furthermore, the researcher’s personal motivations and emotions can affect the interview process and its content (cf. Ellis et al. 2011: 278). Acknowledging the researcher’s positionality is thus essential, requiring reflection as an analytical tool in the approach (cf. Siouti 2022: 117–118). These considerations underscore the need for additional methodological improvements in future research to mitigate these limitations and enhance the neutrality of data collection and analysis.

Based on the collected data, we allow ourselves to present important initial findings from the study. The following sections will address aspects that are not “visible” in the classroom but have a significant influence on language acquisition and play an important role in language and educational integration: the experience of flight, language use within the family and in the context of flight, parental educational aspirations, and participation in Ukrainian online classes. We consider these factors to be significant elements in the lifeworld<sup>2</sup> of newly immigrated students from Ukraine.

### 3. SCHOOLING FOR NEWLY ARRIVED STUDENTS: NAVIGATING THE COMPLEXITY

A retrospective reveals that the schooling of newly immigrated students is not a novelty but has been a task of the German school system since the 1950s gaining significance in the course of wave-like migration movements (cf. Gamper et al. 2020: 347–348; Karakayalı et al. 2017: 225–228; Reich 2017: 77–84). Educational policy strategies developed hastily from one immigration wave to the next in dealing with this task are criticized as “crisis management” (Schroeder 2018: 9) and “adhococracy” (Karakayalı et al. 2017: 228).

The schooling and the associated design of German as a second language (DaZ) learning offers are based on state-specific regulations and are also tied to school-specific implementation possibilities (see, for example, Gamper et al. 2020: 352). As a result of these developments, there are a variety of different formats that range from separate schooling in a preparatory class at one pole to direct and complete integration into regular classes at the other pole (cf. Ahrenholz et al. 2018: 44; Massumi et al. 2015: 7; Otto et al. 2016: 25–27). Although so far there is

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<sup>2</sup> German: *lebensweltlich*.



little research on which form of schooling allows for better linguistic and social integration of the students (cf. Marx 2020: 1), the current results favor integrated schooling with tailored German as a second language support (cf. Höckel & Schilling 2022: 23) and a better integration of preparatory with regular classes (cf. Karakayalı & Heller 2022: 5). At the same time, existing research provides evidence that current language education concepts or their implementation do not suffice to provide newly immigrated students with the same educational opportunities as students without an immigration background (cf. Marx et al. 2021: 829–830; Montanari et al. 2017: 19).

Regarding the schooling and German language acquisition of children and youth who have fled from Ukraine, research-based insights are still lacking. Reports mention war-related psychological stress and trauma among children and adolescents, the dual burden due to the parallel attendance of Ukrainian online school, and the families' ambivalent desires to stay or return (cf. Mediendienst Integration 2022).

Building on the insights explored, we now delve into a critical conceptual reflection. This sets the stage for a deeper and more nuanced examination of the complex identities and experiences that continue to shape and inform our study's outcomes, as well as the broader discourse surrounding the education of refugees in displacement and resettlement contexts.

In this section, we specifically grapple with the challenges and implications of 'othering'<sup>3</sup> (cf. Karakayalı & Heller 2022: 305) associated with ethno-national-cultural differences. While recognizing the risks involved in emphasizing these distinctions, we maintain that it is essential for two primary reasons. Firstly, doing so brings much-needed attention to the often overlooked Ukrainian-speaking group within educational, second, and foreign language didactic research. Secondly, challenging the war propaganda narrative denying the existence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation and language is paramount to ensure that the scientific discourse does not inadvertently perpetuate these destructive narratives.

It is important to emphasize that our use of the terms 'from Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian' transcends the limitations of citizenship or ethnic origin. We use these terms inclusively to cover the diverse spectrum of children and young people who lived in Ukraine during the onset of the Russian war of aggression, participated in the Ukrainian educational system, and subsequently were compelled to flee. This inclusive approach captures the experiences of both national

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<sup>3</sup> German: *Besonderung*. This means "a form of differentiation" that also makes the newly immigrated students "a distinguishable group from the rest of the class in joint schooling" (Karakayalı & Heller 2022: 305).

minorities residing in Ukraine and other refugees, such as the Syrian community that faced secondary displacement.

Furthermore, as we engage with our interview data, we must bear in mind that we are examining the narratives of a “highly self-selected population” (cf. Kohlenberger et al. 2022) that fled the country in the immediate context of the conflict. Therefore, the reconstructed aspects of lifeworld may differ from those of people who have fled from Ukraine and have had longer experiences of war, occupation, and flight, and as a result, may possess incomplete or interrupted educational biographies or, in general, shorter educational biographies (cf. Baier-Klenkert 2021).

#### **4. EXAMINING THE LIFEWORLD: INSIGHTS INTO UKRAINIAN REFUGEE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES**

Concerning schooling, our data show that students go through different models and, due to moving, age, or grade-level changes, may switch between them (cf. Skintey et al. 2023). Different students experience the forms of schooling in varying ways during the first months: Regular classroom education is perceived as a place of neglect and misunderstanding, education in a ‘Ukrainian’ class is seen as demotivating due to age-related heterogeneity, and placement in a ‘mixed’ preparatory class is seen as a punishment, since participation in the ‘Ukrainian’ class was unsuccessful (cf. Skintey et al. 2023). Additionally, there are reports of positive experiences in German regular classes, supported by online private tuition in German and English after an initially “traumatic” phase (interview 17).

In the following, we address aspects that, as elements of the students’ lifeworld, influence their educational and linguistic integration and lead to pedagogical and didactic considerations.

##### **4.1. Potential traumatic experiences and the consequences for education**

Refugee children bring with them not only their educational experiences and cultural backgrounds (often seen as foundational in the field of German as a second language): The realities of these children and young people include their experiences, particularly before and during their stay in Germany or other countries (cf. Paradis et al. 2022). The experience of fleeing does not end with their arrival at another seemingly safe place. Being forced to leave one’s home

is usually accompanied by traumatic experiences<sup>4</sup>, which can be caused by an overwhelmed reaction to taxing external circumstances or inadequate internal processing of perceived environmental stimuli. As the above use of language suggests, trauma itself is understood as a process shaped by the interactions between the social environment and the psychological well-being of people, which does not have a static form but is constantly changing and evolving (cf. Becker 2014: 195–196). Trauma consists of sequential events (cf. Becker 2014) that manifest differently at various times and across different age groups. The effects of trauma can occur at various times and may last for varying durations. It is important to emphasize that the potentially traumatizing moments mentioned here are caused by human actions and are not, for example, the result of natural disasters. This prevalence has the consequence that they are both emotionally and physically-sensitively tied to language (cf. Busch 2015). These “man-made disasters” cause the self and basic trust in others, as well as family structures, to break down (Leuzinger-Bohleber 2022: 808). The suffered traumatisations, and the consequences, such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and sleep disorders, can affect memory performance, attention, learning capacity and thus everyday competence (cf. Schwald 2017: 30). For this reason, the close connection between flight, trauma, and learning German should be taken into account in the design of educational programs (cf. Plutzar 2016: 109). The relationship between traumatic experiences and language is not arbitrary and not unidirectional, but complex and multi-layered (cf. Busch & McNamara 2020: 327). School and language learning can either contribute to implicit trauma processing or reinforce the trauma.

In our interviews, respondents report behavior changes in their children, such as irritability, loss of motivation, withdrawal, silence, apathy, enuresis, or talking to themselves. Younger children’s lack of German language skills is often cited as the reason for their lack of contact with peers (interview 4, turn<sup>5</sup> 8) or for the behavior changes observed in the first months of schooling (interview 7, turn 74), while adolescents are referenced for their loss of autonomy, disorientation, and desire to return (interview 3, turn 1; interview 8, turn 42; interview 24).

You see, the children are reading everything from us. And while we ourselves are unstable, while we read the news every day, especially in the first two or three months constantly, the children are just as irritable (interview 7, turn 74).

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<sup>4</sup> This section does not deal with medically confirmed cases of trauma. Circumstances are described that can have a traumatic effect on children. Another point is that some traumas may take a long time before they become symptomatic.

<sup>5</sup> Turn (speaker contribution) is indicated in interviews that have already been fully transcribed.

From the interview data, the following dimensions could be identified through which potentially traumatic experiences can be triggered:

- temporal: Because one cannot follow their own plans and desires, refugees often refer to this condition as “life on pause.” Waiting for planning security and until one can speak German distorts the perception of time. This period is often perceived as “time lost,” especially by adolescents (interview 19; 3, turn 1),
- spatial: Being in certain spaces or places can trigger traumatic experiences, such as living in basements or bomb shelters for months, living in cramped spaces in refugee camps or hostels, or living in occupied territories,
- perceptual: Directly experiencing explosions, missile or drone attacks, and their aftermath are embodied experiences, which further experiences are built upon,
- ideological: This aspect can manifest as a permanent feeling of injustice for the home country and its inhabitants. For example, one mother stated that she and her son find the school subject “Ethics” very complicated due to such experienced injustice (interview 6),
- familial: Particularly in the family domain, many traumatic potentials play out. The most common trauma factor is the separation of families and male family members who cannot leave or are serving in the military. Some families face the loss of a family member. An interviewee speaks about her daughter (7 years old), who does not agree with their stay abroad and wants to return to Ukraine, leading to further tension within the family:

With Ilona,<sup>6</sup> things were very complicated at first, there were many tears, fits of hysteria, packing of suitcases, and declaration of ‘I’m going to Ukraine’ [...]. Even now, when she feels offended, she packs her things and ‘goes’ to Ukraine (interview 24, turn 104).

- social: The children lose their first self-established social contacts. They are forced to undergo a change that they do not desire. Meanwhile, they find themselves “speechless” in a new group, also lacking the resources to reposition and identify themselves. One student (16 years old) describes his experience in the regular class as follows: “I’m like a shadow here. Whether I’m in class or not, I’m not noticed at all” (interview 3, turn 1).

For young individuals, this multidimensional paradigm shift during flight is not easy to manage. As initial findings from our interview study show, many parents wish for their children not only to learn German but also to have access to psychological support at school (e.g. interview 12). The connection to the home-

<sup>6</sup> All names have been pseudonymized.

land among Ukrainian children is still very strong –socially and through media: “All friends stayed in Ukraine, she [the daughter] sees Ukrainian symbols, the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag everywhere. There are flags hanging all over our room” (interview 24). Despite or alongside the potential risk of retraumatization, the themes related to the hometown also have positive connotations and, with proper didactic preparation, can contribute to learning motivation. A German teacher reports on such positive experiences:

My goal is to create a stress-free class and to say that we can do everything and cope with everything. They [the students] become more lively [...] They talk about themselves and about Ukrainian cities... (teacher of German, interview 1).

Such a decision must be made cautiously and with well-considered didactic preparation. However, it is not always possible to predict what may actually evoke traumatic experiences. One of the interviewed teachers described a situation from a class: The sound of a garbage truck came from outside. A student reacted to this noise:

S: A familiar sound!

T: Are there garbage trucks like that in Ukraine?

S: No, it sounds like a missile. (teacher of German, interview 1)<sup>7</sup>

This example illustrates that a situation, even one occurring outside the context of the lesson, can capture the attention of those affected (cf. Schwald 2017: 30) and potentially evoke a traumatic memory. In this moment, the student decides to verbalize his memory with the potential for developing the topic further. Thus, he has made his traumatic memories visible or audible. For educators, this means being sensitized and prepared for such topics, being able to respond appreciatively to comments from students, or even helping to articulate some aspects of trauma.

Second language learning for refugee children not only helps restore normality for children but also allows them to move from a state of speechlessness<sup>8</sup> (cf. Plutzer 2016: 118) to becoming linguistically active and into the agency paradigm (cf. Mick 2012). Plutzer describes this state as follows: “You are no

<sup>7</sup> Reconstruction of a conversation based on an interview excerpt. Whether the conversation took place as presented and in what language it was held cannot be verified.

<sup>8</sup> German: *Sprachlosigkeit*. Verena Plutzer describes *Sprachlosigkeit* as the often inevitable consequence of flight or migration, wherein individuals lose the innate fluency of their native language and are compelled to acquire a new language to a degree that permits them to regain autonomy and self-efficacy. This experience of *Sprachlosigkeit* leads to regressive states reminiscent of childhood, with a lasting effect on one’s self-concept (Plutzer 2016: 118).

longer who you were, and you are not yet who you would like to be in the new society”<sup>9</sup> (Plutzar 2016: 118). Therefore, the role of the linguistically active individual is partly to articulate one’s identity and partly to gain influence in social participation. It is especially important to identify the competencies and interests that children bring with them and figure out how to give them linguistic form in the shortest possible time.

It should be emphasized that not all the traumatic experiences mentioned can be didactically resolved in German classes. Nevertheless, through well-thought-out and structured lesson planning that considers the psycho-emotional condition of the children, second language classes can contribute to both the learning motivation and the linguistic integration of children.

## 4.2. Language use within the family and with the environment

For the acquisition of a second language, it is best to build upon existing language skills. However, all mastered languages are connected with specific experiences, emotions, and functions. In Ukraine, in addition to Ukrainian as the official language, several minority languages such as Russian, Hungarian, Crimean Tatar, Polish, Romanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, and others are spoken. Ukrainian and Russian, as well as various forms of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism and diglossia (cf. Masenko 2008: 96), however, have long dominated the language situation. This phenomenon has deep historical roots: after three centuries of Russification and the language policy aimed at displacing and assimilating the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union (cf. Masenko et al. 2005), the Ukrainian language was recognized as a central element of state and nation-building and its status as the official language was legally secured. While language functioning in public spaces (e.g., Ukrainian as the language in education, including the elementary sector) is regulated by law, family language use remains an individual decision, conscious or unregulated. In light of the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, language use practices are increasingly becoming a subject of contention based on individual language attitudes and against the backdrop of current societal discourses at the level of the individual or family. It can be observed that “Russian, as the language of the aggressor, is losing ground in Ukraine”, and more and more Russian-speaking Ukrainians are switching to Ukrainian-Russian diglossia, and bilingual Ukrainians are switching to the Ukrainian language (cf. Besters-Dilger 2022: 3:39–3:46, 54:39–55:15; also see Kulyk 2020: 240–248; Moser 2022: 407–415; Kylyk 2024; Kudriavtseva 2023).

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<sup>9</sup> Translation from German by the authors.

In our interviews, respondents who previously spoke mainly Russian in the family reported a switch to Ukrainian completely or more Ukrainian language use in the family. The war and the perception of language as an instrument of resistance, the effort to develop the language and the later education of the children (interview 4, turn 18; interview 7, turn 10), or as an “unexplained inner drive” (interview 16, turn 41) are cited as reasons for these decisions. Ukrainian is also preferred for communication in the public domain to position oneself or be recognized as Ukrainians (interview 4, turn 68). At the same time, concerns arising from encountering the Russian language can be discerned in the interviewees’ narratives. A mother reports on other parents’ concerns that their children speak Russian and not Ukrainian because they are predominantly in contact with Russian speakers here (interview 9).

This clearly shows that the language use of individuals and families who have had to flee abroad is influenced by the respective socio-cultural environments. From the perspective of poststructuralist second language acquisition research, language-related decisions such as language maintenance, language learning, and language switching are closely linked to constructions of identity, which in turn dynamically occur in relation to the home country and the host country (cf. Seals 2020: 187–188).

A special feature of the language situation in Germany is that Russian has a longer tradition as a foreign and heritage language and currently has a much more extensive range of offerings than Ukrainian (cf. Bergmann & Kratochvil 2017; KMK 2014; Witzlack-Makarevich & Wulff 2017). In addition, many people lack both the knowledge that Ukrainian and Russian are different languages and sensitivity to current language shift processes in Ukrainian society. Furthermore, the limited availability of Ukrainian-language resources in this country often lead to Russian being readily and unreflectively used for translating, interpreting, as a language of instruction, etc. The symbolic and identity-forming importance of language, especially in the context of flight and war experiences, is thereby neglected. On the other hand, psychological research warns of possible negative effects of resorting to the Russian language in working with Ukrainian refugees: Mistrust towards Russian interpreters and the Russian language can arise during language mediation, burdening the development of the open attitude necessary for successful psychotherapeutic treatment (cf. Zindler et al. 2023: 137, 143).

In postcolonial and migration pedagogical literature, such practices aimed at ‘forcing’ the use or acquisition of a language are referred to as “injurious capability”<sup>10</sup> (Bjegač 2020: 44) in reference to “enabling violation” (Spivak 1996: 19). On the one hand, the use of the ‘second mother tongue’ promoted in the

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<sup>10</sup> German: *verletzende Befähigung*.

former Soviet Union targets enabling quick communication and potentially integration. Being ‘forced’ to speak Russian can lead to language-related traumas at the individual level or to the reproduction of imperial continuities at the institutional or societal level.

### 4.3. Family educational orientations

In qualitative-reconstructive education research, the term “educational orientations” refers to orientations towards education by actors such as students, families, schools, and peers, which are documented in concrete action practice (Hermes & Lotze 2020: 10). A distinction is made between “formal educational orientations”, such as obtaining educational qualifications relevant to the respective education system, and “informal educational orientations”, such as the promotion of educationally relevant skills (cf. Hermes & Lotze 2020: 11).<sup>11</sup>

From the study mentioned in section 1, it is apparent that 72% of those who have fled Ukraine have a university degree (cf. Brücker et al. 2022: 1), which aligns with the results of other studies referring to Ukrainian refugees in Europe as a population with a “high degree of self-selection” (cf. Kohlenberger et al. 2022).

The high educational background of the mothers, combined with the high cultural value placed on education in Ukraine, could explain their educational orientations: Most mothers we interviewed stated that their children participated in early childhood education and extracurricular educational programs in Ukraine, in addition to attending educational institutions. Regarding the schooling of their children, some interviewees expressed doubts as to whether the right decision had been made with the choice of the respective schooling model and expressed a need for appropriate guidance (e.g., interview 24), especially mothers of children in secondary education (e.g., interview 7, turn 64). Furthermore, some parents have invested<sup>12</sup> in additional language support for their children in the form of private online classes, mostly in German, English, or another foreign language (e.g., interview 2, turn 34; interview 7, turn 36), and have continued this practice in Germany (e.g., interview 1, turn 38; interview

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<sup>11</sup> For differentiation from the concept of *educational aspirations*, see Hermes and Lotze (2020: 13). Previous studies on parental educational aspirations show that parents with a migration background generally have higher educational aspirations than parents without a migration background (cf. Gresch 2012: 75), with discrepancies existing between idealistic and realistic educational aspirations. Optimism and lack of information are discussed as possible causes for this (cf. Becker 2010: 19).

<sup>12</sup> Since the interviews were conducted at a relatively early stage of the migration process, we might assume that the educational orientations from the country of origin are still in effect. However, it is far too early to say how these educational orientations will evolve with increasing duration of stay.



16, turn 91; interview 12; interview 17). For other subjects, they often attended Ukrainian online school.

The ongoing or planned parallel participation of Ukrainian students in the lessons of the Ukrainian online school deserves special attention. Continuing Ukrainian education is a multifactorial decision, with each family typically being influenced more by one factor or another. In addition to the previously mentioned reason – catching up on traditional subjects (e.g., interview 12; interview 14) – several aspects that have been implicitly mentioned earlier can be noted. One is the lack of familiarity with the German education system (interview 9). Another, non-educationally related aspect mentioned is maintaining ties to the homeland and social contacts (both for parents with other parents and teachers, and for children with other children) (interview 2; 12; 24). Parents also report short communication channels to Ukrainian teachers and even individual online support options that can be accessed from Germany (interview 14, turn 66; interview 19). Other parents mention that their children are being held back in German schools, which, as described above, is perceived as a loss of time (interview 3, turn 1). This is one of the reasons why the Ukrainian school continues to be attended online, which is also related to the uncertainty of planning (interview 12). As an additional motivation for attending the Ukrainian online school, the maintenance and learning of the Ukrainian language was mentioned (interview 13, turn 58). Typically, these participation processes run in parallel and independently across two to three education systems. Productive and transparent communication between schools and parents, as well as the establishment of efficient communication channels functioning in both directions, could help to better integrate and optimize these educational processes.

## 5. DISCUSSION AND DIDACTIC CONSEQUENCES

The study conducted allows us to shed light on some migration- and lifeworld-specific aspects of students who have fled Ukraine and their families, which are relevant to schooling and (language) learning. In this paper, we have illuminated several central aspects of the situation of flight that have not yet been sufficiently addressed in the existing discussion, but which, in our opinion, require more differentiated research and should be given more consideration in the design of language education.

Firstly, parents report changes in their children's behavior, seen in emotional reactions, disinterest, and declining motivation concerning (academic) learning or participation in recreational activities. Often this is attributed to difficulties in understanding and expressing themselves in the German language as a second

language. These findings coincide with the results of the IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP survey, which reported a lower psychological well-being of Ukrainian refugee children compared to other children living in Germany (cf. Brücker et al. 2022: 14). Initial insights from the practical work of psychosocial care for minor refugees from Ukraine point to several stress factors, such as the experience of war and flight, uprooting, loss of friendships, concerns about relatives, loss of home, loss of familiar surroundings and structure, as well as fear and uncertainty regarding the future. These can be risk factors for the mental health of children and adolescents, which, in addition to other factors, can lead to the development of symptoms associated with anxiety and depression (cf. Zindler et al. 2023: 130, 143–144). These results raise the question of whether the construct of motivation, used in practice as a cause for observed learning difficulties in refugee students, is an adequate category to describe the cognitive and socio-emotional aspects of learning processes. Since the traumatic experiences of war, flight, natural disasters, etc., can affect the psychological well-being of children and their learning process at very different intervals and are not always visible in class, it is one of the tasks of second language teaching to take on a stabilizing function in the lifeworld of students. In light of these psychological and sociolinguistic aspects of forced migration, heritage language classes can also play a crucial role in providing stability. Appropriate sustainable concepts need to be developed within the framework of interdisciplinary cooperation.

Secondly, our data show that many refugees are rethinking their family language practices and public language use as they position themselves against the Russian invasion or even associate traumatic experiences with the Russian language. These findings are consistent with a study conducted in Berlin with 200 Ukrainian refugee families, which showed that 94.2% of respondents want heritage language instruction in Ukrainian for their children, even if they are bilingual themselves (Bergmann & Turkevych 2024). In contrast, practice-oriented literature on language education for Ukrainian refugee students points out that these students are “usually” bilingual (Belyaev 2022: 39) or “traditionally rather” Russian-speaking (Neugebauer 2023: 6) and therefore can be unproblematically addressed in Russian. Whether such pragmatic recommendations and solutions represent “ad hoc practices” (Garfinkel 1967: 22), which help (or are supposed to help) actors come to practical decisions under unclear conditions and with limited resources (information, time, etc.) (cf. Bergmann & Meyer 2021: 44), or are practices aimed at securing the claimed special status of the Russian language as a “second mother tongue” (Moser 2022: 405) for migrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union in Germany and its transfer to the new target group, requires further research and scientific discourse. Language didactic decisions (e.g., concerning the question: What language(s) can I use for language comparisons or contrastive

language work?) should be made for all students on an empirical basis and in combination with the wishes of the students themselves, whenever possible. For this, it is important to gather information on first and family languages as well as on current language attitudes, such as preferred and dispreferred languages, directly from children and young people or their guardians, and to choose language support accordingly, based on sociolinguistic evidence (cf. Brizić 2007)<sup>13</sup>.

Finally, the parents' perspective brings valuable insights regarding the current educational debate on the language and educational integration of newly arrived children and young people. Uncertain prospects for staying, existing wishes to return, and obstacles in transferring grades and qualifications as "cultural capital" (cf. Bourdieu 1983) influence family educational decisions and investments. Parents' educational orientations, especially their efforts to have students participate in Ukrainian online schools, are interesting because they highlight aspects that have so far received little attention in the current educational discourse concerning refugee children and families: The concept of education is multidimensional and culturally constructed. This should be considered – at least at the beginning of the school integration.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The current study has identified several blind spots and developmental tasks, indicative of the need for an expanded empirical foundation to refine educational strategies. The results of the current research underscore the criticality of language education for immigrant students within the context of flight, focusing especially on those fleeing Ukraine. The paramount need for culturally sensitive, trauma-informed pedagogies in teaching German as a second language is unambiguously highlighted, advocating for educational methods that are cognizant of the multilayered socio-emotional landscape of these students. The paper has revealed pivotal shifts in family language practices in the face of trauma and war, reshaping understandings of language learning against a backdrop of complex sociopolitical challenges. It is evident that educational orientations within refugee families play a significant role in decision-making processes related to schooling, further emphasizing the cultural nuances in conceptions of education.

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<sup>13</sup> That the – surely well-intentioned yet careless – use of Russian in the classroom with students who have fled Ukraine (in the absence of information about their first and family languages) can lead to their speechlessness or silencing (being made speechless, Thomauske 2015, 2017) and reproduce imperial practices of Soviet language policy in a German school is vividly demonstrated by the following article published on the Deutsches Schulportal on September 16 (Ammermann 2022): <https://deutsches-schulportal.de/kolumnen/wie-geht-es-tatjana-der-neuen-schuelerinnen-aus-der-ukraine/> (accessed on December 25, 2023).

The study suggests that a reevaluation of curricula is essential to account for the psychological well-being and linguistic identities of refugee students, necessitating strategic interdisciplinary collaborations. Such cooperation aims to develop schooling programs that foster stability, resilience, and educational advancement for students amid the adversity of displacement. Furthermore, findings advocate for a socio-linguistically sensitive approach to language education, prompting the need for precise empirical data to guide instruction that honors the multilingual realities and preferences of these individuals.

Further academic dialogues surrounding the schooling of students who have fled Ukraine or other regions should aim to identify structural effectiveness and unresolved inquiries. It is through the research and subsequent adjustment of practices that we can aspire to provide the students with an education that prioritizes their individual needs, accommodating their diverse cultural and linguistic heritages, and supporting them as they navigate traumatic experiences. In doing so, the educational community moves towards establishing sustainable, pluralistic, and individualized concepts of schooling that resonate with the realities of the refugee experience.

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**Wymiary świata społecznego w edukacji językowej i integracja studentów z doświadczeniem uchodźczym w Niemczech: wnioski z badania przeprowadzonego wśród uchodźców ukraińskich**

ABSTRAKT. Niniejsza praca omawia wyzwania edukacyjne oraz proces akwizycji języka wśród nowo przybyłych uczniów w Niemczech, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dzieci i młodzieży, które uciekły z Ukrainy. Wykorzystując jakościowe wywiady z ukraińskimi uchodźcami, badanie to zgłębia wpływ migracji, szczególnie spowodowanej rosyjską wojną przeciwko Ukrainie, na edukację językową w kontekście niemieckiego jako języka drugiego. Wywiady przeprowadzone z kobietami pochodzącymi z Ukrainy ukazują ich perspektywę na praktyki językowe w rodzinie i orientację edukacyjne. Artykuł omawia implikacje doświadczeń ucieczki, użycie języka w rodzinie, strukturalne zmiany w podejściach edukacyjnych oraz rolę ukraińskiego nauczania online w utrzymaniu ciągłości edukacji. Wyniki podkreślają potrzebę pedagogiki uwrażliwionej na traumę, świadomej kulturowo i specyficznej dla danego języka oraz konieczność uwzględnienia emocjonalnego i psychologicznego dobrostanu uczniów uchodźców. Autorki apelują o bardziej zniuansowane badania i rozważania, które będą dostosowane do zróżnicowania językowego i edukacyjnego uczniów uchodźców.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: migracja, edukacja językowa, niemiecki jako język drugi, ukraińscy uchodźcy w Niemczech, integracja edukacyjna.

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# Stellenwert des kreativen Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht aus der Sicht der polnischen Deutschlehrenden

## Significance of creative writing in GFL lessons from the perspective of Polish German teachers

**ABSTRACT.** The article aims to present selected approaches and organisational methods for (creative) writing skills in German as a foreign language (GFL) at the secondary and tertiary educational level from the teacher's perspective. The text production processes described in this article refer both to theory in the field of (creative) text writing methods and the analysis of the results of two questionnaires conducted among Polish teachers of German as a foreign language. The analysis of current language writing didactics in Polish schools indicates discrepancies between the methodological abilities of the teachers and the actual implementation of the methods in the process of writing in German. Unfortunately, the teacher's attitude towards using creative writing methods as innovative solutions to support writing competence in teaching in the field of German as a foreign language is not reflected in their levels of theoretical knowledge. Such an approach, being process-oriented and student-oriented, must not focus solely on the outcome, namely the written German text, but on the role of its author and the writing process. The article concludes with suggestions for enhancing the significance of (creative) writing didactics in German classes in Polish schools.

**KEYWORDS:** Foreign language teaching, GFL teaching, writing processes, traditional writing, creative writing.

**SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER:** Fremdsprachendidaktik, DaF-Unterricht, Schreibprozesse, traditionelles Schreiben, kreatives Schreiben.

### 1. EINLEITUNG

Die moderne, sich ständig verändernde Welt stellt an junge Menschen komplexe und umfangreiche Herausforderungen, die in unterschiedlichen Lebensbereichen ihre praktische Realisierung finden. Das Vorbild eines vielfältig kompetenten Menschen, der Eigenschaften der Leistungsfähigkeit, Effektivität sowie Fachkompetenz besitzt (Skalbania 2020: 120), wird in der Empfehlung des Eu-

ropäischen Parlaments und des Rates (18. Dezember 2006, 22. Mai 2018) in Form von Schlüsselkompetenzen beschrieben, die alle Menschen als aktive Bürger zur Selbstverwirklichung, persönlichen Weiterentwicklung, sozialen Integration sowie Beschäftigungsfähigkeit benötigen. Die Förderung und Entwicklung der Kernkompetenzen bedeuten demnächst für die moderne Schule eine Reihe von Aufgaben und Zielen, die den Lernenden dabei helfen sollen, den sich fortlaufend verändernden beruflichen, sozialen und persönlichen Lebensumständen gerecht zu werden. Außerdem bilden die Schlüsselkompetenzen eine Art der Kraft und Motivation für die Selbstentwicklung und Selbstverwirklichung auf zahlreichen Funktionsebenen (Skałbania 2020: 120–121).

Die Handlungen der Schulen im Bereich der Förderung und Weiterentwicklung von Schlüsselkompetenzen bei den Lernenden werden von den grundlegendsten Rechtsvorschriften des Bildungsministeriums reguliert<sup>1</sup>. Alle Dokumente betreffen das Planen und die Organisation der Bildungsprozesse, die durch das Unternehmen von unterschiedlichen Aktivitäten gestaltet werden. Sie definieren die wichtigsten Fähigkeiten der Lernenden, wie z. B.: mündliche sowie schriftliche Kommunikation in der Fremdsprache, kreative Problemlösung, kreatives Denken, Fähigkeit zur eigenständigen Informationsbeschaffung sowie aktive Kooperation in der Gruppe, die während des allgemeinen Ausbildungsprozesses erlangt werden. Dabei wird im didaktischen Prozess die Förderung der Kreativitätsentwicklung bei den Lernenden nachdrücklich hervorgehoben. Kreativitätsentwicklung bei den Lernenden im didaktischen Prozess spielt eine wichtige Rolle.

Schreiben als die produktive und kommunikative Sprachaktivität (GER 2003: 25) sowie ein fundamentales und kulturstrukturierendes Prinzip (Merz-Grötsch 2005: 23) leistet einen erheblichen Beitrag zur Entfaltung der Schlüsselkompetenzen. Es passt sich allen Bildungsherausforderungen sowie Zielen an, deren Unterstützung und Weiterentwicklung eine unbeschränkte sowie flexible Bewegung in der modernen Welt der digitalen Kommunikation für die junge Generation ermöglicht<sup>2</sup>. Mattenklott (2007: 11) weist auf die äußerst wichtige Bedeutung der Schrift im Internet hin und nennt Blogs und Chatrooms als Bestandteile einer

<sup>1</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia (Dz.U. 2018, poz. 467); Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 lutego 2017 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej, w tym dla uczniów z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w stopniu umiarkowanym lub znacznym, kształcenia ogólnego dla branżowej szkoły I stopnia, kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły specjalnej przysposabiającej do pracy oraz kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły policealnej (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 356); Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 11 sierpnia 2017 r. w sprawie wymagań wobec szkół i placówek (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 1611).

<sup>2</sup> Im Kapitel 2 werden unterschiedliche Funktionen des Schreibens näher beleuchtet.

neuen überwiegend jugendlichen Schreibkultur, in der sich Bild und Schrift in vielen Formen ergänzen. Deswegen stehen im Zentrum aller Bildungsbemühungen die Schreibkompetenzentwicklung und die Integration der Lernenden in die von ihr geprägte Kultur (siehe mehr dazu Dürscheid 2011: 9–14).

Die schriftliche Fähigkeit zur Kommunikation, sprich das Schreiben, stellt einen unverzichtbaren, allgegenwärtigen Teil kultureller Praxis dar und ist aus dem täglichen Leben nicht wegzudenken (Abraham et al. 2005: 5; Merz-Grötsch 2010: 9–10). Sie gehört zu den bedeutendsten Errungenschaften der menschlichen kulturellen Entwicklung, die Worte vor Vergessenheit und Verfälschung bewahrt und die zeitliche sowie räumliche Distanzen überwindet (Pawłowska-Balcerska 2017: 51). Deswegen soll sich eine der wichtigsten Herausforderungen der modernen fremdsprachigen Schreibdidaktik darauf fokussieren, die Lernenden an den Umgang mit dem schriftlichen Verfassen eines Textes heranzuführen und sie zum langfristigen Lernen einer Fremdsprache motivieren.

## 2. ROLLE DES SCHREIBENS UND KREATIVEN SCHREIBENS IM DAF-UNTERRICHT – THEORETISCHER ÜBERBLICK

Ausgehend von den Worten von Bawej (2008: 23), dass die Zielsetzung des Schreibens im Fremdsprachenunterricht die Vorbereitung der Schüler auf eine kompetente und vielfältige Anwendung dieser Fähigkeit sei, wird in dem Beitrag ein Versuch unternommen, die Betrachtungs- und Herangehensweisen der Lehrer in Bezug auf das Schreiben im Sinne des (kreativen) Textverfassens im „Deutsch als Fremdsprache“ (DaF)-Unterricht darzustellen, um den Stellenwert dieser sprachlichen Fertigkeit im fremdsprachigen Schreibunterricht zu beleuchten.

Damit der Anspruch auf die praktische Durchführung sowie Angemessenheit der Thematik geltend gemacht wird, soll am Anfang ein Versuch der Begriffsdefinition des Schreibens formuliert werden. Vorrangig soll aber auf zwei Aspekte hingewiesen werden:

1. Es soll zwischen *Schreiben* als einer Handschriftfähigkeit (dem Akt des Schreibens) und den graphomotorischen Prozessen, die zur Erzeugung der schriftlichen Äußerungen führen und den mentalen Tätigkeiten, die zur Textherstellung dienen, unterschieden werden (Lipińska 2016; Füssenich 2003: 261).
2. *Schreiben* muss im Unterricht, Kast (1999: 8, 221) zufolge, je nach der zu erfüllenden Funktion entweder als Mittlerfertigkeit oder Zielfertigkeit abgegrenzt werden (siehe dazu mehr Schmidt 2005: 142–143).

In den weiteren Ausführungen wird Schreiben im Sinne von schriftlichen Handlungen verstanden, die der Textherstellung sowie der Verbesserung des schriftlichen Ausdrucks dienen und im prozessorientierten Schreibunterricht zur Texterstellung führen (Krzemińska 2010: 160–161). In Bezug auf das Textverfassen findet Schreiben mit allen Vorstellungen, Auffassungen und Praktiken keine eindeutige Definierung in der Fachliteratur (Ludwig 1995: 275)<sup>3</sup>. Unter Berücksichtigung des fremdsprachendidaktischen Bereiches und der Prozesse der Wissensaneignung und Wissensherstellung (Kruse & Ruhmann 2006: 14) muss Schreiben als die Fertigkeit betrachtet werden, die das Denken neu konstruiert und das menschliche Bewusstsein verändert (Abraham et al. 2005: 7).

In der Welt des permanenten Wandels unterliegt das fremdsprachige Schreiben vielfältigen Veränderungen (Pawłowska-Balcerska 2021: 186). Krumm (1989: 5) begründet die sich vollziehenden Entwicklungs- und Anpassungsprozesse mit verschiedenen Faktoren, unter denen die wachsenden Kommunikationsbedürfnisse der Gesellschaft eine fundamentale Rolle spielen. Durch die äußerst rasche Verbreitung der Technologie, wird die schriftliche Kommunikation auf eine neue Ebene gehoben und muss den neuen Formen und Medien der Informationsübertragung gerecht werden. Die Situation stellt demnach an die moderne Schule hohe Anforderungen in Bezug auf die Schreibdidaktik. Als Antwort auf diese Bedürfnisse kann kreatives Schreiben betrachtet werden. Das Konzept, dessen dichterische und spielerische Schreibformen auf die Antike zurückzuführen sind, umfasst in seinen Grundlagen kreative Lernprozesse, die den ganzen Menschen ansprechen und sich in einem integrierten Lernen realisieren (Böttcher 1999: 7). Dabei kommen stärker die Teilhandlungen des Schreibens in den Blick, die vom Sammeln der Ideen, über den Entwurf und die erste Niederschrift bis zur Überarbeitung, den kreativen Schreibprozess konstituieren. Kreatives Schreiben ist eine komplexe und prozessorientierte Handlung, die durch strukturschaffende und struktursprengende, durch assoziativ-kreative und kognitive Phasen geprägt wird (Böttcher 2013: 7). Es zählt nicht nur der fertige Text, sondern der Weg zu ihm (Spinner 2021: 112). Der Schreibprozess wird demnach als ein Problemlöse-Modell (Hayes & Flower 1980) betrachtet, in dem der zu schreibende Text als ein ungeklärtes Problem mit offener Lösung, vom Aufgabenumfeld, Langzeitgedächtnis sowie Wissen des Autors abhängig ist (Fix 2008: 36). Den kreativen Schreibprozessen liegt deswegen vorrangig ihre bildende Funktion zugrunde. Diese offenbart sich in vielfältigen Zielsetzungen im Schreibunterricht. Vor allem steht das kreative Schreiben im engen Zusammenhang mit der Ich-Entwicklung der Schüler und

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<sup>3</sup> Unterschiedliche Perspektiven, die das Schreiben begrifflich differenzieren, werden u. a. von: Krumm (1989: 6–7), Baumann und Weingarten (1995: 7) und Fix (2008: 14) dargestellt.

verlagert die Schwerpunkte auf ihr Ausdrucksbedürfnis (Kuligowska 2008: 148). Die Förderung der Ich-Identität der Lernenden vollzieht sich, Böttcher (2013: 9) zufolge, dank der breiten Palette an neuen Konzepten und Perspektiven, die das kreative Schreiben anbietet. Besonders fördernd wirken sich die verschiedenen Formen kreativen Schreibens, die im Folgenden charakterisiert werden, auf die Selbstentwicklung aus. Die Verwendung völlig innovativer Motivations-, Förderungs- und Verfahrensstrukturen erlaubt den Schülern die Gewinnung der sozialen sowie persönlichen Identität (Schuster 1995: 31). Der kreative Charakter des Schreibens hilft zudem den Lernenden, ihre eigenen Emotionen und Gefühle auszudrücken und erleichtert die Darstellung von persönlichen Erfahrungen. Die Schüler haben mehr Spielräume, ihre Kreativität aufzudecken und sprachliche Sensibilität auszubilden (Schreiter 2002: 12). Der kreative Prozess wird zur Form literarischer Geselligkeit, die durch Spiel, Spaß, Elan und Heiterkeit charakterisiert wird. Es bedeutet in dieser Konzeption einen Aufbruch aus der alltäglichen Routine, der Inspiration und Sprachfähigkeit bei den Schülern auslöst (Werder 2007: 21). Hier ergibt sich eine soziale Bedeutung des kreativen Schreibens, die sich auf die Förderung der Schreibkompetenz der Schreibenden besonders unterstützend und ermutigend auswirkt. Die Schüler können in der Gruppe als Form einer Klassengesellschaft arbeiten, in der die Betrachtung des verfassten Textes als „eines gemeinsamen Resultats“ den ganzen Schreibprozess äußerst positiv beeinflusst (Schreiter 2002: 22).

Der Einsatz des (kreativen) Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht, der als Reaktion auf die Bedürfnisse der modernen gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation betrachtet wird, muss mit der technologischen Entwicklung Schritt halten. Die computergestützte Kommunikation soll im Fremdsprachenunterricht zur Regel werden (Müller-Hartmann 2003: 271). Deswegen betont Ruf (2016: 139–140) die Relevanz digitaler Lern- und Lehrformen und weist auf zahlreiche Vorteile ihrer Verwendung hin, die zur Förderung unterschiedlicher Kompetenzen sowie Entwicklung von sprachlichen Fertigkeiten bei den Lernenden beitragen. Heinemann, Leber, Sander und Ahmad (2022: 79) betonen mit Nachdruck die Notwendigkeit und zugleich die Pflicht der Schule, aufgrund der Digitalisierung und des sich daraus ergebenden Übergangs in die Informationsgesellschaft, den Lernenden neue Kompetenzen zu vermitteln, die das selbständige Bewegen und kritisches Denken in der digitalisierten Welt ermöglichen<sup>4</sup>. Die Nutzung der digitalen Medien im Schreibunterricht fördert, laut Dede, Huesmann und Lemke (2021: 1–16), den Ausbau der digitalisierungsbezogenen Fähigkeiten bei den Lernenden, die an die außerschulische Lebenswelt der Schüler direkt anknüpfen. Darunter sind zu

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<sup>4</sup> In Bezug auf die Notwendigkeit der Medien-Bildung erteilt Baacke (1999: 14–28) eine pädagogische Antwort: „Medienkompetenz für alle“ und weist auf ihre sozialen und kulturellen Zielwerte hin, die im Schul- und Bildungswesen sowie in der Freizeit, umgesetzt werden sollen.

nennen: Tastaturschreiben als basale Schreibfertigkeit, Umgang mit Textverarbeitungsprogrammen, die adressatengerechte und situationsangemessene Texte produzieren lassen sowie die Kollaboration bei dem Textverfassen. Darüber hinaus erwerben die Lernenden die Kompetenz, eine reflektierte und verantwortungsvolle Informationsrecherche, -bewertung und -darstellung durchzuführen. Nicht zu übersehen sind in diesem Kontext die Künstliche Intelligenz (KI) und ChatGPT, deren Einsatz im schulischen Unterricht vorrangig mit der Förderung der Lernenden und andererseits mit der Unterstützung sowie Entlastung der Lehrenden im Einklang stehen sollten (Deutscher Etikrat 2023: 246). Der multimediale Charakter des Schreibens unterstützt unterschiedliche Formen autonomen Lernens, die traditionelle Unterrichtsformen und -inhalte bedienen und diesen damit eine neue Qualität verschaffen (Bräuer 1998: 168–170). Der Einsatz computergestützter Kommunikation führt zu offeneren Unterrichtsformen mit einer besonderen Begünstigung des Projektunterrichts (Müller-Hartmann 2003: 270). Dank der Integrierung der kreativen Schreibprozesse in digitale Schreibprojekte (eTandem) wird, Pawłowska-Balcerska (2017: 362–397) zufolge, ein erheblicher Beitrag zur Verbesserung der Medienkompetenzen geleistet. Vorrangig aber sorgt das gemeinsame Schreiben im eTandem für eine spielerische, das Lernerinteresse weckende, sprach- und kreativitätsfördernde Abwechslung in der Entwicklung des Schreibens im Unterrichtsgeschehen. Die Kombination entsprechender Ansätze mit schreibdidaktischen Methoden wird darüber hinaus als eine Möglichkeit betrachtet, die das kreative Schreiben produktionsästhetisch nutzen lässt. Die Vermittlung ästhetischer Literatur wird dadurch aus dem Medium der reinen Textrezeption und -analyse in einen neuen digitalen Kontext gestellt und führt beim Lernenden zu mehr Motivation, d. h. Leselust. Für den kreativ Schreibenden bietet die Situation nicht nur eine Möglichkeit der medialen Übertragung von Inhalten an, sondern stellt einen Impuls zur eigenen Medienreflexion oder Mediennutzung dar (Ruf 2016: 139–140). Die dabei zu entwickelnde Medienkompetenz umfasst die Entwicklung der technischen, sprachlichen und analytischen Fähigkeiten und erleichtert die soziale und interkulturelle Einbindung von Spracherwerbsprozessen in den Fremdsprachenunterricht (Müller-Hartmann 2003: 270).

Alle angeführten Dimensionen des (kreativen) Schreibens weisen eindeutig auf dessen enorme Möglichkeiten hin, vielfältige Kompetenzen bei den Lernenden zu fördern und zu entwickeln. Dank der breiten Palette von Auffassungen und Einsatzmöglichkeiten des Schreibens erlangt der Schreibprozess noch andere Bedeutungen, die die Schreibprozesse für mehr als nur den Vorgang des physikalischen Schreibens halten, als ein Problemlösungsmittel betrachten und als einen systematisch lernbaren und lehrbaren Prozess definieren lassen (Kruse & Ruhmann 2006: 13–14).



Trotz sichtbarer Vorteile, die das (kreative) Schreiben innehat, wird die schriftliche Textproduktion als eine komplexe und nicht selten eine mühselige Fähigkeit aus der Sicht der Lehrpersonen betrachtet (siehe mehr dazu Joachimczyk 2016). An dieser Stelle sollte auf Schwierigkeiten hingewiesen werden, die mit dem kreativen Schreiben einhergehen und für die Lehrenden als problematisch betrachtet werden. Hervorzuheben ist u. a. das kontroverse Dilemma mit der Korrektur, Bewertung und Benotung kreativer Texte, das unter den Lehrenden zahlreiche Bedenken auslöst (Merkelbach 1997: 106–112).

Selbst die wirkungsvolle und überall vorhandene schriftliche Kommunikation in der modernen, digitalen, außerschulischen Realität erhöht nicht den Bedarf am fremdsprachigen Schreiben im DaF-Unterricht und ruft bei den Lernenden eine Überzeugung von der geringen Nützlichkeit der schriftlichen Textkompetenz hervor (Joachimczyk 2016: 21; Komorowska 1993: 157). Das als traditionell verstandene Textverfassen in der Fremdsprache gehört zu den Aktivitäten, die sowohl von den Lehrenden als auch von den Lernenden nicht gern aufgenommen werden. Als Konsequenz erfreut sich das Schreiben keiner besonderen Beliebtheit und bleibt am Rande der Didaktik (Lipińska 2016: 9). Die negativen Einstellungen der Schüler gegenüber dem Schreiben in der deutschen Sprache finden ihre Widerspiegelung in unbefriedigenden Lernergebnissen. In *Europejskie Badanie Kompetencji Językowych. Raport Krajowy ESCL (Europäische Studie zur Sprachkompetenz. Landesberichterstattung* (2011: 8) wurden Sprachkompetenzniveaus (in Bezug auf den *Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen*, Trimm, North, Coste und Sheils 2001) dargestellt, die von den polnischen Lernenden der dritten Klasse in polnischen Gymnasien u. a. im Bereich *Verfassen von schriftlichen Texten* in der deutschen Sprache erreicht wurden. Die Ergebnisse veranschaulichen, dass 44,8% der Schüler die Sprachstufe A1 nicht erreicht haben und sich lediglich 38,4% auf der Stufe A1 platzieren. Nur 9,9% der Schüler werden auf der Sprachstufe A2 qualifiziert, wobei 4,7% und 2,2% der verbleibenden Lernenden entsprechend der Sprachstufe B1 und B2 zugeordnet werden.

### 3. SCHREIBEN UND KREATIVES SCHREIBEN IM DEUTSCHUNTERRICHT IN POLEN – FORSCHUNGSGRUNDLAGEN

Die ernüchternden Ergebnisse der oben aufgeführten Studie finden ihre Begründungen in den Aussagen der polnischen Deutschlehrenden, die sich über *Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* und *Kreatives Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* geäußert haben. Das durchgeführte Forschungsprojekt

setzte sich zum Ziel, den Prozess der Schreibkompetenzentwicklung bei den Deutschlernenden im traditionell sowie kreativ gestalteten Deutschunterricht in Polen darzustellen.

### 3.1. Das Forschungsdesign

Der Studie liegt eine *Querschnittsdiagnose* (Komorowska 1982: 172–190), auch als *statische Untersuchung* in der Fachliteratur genannt, zugrunde. Der Untersuchungstyp betont die Methodik der Erfassung von untersuchten Phänomenen. Es handelt sich um die Darstellung des aktuellen Zustands eines Ausschnitts der erforschten Realität. Die untersuchten Phänomene werden zu einem Zeitpunkt getestet und als relativ konstant betrachtet. Außerdem werden sie grundsätzlich nur einmal einer Untersuchung unterzogen. Die statische Untersuchung fügt sich dementsprechend in die Thematik des aktuellen Forschungsgegenstandes ein (Wilczyńska & Michońska-Stadnik 2010: 62). Sie umfasst subjektive Ansichten der Lehrenden in Bezug auf die Perspektiven sowie Einschränkungen der Förderung der (kreativen) Schreibfertigkeit bei den Lernenden und konzentriert sich auf die Korrelationen, die sich daraus ergeben. Es werden demnächst Informationen über die Elemente des vorhandenen glottodidaktischen Systems sowie über die kausalen Zusammenhänge zwischen den einzelnen Elementen jenes Systems geliefert (Mihulka 2010: 185). Komorowska (1982: 190) weist darüber hinaus auf die Ziele der statischen Untersuchung als einer Diagnose hin, die insbesondere auf die wissensbildende sowie praktische Funktion zurückzuführen sind. Die Diagnose bereichert das Wissen über glottodidaktische Systeme und schafft zugleich Grundlagen für ihre Verbesserungen. Bei der Datenerhebung bediente man sich zwei Online-Fragebögen<sup>5</sup>, in denen die Lehrpersonen zu ihren Einstellungen bezüglich der Themen *Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* und *Kreatives Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* befragt wurden. Auf die Nützlichkeit der Verwendung der Umfrage als einer Technik der Datengewinnung weisen Wilczyńska und Michońska-Stadnik (2010: 167–168) bei der Untersuchung einer größeren Zahl der Respondenten hin, die hauptsächlich die Sammlung von Informationen hinsichtlich der Meinungen oder Handlungen der Probanden erzielt. Pilch (1998: 86–88) unterstreicht dazu die Brauchbarkeit der Umfrage als eines unverzichtbaren Instrumentes zum Erfassen der Merkmale von Gemeinschaften und Erkenntnis von Fakten, Meinungen sowie Ereignissen in pädagogischen Untersuchungen. Es wird dabei,

<sup>5</sup> Die Fragebogenformulare können unter folgenden Links abgerufen werden: *Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht*, <https://forms.gle/zmfzjqNhGhcH9w8DA>; *Kreatives Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht*, <https://forms.gle/zTxmQqmGuwv1kLvg6>.

Wilczyńska und Michońska-Stadnik (2010: 168) zufolge, betont, dass die Zuverlässigkeit der gewonnenen Daten von der korrekten und präzise gestalteten Fragebogenkonstruktion gewährleistet wird. Chojnacka-Gärtner (2010: 91) teilt drei Haupttypen von Umfragen ein: geschlossene Umfragen, Umfragen, die eine bestimmte Antwortskala auszeichnet sowie offene Umfragen (siehe mehr dazu Mihułka 2010: 191–192). Die Fragebögen, die im vorliegenden Forschungsprojekt verwendet wurden, enthielten sowohl offene, teil-offene als auch geschlossene Fragen und wurden auf Polnisch formuliert. Beide Umfragen wurden jeweils von einer unterschiedlichen Anzahl von Lehrern ausgefüllt. 37 Deutschlehrende nahmen an der Umfrage *Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* und 51 Lehrpersonen an der Umfrage *Kreatives Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* teil. Im Fall des zweiten Fragebogens wurden hier auch die Meinungen der Lehrenden aus der ersten Befragung aufgenommen. Das Stichprobeverfahren wurde nach dem Zufallsprinzip durchgeführt. Je nach Zahl der Probanden werden die Proben, laut Łobocki (2007: 169–183), entsprechend als kleine, große oder Übergangsproben bezeichnet. Die Größe der Stichprobe (im Falle der ersten und zweiten Befragung) umfasst eine Gruppe mit 31 bis 100 Teilnehmern und wird als Übergangsprobe qualifiziert. Das Forschungsprojekt wurde im Juni 2023 unter den polnischen Deutschlehrenden durchgeführt, die sowohl an den Grundschulen als auch Oberschulen in der Woiwodschaft Karpatenvorland beruflich tätig waren. Ihre Berufserfahrung umfasste 12 bis mehr als 20 Jahre.

Die Analyse des gesammelten Forschungsmaterials verlief in zwei Schritten. Zuerst wurden die Forschungsergebnisse separat hinsichtlich des jeweiligen Fragebogens interpretiert und besprochen. Danach wurden die Schlussfolgerungen formuliert, die aus beiden Umfragen hervorgingen und Überlegungen hinsichtlich der Konzepte der modernen Schreibdidaktik vermittelten<sup>6</sup>.

### 3.2. Traditionelles Schreiben im DaF-Unterricht – Einschränkungen und Perspektiven

Das Hauptziel des Fragebogens zum Thema *Schreiben als Textverfassen im DaF-Unterricht* war die Bewertung des traditionellen Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht aus der Perspektive der polnischen Deutschlehrenden.

Die erhebliche Mehrheit der befragten Deutschlehrenden (95%) stellte fest, dass die Lernenden überhaupt nicht gern in der deutschen Sprache schreiben. Die

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<sup>6</sup> Aus Platzgründen werden in diesem Beitrag nur die Antworten auf diejenigen Fragen berücksichtigt, die direkt mit dem Inhalt des Artikels im Einklang stehen.

Einstellungen der Schüler<sup>7</sup> gegenüber der schriftlichen Textproduktion werden von den Lehrenden meistens als: *negativ, skeptisch, ablehnend, zu schwierig, langweilig, wenig spontan, mühselig, Angst erweckend und anspruchsvoll* bezeichnet<sup>8</sup>. Die Ursachen für die negativen Haltungen der Lernenden gegenüber dem Schreiben wurden durch die Lehrenden beschrieben und/oder zusätzlich erläutert und lassen sich folgenden Gruppen von Faktoren zuschreiben:

- allgemeine Unlust zum Schreiben (46%), die z. B. durch geringes Selbstbewusstsein, Faulheit, Zeitmangel oder fehlende Motivation für die praktische Nutzung der Fähigkeiten in der Zukunft verursacht wird,
- begrenzter Wortschatz und unzureichende Grammatikkenntnisse der Lernenden (27%),
- eine nachteilige Auswirkung des Zugangs zu den digitalen Medien und die dadurch verursachte fehlende Selbständigkeit der Schüler (24%).

Andere, von den Lehrenden in einzelnen Mitteilungen angeführten, negativen Faktoren sind u. a.: Zeitdruck im Deutschunterricht, eine zu wenige Zahl der Deutschstunden im Lehrplan, Probleme mit dem Textverfassen in der Muttersprache, kein Leseinteresse, Ablehnung der zweiten Fremdsprache sowie monotone Übungen in Lehrwerkmaterialien.

Die Mehrheit der von den Lehrenden genannten Umstände, die die Entwicklung der Schreibkompetenz negativ beeinflussen, scheinen deutlich entweder auf der Seite der Lernenden zu liegen oder systembedingt zu sein (siehe mehr dazu Miłuńska 2020: 65). Lediglich ein Lehrer hat in seiner Antwort die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Verantwortung der Lehrkräfte gelenkt. Sie seien für die Erfolge sowie Misserfolge der Schüler bei der Schreibkompetenzsteigerung verantwortlich. Er wies auf eine ungeeignete Herangehensweise der Lehrenden bezüglich der Motivationsverstärkung und Vorbereitung der Schüler auf erfolgreiche Versuche beim Verfassen der Texte hin.

Die nächste Frage des Fragebogens betraf die Faktoren, die die schriftliche Textherstellung in der deutschen Sprache positiv fördern. Die Antworten der Lehrenden bezogen sich grundsätzlich auf die Gegebenheiten, die von den Lehrenden selbst positiv gestaltet und gesteuert werden konnten. Es wurden folgende Faktoren genannt:

- methodische und individualisierte Unterstützung sowie eine schrittweise und systematische Einführung der Schüler durch die Lehrenden in den Schreibprozess (46%),

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<sup>7</sup> Die Autorin entschied sich für das generische Maskulinum. Damit werden alle Lernenden und/oder Lehrenden gemeint, ohne die Einteilung in Bezug auf das Geschlecht vorzunehmen.

<sup>8</sup> Alle zitierten Aussagen werden wortwörtlich von der Artikelautorin übersetzt.

- positives Feedback, konstruktive Kommentare sowie regelmäßige Anerkennung und die sich daraus ergebende Zufriedenheit der Lernenden als intrinsische Motivation (27%),
- das Gefühl der praktischen Nützlichkeit der Schreibfähigkeit (22%),
- Freiheit bei der Entscheidung über das Thema und Form der schriftlichen Aufgaben, die mit den Interessen der Lernenden im Einklang stehen (19%).

Zu weiteren Faktoren, die laut Deutschlehrenden den Schreibprozess effektiver machen können, gehören: ausreichende Beherrschung des Wortschatzes, Gruppenarbeit, vielfältige und interessante Schreibformen, entsprechendes Sprachniveau, Zugang zu digitalen Wörterbüchern, kein Zeitdruck. Die vorgeführten Hinweise zeugen eindeutig davon, dass die Lehrenden über ein breites Spektrum von interessanten Vorschlägen verfügen, die der Entwicklung der Schreibkompetenz im DaF-Unterricht dienen können. Die oben aufgelisteten Anregungen stehen jedoch im Widerspruch mit den Ansichten der Lernenden, die mit dem traditionellen Schreibunterricht negative Assoziationen haben. Die deutliche Diskrepanz liegt offenbar darin, dass die Ideen der Lehrkräfte für die Verbesserung der Schreibprozesse im DaF-Unterricht eher in Gedanken und Konzepten bleiben und selten die praktische Anwendung finden.

Die Deutschlehrenden wurden auch danach gefragt, auf welche Art und Weise sie den Schreibprozess im Unterricht anleiten, d. h. welche Etappen der Modellierung dieses Prozesses (Planen, Formulieren, Überarbeiten) von ihnen realisiert werden<sup>9</sup>. Ersichtlich ist, dass 51% der Lehrenden die Phase der Vorbereitung (Planen) vor den Verschriftungsvorgängen durchführen und die schriftliche Textproduktion mit einer ausreichenden früheren Vorbereitung organisieren. Die verbleibenden Lehrer lassen allerdings die Phase des Planens aus, obwohl die Etappe, Becker-Mrotzek (2007: 27) zufolge, zur Ideensammlung, Entfaltung des Themas, zum Herbeirufen von mangelndem Wissen oder Zusammentragen von passenden Formulierungen dient. Die befragten Deutschlehrenden beginnen den Prozess des Verschriftens und der Formulierung von Gedanken sofort in Anlehnung an fertige Schemata, angegebene Muster und gesammelten Wortschatz oder nehmen überhaupt keine Stellung dazu. Die eigentliche Phase des Formulierens wird ebenfalls nicht in allen Schreibplänen sichtbar. 32% der Lehrenden nennen die Formulierungsphase entweder nicht explizit oder geben keine Antwort auf diese Frage. In Bezug auf die letzte Phase des Textverfassens – *Überarbeitung* – findet im Unterricht, den Aussagen der Lehrenden zufolge, keine geplante Textrevison statt. Lediglich eine Antwort bestätigt eine

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<sup>9</sup> Das Schreibprozessmodell von Hayes und Flower (1980), das in der einschlägigen Literatur als ein Vorbild für andere Schreibprozessmodelle gilt, enthält drei Hauptkomponenten: Planen, Formulieren sowie Überarbeiten (siehe dazu mehr Fix 2015: 21–30, Joachimczyk 2016: 24).

konsequent überlegte Weiterarbeit am entstandenen Text. Das Ausfertigen eines Textes endet in meisten Fällen mit der schriftlichen Formulierung der ersten und zugleich finalen Textversion. Die Schlussfolgerung, die sich bezüglich der Schreibprozessorganisation ziehen lässt, weist auf ein intuitives und zerstreutes Handeln der Lehrenden im Bereich des Aufbaus der Schreibkompetenz bei den Lernenden hin.

Aus der Analyse der angeführten Aussagen lässt sich ableiten, dass das schriftliche Verfassen von Texten im DaF-Unterricht trotz der negativen Einstellungen der Lernenden wiederbelebt werden kann. Die vorgeschlagenen Ideen der Lehrenden und ihre methodisch überlegte und gezielte Anwendung kann einen bedeutenden Beitrag zu der positiven Einstellungsänderung der Lernenden dem Schreiben gegenüber leisten. Dementsprechend sind didaktische Lehrmittel sowie entsprechende Fortbildungskurse für die Deutschlehrenden auf diesem Gebiet wichtig. Die Lehrenden sollen ihr theoretisches Wissen mit der praktischen Lehrerfahrung und beruflichen Intuition logisch, konsequent und für Schüler transparent verbinden und den Schreibprozess schrittweise in den Deutschunterricht einbinden.

### 3.3. Förderung des kreativen Schreibens im Deutschunterricht: Licht- und Schattenseiten

Der Fragebogen, der das Thema *Kreatives Schreiben im DaF-Unterricht* betrifft, sollte den Zusammenhang zwischen dem theoretischen Wissen über kreative Schreibformen und seinem praktischen Anwendungsgrad von den Lehrenden im DaF-Unterricht erforschen.

80% der befragten Lehrenden waren mit dem Begriff *kreatives Schreiben* und seinen kreativen Anwendungsmöglichkeiten im DaF-Unterricht (82%) vertraut. 88% der Lehrenden fügten dabei hinzu, dass dieses Wissen ihnen meistens im Rahmen der beruflichen Fortbildung durch Schulungen und Workshops vermittelt wurde. 26% der Deutschlehrenden vertraten die Meinung, dass sie der fremdsprachigen Fachliteratur die Informationen über kreatives Schreiben entnahmen. 21% der Befragten verwiesen auf Vorlesungen innerhalb ihrer eigenen, abgeschlossenen Studiengänge als die dritte Wissensquelle.

Im Weiteren wurden die Lehrenden nach den von ihnen im DaF-Unterricht eingesetzten Verfahren des kreativen Schreibens (siehe die Typologie von Böttcher 2013: 23–28) gefragt. Sie sollten dabei von den sechs angegebenen Methodengruppen die zutreffenden ankreuzen. Die Deutschlehrenden verwenden in der Praxis alle kreativen Schreibverfahren. *Schreibspiele* wurden dabei mit 72% am häufigsten gewählt, gefolgt von *Schreiben nach Vorgaben, Regeln und Mustern*

(57%), *Schreiben zu Stimuli* (55%) sowie *assoziativen Verfahren* (47%). Ziemlich selten wurden von den Lehrenden *Weiterarbeit an kreativen Texten* (17%) und *Schreiben nach und zu (literarischen) Texten* (15%) in ihren Deutschunterricht eingebettet<sup>10</sup>.

In Bezug auf die von den Deutschlehrenden bevorzugten kreativen Schreibverfahren wurden die Lehrer auch gebeten, eigene konkrete Schreibaufgaben zu präsentieren, die im DaF-Unterricht als Mittel zur Förderung des kreativen Schreibens eingesetzt werden. 50% der Lehrenden waren dabei nicht imstande, die von ihnen im Deutschunterricht benutzten Schreibverfahren zu nennen und/oder zu charakterisieren. Die andere Hälfte der Befragten listete eine Reihe von konkreten Schreibarrangements auf, die in Tabelle 1 zusammengestellt und dabei den einzelnen Verfahren des kreativen Schreibens nach Böttcher (2013) zugeordnet wurden.

**Tabelle 1.** Einsatz von kreativen Schreibverfahren im DaF-Unterricht aus der Sicht der Lehrenden

Schreiben nach Vorgaben, Regeln und Mustern	Schreiben zu Stimuli	Schreibspiele	Assoziative Verfahren	Weiterarbeit an kreativen Texten
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Weiterführung der Geschichte</li> <li>- Geschichte anhand der Wörter</li> <li>- Satzvollendung</li> <li>- Dialoge zu Ende führen</li> <li>- Wortkette</li> <li>- Generatives Schreiben</li> <li>- Bildergeschichte</li> <li>- E-Mails</li> <li>- Briefe</li> <li>- Wörterkette</li> <li>- Story Cubs</li> <li>- Dixit Karten</li> <li>- Leporello</li> <li>- Schreiben anhand des Liedtextes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bild Beschreibung</li> <li>- Geschichte zum Foto</li> <li>- Geschichte zur Situation</li> <li>- Geschichte zum Kunstwerk</li> <li>- Leises Lied</li> <li>- Dialoge zum Bild</li> <li>- 5-Sinne-Check zum Bild</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elfchen</li> <li>- Akrostichon</li> <li>- Avenidas</li> <li>- konkrete Poesie</li> <li>- Lückentext als Gedicht</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Brainstorming</li> <li>- Mind-Maps</li> <li>- Wortwolke</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Textüberarbeitung</li> </ul>

Quelle: Eigene Bearbeitung.

Anhand der Tabelle 1 kann festgestellt werden, dass den kreativen Schreibverfahren *Schreiben nach Vorgaben, Regeln und Mustern* sowie *Schreiben zu Stimuli*

<sup>10</sup> Es ist dabei zu betonen, dass die Zuordnung der kreativen Verfahren zu bestimmten Schreibmethoden keinesfalls steif ist (Beno 2011: 85).

die größte Vielfalt an eigenen kreativen schriftlichen Aufgaben zugeschrieben wurde. Die Schreibenregungen, die den *Schreibspielen* und *assoziativen Verfahren* zuzuordnen sind, beinhalten nur eine begrenzte Palette von eigenen, schriftlichen Übungen. Sie umfassen meistens die einfachsten, sich am häufigsten in den Lehreräußerungen wiederholten Schreibformen. Es ist auch auffallend, dass trotz der Überzeugung der Lehrenden von der Kenntnis aller Verfahren des kreativen Schreibens nur ein kreatives Schreibarrangement, allerdings unkonkret, innerhalb der Methodengruppe *Weiterarbeit an kreativen Texten* angeführt wurde. Im Rahmen des kreativen Verfahrens *Schreiben zu und nach (literarischen) Texten* wurden keine eigenen Schreibübungen vorgeschlagen.

Den angeführten Daten lässt sich entnehmen, dass das theoretische Wissen der Lehrenden bezüglich des Einsatzes von kreativem Schreiben, als einem „Ensemble heterogener Faktoren, die eine Schreibszene konstituieren“ (Ruf 2016: 29), nicht ausreichend ist, um den kreativen Schreibprozess im DaF-Unterricht adäquat und erfolgreich zu organisieren. Die folgenden Aussagen der Lehrpersonen wiesen darauf hin, dass 69% der Lehrenden keine Lehrmaterialien zur Organisation des kreativen Schreibprozesses im Unterricht besitzen. Hinsichtlich der Einsatzfrequenz des kreativen Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht verwendeten 58% der Lehrenden kreative Schreibprozesse einmal innerhalb eines Themenbereichs. Dagegen stellten 42% der Lehrenden fest, dass sie entweder nie oder sehr selten (d.h. 2–3 Mal im Jahr) den Schreibunterricht kreativ gestalteten. Der Mangel an einer durchgängigen Umsetzung des kreativen Schreibens sowie eine beschränkte Auswahl der Schreibverfahren sind ein Beweis dafür, dass es sich nicht um einen schüler- und prozessorientierten<sup>11</sup> kreativen Prozess handelt. Vielmehr sind es Übungen, die in Bezug auf die Form und Thema zwar als kreativ bezeichnet werden können, aber völlig auf das eigentliche Produkt, also den Text, fokussiert sind.

Die befragten Lehrer sollten in der nächsten Frage des Fragebogens feststellen, ob die kreativen Schreibverfahren auf die Entwicklung anderer Kompetenzen einen Einfluss ausüben können. Dabei sollten konkrete Kompetenzen und/oder Fähigkeiten angegeben werden. Der Einfluss des kreativen Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht auf die Entfaltung von Fähigkeiten, Wissen sowie Einstellungen wurde von 82% der Lehrenden als fördernd eingeschätzt. Dabei wiesen lediglich 59% der Deutschlehrenden auf konkrete Kompetenzen hin, deren Weiterentwicklung durch das kreative Schreiben verbessert wird. Über 80% der Lehrkräfte nannten

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<sup>11</sup> Mehr über die prozessorientierte Schreibdidaktik schreiben: Sieber (2005: 393–394), Fix (2008: 119–120), Becker-Mrotzek und Böttcher (2012: 52–65). Ausführlich weist Ludwig (1983: 37–73) auf die Merkmale des prozessorientierten Schreibprozesses hin, die im DaF-Unterricht als unentbehrliche Faktoren gelten, und nennt dabei folgende: multilevel, sukzessiv, interaktiv, iterativ, rekursiv, automatisiert.



auf diesem Feld konkrete Fähigkeiten, u. a.: Lese- und Hörverstehen, Sprechen, Kommunikation, bessere Grammatikkenntnisse und Erweiterung des Wortschatzes. 76% der Lehrenden betonten dabei u. a.: Kooperation, Lernstile, Motivation, Selbstbewusstsein, Kreativität sowie Motivation. Die aufgeführten Fähigkeiten gehen gleichzeitig implizit mit der Entfaltung der allgemeinen Kompetenzen einher, die die Erweiterung des deklarativen Wissens sowie die Verbesserung der Fertigkeiten und des prozeduralen Wissens umfassen<sup>12</sup>.

Die von den Lehrenden mitgeteilten positiven Auswirkungen des kreativen Schreibens wurden gleichzeitig als unterstützende Mittel zur Weiterentwicklung der Schlüsselkompetenzen betrachtet, die sich sowohl mit kommunikativen als auch allgemeinen Kompetenzen gegenseitig ergänzen. Es wurden u. a. folgende Aspekte genannt: Verstehen und Erstellen von Informationen, Mehrsprachigkeit, persönliche, soziale und Lernkompetenzen, Initiative sowie Selbstbewusstsein und kultureller Ausdruck (Empfehlung des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates 22. Mai 2018).

Anhand der gesammelten Daten ist anzumerken, dass die Deutschlehrenden die Kenntnis von kreativen Schreibverfahren zwar bejahen, beschränken sich aber in der Praxis auf diejenigen, die sich rein an dem Text als dem schriftlichen Endprodukt orientieren. Die äußerst geringe Einsatzfrequenz der populärsten, kreativen Schreibverfahren untermauert den geringen Stellenwert des kreativen Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht. Dabei herrscht allgemein die Überzeugung bei den Lehrenden von dem vielfältigen offensichtlichen Nutzen, der durch das kreative Schreiben erreicht werden kann.

#### 4. SCHLUSSBEMERKUNGEN

Die im vorliegenden Beitrag dargestellten Ergebnisse des Forschungsprojektes geben Aufschluss über den Stellenwert des (kreativen) Schreibens im DaF-Unterricht. In erster Linie wurde festgestellt, dass die Schüler gegenüber der schriftlichen Textverfassung in der deutschen Sprache eine sichtbare Abneigung empfinden. Die Gründe für die negativen Einstellungen sind unterschiedlich und werden meistens, nach der Ansicht der Lehrkräfte, den Faktoren und Bedingungen zugeschrieben, die außerhalb der Einflussmöglichkeiten der Lehrenden liegen. Dazu gehören vor allem seitens der Lernenden Mängel an linguistischen Kompetenzen, Persönlichkeitseigenschaften sowie interessenbezogene Merkmale. Außerdem heben die Lehrenden zahlreiche systembedingte

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<sup>12</sup> Alle von den Lehrenden aufgelisteten Kompetenzen, deren Weiterentwicklung durch die kreativen Schreibmethoden unterstützt wird, werden im GER (2003: 103–130) als kommunikative linguistische sowie allgemeine Kompetenzen dargestellt.

Umstände hervor, die den schulischen Alltag begleiten und den Schreibprozess im Deutschunterricht eher negativ beeinflussen. In den Äußerungen der Deutschlehrenden werden jedoch vielfältige Handlungsvorschläge sichtbar, die sich auf die Schreibprozesse positiv und unterstützend auswirken können und in der schulischen Praxis zu verwenden sind. Die meisten aufgezählten Maßnahmen befinden sich in dem direkten Verantwortungsbereich der Lehrenden und deren Umsetzungsmöglichkeit. Ihre Aktivierung könnte die herrschende Abneigung der Lernenden gegenüber dem *Schreiben in Deutsch* deutlich reduzieren.

Die angemessene Verwendung mannigfaltiger, didaktischer Schreibkonzepte im DaF-Unterricht bezieht sich aber nicht nur auf die Auswahl und den Einsatz von entsprechenden Voraussetzungen, sondern verlangt von den Lehrenden grundsätzlich eine klare Erläuterung des schrittweisen Aufbaus des (kreativen) Schreibprozesses. Laut den Umfrageergebnissen geht die Mehrheit der Deutschlehrenden intuitiv und planlos in der Gestaltung des Schreibprozesses vor. Dasselbe Problem wird auch von Lipińska (2016: 10) aufgegriffen. Der Autorin zufolge, halten sich die Lehrer aufgrund ihrer Schreibfähigkeiten oft für Schreibexperten (*soziale Minderheit*) und erwarten unbewusst dasselbe Talent von ihren Schülern, was meistens nicht der Fall ist. Die Wichtigkeit der Prozesshaftigkeit und des reflexiven Potenzials des Schreibens scheint bei den Lehrenden nicht vollständig geklärt zu sein (Merz-Grötsch 2005: 237–239). Deswegen kann der Zustand, wie es Machowicz (2010: 126) unterstreicht, auf den Wissensmangel der Lehrkräfte im Bereich der Gestaltung der Schreibprozesse zurückzuführen sein. Leider lässt das Defizit für die Lernenden den Schreibprozess nicht transparent darstellen und führt zu keinen Überlegungen hinsichtlich eigener Instrumente zur Autonomieförderung.

Das Bewusstsein der Lehrkräfte in Bezug auf das kreative Schreiben scheint, laut den hier evaluierten Daten, hoch zu sein, was aber in der praxisorientierten Anwendung der konkreten Schreibverfahren bei der Hälfte der Lehrenden keine Bestätigung findet. Die Deutschlehrenden, die zugeben, sich im Bereich des kreativen Schreibens und seiner kreativen Schreibverfahren auszukennen, behandeln kreative Schreibverfahren trotzdem lediglich als eine Ergänzung oder Abwechslung in der schulischen Schreibroutine, ohne den Lernenden den eigentlichen kreativen Schreibprozess systematisch und phasenweise zu beleuchten.

Auffallend ist außerdem die Tatsache, dass die Schreibprozesse, die Grundlagen für alle anderen alternativen (kreativen) Schreibformen bilden, von den Lehrenden nicht als ein Gesamtzusammenhang begriffen werden. Die meisten in dem ersten Fragebogen (*Schreiben als Textverfassen in DaF-Unterricht*) angeführten Faktoren der Schreibkompetenzförderung, bringen sofort die Ideen und Konzepte des kreativen Schreibens in den Sinn. Kreatives Schreiben als eine alternative Schreibform, die den kreativen Textverfassensprozess fördert

und trainiert (Böttcher 2013: 9) sowie Mittel zur Selbsterfahrung ist (Abraham 1998: 21), umfasst zahlreiche von den Lehrenden genannten Anregungen, die eine prozessorientierte, schülerorientierte sowie kreative Herangehensweise an das Schreiben fördern. Das elanvolle und intensive Schreiben im Unterricht, ohne Themenzwang (Kuligowska 2008: 150) sorgt für die schrittweise Entstehung des Ansporns, schriftliche Texte zu kreieren (Böttcher & Wagner 1997: 24–27). Die entsprechende Anpassung der Textsortenwahl beugt der Überforderung der Schreibenden vor und ermöglicht es, deren eigene Erfahrungen und Vorstellungen zu aktivieren (Kubaszczyk 2018: 203–204). Bedeutend ist dabei der Einsatz von vielfältigen Schreibformen, die reale Elemente in eine imaginäre Welt übertragen lassen (Kubaszczyk 2018: 205) und durch die Zusammenarbeit der Schreibenden das Gruppenzugehörigkeitsgefühl stärken (Kuligowska 2008: 153). Die aufgeführten Elemente deuten jedoch nicht auf die Erkenntnis des Zusammenhangs mit der kreativen, prozessorientierten Schreibdidaktik hin, sondern werden als abstrahierte und isolierte Elemente einer Schreibkonzeption wahrgenommen. Nur einmal werden sie in den Aussagen der Lehrenden mit dem klaren Begriff *kreatives Schreiben* definiert. Durch den fehlenden Verweis auf die Zusammenhänge der angegebenen Eigenschaften der Schreibdidaktik mit dem übergeordneten und allumfassenden Konzept des kreativen Schreibens lässt sich auf eine oberflächliche und umgangssprachlich begriffene Kenntnis der kreativen Schreibdidaktik von den polnischen Deutschlehrenden schlussfolgern.

Hervorzuheben ist auch die Bemerkung, dass die Deutschlehrenden nicht einmal in ihren Erläuterungen über die persönlichkeitsbezogenen Eigenschaften, wie z. B.: Innovationslust, Risikobereitschaft, Vorliebe für Komplexität (vgl. Klimowicz 2019: 160–173) berichteten, die als notwendige Voraussetzungen der Lehrenden sowohl das traditionell erfasste Schreiben unterstützen als auch als der erste Schritt zum kreativen Schreiben betrachtet werden könnten.

Ebenso ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten der Einbeziehung der mediengestützten Kommunikation in die fremdsprachige Lernumgebung stillschweigend von den Lehrenden übergangen wurden. Trotz zahlreicher Vorteile, die der Einsatz der digitalen Medien im fremdsprachigen Schreibunterricht mit sich bringen kann, wurden die Stärken ihrer Verwendung völlig außer Acht gelassen. Die Situation zeugt offensichtlich davon, dass die polnische Schule noch nicht darauf vorbereitet ist, den Erwartungen der Mediengeneration entgegenzukommen und Kompetenzen von *Digital Natives* in den DaF-Unterricht erfolgreich einzubetten und sie weiterzuentwickeln. Wampfler (2020: 22) betont nachdrücklich die schreibdidaktischen Aspekte des digitalen Schreibens und hebt eine radikale Veränderung in Bezug auf die Bedingungen hervor, unter denen schriftliche Texte verfasst werden sollen. Die digitale Revolution wird von Computern, Schreibprogrammen sowie Netz-Plattformen

vorangetrieben und findet auch in der Schule statt. Bedauerlicherweise haben sich die Szenarien, mit denen im Unterricht heute Texte verfasst werden, in den letzten Jahren kaum geändert und werden weiterhin von klassischen Aufsätzen geprägt.

Die in dem Beitrag angeführten Aussagen der Lehrenden bilden Impulse für weitere Überlegungen und weiteren Entwicklungsbedarf an neuen methodischen Lösungen in Bezug auf die Veränderung und Umgestaltung des häufig in vielen polnischen Schulen schematisch organisierten Schreibunterrichts. Sie stellen eine relevante Grundlage für eine reflektierte und professionelle Haltung der Lehrenden sowie längerfristige Optimierung der Lehr- und Lernbedingungen dar.

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### **Znaczenie kreatywnego pisania na lekcjach języka niemieckiego jako obcego z perspektywy polskich nauczycieli języka niemieckiego**

**ABSTRAKT.** Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wybranych metod oraz sposobów organizacji procesów (kreatywnego) pisania tekstów w języku niemieckim jako obcym na drugim i trzecim etapie edukacyjnym z perspektywy nauczycieli. Opisanie w artykule podejście dotyczące kształtowania sprawności tworzenia tekstów pisemnych oparte jest zarówno na teorii naukowej, dotyczącej dydaktyki (kreatywnego) pisania, jak i analizie oraz interpretacji wyników dwóch ankiet przeprowadzonych wśród polskich nauczycieli języka niemieckiego jako obcego. Analiza aktualnej sytuacji kształcenia umiejętności pisania w języku niemieckim w polskich szkołach wskazuje na rozbieżności między metodycznymi możliwościami nauczycieli a faktycznie wdrażanymi metodami w tym zakresie. Niestety, chęć i gotowość nauczycieli do stosowania metod kreatywnego pisania jako innowacyjnych rozwiązań, wspierających kompetencje w zakresie tworzenia tekstów pisemnych w języku niemieckim, nie znajduje odzwierciedlenia w wystarczającej wiedzy teoretycznej, odwołującej się przede wszystkim do działań ukierunkowanych na proces pisania i osobę ucznia jako twórcy tekstu, a nie wyłącznie do produktu końcowego, jakim jest tekst. Artykuł kończą

wnioski będące impulsem do zmian w obszarze praktyki nauki pisania i do podniesienia pozycji dydaktyki (kreatywnego) pisania w polskich szkołach.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: dydaktyka języków obcych, język niemiecki jako obcy, proces pisania, tradycyjne pisanie, kreatywne pisanie.

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## Preliminary findings and research perspectives on the German modal *sollen* in L2 written assessments

**ABSTRACT.** Modal verbs represent a special verb category and constitute an essential component of L2 German semantics. While Abrams and Rott (2017) suggest that German learner texts depict a 90% accuracy in the correct use of modal verbs in integrative writing tasks, the correct semantic use of the modal *sollen* ('supposed to'; 'should') seems to pose a particular challenge (Jentges 2016), especially in an assessment context. In this corpus analysis, 1,032 L2 German assessment texts across all CEFR levels were analyzed with respect to the L2 semantic use of *sollen* against the backdrop of the assessment prompts. 68% of instances of all uses of *sollen* in A1 texts and 53% of all uses of *sollen* in A2 texts showed an inappropriate semantic use of *sollen*. The discrepancy between these results and Abrams and Rott (2017) can be attributed to the prompts used in the assessments analyzed in this paper: They do not take into consideration the semantic mismatch between the use of the modal in the prompt and its inappropriate use in the texts produced.

**KEYWORDS:** L2 written assessment, writing tasks, L2 modal verbs, the CEFR.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Due to their high frequency in various languages, modal verbs represent a special verb category and constitute an essential component of German grammar. In the traditional sense, modal verbs such as *können*, *müssen*, *sollen*, *dürfen*, and *mögen* are used to mark the conditions of validity of a statement and allow speakers to express their attitudes or opinions regarding an utterance. The speaker's or writer's modification of a statement can take on a variety of readings, from necessity and possibility to desire and permission. In this context, the modal verb modifies the validity of the predication, while the non-finite lexical verb determines the predication (Weinrich 2003: 297; Hentschel & Weydt 2021).

Especially for learners of L2 German, the correct use of modal verbs can be challenging, not only with respect to morphological and syntactic features, but also on the level of meaning (e.g., deontic and epistemic uses with a wide range of readings or with different modes of use). Scheffler and Cinciala (2011), Dimroth (2008), Prévost (2003), or Jentges (2016) emphasize the lengthy process involved in the acquisition of L2 German modal verbs, caused by various factors.

In order to better understand the mechanisms involved in L2 writing in the context of L2 writing assessment, particularly in L2 German telc tests across all levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (the CEFR), we are working on a comprehensive study of L2 modal verbs in German. However, in this paper, we will only present part of the study, narrowing the results down to only one modal as well as to some preliminary results.

The comprehensive study's goals are to (i) describe the distribution of German modal verbs in L2 writing across different evaluation levels and (ii) determine their correct semantic use (see Maden-Weinberger 2009). Furthermore, the study seeks (iii) to determine the morphosyntactic features (subject verb agreement, V2 and V-final positioning in main and subordinate clauses, and implementation of the German sentence bracket) for each assessment level, to complement work done by Boss (2008), Scheffler and Cinciala (2011), Dimroth (2008), or Prévost (2003). Then, the findings from (i) and (ii) will be examined in the context of developing effective L2 writing assessment tasks (cf. Sasayama et al. 2021). The study is expected to shed light not only on the challenges of correctly implementing modal verbs in German L2 written assessments, but also on the consequences for L2 writing assessment design and L2 writing pedagogies.

This paper, however, only focuses on some preliminary findings from the comprehensive study with regards to the modal verb *sollen*. First, we present the theoretical basis for analyzing *sollen* in the (L2) German context, followed by a brief presentation of the methodology used to obtain the results. We then highlight some preliminary findings of the use of the modal verb *sollen* in L2 written assessments and discuss the significance of writing prompts in connection with the (mis)use of the modal verb *sollen*. A summary of the main findings and some implications that can be expected once the broader study is conducted, conclude the paper.

## 2. GERMAN MODAL VERBS AND SOLLEN

While modal verbs are highly frequent in language use, their acquisition is challenging at the morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels. Formal features at the morphological level include 1) zero inflection in the 1st and 3rd person

(similar to German irregular verbs in the preterite), 2) vowel alternation in the present tense between singular and plural (except for *sollen*), and 3) formation of the preterite forms with *-te*, and the past participle forms with *ge-t*, similar to weak verbs in German. On the syntactic level, modal verbs take an infinitival lexical complement to form a clause bracket. The perfect is formed with an *Ersatzinfinitiv* 'double infinitive' instead of the past participle (e.g., *Ich habe arbeiten müssen* 'I had had to work'). Thus, modal verbs share some of their morphological and syntactic features with other verbs of German, i.e., these features do not apply exclusively to the group of modal verbs.

The semantic function of modal verbs is to modify the conditions of the validity of a statement. Traditionally, a distinction is made between the subjective (epistemic) and objective (deontic) uses of modal verbs.<sup>1</sup> Modal verbs in their deontic use can be divided into three verb pairs which are assigned to the categories "possibility" (*können, dürfen*), "necessity" (*müssen, sollen*) and "will / desire" (*wollen, mögen*) (Hentschel & Weydt 2021: 72–73). Further semantic differences can be assigned to these pairs in accordance with certain characteristics, namely third instance (the interest that another instance or person demands from the grammatical subject) and intensity (degree of necessity or obligation).

**Table 1.** Categorization of modal verbs in their deontic use

-	-	+ third instance	+ intensity
<b>Possibility</b>	können 'can'	dürfen 'allowed to'	-
<b>Necessity</b>	-	sollen 'supposed to'	müssen 'must', 'need'
<b>Will / desire</b>	mögen 'would like'	-	wollen 'want'

Source: Hentschel & Weydt 2021: 73.

*Müssen* und *sollen* express necessity, while *sollen* implies a third instance and *müssen* is marked by a higher degree of obligation. The following examples shall demonstrate the different contexts of use of *sollen*.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Grammatik der deutschen Sprache* [The Grammar of the German Language] published by the Leibniz-Institut für die Deutsche Sprache (Zifonun et al. 1997) does without this distinction and introduces the pragmatic concept of *Redehintergrund* 'speech background'. Speech backgrounds are part of text and discourse knowledge. They are dependent to the speaker and interaction as well as the interlocutors (Zifonun et al. 1997: 1882f.). Hence, even a non-epistemic speech background cannot be deontic (Zifonun et al. 1997: 1886). The difference between epistemic and non-epistemic speech backgrounds is thus that the epistemic speech background includes and infers all the knowledge that can be of importance in the context of the subject matter. In non-epistemic situations, certain factors or pieces of knowledge are consciously or unconsciously neglected (Zifonun et al. 1997: 1886).

- (1) Ich soll eine Woche lang im Bett bleiben. (= der Arzt hat es mir verordnet.)  
'I am supposed to stay in bed for a week' (= the doctor's orders)
- (2) Ich muss eine Woche lang im Bett bleiben. (=Ich habe so starke Schmerzen, dass ich nicht aufstehen kann.)  
'I need to stay in bed for a week' (=I am in so much pain that I cannot move.)

*Sollen* can also take over the function of the imperative in indirect speech in a command or demand, but only if an indirect command or demand is part of the message:

- (3) (Meine Nachbarin sagte,) ich soll die Tür immer abschließen. (Sie sagte: "Schließen Sie bitte die Tür immer ab!")  
'(My neighbor said) I am supposed to always lock the door' (she said: "Please always lock the door!")

*Sollen* frequently occurs in prescriptive texts such as regulations or laws and, compared to *müssen* but not *dürfen*, is interpreted as not binding, but as a more or less urgent recommendation of a norm (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 1914).

- (4) Die Schule soll eine eigene Schulordnung erlassen.  
'The school is supposed to issue its own school regulations'

For advice and recommendations, the Konjunktiv II form of *sollen* is used in order to achieve a certain restriction of the imperative (Weinrich 2005: 306). In English, this meaning is usually expressed by use of *should*.

- (5) Sie sollten sich wirklich überlegen, ob Sie ihre Arbeit fristgerecht einreichen können.  
'You should really think about whether you will be able to submit your work on time'

The German modal *sollen* is characterized by a variety of usage contexts, which cannot be presented exhaustively within the scope of this paper. However, the examples provided in (1) through (5) shall stress some of the main distinct readings that might pose difficulties to L2 learners of German.

### 3. SOLLEN IN L2 GERMAN

L2 learners have traditionally been introduced to German modal verbs as part of the L2 grammar, as opposed to the lexicon despite their various semantic nuances. Modal verbs are usually displayed as a grammatical phenomenon due to their distinct verbal inflection pattern, their word order, and the requirement that they take an infinitival lexical verb as a complement. Consequently, studies relating to modal verbs in L2 German have mainly focused on grammar, followed by studies on the pedagogies of modal verbs.

Numerous studies on the overall acquisition of specific grammatical aspects such as the acquisition of verb morphology (Boss 2008) include modals; however, studies focusing specifically on L2 German modal verbs are rare. Scheffler and Cinciala (2011), Dimroth (2008), and Prévost (2003), for example, study the acquisition of L2 German modal verbs in relation to awareness of explicit grammar rules, to negation and finiteness, and to finiteness and inflection acquisition, respectively. Jentges (2016), Anthonissen and Mortelmans (2016), and Nikolova (2018) look at L2 German modal verb acquisition through a pedagogical lens, but only Jentges (2016) dives a little more deeply into the overall difficulties related to the meaning of modal verbs, while Maden-Weinberger (2009) provides a comparative investigation of a corpus of learner German and other L1 and L2 corpora, showing the differences between native and learner uses of modal verbs at various levels of proficiency.

Jentges (2016) examines German *sollen* 'to be supposed to' vs. *sollten* 'should' through the lens of *text-type pedagogy*, focusing on how they are typically presented in Dutch teaching materials for L2 German. She asserts that adopting a construction-grammar approach is more favorable in this context, as it appears to facilitate a more effective acquisition of understanding the semantic differences between the indicative and Konjunktiv II forms of German *sollen*.

Maden-Weinberger (2009) also contrasts the uses of *sollen* in indicative form versus *sollte* in Konjunktiv II. She dedicates a section to the prominence of *sollen* in learners of different levels, concluding that *sollen* is acquired later than *wollen* 'want', *müssen* 'must', and *können* 'can'. Her findings stress the learners' difficulties with the semantic distinction between the use of indicative and Konjunktiv II forms across modal verbs in general (Maden-Weinberger 2009: 249–253), speculating that these difficulties stem from L1 transfer issues. She furthermore posits that the problem to distinguish between the meanings of the two forms is morphological in nature because "more morphological forms have to be distinguished in German in comparison to English and on the other hand, anecdotal evidence points to the fact that the learners' difficulties can be traced to a general failure in phonological discrimination" (Maden-Weinberger 2009: 250).

The results presented in this paper shall complement existing literature by highlighting the errors identified in L2 written German, looking more closely at the potential causes for poor performance in assessment contexts.

#### 4. METHODOLOGY

This corpus analysis comprises 1,032 authentic L2 German assessment texts spanning CEFR levels A1 through C1. The texts were accessed through the free MERLIN corpus.<sup>2</sup> MERLIN is an error-annotated written learner corpus for German, Italian and Czech. The MERLIN corpus contains texts from standardized language tests and are analyzed in accordance with the CEFR (Council of Europe 2020). The German texts were produced by learners from various L1s.<sup>3</sup> They were downloaded from the MERLIN corpus and separately annotated in MAXQDA for further analysis.

The main study's goal is to better understand the mechanisms involved in L2 writing in the L2 writing assessment context. The study set out (i) to describe the distribution of German modal verbs in L2 writing across varying assessment levels and (ii) to determine their correct semantic use (cf. Maden-Weinberger 2009). Furthermore, to complement Boss (2008), Scheffler and Cinciala (2011), Dimroth (2008), or Prévost (2003), the study seeks (iii) to determine the morpho-syntactic features (subject verb agreement, V2 and V-final positioning in main and subordinate clauses, and implementation of the German sentence bracket) for each assessment level. Additionally, the results obtained in (i) and (ii) will be discussed against the backdrop of designing efficient L2 writing assessment tasks (cf. Sasayama et al. 2021). The results are expected to provide insight into the challenges of implementing modal verbs in German L2 writing assessments prompts.

To stay within the scope of this paper, the preliminary findings presented below will not include morphosyntactic results. Rather, we are limiting the discussion of the results to the use of the modal verb *sollen* in L2 written assessments and the importance of writing prompts in relation to the (mis)usage of the modal verb *sollen*.

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.merlin-platform.eu/>.

<sup>3</sup> Note that the preliminary results does not take into account any connection between the L1 and German modal verbs.

## 5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As summarized in table 1, the overall results show that 86% of all 1,032 texts contain at least one modal verb. In total, there were 3,839 modal verbs across all texts. Narrowing down the focus to analyze the use of *sollen*, 23 sections of texts were eliminated, either because a sentence containing a modal verb could not be deciphered semantically, or because the modal used was part of a direct quote. Finally, 3,640 modal verbs were analyzed, which yielded 294 uses of *sollen* across 184 texts. Since the occurrence of *sollen* and its (in)correct uses vary depending on the assessment levels, the analysis and discussion of the results below are adjusted accordingly. While the use of *sollen* only makes up just over eight percent (16 occurrences in 13 texts) of all modal verbs used in the A1 texts (n=206), its use is not evenly distributed across the three text genres, or rather, the three prompts within that level (prompts A1a, A1b, and A1c). In fact, there are no uses of *sollen* in any of the A1c texts (a letter to congratulate a friend on the birth of their baby) and only three occurrences in one text written for the A1b prompt. That A1b text was, furthermore, rated at a much higher level (B1)<sup>4</sup>, so it should be excluded when analyzing A1 level L2 writing. What is most notable at this level is that almost a quarter of all texts submitted for the A1a prompt contain the modal verb *sollen*. Among those 13 occurrences, eleven uses of *sollen* are considered inappropriate uses within the semantic and text genre's context<sup>5</sup>. Consider examples (6) and (7):

(6) Du sollst                    einen Bickini [sic!] mit bringen.  
 You are supposed to a bikini bring.with  
 'You are supposed to bring a bikini'  
 Intended reading: You should bring a bikini.

(7) Du sollst                    Bikini, Stoffbanh mitbringen.  
 You are supposed to bikini ? bring.with  
 'You are supposed to bring a bikini and a ?'  
 Intended reading: You should bring a bikini.

The mismatches between the readings and the intended readings as glossed above stem from the mismatch between the prompt instructions and the texts

<sup>4</sup> Each text available in the corpus includes some metadata including the official test results. In this case, a text was produced as part of an A1 test; however, the text was rated at B1 level.

<sup>5</sup> Note that the prompt instructions usually evoke a specific text genre such as a letter to a friend, an invitation, or a written complaint, and that the assessment takes into consideration genre specific expressions, style, and language use (cf. Hyland 2007).

produced. In fact, the prominent use of *sollen* for prompt A1a is a direct result of the wording used in the writing task causing the test takers to use *sollen*: The prompt asks the test taker to write to a friend to invite her to go swimming. It also instructs the test taker to include information regarding the following keywords (i) where, (ii) when, and (iii) what their friend is supposed to bring along (*was sie mitbringen soll*, 'what she is supposed to bring along').<sup>6</sup> *Sollen* in this sense is used to express an indirect necessity or obligation, indirect in the sense that the prompt instructs the test taker to tell another person what they are supposed to bring along. Thus, *sollen* in the prompt represents a necessity conditioned by a third person or entity. *Sollen* as exemplified in (6) and (7) also denotes a necessity or obligation involving a third person or party. However, the text genre and the intended meaning within this genre would not logically allow for necessity or obligation, especially one conditioned by a third person or entity. For sentences (6) and (7), a correct alternative could be achieved by using *sollte* (the Konjunktiv II form) to express a suggestion, a simple imperative (e.g., *Bring einen Bikini mit* 'Bring along a bikini'), or even a modal of possibility (e.g., *Du kannst einen Bikini mitbringen* 'You can bring a bikini'). Due to this contextual mismatch between the prompt and the text produced, the test taker is misled into using *sollen*, which is, however, inappropriate within the text genre and context of the text produced.

Texts submitted at A2 level yield a similar result. 20 of 209 A2 texts (approx. 9%) include at least one *sollen*, and approx. 16% of all texts for prompt A2c use *sollen* at least once, with 14 occurrences across eleven texts. Looking only at the *sollen* occurrences in the A2c texts, five of them demonstrate an appropriate use of *sollen*, while nine do not use it correctly. Similar to the observations in the A1 texts, there seems to be a correlation between the prompt and the (mis)uses of *sollen* in the L2 texts. In the prompt, the test taker is asked to write an email to a friend. In the email, the test taker is supposed to ask the friend to look after the test taker's pet while away from home. Similar to the prompt discussed above, the prompts provide certain keywords and phrases that should be part of the text produced, namely (i) what type of pet, (ii) when, (iii) what the friend is supposed to do, and (iv) where the test taker is going. Here, again, the use of *sollen* to instruct the test taker (*was die Freundin tun soll* 'what the friend is supposed to do') in the prompt represents a necessity or obligation conditioned by a third person or entity. The text produced, however, should not contain constructions expressing

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<sup>6</sup> Thank you to the anonymous reviewer who pointed out that here, the use of the verb *sollen* is only secondary and that the correlation between the student text and the sentence used in the prompt seem to be more important. We agree and highlight below that the correlation is important in the sense that, independently, the uses of *sollen* are correct, but one in response to the other provides a wrong reading.



the necessity or obligation involving a third person or entity, but rather, the test taker should express necessity marked by intensity. Compare examples (8) to (9).

(8) Du sollst es jeden Tag dushen [sic!].

You are supposed to it every day shower

'You are supposed to shower it everyday'

Intended reading: You must / need to wash it everyday.

(9) Du musst es jeden Tag waschen.

You must / need it every day wash

'You must / need to wash it everyday'

Sentence (8) is an example from the corpus demonstrating the inappropriate use of *sollen*. Example (9) is an acceptable alternative for such a request: in order to list the duties and responsibilities entailed in looking after the pet, the use of modal *müssen* is appropriate (as well as its Konjunktiv II option *müsste*). For these texts, we can therefore speculate, again, that the mistakes made with respect to the use of *sollen* are a result of the incorrect adaption of *sollen* from the prompt.

Among 209 texts submitted for the B1 level, *sollen* only occurs in 6% of them (eleven tokens across eleven texts). Due to this small number of occurrences, they are not included in this paper. Moving on to texts submitted as part of the B2 tests, over 15% of them contained at least one instance of *sollen*: among 204 texts, 30 submissions contained 39 instances of this modal verb. At this test level, the texts revealed a notable change in correct and incorrect uses, but, similar to the lower levels, the occurrence of *sollen* is dependent on the text genre and the prompt. While only two texts submitted for prompt B2a (an application cover letter) include one *sollen* each, 13% of texts submitted for prompt B2b (complaint letter) and almost 30% of texts submitted for prompt B2c (information request about a job) contain the modal verb. In all but one case, the B2b and B2c texts depict the correct semantic use for *sollen*. In the B2b texts, the *sollen* instances describe scenarios that provide the basis for the complaint (example 10), while the uses of *sollen* in the B2c texts occur in direct questions pertaining to the job duties and obligations (see example 11).

(10) Ich soll mit der Gastfamilie wohnen, leider habe ich in einer Garage gewohnt.<sup>7</sup>

'I am supposed to live with the host family, unfortunately, I lived in a garage'

<sup>7</sup> Note that the use of present tense in the first clause and the preterite in the second clause in the German sentence makes the sentence clash and sound unnatural; however, the use of *sollen* in this case is still semantically correct.

(11) Wie viele Stunden pro Tag soll ich arbeiten?

'How many hours per day am I supposed / required to work?'

*Sollen* occurs much more frequently in the texts submitted at C1 level. Across all 204 texts, 113 (55%) contained at least one *sollen*. Among 1,337 occurrences of *sollen*, only ten were semantically odd (see ex. 12 and 13). All ten inappropriate uses were submitted for the C1c prompt (a report on housing in their home city; containing the instruction to include 'what one must consider if one wanted to rent or buy a house or apartment', *was man beachten muss, wenn man ein Haus oder eine Wohnung mieten oder kaufen möchte*). Furthermore, these ten uses occurred in seven different texts, and four of them received an overall rating of B1 or B2, that is, the quality of these texts were rated below the test level.

(12) Aber wenn du ein Haus kaufen möchtest, sollst du viele Beamtete [sic!] treffen.

'But when you want to buy a house, you are supposed to meet many officials.'

Intended reading: But when you buy a house, you need / must meet many officials.

(13) Je mehr man sich von dem Zentrum entfernt, desto weniger soll man für Miete zahlen.

'The further away from the center, the less one is required to pay for rent.'

Intended reading: The further away from the center, the less one should / needs to pay.

In order to get the intended readings for (12) and (13), the candidates should use German *müssen*:

(12') Aber wenn du ein Haus kaufen möchtest, musst du viele Beamte treffen.

'But when you buy a house, you need / must meet many officials.'

(13') Je mehr man sich von dem Zentrum entfernt, desto weniger muss man für die Miete zahlen.

'The further away from the center, the less one should / needs to pay.'

While the three prompts at this level also determine the semantic context that would require or allow test takers to use *sollen*, there is no relation between

the prompt and the inappropriate use of *sollen* as seen across the lower levels above.<sup>8</sup>

The results from this corpus do not confirm Abrams & Rott's (2017) study in which students across different levels had a 90% accuracy rate with respect to choosing the correct modal verb in integrative writing tasks. However, these preliminary findings do not consider the accuracy of other modal verbs, so this statement needs to be revisited once the other modal verbs have also been analyzed.<sup>9</sup> As of now, the results show that *sollen* was used semantically inadequately in 68% of instances in the A1 texts and in 53% of instances in the A2 texts. The accuracy rate rises in the B2 and C1 levels, where *sollen* shows 87% and 95% of accuracy respectively. If the use of other modal verbs in this corpus confirms Abrams & Rott's findings, *sollen* will require more attention in the future, in particular in the context of L2 pedagogies.

The high inaccuracy in the A1 and A2 levels mainly stems from a mismatch between the instructions in the prompt and the text produced. This mismatch is caused by the change of perspective that takes place between the instruction (the prompt instructs the test taker) and the final text that is written from the test taker's perspective: The commands implied by the use of *sollen* in the texts produced are interpreted as given by or linked to the writer of the text (i.e., the test taker), rendering these expressions inappropriate (cf. Maden-Weinberger 2009: 40ff.) because, as discussed above, *sollen* in this context should be linked to a third instance. Therefore, we can firmly conclude that test takers at A1 and A2 levels do not yet comprehend the semantic nuances of *sollen*, which, in turn, require further didactic attention (e.g., as attempted by Jentges (2016) with a focus on a contrastive approach for Dutch learners of L2 German, or by Nikolova (2018) who highlights cognitive linguistic approaches to teaching modals by making use of the similarities between modal semantics and polysemic lexical items). The findings support Maden-Weinberger's (2009) findings regarding learners' difficulties distinguishing the meanings of indicative and Konjunktiv II forms of modal verbs. Contrary to her findings, our data, however, show that the use of *sollen* in both indicative and Konjunktiv II forms increases drastically at higher levels (here: at B2 and C1).

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<sup>8</sup> It is important to highlight that *sollen* does not occur in the prompt at this level. *Müssen* 'must' is the modal used in the instruction allowing the use of *müssen* or *sollte* (Konjunktiv II). We can posit that test takers at this level were thus not triggered to use *sollen*, as opposed to test takers at lower levels whose prompts included *sollen*.

<sup>9</sup> Note also that Abrams and Rott (2017) investigate a more homogenous group.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to present preliminary findings of a comprehensive study on the semantic and morphosyntactic implementation of modal verbs in L2 German written assessments. The analysis comprised 1,032 L2 German texts across the CEFR levels A1, A2, B2, and C1. The focus of this article was on the presentation of findings and a discussion of the semantic use of *sollen*, against the backdrop of the assessment prompts.

With respect to the incorrect use of *sollen*, we identified 68% of instances in the A1 texts and 53% of instances in the A2 texts. The accuracy rate rises on the B2 and C1 levels, where *sollen* shows 87% and 95% of accuracy respectively.

Our findings do not support Abrams and Rott's (2017) study in which students across different levels had a 90% accuracy rate with respect to choosing the correct modal verb in integrative writing tasks. The difference can be attributed to the discrepancies in writing scenarios studied. Not only did Abrams and Rott study low-stake writing tasks, as opposed to written assessments, and across a group that is more homogenous than the corpus we investigate, but the prompts in our study most likely have caused the misuse of *sollen* in the lower level assessments. Also note that Abrams and Rott's results include all modal verbs and are not restricted to *sollen*.

While our results support Maden-Weinberger's (2009) findings regarding learners' difficulties distinguishing the meanings of indicative and Konjunktiv II forms of modals, they also show that the correct uses of *sollen* in both indicative and Konjunktiv II forms drastically increase at the upper levels (here: at B2 and C1).

These preliminary findings demonstrate the need for more insights from a differentiated approach to analyzing modal verbs in L2 written assessments. The semantic uses of modal verbs in written assessments seem to be particularly interesting because of their correlation between prompt instructions and text produced.

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### **Wstępne wyniki i perspektywy badawcze związane z niemieckim czasownikiem modalnym *sollen* w ocenach pisemnych w L2**

**ABSTRAKT.** Czasowniki modalne są specjalną kategorią czasowników i stanowią istotny element języka niemieckiego jako drugiego (L2). Podczas gdy badanie Abrams i Rott (2017) sugeruje, że teksty pisane przez osoby uczące się języka niemieckiego wykazują 90% dokładność w prawidłowym użyciu czasowników modalnych w zintegrowanych zadaniach pisemnych, prawidłowe semantyczne użycie czasownika modalnego *sollen* („powinien”) wydaje się stanowić szczególnie wyzwanie (Jentges 2016), zwłaszcza w kontekście oceniania. W ramach niniejszego badania korpusowego przeanalizowane zostały 1032 niemieckie teksty egzaminacyjne L2 na wszystkich poziomach CEFR pod kątem poprawności znaczeniowej użycia czasownika modalnego *sollen* z uwzględnieniem kontekstu pytań egzaminacyjnych. W 68% wszystkich przypadków użycia *sollen* w tekstach A1 i 53% wszystkich przypadków użycia *sollen* w tekstach A2 czasownik ten był niewłaściwie zastosowany. Za przyczynę rozbieżności między uzyskanymi wynikami a wynikami Abrams i Rott (2017) można uznać polecenia stosowane w analizowanych zadaniach – nie uwzględniają one rozbieżności semantycznej między użyciem czasownika w instrukcji a jego niewłaściwym użyciem w tworzonych tekstach.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** ocenianie tekstów pisanych w języku obcym, zadania pisemne, czasowniki modalne w języku obcym, CEFR, ESOKJ.

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## II. BOOK REVIEWS

**Joanna Kic-Drgas / Violeta Jurkovič.** *Paths of purpose. A journey into LSP teacher development.* Göttingen: V&R unipress. 2024. Pp. 150

The learning and teaching of languages for specific purposes (LSP) is an approach that evolved after 1945 and has displayed constant growth since then, both from a theoretical and methodological perspective (Starfield 2012). However, there are still existing gaps in the research on LSP teaching considering, among others, “the lack of a clear definition as well as didactic-methodological criteria defining the difference between LGP (languages for general purposes) and LSP” (p. 47) as the authors note. This book intensifies efforts to fill the existing but narrowing gap in LSP teaching research, giving a wider perspective resulting from choosing not only ESP (English for specific purposes) but also other languages which still remain under-researched.

*Paths of purpose. A Journey into LSP teacher development* presents LSP teaching in Poland and Slovenia in detail, highlighting its main aspects, such as needs analysis, the development of syllabuses and curricula, materials design, the choice of appropriate teaching methodology and assessment (chapter 2). These aspects underpin the formulation of possibilities for the pre-service education and in-service professional development of LSP teachers, also based on qualitative data collected from among language teacher educators in Poland and Slovenia (chapter 5). The book provides theoretical and practical guidance primarily for LSP teachers, with ample examples from the accumulated literature, authors’ empirical research and, importantly, from the authors’ own projects.

The book, written by Joanna Kic-Drgas and Violeta Jurkovič, includes five chapters, in addition to the authors’ preface and conclusion. Each chapter finishes with a synthesis, enabling the salient points from each section to be captured.

In order to contextualise the discussion of LSP teaching in Poland and Slovenia, the book starts by presenting both countries in general, their educational systems and language policies. This is followed by a comparative description of the profession and status of LSP teachers in the light of legal regulations. The authors note that, “the policies in both countries rely on the assumption that the completion of a teacher education programme for foreign language teaching automatically indicates that a person has been prepared for LSP teaching, too” (pp. 44–45). Pre-service LSP teacher education courses at universities are not popular. After an investigation of the Erasmus+ Trails project conducted by Kic-Drgas and Woźniak (2022: 119–120), across 68 institutions in 14 different EHEA (European Higher Education Area) countries, only 88 full courses/modules were identified, of which only five were found in

Poland. In Slovenia, there are no accredited study programmes nor modules in higher education dedicated to the pre-service education of LSP teachers. The focus of the next, and final section of this chapter, is placed on the promotion of LSP, including conferences, associations and journals, that in recent years has been gaining momentum in both countries.

In the second chapter, the authors present the essential aspects of LSP teaching, starting from reflections on the historical development of LSP and the operational definition of LSP for the needs of the publication. Then, they draw the readers' attention to the creation of LSP syllabuses and curricula, comparing them to LGP syllabuses and curricula. Three main categories of curriculum design are highlighted: subject-centred, learner-centred and problem-centred. The division of this chapter was inspired by Anthony's identification of the four pillars of LSP teaching: needs analysis, learning objectives, materials and methods, and evaluation (Anthony 2018). In accordance with LSP teaching methods, they present: task-based learning (TBL), problem-based-learning (PBL), and project-based learning (PjBL). PBL concentrates on the product, PjBL focuses on the process of project development and the tasks are designed to be project-based, whereas TBL refers to smaller communicative tasks resembling professional situations, in that way using language in authentic-like contexts, they do not need preparatory phases or complex research (p. 69). The final section is dedicated to LSP assessment.

The third chapter sheds light on LSP teachers, discussing 1) their roles and competences, 2) teachers' understanding of the target language and the specific disciplinary content, 3) LSP teacher identity and 4) the professional challenges they need to negotiate in their teaching contexts and along their careers, as well as 5) LSP communities of practice. LSP teaching relates to language knowledge, as well as discipline-specific knowledge that correlates with a particular domain. General language proficiency is not enough by itself, and must be supported by disciplinary knowledge (p. 74) and specific analytical linguistic competences (p. 75). LSP teachers that understand the disciplinary context will be able, for instance, to engage in better professional communication with their students. Moreover, Kic-Drgas and Jurkovič give examples of two dedicated, research-based and validated resources for a competence framework for LSP teachers: 1) LSP Teacher Common Competence Framework (to be accessed via the Erasmus+ Catapult project<sup>1</sup>) and 2) BALEAP<sup>2</sup> Competency Framework for Teachers of English for Academic Purposes. This section also presents and discusses in detail the different challenges that LSP teachers encounter, such as integrating authentic disciplinary materials, managing various student needs and adapting to changing technological landscapes. It finishes with a description of LSP communities of practice, where LSP teachers can share their experiences and best practices.

The fourth chapter goes on to examine the EU projects to date in the field of LSP teacher education and professional development, with regards to the growing and diversifying needs of LSP teachers. It looks at three projects, with their main aims, objectives, intellectual outputs and results – TRAILS, Catapult and LSP.TEOC.Pro – two of which the authors participated in as leaders of the Polish and Slovene teams. The TRAILS<sup>3</sup> (Erasmus+ LSP Teacher Training Summer School) project was set up to identify the needs of LSP teachers and to compare them

<sup>1</sup> [https://catapult-project.eu/sdm\\_downloads/lsp-teacher-common-competence-framework/](https://catapult-project.eu/sdm_downloads/lsp-teacher-common-competence-framework/).

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.baleap.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/teap-competency-framework.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Project website: <https://trails.hypotheses.org/>.



with authentic LSP teacher education programmes in Europe, in order to bridge existing gaps (p. 103). The substantial conclusion is that, “although a visible increase in interest in LSP teaching can be observed, in practical terms LSP teacher education and professional development is still treated marginally” (p. 104, see also Kic-Drgas & Woźniak 2022). The outcome of the course was the delivery of remote LSP teacher education (due to the Covid-19 pandemic) and professional development based on diagnosed needs. The Computer Assisted Training and Platforms to Upskill LSP Teachers (Catapult) project<sup>4</sup> was a three-year Erasmus+ project, that was intended to design and prepare professional development and tools for LSP teachers in adult and higher education. The third – the LSP.TEOC-Pro project<sup>5</sup> – as a continuation of the TRAILS project, aimed at analysing online education and professional development opportunities for LSP teachers. As an outcome of the project, an online course was created which, due to its multifaceted structure, provides in-service professional development for experienced language teachers and pre-service education for future teachers (p. 104).

The fifth, and final chapter, is devoted to LSP teacher education and professional development, and is the result of a qualitative study conducted by means of semi-structured interviews with foreign language teacher educators in Poland and Slovenia. It explores the views of teachers on pre-service education and professional development. Thus, this section is a kind of change of perspective in describing the significant elements of pre-service education and in-service professional development, which were presented in the previous chapters, on the basis of the literature reviewed and project outcomes (p. 10). The findings of the qualitative analysis mostly concur with the findings outlined by previous studies. LSP teachers and foreign language teacher educators share the same views on a number of aspects related to both areas (p. 129). Among these, there is, “an awareness of the importance of genres and genre analysis competences, which allow LSP teachers to have an insight into the target needs of their learners but also access to relevant discipline-specific terminology and thus language use in the target discipline” (p. 134).

This book should be seen as an invitation to a *journey* (as the title states, and the authors themselves admit in the Preface) – to travel and explore the paths of the education and professional development of LSP teachers, which is still an insufficiently researched topic. Considering all these things, I find the book a unique contribution, as well as engaging, well-sourced, and I deeply believe that it will be of great interest to LSP teachers at secondary school, university level or in adult education, as well as language teacher educators, policy-makers and researchers interested in the field of LSP teaching. It should also be emphasised, that the authors have achieved a good balance between presenting the theoretical knowledge of LSP teachers and main aspects of LSP teaching, including the conceptualisation of LSP teaching in Poland and Slovenia, and practice through the presentation of their own projects and their empirical research.

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<sup>4</sup> Project website: <http://catapult-project.eu/>.

<sup>5</sup> Project website: <https://lsp-teoc-pro.de/>.

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**Bin Zhang.** *Metapherntheorie und Konstruktionsgrammatik. Ein vierdimensionaler Ansatz zur Analyse von Metaphern und metaphorischen Konstruktionen.* Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2023. S. 410

Der Konstruktionsgrammatik und der Metapherntheorie sind nicht nur die Entstehungszeit, sondern auch die Person von George Lakoff gemeinsam. Dennoch werden die beiden Ansätze in linguistischen Analysen bisher selten zusammengeführt, was unter anderem in Ziems Beitrag (2015) folgenderweise betont wurde: „Trotz der theoriegeschichtlichen und konzeptionellen Nähe der Theorie konzeptueller Metaphern einerseits und der Cognitive Construction Grammar [...] andererseits ist der wechselseitige Bezug bislang in der Literatur kaum thematisiert“ (Ziem 2015: 51). Ziems Text wirft einen „Blick auf mögliche Formen und Funktionen von (konzeptuellen) Metaphern in [...] [der Konstruktionsgrammatik] der Prägung Goldbergs“. Ein weitaus umfangreicherer und facettenreicherer Versuch, die beiden Theorien miteinander zu vereinbaren, wird in Bin Zhangs neuester Monografie unternommen, die in der Reihe „Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik“ von Narr Francke Attempto veröffentlicht wurde. Der Autor lehnt allerdings sein Buch in vielen Aspekten an die Studie von Ziem (2015) an.

Zhang beabsichtigt, ausgehend von der Theorie der konzeptuellen Metapher und der konstruktivistischen Grammatik, sprachvergleichend aufzuzeigen, welche Dimensionen der Konstruktionsgrammatik für die Beschreibung und Analyse von konzeptuellen Metaphern nützlich bzw. notwendig sind. Gleichzeitig soll seine Studie in umgekehrter Richtung verdeutlichen, wie Konstruktionen durch Metaphern motiviert oder eingeschränkt werden können (12). Zhang weist zu Recht darauf hin, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Konstruktionen und konzeptuellen Metaphern nicht allein auf der Satz- oder Textebene nachweisbar sind. Angesichts der zunehmenden Multimodalität in der Kommunikation sollten sie auch auf der Bildebene untersucht werden (vgl. Ziem 2015: 77). Daher entschließt er sich, seine Forschung auf drei Ebenen durchzuführen:

- Ebene der Idiomatik (Mikroebene),
- Ebene des Textes (Makroebene), und
- Ebene der Komposition von Texten und Bildern (Multimodalebene).

Die Monografie umfasst 8 Kapitel. Im einführenden Kapitel 1 präsentiert der Autor die Hauptthesen der Arbeit, erläutert deren Struktur, stellt die herangezogenen Theorien vor und beschreibt die verwendete Methodik.

Die Kapitel 2 und 3 liefern die theoretischen Grundlagen für das verwendete Analysemodell. Sie fassen die wichtigsten theoretischen Ansätze aus dem Bereich der Metapherntheorie (Kapitel 2) und der Konstruktionsgrammatik (Kapitel 3) zusammen.

In Kapitel 2 wurden fünf Dimensionen der Metaphernanalyse dargestellt. Im ersten Teil des Kapitels werden die wesentlichen Annahmen der Metapherntheorie in der traditionellen Sichtweise näher betrachtet. Insbesondere konzentriert sich der Autor auf die Beziehungen zwischen Metapher und Analogie sowie zwischen Metapher und lexikalischer Solidarität (vgl. Coseriu 1967). Als zweite Dimension nennt Zhang die Embodiment-Hypothese, die besagt, „dass die sensomotorischen Erfahrungen der Menschen die menschliche Sprache und die menschliche Wahrnehmung maßgeblich prägen“ (30). Diese Hypothese stellt einen Ausgangspunkt für die konzeptuelle Metapherntheorie dar, die als dritte Dimension erläutert

wird. Der Autor verweist hier auf die beiden in der Literatur häufig geäußerten Kritikpunkte an diesem Ansatz, nämlich die unzureichende Berücksichtigung der Kultur bei der Bildung von Metaphern (vgl. auch Gibbs 2017: 9) und die Vernachlässigung des Kontexts bei der Interpretation von Metaphern. Zhangs Studie solle laut dem Autoren aufgrund ihres linguistisch-vergleichenden, kontextbasierten und korpusbasierten Charakters frei von diesen Kritikpunkten sein. Anschließend lenkt Zhang seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Identifikation der Metaphern und der metaphorischen Konstruktionen sowie auf die neuesten Ansätze an der konzeptuellen Metapher von Kövecses (2020). Schließlich konzentriert sich der Autor auf die Funktionen der Metapher. Ihm zufolge (vgl. 53) äußert sich das handlungsbezogene Gestaltungspotenzial von Metaphern auf drei Ebenen: auf der Sprachproduktionsebene (z. B. durch die ästhetische Funktion, Darstellung der Perspektiven, Unterstützung der Argumentation), auf der Sprachrezeptionsebene (z. B. durch Bewertung des Dargestellten, Emotionalisierung, Forderung des Verständnisses, Meinungsbildung) und auf der Spracherwerbsebene (z. B. durch Deduktion der Einzelmetapher, Sensibilisierungsbewusstsein).

Kapitel 3 bildet die zweite Säule der theoretischen Überlegungen des Buches und ist der Konstruktionsgrammatik und den Konstruktionen selbst gewidmet. Das Ziel der Darstellung ist, „einen eigenen konstruktionsanalytischen Ansatz in der Praxis auszuarbeiten und anschließend [s]einen eigenen Ansatz in der Korpusuntersuchung in den empirischen Studien [...] zu validieren“ (61). Zhang geht von der Definition der Konstruktion nach Goldberg (2006) aus, wonach „die Existenz einer Konstruktion [...] nur durch häufiges Erscheinen und aktives Erwerben begründet werden [kann], was dem Ansatz des angeborenen Mechanismus nach Chomsky gegenübersteht“ (72). Anschließend erörtert er die Struktur der Konstruktionen und konstatiert, dass unterschiedliche Konstruktionen ein gemeinsames Muster teilen, in welchem sich stabile und variable Stellen aussondern lassen. Danach richtet er den Fokus auf die Semantik der Konstruktion, ihre Prosodie sowie die kontextuell deduzierte Pragmatik (Bedeutung im Kontext). Abschließend stellt Zhang das PSSP-Modell für eine Konstruktionsanalyse vor, nach dem Prosodie, Struktur, Semantik und Pragmatik einer Konstruktion in einem Zusammenhang stehen (100). Bemerkenswert ist dabei die erste Analyseebene, und zwar die Prosodie. Ihre Einbeziehung in linguistische Analysen ist zwar ein innovatives Konzept, doch ihre Nützlichkeit für die Analyse nicht-tonaler Sprachen wie des Deutschen bedarf noch weiterer Untersuchungen.

In Kapitel 4 befasst sich Zhang mit den Korpora (Deutsch und Chinesisch), die er zur Untersuchung verwendet, und stellt die methodischen Verfahren zur Durchführung der idiomatischen, textuellen und multimodalen Analyse vor. In Hinblick auf die Analyse auf der idiomatischen Ebene präsentiert er die chinesischen und deutschen Nachschlagewerke, die er als Referenzwerke in der introspektiven Phase heranzieht (107) und denen er Idiome entnimmt, sowie Korpora, in welchen Verwendungskontexte geprüft werden. In Bezug auf die Analyse auf der textuellen und multimodalen Ebene begründet er die Auswahl der jeweils überregionalen wöchentlichen Zeitschriften.

Die methodische Herangehensweise umfasst auf der idiomatischen Ebene gemäß dem PSSP-Modell Prosodie, Struktur (Form), Semantik und Pragmatik. Die textuelle Analyse konzentriert sich auf die Beziehung zwischen metaphorischen Konstruktionen und Argumentation, Frames, Deontik sowie Fachvokabular. Außerdem fokussiert sie Konstruktionen in der textuellen Konkurrenz. Das methodische Verfahren der multimodalen Analyse besteht aus der Beschreibung des Titelbildes, sowie aus der idiomatischen und textuellen Analyse.

In den Kapiteln 5–7 werden die Ergebnisse der Analysen auf der idiomatischen (Kapitel 5), textuellen (Kapitel 6) und multimodalen Ebene (Kapitel 7) vorgestellt. Darüber hinaus präsentiert Zhang in Kapitel 7 aufgrund der Herausforderungen, multimodale Analysen in kompakter Form zu erfassen, zwei Fallbeispiele – eines aus dem chinesischen Material und eines aus dem deutschen. In diesen Fallstudien untersucht er eingehend die Beziehungen zwischen dem Titelbild und der begleitenden Konstruktion, die das Bild beschreibt oder als Mittel zur Interpretation der visuellen Metapher auf dem Bild dient.

Kapitel 8 rekapituliert die Arbeit. Der Autor beantwortet hier die zu Beginn des Buches aufgestellten Hypothesen und stellt Desiderate dar.

Insgesamt kann das Buch von Bin Zhang als ein gelungener Versuch betrachtet werden, das analytische Potenzial der Konstruktionsgrammatik und der Metapherntheorie zusammenzuführen, auch wenn es dem sehr umfangreichen Analyseteil manchmal an Tiefe fehlt (vor allem im Hinblick auf die multimodale Analyse) oder die Schlussfolgerungen aus einigen – vor allem prosodischen – Analysen aufgrund ihrer Spezifika eher nur auf eine der Sprachen anwendbar sind. Auch wenn die Befunde und Auswertungen des Autors allein nicht ausreichen, um revolutionäre Schlussfolgerungen zu formulieren, so kann das von ihm vorgestellte Konzept einer vielschichtigen Metaphernanalyse in weiteren Arbeiten verwendet werden. Zu den besonderen Stärken von Zhangs Buch gehören seine Praxisnähe, die zahlreichen Beispiele, die er zum besseren Verständnis und zur Veranschaulichung der zitierten Theoreme anführt, und die Rekapitulation der wichtigsten Informationen der Kapitel oder Unterabschnitte. Auf diese Weise kann der Leser, unabhängig von seinem fachlichen Vorwissen im Bereich der Konstruktionsgrammatik oder Metapherntheorien, den Hauptgedanken des Autors leicht nachvollziehen.

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## III. REPORTS

### **“LSP teaching – current trends, desiderata, research perspectives”. Institute of Applied Linguistics of Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland, 05-06.07.2023**

The “LSP Teaching – current research trends, desiderata, research perspectives” conference was held in Poznań on July 5–6, 2023. The venue of the conference was Collegium Novum, and it was organized by the Institute of Applied Linguistics UAM and the LSP Teacher Education Online Course for Professional Development Consortium. The conference included many renowned participants and was distinguished by its intimate and supportive atmosphere, fostering a collaborative spirit that resonated with both academics and practitioners in the field of Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP).

The LSP conference was only a fraction of a larger project, called LSP-TEOC.PRO, which was dedicated to assisting LSP lecturers already in the field, or even people wishing to enter the field to get acquainted with the discipline, the demands, planning and teaching of LSP courses, through a platform that is freely accessible for everyone. Conducted in three languages, English, German and Polish, the conference enabled LSP researchers and teachers from many European, as well as non-European countries to attend, learn, exchange ideas and network.

The conference had two primary goals. Firstly, it connected individuals with an academic or professional interest in LSP, and secondly, it unveiled the results of the LSP online course, initially conducted as a testing phase. This course, tailored for LSP educators, received positive feedback, with a significant majority of the participants ( $n=82$ , 89,1%) reporting through a questionnaire that they had acquired knowledge that they intend to implement in their teaching practices. One participant reported that, “I learned so many things from LSP, and in the future, I’m planning to teach those things to my students,” which highlights the course’s practical application, and its potential to enhance LSP teaching methodologies. It is freely available and can be accessed at: <http://lsp-teoc-pro.de>. This initiative was a culmination of the successful evaluation of the TRAILS project, which originally began as a teacher training summer school. By building on the previous experience gained from TRAILS, undertaken in 2019, the project identified a significant gap between the needs of teachers and the actual educational situation. This disparity has also been emphasized in articles by Belcher (2013) and Ding and Bruce (2017), who stress that the chances for educators to acquire ESP/EAP qualifications are limited because there are relatively few academic programs available at universities worldwide. More specifically, Bošnjak-Terzić (2018) found only 12 courses available online. Hence, to address this discrepancy, a comprehensive program was developed, based on the aforementioned identified needs. The conference served as a platform for sharing

these developments, particularly the pathways followed by participants in the LSP Teacher Education Online Course (LSP-TEOC.PRO).

Overall, the conference attracted a total of 61 participants, including 28 from 12 Polish universities and 33 from 13 foreign universities, both European and non-European. With a manageable number of participants, the event allowed attendees to engage in discussions and forge connections on a personal level. The creation of a small academic group “EAP-Poland” comprised in part by participants of the conference, was one such example. This connectedness promoted a sense of belonging and facilitated in-depth exchanges of ideas. From the outset, the conference’s intimate setting played a pivotal role in creating an atmosphere where attendees were welcomed into an environment that prioritized open dialogue, shared learning, and meaningful connections. This atmosphere was achieved through a combination of deliberate program design and the active participation of enthusiastic scholars and educators.

After the opening of the conference by the organisers, Dr Joanna Kic-Drgas, Dr Joanna Woźniak, and Dr Elżbieta Dziurewicz, the inaugural sessions commenced. The first day of the conference centred on the presentation of two significant research projects, namely TRAILS and LSP-TEOC.PRO, which was followed by the presentation of the project’s outcomes by the eight teams participating in the project, the Croatian team (Sveučiliste u Zagrebu), the Spanish team (Universidad de Cadiz), the Slovenian team (Univerza v Ljubljani), the German team (Jade Hochschule), the French team (Universite de Bordeaux) the Turkish team (University of Çukurova), the Polish team (Adam Mickiewicz University) and the English team (Arcola).

Following the presentation of the research projects, and after the lunch break, the conference proceeded with two consecutive workshops and featured two keynote speakers. One of them was led by Professor Astrid Ebenberger from the University College of Teacher Education in Wien / Krems, Austria. The workshop, entitled “From the importance of the beginning,” focused on the critical role of teachers in enhancing the quality of learning experiences. Ebenberger emphasized “expert scaffolding” and the reciprocal relationship between teachers and learners. She provided insights into foreign language teaching (FLT) and teacher education in Austria, particularly highlighting the curricular reforms in the new system of teacher education (2005/2013) that had an impact on training in primary and secondary school education. Ebenberger underscored the teacher’s role as a motivator in FLT, stressing their responsibility in promoting intercultural understanding and facilitating authentic language experiences. She noted the importance of teachers projecting positive images, especially crucial in the initial stages of foreign language learning. The workshop promoted the holistic development of learners, incorporating aesthetic dimensions and emotions in language teaching, and encouraged the support of learner autonomy, viewing mistakes as growth opportunities. The workshop also delved into the evolving role of teachers in FLT, emphasizing experiential learning, learner autonomy, the significance of metacognitive learning strategies, and the importance of self-regulation. Ebenberger highlighted the concept of reciprocal learning, where learners model their language skills on their teachers. The session included hands-on demonstrations of cooperative learning methods and station-based CLIL activities, which are linked to the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In conclusion, Professor Ebenberger stressed the pivotal role of teacher professionalism, education, and ongoing training in effective FLT. She raised questions about the primary teacher education system’s



ability to foster high-quality, lifelong language learning in Austria. The workshop provided valuable insights into FLT and teacher education in Austria, by focusing on the evolving role of teachers and the importance of continuous educator development. Professor Ferit Kılıçkaya from Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University in Turkey, delivered the second workshop on the "Use of artificial intelligence in LSP: Challenges and opportunities", which delved into artificial intelligence (AI) and its implications in the field of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) education. With a focus on elucidating the challenges and opportunities inherent to AI integration, the workshop fostered a comprehensive understanding of AI's role in this specialized educational context. The workshop began with an introduction which contextualized AI's roots in computer science, encompassing fields such as machine learning, and robotics, and how this then led to its recent popularity, due to tools like ChatGPT and MidJourney. This prompted a substantive discussion of AI's role in education, with a specific focus on its impact on language teaching and learning. Participants explored concerns about AI potentially replacing human input and promoting academic misconduct, with institutions considering AI bans. The workshop also provided a platform for scholars and researchers to illuminate the potential benefits of AI in education, with Professor Ferit Kılıçkaya showcasing the practical applications of AI platforms like ChatGPT and MidJourney. He demonstrated how LSP teachers can effectively utilize these technologies to enhance aspects such as self-reflection, critical thinking, and inquiry-based learning within their instructional methods. Participants generated texts with simple prompts, as well as exercises, and tested the accuracy of these tools. In conclusion, Professor Ferit Kılıçkaya, summarized key insights and encouraged participants to reflect on the challenges and opportunities related to materials design and teaching techniques in the context of AI in education. The workshop, with its dynamic exchange of ideas and exploration of AI's multifarious impacts, contributed to a deeper comprehension of the intricacies surrounding AI's role in LSP teaching.

Overall, the two workshops provided valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities in AI integration in LSP teaching and the importance of effective teacher education in foreign language instruction. After the conclusion of the workshops, the first day of the conference culminated in an organized tour of Poznań's historic old city, showcasing its notable monuments. The tour was followed by a conference dinner, giving a delightful social conclusion to a day full of educational activities.

The second day of the conference commenced with a plenary talk, led by Jacek Makowski and Agnieszka Stawikowska entitled "Individual and institutional multilingualism in professional and specialized communication in the sector of modern business services in Poland," which was followed by an interactive discussion session.

Subsequently, the conference proceeded with parallel sessions which encompassed a wide array of topics. These parallel sessions were divided into morning and afternoon sessions. They were conducted in four separate rooms, each presided over by a professor from Adam Mickiewicz University. The themes of the parallel sessions showcased a lot of diversity, reflecting the rich variety of research and discussion topics in the field.

In the first part of the parallel sessions, the conference featured a variety of topics, each addressing unique themes. These included Jaroslava Štefková, Elena Kovacikova, and Katrina Zambrova, who discussed "The process of implementation of CLIL." Andrzej Dąbrowski

shared innovative methods for motivating students in legal English in "How to boost students' motivation in the legal English classroom?" Sabina A. Nowak presented on "Using board games for alternative assessment in CLIL." Leticia Goia bridged theory and practice in language immersion for medical students in "Language immersion classes for medical students: From theory to practice." Last but not least, Olena Petrashchuk focused on using video materials to enhance aviation personnel's speaking skills in "Use of specialist video materials for boosting speaking skills of aviation personnel."

The conference was thoughtfully structured to facilitate a deep and varied exploration of the field. The first set of plenary sessions laid the foundational themes and introduced key issues in LSP. These sessions, led by experts in the field, provided comprehensive insights into the current state and challenges in LSP teaching and research. Following this, the conference smoothly transitioned to a series of plenary talks. The first plenary session, delivered by Aleksandra Matulewska, focused on "LSP teaching – multidimensional adaptation and localization of textbooks." This session explored strategies for tailoring textbooks to specifically address the needs of learners and educators in the Languages for Specific Purposes field. The second plenary talk was led by Ferit Kılıçkaya who spoke on the "Use of artificial intelligence in LSP: Challenges and opportunities." This talk delved into how AI can be integrated into LSP teaching, discussing the potential challenges and opportunities that such technology brings to language education. The third and last plenary session, was presented by Gölge Seferoğlu, who concentrated on "Recent trends in LSP research." This session highlighted the latest developments and research trends in the LSP field, providing insights into the evolution of language studies for specific purposes.

After the insightful plenary talks, the conference transitioned into another set of parallel sessions, allowing for a deeper exploration of specific topics within the broader context of LSP, established by the keynotes. In the afternoon set of parallel sessions, Artur Urbaniak explored the evolving realm of rhetoric in "Storytelling: Current trends in teaching public speaking." María Victoria Guadamillas Gómez offered insights into informal communication with her session on "Exploring 'small talk' in oral mediation tasks: Functions and analysis." The integration of technology in language teaching was discussed by Peter Gee in "The threats and opportunities AI offers LSP tutors in preparing subject specific learning materials and assessments." Maria Ammari delved into the use of linguistic resources in "Incorporating corpora in ESP classes: Raising teachers' corpora awareness." Marlena Iwona Bielak focused on the skill of translation in "Formation of students' translation competences and specialist languages vis-à-vis diploma dissertations." Finally, Mehmet Galip Zorba and Arda Arikan addressed the challenges faced by non-native English speakers in academia in "Postgraduate students' writer's block in English as an academic language: Reasons and remedies." Each session contributed valuable perspectives to the broader discussion of specialized language education. Moreover, alternating between plenary sessions and focused talks ensured a comprehensive coverage of topics, facilitating both a broad understanding of LSP as a field and a deeper dive into its specific areas of interest. Each of these sessions contributed valuable perspectives to the broader discussion of specialized language education. It's important to note that these sessions represent only a fraction of the diverse range of parallel sessions offered, each contributing unique insights and fostering further discussion within the field of LSP.

One of the hallmarks of the conference was the unwavering support and encouragement demonstrated by both presenters and attendees. This supportive atmosphere was evident during the Q&A sessions following presentations, where constructive feedback and insightful questions were met with enthusiasm. Participants freely shared their experiences, challenges, and successes in the realm of LSP teaching, which created a nurturing environment that extended beyond the conference.

#### List of abbreviations

AI: Artificial Intelligence

CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning

ESP: English for Specific Purposes

EAP: English for Academic Purposes

FLT: Foreign Language Teaching

LSP: Languages for Specific Purposes

TEOC: Teacher Education Online Course

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

TRAILS: LSP Teacher Training Summer School

UAM: Adam Mickiewicz University

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