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Adres redakcji
Instytut Lingwistyki Stosowanej UAM
Collegium Novum, al. Niepodległości 4
60-874 Poznań, Poland
tel. +48 61 829 29 25, tel./faks +48 61 829 29 26
<https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/gl> e-mail: glotto@amu.edu.pl

Redaktorka naczelna / Herausgeberin / Editor in Chief
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EDITORIAL

ANNA SZCZEPANIAK-KOZAK
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Editorial to the second special issue under the auspices of the MaMLiSE project

It is our great pleasure to introduce this special issue of *Glottodidactica*, featuring selected papers from the Final conference of the MaMLiSE project. The conference, titled *Majority and Minority Languages in School Environment: Helping Teachers, Pupils, and Parents*, was held on June 15, 2023, at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland. This event brought together 124 scholars, educators, and stakeholders committed to understanding the growing linguistic diversity in schools and exploring pedagogical approaches that foster inclusive, multilingual practices. Forty-two participants came from abroad. A total of 36 papers were presented, with 15 delivered by international speakers. The participants represented 48 different academic institutions, underscoring the international character and broad thematic scope of the event.

The central aim of the conference was to engage a wide audience of educators, parents, and policymakers in a discussion about how schools can address the challenges of linguistic diversity in ways that benefit all students. Special attention was given to teaching methods and strategies designed to foster inclusive and multilingual learning environments, both in schools and at home. These methods focus on ensuring that all students, regardless of their backgrounds, have access to equitable educational opportunities. A particular emphasis was also placed on supporting pupils from migrant and refugee backgrounds. In addition to pedagogical innovations, the conference sought to encourage more open, critically informed thinking among educators, school administrators, and parents regarding the role of multilingualism in education.

One of the highlights of the conference was the presentation of the MaMLiSE project's intellectual outputs to various stakeholders, especially teachers and teacher educators. The project has developed a range of in-service training courses and support materials designed to help teachers deliver language-

sensitive instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms. These resources equip teachers with strategies to adapt teaching materials to the linguistic proficiency of their students, particularly those who are newly arrived or multilingual due to home settings. Parents also benefited from the project's outputs, with a series of video tutorials aimed at supporting them in developing their children's multilingualism at home. The tutorials covered topics such as heritage language maintenance, communication within multilingual families, and translanguaging practices.

The rationale behind the MaMLiSE project is rooted in the growing recognition of the importance of multilingualism in fostering social inclusion. While linguistic diversity has long existed in many regions, it has only recently become a key focus of educational policy as schools strive to create more inclusive learning environments. By supporting multilingual children and their families, the project aimed to enhance the educational opportunities of these pupils while fostering greater cohesion between schools and homes. A core tenet of the project is the belief that raising a multilingual child requires close cooperation between families and educational institutions. Schools play a vital role in shaping family language practices, yet their influence often goes unrecognized.

The approach to multilingualism promoted by the MaMLiSE project embraces the entire linguistic repertoire of pupils, encouraging the use of all their languages in learning and social participation. By including home languages in school contexts, the project hopes to bridge the gap between schools and minority-speaking families, fostering stronger family-school partnerships. This focus on minority languages, language awareness, and linguistic development across the curriculum reflects a holistic approach to addressing the needs of linguistically diverse pupils.

The eight papers presented in this special issue reflect the themes and objectives of the MaMLiSE project. They explore a variety of topics, from teacher education and intercultural competence to heritage language maintenance. Collectively, these papers provide valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities of multilingual education, offering practical solutions for educators and researchers alike.

This issue is organized alphabetically, beginning with a contribution by Anna Bąk-Średnicka from Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce (Poland). She explores the discourse of feedback conferences in TESOL practicums, analyzing how dialogic elements foster professional teacher development. Her research highlights the balance between conversational and institutional styles, with an emphasis on emotional support, which enhances the self-confidence and identity of student teachers.

In the next contribution, Wiktoria Cholewa from Adam Mickiewicz University (Poland) investigates the practices of English primary school teachers in Poland regarding the teaching of intercultural communicative competence (ICC). Her findings reveal a prioritization of ICC in teaching, though it often remains secondary to language instruction, focusing on national attributes to foster ICC.

The joint paper by Grzegorz Lisek and Agnieszka Putzier of the University of Greifswald (Germany) focuses on promoting multilingualism in Polish-German border schools. They analyze the implementation of multilingual spaces in Polish lessons, reflecting on EU-funded projects that support the teaching of neighboring languages through holistic, interdisciplinary approaches.

Joanna Rokita-Jaśkow and Weronia Król-Gierat from the University of the National Education Commission in Kraków (Poland) assess the linguistic repertoires of pre-primary educators using language portraits. Their study reveals that teachers have a deep emotional attachment to their languages, yet lack cognitive and communicative usage, suggesting a need for greater plurilingual and pluricultural awareness in early education.

The following paper by Larysa Sugay and Elżbieta M. Goździak from Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland) examines heritage language preservation among migrant children in Poland. Their research explores the roles of families and schools in supporting bilingualism, highlighting the challenges and strategies involved in maintaining heritage languages alongside the majority language.

In the next contribution, a team of teachers from the 2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina (Greece) who participated in the MaMLiSE project – Stefanos Syrmakesis, Maria Tzouma and Evangelia Kousiouri present a case study on the language repertoires of refugee and migrant pupils in their school. Their work emphasizes the importance of fostering multilingualism and intercultural competence in schools to create inclusive educational environments.

Eva Teshajev Sunderland from Kharkiv National Pedagogical University (Ukraine) studies the shift in Polish students' attitudes towards Russia following the invasion of Ukraine. Her research compares pre-war and post-war perceptions, showing a significant decline in positive views of Russia and its people among students of Russian language studies.

In the final paper of this special issue, Elizabeth Woodward-Smith and María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia from the University of A Coruña (Spain) examine child bilingualism within families, discussing the variables influencing language acquisition. Their case study of three brothers demonstrates that bilingualism does not delay cognitive development and can be a significant asset in managing multiple languages.

We hope that the research and findings presented in this special issue will contribute to the ongoing dialogue on how to best support multilingual pupils in schools, as well as their families and communities. We are confident that these papers will inspire further research and action in the field of multilingual education, helping to create more inclusive and linguistically sensitive learning environments for all pupils and students. I am also taking this opportunity to thank all the members of the MaMLiSE consortium and other participants for taking part in the final conference of the project.

Poznań, 10.10.2024

*Anna Szczepaniak-Kozak
MaMLiSE Project Main Coordinator
With the much-appreciated contribution
of the entire MaMLiSE consortium*

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If you are interested in our aims and activities, please contact our project team at: mamlise@amu.edu.pl; project website: <https://mamlise.amu.edu.pl/>; FB: <https://www.facebook.com/mamliseproject>.

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I. ARTICLES IN THE SPECIAL ISSUE

ANNA BĄK-ŚREDNICKA
Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce

Navigating feedback conference episodes in Polish: Cultivating the self-awareness of tutors

ABSTRACT. This study was a (self-)analysis of supervisory discourse of preservice Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages practicum post-observation feedback conferences (POFCs). This discourse was analysed using the framework of conversation analysis (CA) in five areas that constitute POFCs as a communicative genre. The aim was to identify dialogic elements that constitute supportive, democratic, and open dialogue, which, in turn, fosters the development of the characteristics of a professional and empathetic teacher. The analysis of this corpus revealed that the two tutors' utterances contained elements of both conversational and institutional styles, and they were dominated by a strategy of anchoring when a practical topic or problem observed in the classroom was a point of reference for introducing a more complex topic. When the tutee was not ready for discussion at this conceptual level, the conversation shifted to what took place during the observed lessons. Emotional support was linguistically realised via face support/tenderness utterances that protected, supported, and provided space for developing self-confidence, personal, and professional identity of the students. This study fits into the debate on the topic of effective and empathic POFCs. The examination of tutors' own utterances raises their awareness of the language they use with tutees.

KEYWORDS: teaching practice, post-observation feedback conferences (POFCs), university tutors.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper delves into the issue of conducting effective and empathic post-observation feedback conferences (POFCs). POFCs constitute a genre whose research-evidence features can be self-analyzed both manually and with the help of corpus-analytical software, as was the case of this study. The rationale behind this research is that university supervisors' self-examination of one's corpora of utterances produced as part of POFCs can be reflection provoking. As a result, they can better understand the language they use with tutees as well

as modify and adapt it. The pre-recorded and transcribed corpora can be also used as authentic teaching sources in classes with preservice language teachers.

The theoretical framework for this work is conversation analysis (CA). Since 2004 a new branch, linguistic ethnography LE, has been emerging, which combines ethnographic designs with “close analysis of language practice” (Copland & Donaghue 2021: 11). Research methods in LE and CA include observation and fieldnotes, interviews, as well as recordings and transcriptions (e.g. Shaw et al. 2015: 10–11). In this paper, the supervisors’ feedback was examined both manually and with the help of corpus analysis software, which resulted in the selection of not only their typical features, but also new patterns that would have been invisible otherwise.

This paper starts with the definition of POFCs presented in the context of the Bakhtinian understanding of a pedagogical dialogue. A brief literature review that follows shows the research in question as two waves of studies; while the earlier studies were quantitative in nature, the current ones focus on quality changes so that supervisory discourse is both productive and empathic.

The analytical part of the paper fits into the body of studies on teaching practice feedback which have already been published by offering five conference episodes conducted in Polish by two supervisors interacting with their seven supervisees majoring in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

2. (NON)INSTITUTIONAL AND POST-OBSERVATION FEEDBACK DISCOURSES

The manifestations of language are realized through oral and written “individual concrete utterances” in various social contexts (Bakhtin 1981: 60). Different methods of using words and utterances in discourse inform individual linguistic styles (Brown & Gilman 1960: 271–272). Linguistic style is one of five¹ canons of rhetoric (Burke 2010: 518). It has four virtues, including correctness, clarity, ornamentation, and propriety (Leff & de Velasco 2010: 458–460). Of these, ornamentation is subject to linguistic analysis of the distribution of words in discourse.

Personal conversational styles are culturally learned, habitual, taken for granted, and axiomatic ways of using language (Tannen 2006: 344, 346). Communication meta-messages include topics, agonism, amplitude/pitch/tone of voice, intonation, overlap/interruption, turn-taking, and indirectness (Tannen 2006). In non-institutional and conversational interaction, interlocutors reconsider what and how to talk about to achieve their *social* goals.

¹ I.e., intention, style, arrangement, delivery and memory (Leff & de Velasco 2010: 457).

In institutional discourse, the discursive and institutional roles of interlocutors determine what and how to talk about accomplishing their *task-based* goals (Thornborrow 2002). For example, in the educative genre of post observation feedback conversations (POFCs), the status of the participants is restricted to that of a tutor and tutee who meet to discuss lessons observed by the former and conducted by the latter, to trigger learning to teach. The framework of such interactions where participants have unequal status shows an asymmetrical distribution of turn-taking and social power. Moreover, Thornborrow (2002) claims that the contrast between non-institutional and institutional talk can be problematic.

According to Bakhtin (1981: 63), speech genres that require institutional or standard forms are “the least favorable conditions for reflecting individuality in language.” In standard speech genres “the creative aspect is almost completely lacking” (Bakhtin 1981: 77). For example, in the genre of feedback sessions, a shift or stretch from highly formal to less formal dialogic discourses is observed, which are “supportive, democratic and open” as a necessary condition for tutees to “reflect, construct identities, exercise agency and develop plausibility” (Copland & Donaghue 2023: 195, 196). Certain studies report that tutor-tutee relationships deepen and develop when supervisory discourses resemble tender, empathic, frequent, and meaningful family ties. For example, longitudinal studies conducted by Jarvis on tutor-tutee dialogues incorporate the concepts of shared meaning theories on dialogue (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), and on Vygotskian’s (1962, 1978, 1987) zone of proximal development (2001, 2002 as cited in Farr 2011: 48). In these studies, the discourse of those conferences “change[d]” becoming less dominated by the tutor (Farr 2011: 48). Additionally, Kim and Schallert (2011) developed the framework of a caring tutor-tutee relationship based on the concepts of Bakhtinian dialogue (Bakhtin 1986) and of caring (Noddings 1984, 1992). A case in point is the promissory model of Brown and Hoffman (1969: 95) that informs the “empathetic and harmonious relationships” of tutors and tutees within the affective domain of one of its three domains.

3. POST-CONFERENCE TUTOR DISCOURSE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

This reviewed research on feedback evolves from POFCs resembling institutional talks of a high degree of formality and predictability with the institutional status of the participants restricted to that of tutors and tutees toward dialogic conferences where tutors identify as life-long co-learners (cf. Trevethan & Sandretto 2017).

Studies published in 1969–2011 (e.g., Blumberg & Cusick 1969; Zeichner & Liston 1985; Christensen 1988; Wajnryb 1994; Phillips 1993, 1999; Strong & Baron 2004; Copland 2008b; Farr 2011) focused on the *status quo* of feedback discourse while selected studies published in the last decade have experimented with new conceptual frameworks to render supervisory discourse effective and empathic (e.g., Long et al. 2013; Arshavskaya 2014; Kurtoğlu-Hooton 2016; Pulvermacher & Lefstein 2016; Dobrowolska & Balslev 2017; Mena et al. 2017; Bjuland & Helgevold 2018).

Phillips (1999: 107) lists the features typical of institutional conversations when tutors self-select and self-nominate tutees; turn-take after moments of silence, “when the topic seems to be exhausted”; take more frequent turns than tutees; take longer turns at the end of conversations; and introduce and control topics (Phillips 1999: 97–100). This can be completed by the findings of Blumberg and Cusick (1969) where the discourse of tutors dominates in the areas of disseminating information, asking for opinions, and stating what to do in problem-oriented behaviors. Tutors are more indirect than direct (Blumberg & Cusick 1969; Strong & Baron 2004: 50). The extensive use of indirect talk may be dictated by cognitive coach programs attended by tutors (Strong & Baron 2004: 55; Zeichner & Liston 1985). Alternatively, this may be an indicator that some tutees are more independent and experienced as compared to their peers who “may need more direct pedagogical advice” (Strong & Baron 2004: 55).

Conversation topics overlapped with the recurrent topic of *a lesson* and other topics, such as *trainees’ behaviour, pupils’ behaviour during the lessons* (Phillips 1999: 103, 104, 109; Blumberg & Cusick 1969; Zeichner & Liston 1985: 166). Occasionally, tutors return to their “past behaviour or personal experience” (Phillips 1999: 105). This may be because, as Copland (2008: 151) explains, tutors empathize with tutees, with a priority to “calm down and boost confidence” and “teach pedagogy and language awareness.”

Tutors are more positive than negative in their interactions (Blumberg & Cusick 1969). Even if the language is mainly negative, in the perception of tutees, the encounters constitute “a useful and positive experience” (Phillips 1999: 13). Farr (2011: 164) revealed that while the tutors “feel” that they are empathic, the tutees associate their behavior with “power and authority.” The criticism of tutors is mitigated by politeness strategies (Phillips 1999: 155, 159). These strategies create “a specific stylistic effect” (Tannen 2005: 15). Wajnryb (1994: 88) developed a typology of politeness in supervisory discourse, revealing a spectrum of strategies tutors use to cushion their “bad-news messages.” Moments of providing negative comments are termed “face threatening acts (FTAs)” by Wajnryb (1994: 154; see also Goffman 1967; Brown & Levinson 1987). They occur in the subsequent part of the supervisory discourse (Wajnryb

1994: 173). This criticism can be softened by first providing positive comments, followed by a negative comment (Jaworski & Coupland 1999 after Vàsquez 2004: 44); providing a positive comment prior to or after a negative comment; hedging (Phillips 1999: 160, 163, 172); providing a negative comment between two positive comments (Copland 2008b: 153); replacing *you* with *we*; ensuring that the negative comments provided are impersonal; using modality (Phillips 1999: 162). As much as “mitigation can make negative feedback bearable,” there are more current voices that say that hedging is a waste of time (Copland 2008a: 21) or that a tutor’s “advice is lost or buried in other talk” (Copland 2008a: 22 as based on Vàsques 2004: 33, 36, 52, 53).

This evidence-based behavior of tutors does not necessarily indicate the unwanted unbalanced distribution of power and control over the discourse on their part. It can be rather interpreted as empathy towards the less experienced, who may welcome such imbalance. This imbalance can be perceived as a necessary stage in the journey to becoming a professional (Farr 2011: 100). Thus, as rightly stated by Zeichner and Liston (1985: 170), the modes of conferences are adjusted to “the conceptual levels” of tutees; a tutee “may exert a stronger influence than the supervisor in determining the level of supervisory discourse.” Farr (2011: 23, 89) recommended a shift from asymmetrical feedback toward a well-balanced “effective and affective feedback” environment in a state of “pragmatic equilibrium.” Farr described such a POFD discourse as “ideal jointly and socially constructed” with reduced FTAs (Farr 2011: 111). For example, a tutor’s young age, as Farr (2011: 143) reflected, “may help form more symmetrical and less authoritative relations” with tutees and the desired “realistic yet affective feedback.”

A breakthrough in feedback genre constraints is that feedback conferences can be organized around formulas, which yield either tutor’s formal (Round Robin, Paired Feedback) or group informal feedback (Board Feedback, Card Feedback) (Copland 2008: 143). Copland (2008: 248) reported that Card Feedback was more democratised, compared to other formulas, because it ensures everyone has an equal number of turns in a discussion.

The current scope of the reviewed research focuses on nuances in terms of the productivity of tutors’ talk, tenderness (e.g., face support), and dialogic space for tutees to exercise agency and develop their identity. In the discourse of post-observation meetings, Long et al. (2013: 179) identified an educative frame that offers space for “productive learning opportunities” combined with “challenges.” Arshavskaya (2014: 132–133) focused on an expert L2 teacher educator’s (Melanie’s) dialogic mediation reframing and renaming of tutee’s (Edie’s) thinking, encouraging her to position herself as a co-learner alongside her pupils or reinforcing her aspiration to establish a personal relationship with the pupils. Although during the practicum, Edie is unable to use Melanie’s sug-

gestions as pedagogical tools, she expresses her willingness to involve them in her future teaching. Edie's words are sufficient as evidence of learning, as they may cause a desirable change in the future. A study by Kurtoğlu-Hooton (2016) on post-observation confirmatory feedback, was "in the spirit of caring" (Egan 2002: 361 as cited in Kurtoğlu-Hooton 2016: 9) and grounded in counselling (Egan 1990, 2002). This model of supervision is geared toward clinical supervision. For Jack, a student teacher in his mid-fifties, this confirmatory feedback resulted in desired identity changes "triggered by positive feelings" generated by the feedback (Kurtoğlu-Hooton 2016: 84–85).

Small situated narratives can contribute to the construction of identities and a professional vision of teaching, as researched by Pulvermacher and Lefstein (2016). In their study, most of the small stories were narrated by tutees about their experience as teachers. If the tutor did not "inquire into the stories", as was the case of their study, they had a limited productive potential mainly because their "emotional and aesthetic qualities" dominated over their content (Pulvermacher & Lefstein 2016: 264).

Critical incidents raised by tutees can be "transformed into professional knowledge," as investigated by Dobrowolska and Balslev (2017: 11). The educators used negotiation and co-construction strategies. The co-construction strategy appeared successful when the educators who play the roles of companions, facilitators, and trainers provided the tutee a lot of dialogic space "to express and explain her concerns" and assisted her by framing her statements, leading to "progress in the discussion and the construction of shared meanings" (Dobrowolska & Balslev 2017: 17).

Mena et al. (2017: 47) stated that the concept of "educative mentoring" (Feiman-Nemser 1998) involves supervision, which goes "beyond offering technical advice or emotional support" to "interacting with novice teachers; fostering an inquiry stance; and, creating opportunities to support teacher learning" (Mena et al. 2017: 48). Mentoring roles range from more to less directive. The low professional knowledge of the tutees corresponds here with "high level of participation in the generation of knowledge" by the educators who apply a directive style and introduce their topics (Mena et al. 2017: 57).

Bjuland and Helgevoid (2018) investigated a framework of five productive discourse moves (requesting information, making supporting contributions, expressing shared ideas, providing evidence, challenging ideas) in two science mentoring sessions and their impact on the learning of tutees about their pupil learning in the practicum. This study shows how a dialogic space was created to enable tutees to learn collectively and individually about their pupil learning in the field practice.

4. THE STUDY: THE FIVE EPISODES

This linguistic ethnographic (LE) study is grounded in conversation analysis (CA) that provides a conceptual framework for understanding linguistic behavior of interactants considered a community of practice (CofP) (Steensing 2010: 101; Llamas 2010: 495–496). The pioneers of CA approach are Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (e.g. 1974, 1977); the founders of LE are Gumperz and Hymes (e.g. 1972); whereas the concept of CofP as an enhanced version of collaborative partnerships was introduced in a model of situated learning by Lave and Wenger (1991/2020). In this study the university supervisors' decision to engage in LE studies was influenced by their own professional experience and practice (Rampton et al. 2015: 38). This analysis had the objective of identifying dialogic elements that contribute to supportive, democratic, and open dialog. Supervisory feedback was analysed through the lens of its generic constraints of face, identity, power, agency, and dialogic space (Copland & Donaghue 2023).

The TESOL practicum in Poland

In general, supervisors at universities in Poland observe “selected lessons conducted by trainees” (Dzięcioł-Pędich 2019: 215). The process of evaluating the lessons is a subject of internal regulations in universities. Here, the seven tutees were third-year English philology students specialising in TESOL in the first cycle study program. The author of this paper and her colleague were their practicum supervisors, supervisors of their BA theses, and lecturers regularly contacting them via various courses for the last 2 years of their studies. This correlates with the current situation in Poland where university supervisors are “people whose scholarly interests [are] various aspects of language teaching methodology and who lecture in applied linguistics” (Dzięcioł-Pędich 2019: 217). The ten lessons were observed in 2021 and in 2022. The online feedback, conducted by the author of the paper, as well as face-to-face sessions, conducted by the colleague, were recorded upon the consent of the majors.

4.1. Observation 1: genre

This analysis covered 2 h and 19 minutes of POFCS. Online conversations C1, C2, and C3 covered six lessons and lasted circa 33, 29, and 24 minutes, respectively. The first supervisor's (US1) talk lasted approximately 67.3 minutes (80.9%) (9574 words). The three trainees' talks lasted approximately 15.1 minutes (18.2%), and silence was approximately 3.9 minutes (4.7%). Face-to-face conversations

C4 and C5 covered four lessons and lasted about 26 minutes each. The second supervisor's (US2) talk occupied 39 minutes (73%) (5485 words). The four trainees spoke for 12.4 minutes, which constituted 23% of the total time. There were also silent moments that lasted 1.7 minutes (3.2%). The details are in Table 1.

Table 1. Corpus of C1, C2, C3, C4, and C5

C	Length: minutes / percentage / words			
	Total	Tutees/No	Tutors	Silence
C1 C2 C3	32.8 min	6.0 min (18.2%)/1	25.2 min (76.8%) 3507 words/T1	1.6 min (4.9%)
	29.4 min	4.7 min (15.9%)/1	23.4 min (79.6%) 3406 words/T1	1.3 min (4.4%)
	24.1 min	4.4 min (18.2%)/1	18.7 min (77.6%) 2661 words/T1	1.0 min (4.1%)
C4 C5	26.6 min	6.1 min (22.9%)/2	19.3 min (72.5%) 2873 words/T2	1.2 min (4.5%)
	26.5 min	6.3 min (23.7%)/2	19.7 min (74.3%) 2612 words/T2	0.5 min (1.9%)
Σ	139.4 min (2h 19.4)	27.5 min (19.7%)	106.3 min (1h 46.3 min) (76.2%)	5.6 min/336s

Source: current study.

The US1 and US2 supervisory discourse overlapped in terms of the most frequently used 10 words (types), phrases (ngrams), and collocations. In particular, in the two corpora there were eight top identical words: *you, this, and, no, yes, on, that*; five identical top phrases: *simply, for example, for me, this is, it was*, as well as the main collocation: "you simply have to."² These language patterns could be indicative of a common style of communication, as well as the specific genre of POFCS.

C1, C2, and C3 differed in length; each consecutive talk was shorter. The US1 talk was dominated by 65 questions (approximately one question every 60 s.), which were mainly cognitive wh- questions. This tutor's talk yielded 32 positive and 24 negative statements regarding the lessons and descriptions of seven critical incidents. The dominance of the tutor's talk was partly impacted by the close- or open-mindedness of the tutees toward what happened during the lessons. C1, C2, and C3 evolved from close-mindedness in C2, through a state of passive open-mindedness in C3, and active open-mindedness in C1.

² Brezina et al. (2020). *LancsBox 5.x and 6.x [software]*. Available at <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox>

Conversations C4 and C5 were almost identical in length (26 minutes). US2 asked 33 questions, mostly organizing yes/no questions, which were evenly distributed in the two conversations. This tutor shared with the four tutees 18 positive statements, which were followed by 27 negative statements, and provided many examples of practical modifications and improvements of given fragments or elements of the observed lessons. Eight critical incidents were also singled out. US2 language dominance in the conversations resulted from her belief that POFs as a genre *are* as a rule dominated by the supervisor, who *should* provide balanced assessment of the lessons with some clues and solutions for the future.

4.2. Observation 2: corpus of the tutors' utterances

The tutors' utterances were divided into educative, supportive, and evaluative (Long et al. 2013). Educative/productive cues concern teacher development and are realized through high cognitive questions, critical comments, explorations, explanations, and suggestions. Supportive cues employ gentle language in "a comfortable and nonthreatening space," whereas evaluative cues "note [...] the quality" of the practice of the tutees (Long et al. 2013: 184). Dobrowolska and Balslev (2017) noted that mentoring conversations are (more) symmetrical if they are less evaluative.

The findings revealed that US1 utterances were mainly productive, covering approximately 49% of the talking time of the tutor. Approximately 41% of the time was devoted to language evaluation of the observed lessons, and 10% of the tutor's utterances was supportive. The US2 talk was mainly evaluative with more than 62% of such utterances. About 34% of the utterances were educative, and 3% supportive in nature. Table 2 shows the distribution in the five frames.

Table 2. Tutors' utterances labelled as educative, supportive, and evaluative in C1, C2, C3, C4, and C5

Conversation		The tutors' utterances in minutes / percentages			
		educative/productive	supportive	evaluative	Σ
US1	C1	14.5 min/59.75%	1.2 min/5.08%	9.5 min/37.69%	25.2
	C2	8.86 min/37.86%	3.75 min/16.15%	10.79 min/45.97%	23.4
	C3	9.5 min/50.8%	1.9 min/10.23%	7.3 min/38.96%	18.7
US2	C4	7.1 min/36.7%	0.4 min/2%	11.8 min/61.1%	19.3
	C5	6.3 min/31.9%	0.9 min/4.5%	12.5 min/63.4%	19.7
Σ		46.2 min/43.5%	8.1 min/7.6%	51.8 min/48.7%	106.3 min

Source: current study.

4.3. Observation 3: educative/productive tutors' utterances

In the conversations, topics related to what happened during the *lessons* and those related to *teacher development* were the linchpins of the dialogues. They initiated and ended the talks and were a reference point for other topics. This shows how those tutors mediated between the reality of a given lesson and theoretical aspects. A practical topic anchored a developmental topic.

Conversation 1

In incident 22 in C1 the tutor praised the tutee for giving Mikołaj, a pupil, extra wait time to think and prepare a response although other pupils were ready to answer:

(22) "When it comes to Mikołaj, for example, during the first lesson... he could not answer a question, and someone else wanted to answer this question, but you said... it happened twice... on the consecutive one as well... you kind of protected that person so that s/he could freely, slowly provide an answer" [turn 18, time 9.03–9.24]

The case of Mikołaj was developed in prompts 24 and 28 when the tutor wanted the tutee to realize that her class was heterogeneous in terms of, for example, the language level of the pupils. Once this problem is diagnosed, it can be successfully dealt with:

(24) "Why do those other persons want to provide answers for someone else, for Mikołaj, for example, what do you think?" [turn 18, time 10.09–10.16] "Do you have an idea, for example, [how to help pupils who are bored during a lesson]?" [turn 23, time 10.04–10.10.06]

(28) "What about those who perform [tasks] faster? What can we do for them?" [turn 26, time 12.18–12.23]

In prompts 24 and 28, the tutor drew the tutee's attention from the slower pupil to the faster pupils who also need the teacher's attention. In excerpt 71, the tutor drew the tutee's attention to Dominik, a pupil who reads English texts using the same strategies as in Polish, which was ineffective. Therefore, the tutor wanted to elicit from the tutee, a strategy that can free pupils like Dominik from the teacher's dependence:

(71) "Dominik read the text literally; now, how can such kids be helped?" [turn 59, time 27.53–27.54]

The tutor wanted the tutee to reframe her future behavior in cases like that of Dominik:

(72) “You expertly provided [Dominik] with the correct form, but how can they become independent?... you cannot hold his hand all the time, can you?” [turn 59, turn 27.56–28.06]

Conversation 2

Most of the topics in C2 paired the topics about *teacher development* and *boredom & motivation*. It was US1 strategy to reduce FTAs and avoid open criticism of the ineffectiveness of the tutee to conduct a challenging lesson, as displayed in excerpts 4, 7, 8, and 36 below. The tutor began here with probing questions to determine if the tutee recognized the problem (4). Thereafter, she used an example to illustrate it (7), and encouraged the tutee to reframe her future lessons to avoid such problems (8). In the recapitulation stage, the tutor again raised this topic with an exemplary solution and ended with an encouraging question tag (36):

(4) “I would like to ask you if you also think so [i.e., that, according to the pupils, the lesson was a little boring]... and that the lesson could have been improved somehow so that the children were less bored... how do you evaluate it?” [turn 9, time 2.25–2.44]

(7) “If you had looked at the schoolboy in a red tracksuit, [you could have noticed that]... he was very bored,... the boys were probably rocking on the chairs...” [turn 14, time 3.58–4.09]

(8) “Maybe we could do something with this, [i.e., that some pupils were bored] what do you think?... in the lesson plan... change something minimally... next time” [turn 16, time 4.17–4.46]

(36) “You should have introduced a chain drill... something unexpected... because children are bored when things are predictable, aren’t they?” [turn 88, time 20.20–20.41]

Conversation 3

In C3, in one fragment, the tutor motivated the tutee to cater to every pupil in her class even if the tutee’s impression is that all pupils in the class but one are uninvolved. The tutor began with a yes/no question (13), dug deeper by suggesting that one pupil matters (13), and returned to this problem in the recapitulation stage. At this stage, a longer statement relating this critical incident to teacher development was generated and ended with a question for an opinion used as a strategy to avoid silence (27):

(13) “Even one person would not benefit [from assigning exercise four as a homework task]?” [turn 18, time 6.29–6.30]

(15) “Don’t you think that it was worth sending it [i.e., unfinished exercise four as a homework task] to only that person?” [turn 19, time 6.45–6.48]

(27) “It is important... that you do not try to excuse yourself by saying that this class is like that... if you want to develop you have to try doing things in this or another way... this is a challenge... these are things you have to find yourself... if one thing does not work, then try something else, until the end of the school year... what do you think about it?” [turn 27, time 11.56–13.51]

Conversation 4

In C4 the tutor emphasized the importance of authenticity in teaching:

(7) For example, if someone drew the word “laugh”, and they were composing sentences like “I am laughing now”, it would be untrue because they are not laughing at that moment. So, for instance, they would have an option that would be more meaningful, like “I am not laughing now” [turn 7, time 8.56–9.12]

In (27) the tutor praised the tutee who made good use of the last 3 minutes of the lesson:

(27) I saw that you were wondering at the end what to do with those exact three minutes left, and it was a good decision... just those questions, because you had just enough time to ask them a few questions. So, that was good. You handled the situation well, because I was afraid that you would start some other exercise... from the end of the lesson, but luckily you didn’t do that. [turn 27, time 16.58–17.22]

Conversation 5

To continue, in C5 the tutor gently pointed out to the tutee that he did not make good use of the last few minutes of the lesson. His reaction about that particular event was suitable.

(14) Uhm. Did you have a bit of time left at the end? Yy [turn 14, time 13.34–13.36]

PsT7: Well, there is (smile) yes, but

(15) Yes [turn 14, time 13.38]

PsT7: There at the end and just then instead of... I could, for example, repeat yy instead of asking such further questions I could repeat the vocabulary that appeared yy in this lesson, I think. That iii...

Later on, US2 used a critical incident to point out that the tutee's reaction did not take the opportunity to initiate an authentic conversation during the lesson:

(18) Well, I noticed that one of the students mentioned Sherwood Forest. It surprised me. And I think it surprised you too (smile) [turn 18, time 18.27–18.32]

PsT7: Yes, yes, yes, yes

(19) Because you didn't ask, so to speak, any follow-up question about Sherwood Forest, and you could have expanded a bit on this topic. And elicit something more. After all, Robin Hood is also a figure associated with culture and you could have asked this student about what he knows about this topic [turn 19, time 18.34–18.42]

This tutor also wanted the tutee to realize that his class was heterogeneous in terms of the language level of the pupils and she used the litmus paper metaphor to show how to treat weaker students.

(31) Simply put, weaker students are like a test that indicates whether a lesson is understood or not. If these weaker students understand and are able to participate and perform the exercises, it means that the lesson is understandable for everyone. However, if there is a problem with these weaker students, it may be that the lesson is not entirely understandable for these students [turn 31, time 25.44–26.18]

To sum up, the tutors' productive or educative language oscillated around lesson management, Rowe's (1972, 1986) 'wait-time', learner autonomy, learner centeredness, and authenticity.

4.4. Observation 4: face support, identity, power, agency, and dialogic space

There were FTA excerpts in this corpus, as shown below, when the tutees "willingly" tried to "defend their actions" (Copland & Donaghue 2023: 94). These excerpts signified the identity formation and agency of the tutees as they risked their face by externalizing their interpretations of incidents and defended them through arguments in alliance with their hitherto experience. The tutors offered them face support and dialogic space to do it:

Conversation 1

[Turn 26; 27; time: 13.21''– 13.50'']

(26) What do you think about it↓ did I exaggerate↑

PsT1: (0.6) one can try it, but I do not know whether this will not deconcentrate all of them

(27): uhm

PsT1: I suppose that there would be questions asked by the rest of them while [smile] he, for example, he got that clip, and they did not. There could be certain deeper discussions on this, and I do not know if this would not deconcentrate the rest of the class

(27): uhm

PsT1: but of course, one can try

[Turn 56; time: 25.51''– 26.01'']

(56): Someone said the name of a game; it was a boy, and here, you moved backward because (0.3) well you didn't know that game↑

PsT1: aha yes yes yes yes [smiling]

In turns (26, 27) the tutee freely presented her arguments against the tutor's standpoint but finally used a conciliatory phrase, "But of course, one can try." Then, in turn (56) the tutee admits having problems with talking with pupils about a game they know and play. In this case, the tutee agrees with the tutor that she instinctively withdrew from that conversation with the pupils since she did not know that game. In excerpts (66), (69), and (70) US1 delved into a problem of creating authentic speaking situations in the classroom, and the effort of the teacher/tutee to venture into the world of teenagers and discover their interests.

(66) "How will you create speaking situations?" **[turn 56, time 25.38–25.39]**

(69) "How do you encourage them to speak? Will you show them your world, or will you venture into theirs?" **[turn 57, time 26.26. –26-33]**

(70) "How to do it?" **[turn 58, time 26.37]**

Conversations 2

In C2, the tutee defended her argument for using Polish translation related to online teaching, assuming that it ensures the teacher is both understood and heard well by her pupils.

[Turn 81; time: 18.20''–18.30'']

US1: Was it necessary for the pupil to translate [the words] into Polish again?

PsT2: right, he started to read at once, and I assumed that I would simply make myself heard over him

Then, the same argument was used to defend her fiasco in making her pupils sing a song. In each case, the tutee blamed the online form of classes.

[Turn 100; time: 23.13''–23.48'']

(100): The kids did not want to sing (0.1), but they should have sung all of you should that was the poor quality that distanced you (0.1); we could hear something but not much

PsT2: yeah but

(100): you can (0.1) yeah

PsT2: yeah but I just think the kids would be too shy to sing he he I think so

(100): but maybe you would be too shy maybe simply you would be too shy to sing that is why (0.1) because you would have to sing maybe you sing well

PsT2: (0.2) eh (0.4) I do not know eh I thought I think that a live [lesson] would have been better eh

Conversation 3

In C3, the tutee disagreed with the tutor who said that translating individual words in a song does not result in the pupils conceptualizing the song. The tutee disagreed without being able to explain her position as if showing unreadiness to view translation as a complex activity.

[Turn 24; time: 10.50''–11.13'']

(24): so individual words which are translated (0.1) there is there the second level to know (0.1) what they mean in the song as a whole what do you think about it?

PsT3: (0.3) I think that this could be a good idea (0.1), but I know (0.1) that this does not depend on transla :: ting the text

Conversation 4

Again, in C4 US2 questions the practice of the tutee asking pupils to translate sentences into L1:

(4): I have doubts about whether it makes sense to give sentences for translation... I mean, I understand that the student had some problems with the answer and you were hinting him... [Turn 4; time: 3.32''– 3.42'']

In this case, though, the tutor's turn lasted 24 seconds and she did not ask the tutee about his opinion on the matter. In a different context, in turn (23) the use of L2 was gently criticised:

(23) Well, this is important, you did it in English, but, well it's good, but a bit complicated in a way (smile) that's why yes, I agree here, that, that one needs to be careful

and always check if the students understood it, and if not, explain it again in Polish. [turn 23, time 14.16–14.33]

Then the tutor drew the tutee's attention to a critical incident when one of two pupils who were "terribly disruptive" during the class, and when that tutee pulled one of them out, he said he "doesn't understand anything" (5). The tutor's comment is:

(5) "Well, they just keep talking all the time, so it's no wonder they don't understand anything. And that was also interesting. Ehm ... maybe, if we have a situation where there are weak students, maybe to help them, it might be a good idea to write something on the board." [turn 5, time 6.01–6.21]

Next, in (28) she simply said:

(28) "I saw you were helping" [turn 28, time 18.38–18.39]

The mentees show an emerging reflective disposition as they recognize the concepts but they are not ready to internalize and use them as psychological tools (Bąk-Średnicka 2023: 253).

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study was aimed at raising self-awareness regarding what and how language is used by the tutors during their five POFs. Becoming more self-aware can help a tutor to objectively self-assess their thinking, emotions, and effectiveness. The study revealed the tutors' conference stylistic features, which otherwise would have been unknown to them. They governed between two ends of the continuum, i.e., from being formal to informal/friendly, according to the dictum that "breaking the norms of power" is a way of regarding the tutee as equal (Brown & Gilman 1960: 277). Their utterances contained elements of both conversational and institutional styles, and were dominated by a strategy of anchoring when a practical topic, used to evaluate events observed in the classroom, was a point of reference for introducing a more complex topic, serving professional development. This strategy represented "feedback which is evaluative [*lessons*] and feedback which is developmental [*teacher development*]" (Copland & Donaghue 2023: 34–57). This is directly related to a classification of utterances by Long et al. (2013), which ranges from evaluative language used by supervisors, through supportive language, and towards productive or educative language. Emotional support was linguistically realized via supportive

utterances and providing space for developing self-confidence and identity. Two tutees admitted that they would change their teaching style. In C1, the tutee said: (65) “and I will surely want to speak more since so far I have such few speaking tasks” [turn 53, time 25.21–25.28]. In C3, the tutee admitted: (28) “I will surely try to solve it somehow [the problem of passiveness of this group of pupils], particularly because have a class with these pupils on Wednesday, I will try to think something up, to make the class interesting and motivating” [turn 27, time 13.57–14.19]. The feedback provided by these tutees indicated that they considered rethinking and reframing their teaching, although they do not know yet how to do it. At least, their journey has begun.

It seems important that university supervisors ask questions which evolve from organizing questions, such as “what did (not) you like in your lesson?” into high cognitive questions, such as “what have you learnt from this lesson?” This corpus analysis revealed that US1 discourse patterns included suggestions followed by questions about tutees’ opinions, which extended the conference time; there were also examples of the speakers’ overlaps that are characteristic for natural speech. Moreover, US1’s each consecutive talk was shorter as a result of her dissatisfaction with her verbalism. US2, in turn, provided concise advice, suggestions, and modifications, leaving little space for the tutees’ opinions. Also, US2 observational talks had a well-defined template for her talk, which she delivered confidently. At the same time, these conversations were similar in terms of the most frequently used words, phrases, and collocations by both university supervisors.

Even though the paper’s conversational analysis is limited to the discourse of POFCS of only two university supervisors, it can provide valuable insights for other university supervisors, encouraging their self-reflection to improve communication with students. It can also be used with tutees as “an instigator for teacher learning to change” (Kurtoğlu-Hooton 2016: 25).

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Nawigowanie dyskusji pohospitacyjnych po polsku: kształtowanie samoświadomości tutorów

ABSTRAKT. Badanie dotyczy rozmów pohospitacyjnych w ramach praktyki zawodowej przyszłych nauczycieli języka angielskiego jako obcego. Wykorzystując metodę analizy konwersacyjnej, dokonano analizy dyskursu dwóch uniwersyteckich opiekunów praktyk w pięciu obszarach, które definiują go jako gatunek komunikacyjny. Celem było wyodrębnienie elementów językowych konstytuujących wspierający, demokratyczny i otwarty dialog, przyczyniający się do rozwoju cech profesjonalnego i empatycznego nauczyciela. Analiza tego korpusu wykazała, że wypowiedzi opiekunów zawierają elementy stylu konwersacyjnego i instytucyjnego oraz że są zdominowane przez strategię polegającą na zakotwiczeniu tematu bardziej złożonego, służącego rozwojowi sfery kogntywnej praktykanta, na temacie praktycznym, dotyczącym obserwowanej lekcji. W przypadku braku gotowości praktykanta do rozmowy na tym poziomie, opiera się ona na tym, co wydarzyło się na lekcji. Wsparcie sfery emocjonalnej jest językowo realizowane przez wypowiedzi, które chronią, wspierają i dają przestrzeń do rozwoju pewności siebie oraz tożsamości osobowej i zawodowej praktykanta. Badanie wpisuje się w debatę na temat efektywnych i wspierających rozmów pohospitacyjnych. Zwraca uwagę, że badanie własnych wypowiedzi podnosi świadomość opiekunów uniwersyteckich w zakresie języka, jakiego używają w kontaktach z praktykantami.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: praktyki nauczycielskie, sesji feedbackowe po hospitacjach zajęć, tutorzy uniwersyteccy.

ANNA BĄK-ŚREDNICKA

Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce (Poland)

abak@ujk.edu.pl

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8932-659X>

WIKTORIA CHOLEWA
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Intercultural communicative competence in the Polish educational context: EFL primary school teachers' practices and opinions

ABSTRACT. Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) is defined as “a complex of abilities (including host language proficiency) that are needed to perform effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself” (Fantini 2020: 5). The development of ICC in learners has been recognised as one of the key elements of foreign language (L2) education by, for instance, the Council of Europe (2022). The article presents the findings of a study conducted among primary school teachers of English which investigated their practices in teaching and assessing ICC, as well as their opinions on coursebook content and on learner motivation regarding ICC development. Quantitative and qualitative data have been gathered by means of a questionnaire administered to 39 teachers of English and interviews conducted with five teachers of English. The findings show that most respondents attempt to prioritise integrating ICC into English courses and aim to develop students' ICC. However, less than half give ICC equal importance to language in their teaching. Moreover, most participants often rely on teaching national attributes to foster ICC.

KEYWORDS: Culture, intercultural communicative competence, foreign language teaching in Poland, culture teaching, teachers' practices, teachers' opinions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Increased levels of globalisation in today's world and living in evolving cultural environments result in blurred boundaries among cultures rendering them in closer contact than ever before. Thus, members of various cultural groups participate in intercultural interactions on a daily basis, which requires well-developed intercultural competences (e.g., Edwards & Usher 2008; Council of Europe 2012, UNESCO 2013). This inevitably poses new challenges for language teachers and language educators, especially those of the English language as it has become *lingua franca*, a language for intercultural communication among people from different cultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2006). Therefore, the need for incorporating plurilingualism and interculturality in present-day education

has arisen. According to the Council of Europe (2022: 14), intercultural education “is essential to education for democratic culture; respects and values linguistic and cultural diversity; promotes language awareness and language sensitivity across the curriculum; [and] encourages critical reflection on cultural diversity”. Moreover, it also aids with developing critical digital literacy and digital citizenship, promotes the autonomy of a learner, and advocates for the inclusion and equality of disadvantaged and marginalised learners. However, as Czura (2016: 84) states, the role of teachers should go beyond passing on theoretical knowledge; “the teachers’ objective is to help students apply theoretical concepts in practice as well as develop a set of key competences sought and valued by employers”. Doing so through developing students’ intercultural communicative competence (ICC) seems to be of utmost importance.

Manifesting ICC assumes possessing “a complex of abilities (including host language proficiency) that are needed to perform effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself” (Fantini 2020: 5). The Council of Europe (2022: 12–13) provides a more extensive definition of the term by highlighting the essential role of respect, openness and understanding while approaching other cultures as well as the ability to reflect critically on issues related to interacting with members of different cultures:

Thus, in order to contribute to and provide more insight into the research concerned with practices and opinions of English as a foreign language (EFL) primary school teachers in the Polish educational context which are related to the notion of ICC, this article aims at reporting on the mixed-method research comprising an online survey and interviews conducted among primary school teachers of English in Poland. The study aimed at exploring whether and how primary school teachers implement elements of ICC in their lessons, how they evaluate coursebooks and the national curriculum in relation to ICC elements as well as whether and how they motivate their students to develop their ICC. The report on the study is preceded by literature review comprising the theoretical background of the concept and the overview of selected previous research in the field.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. ICC models

The notion of ICC emerged in Byram’s (1997, 2021) work by means of a model comprising five dimensions crucial for its development. The dimensions involve skills of interpreting and relating, knowledge of self and other (and of individual

and societal interaction), attitudes of curiosity and openness (and relativizing self and valuing others), skills of discovery and interaction, and education involving political education and critical cultural awareness. However, the development of critical cultural awareness is of utmost importance, as it allows for enrooting “the ability to critique one’s own way of thinking and acting and how this is influenced by societal factors” (Byram 2021: 45), which eventuates in being capable of reevaluating stereotypes and prejudices towards particular cultural groups acquired throughout one’s life. A well-developed critical cultural awareness alongside the remaining dimensions of Byram’s model leads to becoming an intercultural speaker, which should be an aim in present-day education. As Byram (2021: 59–61) notes, the intercultural speaker is distinct from the native speaker as the intercultural speaker needs to possess the ability to mediate intercultural interactions and accommodate to their unique nature, which may not be the essential quality of the native speaker. Moreover, intercultural speakers should be skilled in observing verbal and non-verbal modes of communication and relating them to their own. Thus, foreign language (L2) teaching should strive for focusing on intercultural communication and nurturing intercultural speakers rather than aiming at imitating native speakers of a particular language. A perfect understanding of the target culture akin to being native-like is not what ICC aims for, as there is no singular native representation for any culture (Oranje & Smith 2017; Byram & Risager 1999).

Furthermore, in addition to Byram’s model, throughout the decades numerous other theoretical constructs to define ICC have been introduced in the L2 teaching literature (e.g. Bennett 1986; Deardorff 2006). A frequently quoted one is the ICC Process Model proposed by Deardorff (2006); its circular representation highlights the significance of the continuous process of intercultural competence development and the need of perpetual improvement practices (Deardorff 2006). The Process Model comprises five components: attitudes, knowledge and comprehension, skills, internal outcome, and external outcome. Attitudes that are crucial in this model are respect, which involves valuing other cultures, openness, which concerns the ability to withhold judgement, and curiosity and discovery, which are based on the tolerance for ambiguity. This starting point is a foundation for knowledge and comprehension as well as for skills. Knowledge and comprehension involve being culturally self-aware, possessing deep cultural knowledge and being sociolinguistically aware. Moreover, skills which are relevant in this model are the ability to listen, observe and evaluate, and analyse, interpret and relate to other cultures. These skills are necessary for processing possessed knowledge and thus being able to understand and process information. The next two components, internal and external outcomes, are involved in the interaction part of the Process Model.

Internal outcomes consist of adaptability, flexibility, ethnorelative view and empathy, which are based on attitudes and knowledge. External outcomes, however, concern effective and appropriate communication and behaviour in an intercultural situation, which are the demonstration of one's intercultural competence stemming from their attitudes, knowledge, skills and internal outcomes. The interrelationship among all the components of the Process Model points to, as already mentioned, a continuous nature of ICC development, thus it is of utmost importance to regularly and consistently aid students by fostering their ICC and becoming intercultural speakers.

2.2. Overview of previous studies

Most research investigating EFL teachers' practices and opinions about ICC has mainly focused on secondary school teachers (e.g., Oranje & Smith 2017; Sercu et al. 2005; Derenowski 2015), university lecturers (e.g., Vo 2017; Romanowski 2017; Kusiak-Pisowacka 2018) and student teachers (e.g., Czura 2016). Research on primary school teachers, which is the focal point of this study, is scarce, especially in the Polish educational context.

Nevertheless, it would be of significance to report on previous research from different educational contexts and settings in order to compare them with the results of the present study. Sercu et al. (2005) inquired into teachers' perceptions of their profession and teaching practice in relation to intercultural competence. They administered a questionnaire to 424 secondary school teachers of foreign languages, mostly of English, in seven countries. The findings of the study revealed that language teachers' objectives were related mainly to language competence (across all countries in which the questionnaire was administered) and that due to their attitudes towards intercultural teaching, they could be distinguished into two profiles: the favourably disposed foreign language teacher and the unfavourably disposed foreign language teacher. Moreover, participants considered knowledge of cultural facts and events as the most vital culture-teaching objective and were in favour of teacher-oriented transmission of knowledge, which indicates that the teachers displayed a more essentialist approach to including culture during L2 lessons. Oranje and Smith's study (2017), which was based on Sercu et al. (2005), resulted in similar conclusions. Their research aimed at exploring links between teachers' opinions about interculturality in education and their practices in this respect. In order to achieve the goal, they administered a questionnaire to 76 language teachers from secondary schools in New Zealand. They discovered that "[t]he significant majority spent most of their time teaching the language dimension rather than culture"

(Oranje & Smith 2017: 14), with the largest group (33 teachers) of the participants reporting teaching the language 80% of the time. Moreover, a clear mismatch between teachers' opinions and their classroom practices was evident, meaning that their attitudes towards intercultural language teaching were favourable, yet it was not their teaching practice of choice. Additionally, the teachers reported that external constraints, such as lack of time, are the reason for sacrificing the cultural dimension, which may provide an explanation for the abovementioned mismatch between opinions and practices. The last study to be overviewed is Vo's (2017) mixed-methods research based on an online questionnaire and interviews aiming to explore Vietnamese lecturers' opinions on ICC in English teaching in tertiary context. The study revealed participants' positive attitudes on ICC in English Language Teaching (ELT) and readiness to engage ICC in their teaching. However, they highlighted challenges with its implementation, such as limited time or limited teaching resources and admitted that ICC development occurred mostly through textbooks.

2.3. ICC development techniques and assessment tools

In order to develop the intercultural dimension and develop students' ICC, teachers should implement techniques which may aid them with such an objective. One of the most prevalent and typical techniques for ICC development that may be found in literature is role play, which is defined an immersive method where students act out real-life scenarios, such as ordering food or small talk, using language, gestures, and facial expressions. This technique is described as an effective way to develop both verbal and non-verbal communication, with teachers pre-teaching vocabulary and providing feedback (Reid 2014: 942–943; Xu 2011: 37–38). Another technique is critical incidents, also referred to as cultural assimilation, present learners with short stories about cross-cultural misunderstandings and ask them to choose appropriate responses. This method highlights how reactions differ across cultures and helps learners understand unfamiliar situations (Hughes 1986: 167; Zoni Upton 2021: 305–306). Moreover, the comparison method is also frequently employed as it encourages learners to compare and analyse differences between their own culture and others, as well as recognise changes within cultures over time. For instance, students may compare school routines across countries, fostering socio-cultural and sociolinguistic skills (Reid 2014: 941). What teachers may also consider as a tool for ICC development is engaging students in telecollaboration which assumes "the application of online communication tools to bring together classes of language learners in geographically distant locations

to develop their foreign language skills and intercultural competence through collaborative tasks and project work." Thus, it provides learners with opportunities for communicating with members of other cultures in a regular and (semi-)authentic manner, which is said to be one of the key points in foreign language education (O'Dowd 2012: 342–343).

Additionally, based on existing research concerned with approaches for developing positive attitudes towards members of diverse cultures, Róg (2016: 139–140) managed to extract techniques which are used for that purpose in the Polish educational context. These methods include recognizing cultural symbols, analysing behaviours, values, and communication styles across cultures (Aleksandrowicz-Pędich 2005), and using activities like role plays, simulations, discussions, and lectures (Kurtyka 2005). Additional approaches involve analysing stereotypes, critically examining superstitions (Paprocka-Piotrowska 2007), and engaging with films and cultural themes to reflect on intercultural experiences (Balcerkiewicz & Kułaczowska 2010). Other strategies include utilizing authentic materials like films, literary texts, and advertisements (Żydek-Bednarczuk 2012), incorporating visual aids, and addressing emotionally engaging topics to build empathy. Ethnographic projects, case studies, and creative drama are also highlighted as useful tools for cultural analysis (Róg 2014).

While discussing ICC development and assessment tools, it is crucial to mention to portfolio-based aids, namely *the European Language Portfolio* (ELP) and *the Autobiography of intercultural encounters*. The ELP, introduced by the Council of Europe alongside *the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), aims to foster respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, mutual understanding, and intercultural education (Little et al. 2011). It includes three key components: a language passport, where learners self-assess their language skills and experiences; a language biography, which focuses on ICC by prompting learners to reflect on their intercultural experiences; and a dossier, which stores both finished work and works in progress demonstrating language proficiency (Little et al. 2011). *The Autobiography of intercultural encounters*, developed by Byram et al. (2009), encourages learners to critically reflect on specific intercultural encounters, focusing on emotions and responses rather than the context or location. It helps learners analyse experiences with people from diverse cultural, religious, or linguistic backgrounds, even within the same country, emphasising that both positive and negative encounters contribute to ICC development (Byram et al. 2009). Moreover, it needs to be mentioned that both ELP and *the Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters* are frequently applied as assessment tools as teachers may follow their students' ICC development based on their personal experiences and reflections.

Apart from being faced with the challenge what techniques teachers should use to develop students' ICC, they need to decide what assessment tools would be the most suitable for that purpose. Some resolve to apply abovementioned portfolio-based tools, however, widespread are also various types of scales such as Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) and Cultural Intelligence Scale (CQS). ISS, developed by Chen and Starosta (2000), assesses the affective aspect of intercultural communicative competence (ICC), specifically focusing on intercultural sensitivity. This concept includes six components: self-esteem for managing feelings of alienation and frustration; self-monitoring to recognise and adjust communication barriers; open-mindedness to appreciate different cultural perspectives; empathy for understanding emotions from diverse backgrounds; interaction involvement which includes attentiveness and responsiveness; non-judgment to listen without making premature assumptions. ISS is a 24-item self-report questionnaire using a 5-point Likert scale. It encompasses five factors: interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, and interaction attentiveness. Higher total scores indicate greater intercultural sensitivity, reflecting an individual's ability to engage effectively in intercultural interactions (Chen & Starosta 2000). On the other hand, CQS, developed by Ang et al. (2007), measures an individual's ability to function effectively in culturally diverse settings. It consists of four dimensions: metacognitive intelligence (awareness of one's cultural knowledge), cognitive intelligence (knowledge of different cultures), motivational intelligence (desire to learn about and adapt to other cultures), and behavioural intelligence (ability to adjust verbal and non-verbal behaviour). CQS is a 20-item questionnaire using a 7-point Likert scale, where participants indicate their level of agreement with statements related to the four dimensions. Higher scores represent greater cultural intelligence and motivation for developing one's ICC (Ang et al. 2007).

2.4. ICC in the Polish National Curriculum

In order to provide background for L2 education in Poland and investigate whether or not it incorporates developing students' ICC among its objectives, it is crucial to delve into the Polish National Curriculum and specifically, into the sections concerning L2 teaching.

In the document, it is circumscribed that "in the social development it is particularly significant to cultivate civic attitude, attitude of respect for tradition and culture of one's country as well as attitude of respect for different cultures and traditions" (Ministry of Education 2017: 10). Moreover, according to the same

document, schools are required to take the necessary measures in order to prevent any instances of discrimination. The Polish National Curriculum also stipulates more specific objectives in terms of (inter)cultural education relevant for the first and second educational stages, which involve, respectively, grades first to third and grades fourth to eighth. As for the first education stage, it is stated that students possess the knowledge that “people speak different languages and in order to communicate with them it is worth learning their language” as well as they “possess basic information about countries in which people use a particular foreign language” (Ministry of Education 2017: 48). Moreover, the Polish National Curriculum highlights the importance of cultivating and developing the attitude of curiosity, openness towards and respect for the diversity of languages, cultures and national identities not only of the target language, but globally (Ministry of Education 2017: 56–57). As far as the second educational stage is concerned, the objectives are more extended in comparison with the first stage. Namely, according to the Ministry of Education (2017: 74), students should have “basic knowledge about countries, societies and societies’ cultures which use a particular foreign language and about a home country, including local, European and global contexts.” Furthermore, students on the second educational stage are ought to be aware of the links between their own culture and the foreign culture as well as be interculturally sensitive.

Even though the notion of ICC is not included *ad litteram* in the Polish National Curriculum when delineating aims for L2 teaching, there is no denying the fact that it ought to be an integral part of classroom practices. Nevertheless, the aforementioned objectives for both educational stages suggest that intercultural education, raising students’ awareness about cultural differences and fostering their respect and openness are of interest in L2 teaching in Poland.

3. THE STUDY

3.1. Aims and research questions

The aim of the study was to provide insight into the opinions and practices of English as a foreign language (EFL) primary school teachers regarding ICC. This was achieved by collecting and analysing data representative of their attitudes towards the implementation of ICC development during EFL lessons and teachers’ evaluation of the inclusion of ICC in curricula and teaching materials. Specifically, the following research questions were posed:

1. What are the primary school teachers’ opinions about the need to incorporate the intercultural component into English lessons?

2. What teaching procedures and materials do the teachers use to develop their learners' ICC?
3. What are the teachers' opinions about intercultural components included in coursebooks and the national curriculum?
4. How do they evaluate their learners' motivation to develop ICC in English lessons and how did they motivate their learners to develop ICC outside of the classroom?

Moreover, the goal of the study was to contribute to existing research into the integration of ICC in the Polish primary school EFL classroom and through that to serve as a signpost for further research in the ongoing debate around the integration of ICC into L2 teaching.

3.2. Participants

The participation in the study was voluntary and the participants were assured that their anonymity was maintained. That was done in order to gather as objective data as feasible. In order to collect data, the link to the questionnaire was shared with teachers who worked in schools in which the researcher had completed her teacher training, rendering it a convenience sampling procedure (Dörnyei 2007: 98–99). The teachers were also kindly asked to send the link to their fellow teachers with the request to complete it, resulting with the addition of snowball sampling (Dörnyei 2007: 98). The link was also posted on several Facebook groups for EFL teachers, however the response from those was minimal. Thus, the participants of the quantitative part of the study were 39 primary school teachers of English as a foreign language. The mean length of EFL teaching experience was 14 years (min. 1 year, max. 30 years). Nine of the participants reported teaching other subjects among them being physical education, business and management, career counselling, German, Medical English, Religion, Russian, biology, music and mathematics. Apart from teaching in primary schools, 15 teachers reported working in kindergartens, secondary schools, vocational schools, technical schools as well as in private language schools. Moreover, 28 out of 39 teachers denied having had intercultural communicative training included in their teaching education, but 31 out of 39 teachers reported developing their ICC on their own.

As for the interviews, the participants were 5 primary school teachers of English as a foreign language. The sampling procedures for this part were also convenience and snowball, as some of the EFL primary school teachers who were invited by the researcher to participate in interviews while distributing the questionnaire recommended their fellow teachers from different schools,

who had also completed the questionnaire during the first part of the study. The mean length of EFL teaching experience was 10 years (min. 1 year, max. 18 years). What is significant is that the participants, in both the questionnaire and interviews, did not work in the same school, thus it may be assumed that the gathered data were more representative of a broader perspective, possibly providing insight into the state of affairs in the Polish primary school education regarding ICC.

3.3. Data collection and analysis

The study employed a mixed-methods design comprising a questionnaire and follow-up interviews as data collection tools so as to elicit both quantitative and qualitative data and provide more in-depth insight into the participants' responses and improve validity of the study through methodological triangulation (Dörnyei 2007: 42–46). Both parts of the research were designed and conducted in English.

In the quantitative part, the questionnaire consisted of the demographic part and the main part concerned with ICC aiming to explore teachers' practices and opinions. The demographic part comprised nine questions among which two were optional open-ended ones. The participants were asked to provide details about their work experience and their own ICC. The main part of the questionnaire involved 20 items, 12 of which applied a 5-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree and 8 of which – from never to very often. Each of the Likert scale answers was converted into numerical values during the analysis in the following manner: 1 – strongly disagree, 2 – disagree, 3 – neither disagree nor agree, 4 – agree, 5 – strongly agree or 1 – never, 2 – rarely, 3 – sometimes, 4 – often, 5 – very often. In the process of analysis, the questionnaire items were grouped into four thematic sets, namely beliefs and opinions about ICC in teaching (7 items), teachers' practices involving ICC (7 items), beliefs about learners' ICC (4 items) and observed learners' behaviours (2 items). The data gathered from the questionnaire were analysed with the use of IBM SPSS Statistics ver. 28 software and will be presented in the further section by means of tables including descriptive statistics (mean, median, standard deviation) for each item in each thematic set. The questionnaire is enclosed in Appendix 1. The internal consistency of the tool was at a sufficient level, as the calculated Cronbach's alpha displayed the value $\alpha = 0.771$ for all of the 20 questionnaire items. Moreover, Spearman's correlation test was conducted in order to establish any existing correlations between participants' experience in teaching (measured in years) and answers provided by them in

the questionnaire. Despite values of kurtosis and skewness being in the range between -1 and +1 indicating normal distribution of the data (George & Mallery 2016: 114–115), Spearman's correlation test was selected as for the substantial majority of questionnaire items the Shapiro-Wilk test indicated values $p < 0.05$ pointing to the lack of normal distribution.

As far as the qualitative part of the study is concerned, the interview comprised 14 open questions concerned with teachers' practices and opinions about ICC in EFL teaching, opinions about the national curriculum and educational materials which they utilise on daily basis as well as their own education related to ICC (the interview protocol is enclosed in Appendix 2). Interviews were conducted with 5 primary school teachers of English in two manners: face-to-face or online via Google Meet, depending on which mode was more convenient for the interviewee. All of the conversations were recorded with the agreement of the participants, transcribed and manually analysed, which effected the formation of four thematic groups: teachers' understanding of ICC, teachers' instructional practices concerning ICC, opinions on ICC content in materials and the national curriculum, evaluation of learners' ICC, teachers' ICC training. The interviews lasted on average 13.47 minutes (min. 8.57 minutes, max. 17.51 minutes, $M = 13.47$ minutes).

What is also imperative to mention is the fact that the teachers participating in the questionnaire were provided with the definition of ICC before the completion of the study in order to ensure their awareness of the concept. The interviewees, however, were initially asked to delineate their understanding of the term and, when necessary, the researcher clarified their doubts and incomprehension regarding ICC.

3.4. Research findings: Questionnaire

This subsection provides the analysis of the quantitative data obtained from the study, focusing on descriptive statistics and their interpretation. The outcomes are presented by means of tables for each group of questionnaire items, offering a clear overview of collected responses. Moreover, the report on Spearman correlation test is included, which was conducted in order to explore if there is any correlation between participants' teaching experience measured in years and their responses to each questionnaire item. The descriptive statistics for the abovementioned groups are presented in Tables 1–4.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for beliefs and opinions about ICC in teaching

Questionnaire item	M	Mdn	SD
I think it is important to assess students' intercultural communicative competence.	3.64	4.00	1.112
I know how to assess my students' intercultural communicative competence.	3.41	3.00	0.993
I am familiar with teaching techniques for developing learners' intercultural competence.	3.69	4.00	0.922
It is important to include intercultural competence in an English language course.	4.08	4.00	0.957
The development of my students' intercultural competence is an aim in my teaching.	3.62	4.00	0.935
I attach as much importance to developing intercultural competence as to teaching the language.	3.23	3.00	1.012
I like the way in which culture and intercultural content are presented in the coursebook I use.	3.13	3.00	0.978

Source: current study.

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics for the group of questionnaire items related to teachers' beliefs and opinions about ICC in teaching. The highest mean ($M = 4.08$) referred to the importance of ICC inclusion in an English language course, which suggests that the participants deemed this as significant in teaching. Moreover, the second highest mean ($M = 3.69$) revealed that teachers were confident with their knowledge about ICC development techniques. This is substantiated by the lowest mean value ($M = 2.18$) in the group of items presented in Table 2, pointing to the fact that teachers make use of their theoretical knowledge about techniques for ICC development and they do not rely solely on coursebooks.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for teachers' practices involving ICC

Questionnaire item	M	Mdn	SD
I develop my students' intercultural competence only by using the coursebook.	2.18	2.00	0.790
I assess my learners' intercultural communicative competence.	2.38	2.00	0.847
I allow my students to discuss culture-related matters during lessons.	3.72	4.00	0.759
I prepare my own materials for developing my students' intercultural competence.	3.26	3.00	1.019
I develop my students' intercultural competence by teaching about other countries' national attributes.	3.74	4.00	0.751
I use authentic materials for developing my students' intercultural competence.	3.69	4.00	0.922
I clarify stereotypes when they appear during the lesson.	4.15	4.00	0.709

Source: current study.

Table 2 includes descriptive statistics for items regarding teachers' practices involving ICC. What is of utmost significance, the majority of teachers reported often or very often clarifying stereotypes during the lesson, which resulted in the highest mean ($M = 4.15$) for this set of items. Moreover, teachers indicated that quite frequently ($M = 3.72$) they allow discussions related to culture during lessons. However, the second highest mean ($M = 3.74$) revealed that teachers tend to develop students' ICC by teaching about other countries' national attributes, pointing to more essentialist practices of the participants. On the other hand, teachers are also prone to using authentic materials for ICC development in their students ($M = 3.69$).

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for beliefs about learners' ICC

Questionnaire item	M	Mdn	SD
Most learners I work with are interested in learning about other cultures.	3.56	4.00	0.912
My students develop their intercultural competence outside of the classroom.	3.56	4.00	0.718
I noticed that my learners have become more tolerant after lessons including intercultural content.	3.49	4.00	0.756
My students develop their intercultural competence by participating in events organised by the school (for example: trips abroad, meetings with international guests or participating in international programmes such as Erasmus).	3.67	4.00	0.806

Source: current study.

In Table 3 descriptive statistics for items regarding teachers' beliefs about learners' ICC are shown. The highest mean ($M = 3.67$) in this set suggests that students display willingness to participate in ICC developing initiatives organised by their schools, which also implies that schools provide students with opportunities to foster their ICC within their formal education. Moreover, teachers' reports provide insight into the fact that their learners are quite interested in learning about other cultures ($M = 3.56$) and that they tend to do that outside of the classroom ($M = 3.56$).

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for observed learners' behaviours

Questionnaire item	M	Mdn	SD
My students are more active during lessons including intercultural content.	3.51	4.00	0.885
My students use stereotypes while talking about other cultures.	3.15	3.00	0.779

Source: current study.

3.5. Research findings: Interviews

The aim of the interviews was to broaden the data gathered through the questionnaire. In the analysis, the content of the responses was divided into the following thematic groups: teachers' understanding of ICC, teachers' instructional practices concerning ICC, opinions on ICC content in materials and the national curriculum, evaluation of learners' ICC, teachers' ICC training.

As far as the teachers' understanding of ICC is concerned, all of the interviewees defined the term "intercultural communicative competence" as an ability to communicate with and understand other cultures. Two of the participants also highlighted that it is the ability to communicate "effectively and appropriately". One teacher also mentioned that ICC is "a set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours", and pointed to its importance due to living in an increasingly globalised world. Moreover, only one teacher said that ICC also involves knowledge about one's own culture and the ability to use and interpret gestures. Thus, it may be concluded that the basic understanding of ICC was the same for all the participants, however the answers differed in terms of provided details relating to what ICC involves. The thematic group referring to teachers' instructional practices concerning ICC comprised lesson topics, applied materials, techniques for ICC development and assessment, and including ICC development as a teaching aim. Firstly, all of the participants highlighted the significance of selecting topics appropriate and suitable for the age of their students so that they do not have difficulty understanding them and the concepts they refer to. Thus, for instance, those who worked with students from grades 1st to 5th reported that it is most important to include topics related to food, fashion, education, family life and arts as they are the most attractive for young learners and render students do not confuse them. Moreover, all respondents said that teaching about festivals, customs and traditions is vital. In order to familiarise students with these lesson topics, they reported resolving to using authentic materials, for instance: videos, articles, interviews, pictures and photos, maps, cartoons, audio recordings, Ted-Talks as well as Twitter, Facebook and TikTok posts. One participant also stated that they sometimes prepare their own materials for ICC development which are based on popular TV shows and series in order to engage students in the lesson. Additionally, two teachers said that their schools participate in letter exchange programmes with schools from different countries and invite foreigners to have workshops and conversations with students. As far as implementing regular coursebooks for ICC development is concerned, the majority of the participants stated that they do not use a specific coursebook during lessons. They said that the coursebooks they use (*Big English* by Person, *Brainy* by Macmillan and *Open world* by Cambridge) serve a role of a signpost and a point of reference, but the

materials with ICC elements they frequently include are authentic ones or taken and adapted from various websites, such as British Council. Furthermore, in terms of the assessment of students' ICC, teachers' reports were also consistent; the participants reported not having particular techniques or tools for assessing their students' ICC, but none of the teachers admitted to giving students grades for their ICC. They claimed that they focus mostly on constructive feedback, some guidance and being sensitive, encouraging their students to reflect on their own cultural backgrounds, and observing students when they interact with guests from abroad visiting their schools or when they perform role-play tasks in the classroom. One of the teachers believed that observing students during interactions with visitors and role-plays are among the best ways to assess their students' ICC, but also one of them said that they hardly ever assess students' ICC because "it's really fun to learn about other cultures, so there is no point focusing on assessing intercultural communicative competence".

Even though the interviewees reported employing various sources for developing their students' ICC and being engaged in that process, none of them straightforwardly claimed having such an aim in their teaching. The participants said that schools focus mostly on developing students' linguistic competence and accuracy with the purpose of preparing them for exams, which occupies most of the teaching time. Therefore, the participants implement intercultural teaching when time allows, usually before festivals such as Easter, Christmas or Halloween as they prepare lessons related to traditions significant for these events. They also pointed to the difficulty of achieving intercultural objectives, especially with younger learners, but they attempt to equip students with "skills and knowledge to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds". The teachers also highlighted that the factor influencing whether or not they include developing students' ICC as their aim is students' overall linguistic ability. When students struggle with the language itself, the focus is placed on practising grammar, vocabulary and the four skills, especially when the students get older and they need to prepare for the exams, even though the interviewees believed that language and ICC development should go hand in hand.

Teachers' opinions on ICC content in materials and the national curriculum were consistent and rather negative. The coursebooks were said to include intercultural components which are not satisfactory and diversified, as illustrated by the following quotations from the interviews:

Teacher 1: "They [coursebooks] are limited in scope and provide only a starting point for further debates,"

Teacher 2: "They [coursebooks] include information that is not interesting and everybody is aware of, for example, that [in the UK] we have now the king."

Teacher 3: "The materials used in the course should contain more cultural knowledge and activities aiming to promote ICC."

Teacher 4: "They [coursebooks] often don't include other countries and cultures, they concentrate on the English-speaking countries."

The cultural components included in coursebooks were deemed to be monotonous in their format since they usually comprise only texts to read and it was claimed that it would be more interesting for students, especially teenagers, if some videos were attached to the topic. In relation to the national curriculum, the interviews revealed that the majority of teachers were not aware of what is included in it with respect to ICC. Those who were familiar with the contents of the national curriculum reported that in their opinion the national curriculum is not satisfactory in terms of ICC, as "[it] focuses on enhancing language skills rather than promoting ICC" and "[it] should focus more on speaking and developing communication and not being grammatically correct". One of the interviewees also described the national curriculum as "a disaster" with regard to intercultural aims.

The participants were also asked to evaluate the advantages of developing students' ICC and their motivation for this process. The responses displayed a significant amount of benefits the teachers observed in their learners after introducing elements of ICC in their L2 teaching, among them: becoming more open to other cultures, becoming more tolerant and culturally sensitive, broadened horizons and knowledge, becoming aware of cultural differences, understanding other cultural backgrounds and one's own culture, becoming prepared for effective communication while abroad, minimising possibilities of conflicts and misunderstandings with people from other cultures, and becoming aware of their own assumptions and thoughts related to other cultures. The interviewees also stated that their students display substantial levels of motivation while developing their ICC, therefore they attempt to foster this motivation and provide students with encouragement by raising their awareness of how they may develop their ICC even further and providing them with helpful and valuable sources.

The last theme concerned the teachers' ICC training, which may be understood as the development of their own ICC and the preparation to guide their students in and aid them with that process by applying appropriate tools and techniques. Four out of five respondents denied having been prepared to develop their students' ICC during their teacher education and were not able to recall any university courses involving ICC training. They stated that they had participated in courses which were strictly related only to culture and not to communicative competence and which focused mostly on gaining knowledge of cultures of English-speaking countries such as the USA, the UK and Canada.

Only one of the interviewees claimed attending a seminar devoted to the topic of ICC in L2 education during their graduate programme. Despite not having been taught how to do that, all of the interviewees reported that they develop their own ICC by attending webinars, reading articles, listening to podcasts, reflecting on their own culture and differences among various cultures, immersing into other cultures through interactions with members of different cultures and social media. The participants highlighted the significance of developing their own ICC because such practice is invaluable as it aids them with developing their students' ICC and provides them with creative and engaging ideas of how to do so.

4. DISCUSSION

The qualitative and quantitative data analyses presented in the previous section yielded quite extensive answers to the posed research questions aiming at exploring EFL primary school teachers' practices and opinions concerned with developing their students' ICC. As for the first research question concerning the primary school teachers' opinions on the need to incorporate the intercultural component into English lessons, the questionnaire part of the study showed that the participants deem including elements of ICC in teaching English significant. That finding was also supported by the responses in the interviews. However, with regard to practices in this area, a discrepancy emerged between teachers' beliefs and their actions, which is consistent with previous research, such as those by Sercu et al. (2005), Oranje and Smith (2017) and Vo (2017). In the present study, in both the qualitative and quantitative parts, the participants were hesitant whether or not they attach as much importance to developing students' ICC as to teaching the language. In the interviews, they pointed to time constraints, the necessity of preparing students for exams and the schooling system focusing on accuracy and not on enabling students to becoming communicatively competent. This may indicate that, due to these factors, teachers may perceive developing students' ICC as an addition to L2 teaching rather than its integral part. While in the questionnaire, the majority of the participants claimed having an aim of developing their students' ICC, none of the interview-participants reported such a goal. The interviewees highlighted the challenges, such as limited time and overloaded curricula, as obstacles in achieving ICC-related objectives. They also pointed to the limitations arising from the age of the students. The youngest learners, from grades 1 to 3, have not yet developed abstract thinking and they are not able to comprehend more complex, culturally related topics, contrary to, for instance, seventh or eighth graders who are eager to develop their ICC. This

struggle may also result from insufficient, or the lack thereof, teaching training concerned with ICC, as in both parts of the study the teachers reported not having been prepared to implement ICC in their teaching.

As for the second research questions, connected to the teaching procedures and materials used to develop learners' ICC, the questionnaire data revealed that the participants evade relying only on coursebook materials; they tended to make use of authentic materials from external sources and sometimes created their own materials for that purpose. The implementation of authentic materials by the teachers may be indeed perceived as beneficial for developing students' ICC, as such materials expose learners to real-life language, motivate them and connect them with the community of target language users. Moreover, by encountering authentic materials, learners grasp the reality of language use, understand its cultural context, and envision their participation in that community (Reid 2010). What is interesting, however, in the qualitative part, none of the participants mentioned resources such as *The European Language Portfolio* (Council of Europe 2011), *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters* (Byram et al. 2009) or techniques such as comparison model, critical assimilation (or incidents), cultural island or cultural capsule (e.g., Hughes 1986; Reid 2014). Only briefly did one of the interviewees list role-play, but as a form of assessment, not practice. That is rather contrary to the fact that the majority of the participants reported in the questionnaire that they are familiar with techniques for developing students' ICC. Furthermore, the teachers reported often developing learners' ICC through teaching about other countries' national attributes, which may suggest that they display a fairly essentialist approach to teaching about culture, as also reported by Sercu et al. (2005).

In response to the third research question, about the teachers' opinions on ICC in coursebooks and the national curriculum, the data unveiled the teachers' disappointment with how culture and intercultural elements are presented in the coursebooks they use. Moreover, in the interviews it was stated that culture-related topics comprise monotonous and repetitive exercises which do not engage students, and topics concerned with non-English speaking countries are rare. Additionally, the teachers were either rather dissatisfied with the national curriculum in relation to ICC or unaware of its contents in that matter. As pointed out in the literature review, references to ICC are scant in the Polish national curriculum (Ministry of Education). For this reason, the teacher participants complained in the interviews that too much focus is placed on, for instance, mastering grammar accuracy rather than developing students' communicativeness. Therefore, it may be suggested that a revision of educational materials may be needed if L2 learners are to become interculturally competent users of a language.

Considering the last research question, on how the participants evaluate their learners' motivation to develop ICC in English lessons and how they motivate

their learners to develop ICC outside of the classroom, some positive conclusions may be drawn. The teachers reported their students being favourably disposed towards lessons including (inter)cultural content and being eager to participate in culture-related class discussions. Thus, it may be an indication that L2 lessons should be more frequently related to culture and interculturality. Moreover, the participants reported that their students are keen on participating in initiatives which help with developing their ICC such as virtual exchanges with schools from abroad, going on trips abroad and engaging in conversations with guests from different countries visiting their schools. Thus, the teachers admitted they motivate their students to actively participate in such events, introduce them to similar activities outside of school, and provide them with ideas and incentives how they may develop their ICC with the use of Internet and social media, which definitely may be more encouraging for primary school learners.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the study findings revealed that the primary school teachers indeed consider including ICC elements in lessons and developing their students ICC vital. However, many admitted doing so by teaching about national attributes, which may not be of the most significant value for becoming competent in effective communication in intercultural contexts. Thus, it may be stated that the teachers' main aim generally seems to focus on enhancing students' linguistic competence, mostly due to limited time and the need to prepare students for exams. Moreover, majority of teachers do not rely on coursebooks while developing students' ICC and they make use of external materials, either authentic or developed by themselves, which indeed provides students with some variety of topics and exercises. Furthermore, it can be concluded that assessment of students' ICC is rather an infrequent practice and if it takes place, it is not graded as regular tests and assignments. Students are also reported to have positive attitudes towards learning about other cultures and to willingly develop their ICC outside of the classroom. The findings of the study may also imply that there is a need to revise teacher training programmes and include in them developing teachers' intercultural communicative competence and prepare them to incorporate it in their teaching. This claim stems from the fact that the majority of the teachers reported not having had any intercultural training and preparation for developing ICC in their students, which may render this practice difficult and therefore, it may lead to teachers' avoiding it. Thus, it may be suggested that in order to improve the state of affairs of ICC development in the Polish educational context teachers' awareness of the concept should be raised

as has already been pointed by Róg (2016). His research overview highlighted that sole participation of future foreign language teachers in courses related to culture is not sufficient for the development of their ICC and them assuming the role of intercultural mediators, which was supported by teachers' responses in the present study, therefore ICC training ought to be introduced in teachers' education programmes in order to foster abilities imperative to such a role. It might be essential to devise and unify teacher training programmes in relation to ICC so that all teachers are equipped with tools to introduce ICC development in their teaching practices because as teachers reported in this study, they deemed their education in that matter unsatisfactory. Thus, it may be recommended that future teachers should engage in various activities aiming to foster their ICC, for instance participating in international projects held online (Wach 2015), attending seminars devoted to intercultural competence (Siek-Piskozub 2013), or forming the ability to reflect on other cultures (Mihułka 2014). Moreover, coursebooks may need a greater inclusion of contexts outside of the English-speaking countries and of more topics relating to students' lives and personal experiences. Hence, the portfolio-based tools mentioned in the literature review of this article may appear useful for guiding more personalised and meaningful reflections on students' intercultural encounters, therefore it may be advised that they are introduced into curricula as one of the main techniques for the purpose of ICC development. Furthermore, policy makers could consider literal inclusion of the notion of ICC in the National Curriculum and the development of suggestions concerned with its fostering during foreign language lessons in order to facilitate teachers' educational practices and materials design.

6. STUDY LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Among the limitations of the study, the low number of participants in both qualitative and quantitative parts, which influenced the reliability of the elicited data, needs to be mentioned. For this reason, the findings cannot be generalised to the broader population of EFL primary school teachers in the debate concerning the state of affairs of ICC inclusion in teaching younger learners. Furthermore, the study was entirely based on self-report techniques being a questionnaire and interviews, which might have undermined its reliability as the truthfulness of the participants' reports could not have been measured. Moreover, no follow-up questions were asked during the interviews, which limited the study in obtaining more in-depth perceptions on the subject matter and justification for the participants' opinions.

Thus, in the light of these limitations, it may be suggested that further research on the topic involving a larger sample, could be conducted in order to yield more reliable data, which could be generalised to the educational context of primary schools in Poland. Preferably, it could employ additional methods such as diary entries and observation in order to thoroughly scrutinise teachers' practices and opinions concerned with developing students' ICC in the context of teaching languages to young learners.

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APPENDIX 1

*The questionnaire used in the study***1. Personal information questionnaire**

No.	Question
1.	Years of experience in teaching.
2.	The types of schools you have worked in.
3.	The type of school you work in now.
4.	Do you teach other subjects?
5.	If you answered "Yes" in the previous question, write which other subjects you teach.
6.	Was intercultural communication training included in your own teacher education?
7.	If you answered "Yes" in the previous question, describe briefly your intercultural communication training.
8.	Do you develop your own intercultural competence?
9.	If you answered "Yes" in the previous question, write in what ways you develop your own intercultural competence.

2. The research project questionnaire

No.	Question
1.	I think it is important to assess students' intercultural communicative competence.
2.	I know how to assess my students' intercultural communicative competence.
3.	I am familiar with teaching techniques for developing learners' intercultural competence.
4.	It is important to include intercultural competence in an English language course.
5.	The development of my students' intercultural competence is an aim in my teaching.
6.	I attach as much importance to developing intercultural competence as to teaching the language.
7.	I like the way in which culture and intercultural content are presented in the coursebook I use.
8.	I develop my students' intercultural competence only by using the coursebook.
9.	Most learners I work with are interested in learning about other cultures.
10.	My students develop their intercultural competence outside of the classroom.
11.	I noticed that my learners have become more tolerant after lessons including intercultural content.
12.	My students develop their intercultural competence by participating in events organised by the school (for example: trips abroad, meetings with international guests or participating in international programmes such as Erasmus).
13.	I assess my learners' intercultural communicative competence.
14.	I allow my students to discuss culture-related matters during lessons.
15.	I prepare my own materials for developing my students' intercultural competence.
16.	I develop my students' intercultural competence by teaching about other countries' national attributes (e.g. geography, national symbols, cuisine, literature, holidays).
17.	I use authentic materials for developing my students' intercultural competence.
18.	My students are more active during lessons including intercultural content.
19.	My students use stereotypes while talking about other cultures.
20.	I clarify stereotypes whenever they appear during the lesson.

APPENDIX 2

The interview protocol used in the study

No.	Question
1.	How do you understand the term "intercultural communicative competence"? What does it refer to?
2.	Which topics related to culture do you consider most important in teaching a foreign language? Why? (Family Life, Community Life, Society; Religion and Spiritual Beliefs; Government and International Relations; Arts and Crafts; Education; Resources and Economics; Food; Customs and Traditions; Clothing; Festivals; Values)
3.	Do you include developing students' ICC as your aim? Why? / Why not? Do you think it is appropriate to have such a goal?
4.	Do you develop your students' ICC? How do you do that? What materials and/or techniques do you use? Why? (e.g. inviting people from other countries/nationalities; bringing authentic materials; arranging video conferences; arranging student exchange programmes or summer camps; guiding students to use technology such as Facebook, Twitter or forum pages)
5.	How much importance do you attach to developing intercultural communicative competence compared to teaching grammar, vocabulary and the four skills? Why?
6.	How do students benefit from developing their ICC?
7.	How do you motivate your students to develop their ICC outside of the classroom? (e.g. encouraging them to participate in international projects or competitions or attend international concerts, exhibitions or festivals).
8.	What coursebook do you use while teaching? What cultural elements does it include?
9.	What is your opinion regarding intercultural components included in the coursebook and the national curriculum? Do you think they are satisfactory? Why? / Why not?
10.	Do you prepare your own ICC materials? Why? / Why not?
11.	Do you think that there is a need to incorporate more intercultural elements in EFL courses? Why? / Why not?
12.	How do you assess your students' ICC? What tools do you use? Do you think that your assessment techniques are effective? Why? / Why not?
13.	In what ways, if any, was intercultural communication training included in your own teacher education? What did you do in intercultural communication training? Do you think it was satisfactory? Did it prepare you for teaching ICC?
14.	Do you develop your own ICC? If yes, in what ways? Do you participate in seminars, courses, lectures, etc.?

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Interkulturowa kompetencja komunikacyjna w polskim kontekście edukacyjnym: praktyki i opinie nauczycieli języka angielskiego w szkołach podstawowych

ABSTRAKT. Interkulturową kompetencję komunikacyjną (IKK) definiuje się jako zespół umiejętności (w tym biegłość w języku docelowym) potrzebnych do skutecznego i stosownego przeprowadzania interakcji z osobami językowo i kulturowo różnymi (Fantini 2020: 5). Rozwój IKK u uczniów

przez Radę Europy (2022) został uznany za jeden z kluczowych elementów nauczania języka obcego (J2). Niniejszy artykuł prezentuje wyniki badania przeprowadzonego wśród nauczycieli języka angielskiego w szkołach podstawowych, którego celem było poznanie stosowanych przez respondentów praktyk dydaktycznych w nauczaniu i ocenianiu IKK, a także ich opinii na temat zawartości podręczników i motywowania uczniów w zakresie rozwijania IKK zarówno w klasie, jak i poza nią. Dane ilościowe i jakościowe zostały zebrane za pomocą kwestionariusza ($n = 39$) oraz wywiadów z pięcioma nauczycielami języka angielskiego. Wyniki pokazują, że większość respondentów stara się traktować priorytetowo integrację IKK podczas lekcji języka angielskiego i dąży do jej rozwijania u uczniów. Jednakże mniej niż połowa z nich przywiązuje równie duże znaczenie do IKK, jak do nauczania języka. Ponadto, większość respondentów koncentruje się na nauczaniu cech narodowych w celu rozwijania IKK.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: kultura, interkulturowa kompetencja komunikacyjna, nauczanie języków obcych w Polsce, nauczanie kultury, praktyki nauczycieli, opinie nauczycieli.

WIKTORIA CHOLEWA

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)

wikcho2@st.amu.edu.pl

<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7962-5760>

GRZEGORZ LISEK

University of Greifswald

AGNIESZKA PUTZIER

University of Greifswald

Wie kann schulischer Nachbarsprachenunterricht zum mehrsprachigen Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum werden? Umsetzungsbeispiele für den Polnischunterricht

How can teaching a neighbour's language at school
become a multilingual space for life and experience?
Implementation examples for Polish lessons

ABSTRACT. Borderlands are special areas, where multilingualism is particularly apparent. As a result, more and more EU-funded projects have set themselves the goal of promoting this idea. This paper focuses on the possibilities for active support of multilingualism based on experiences from three INTERREG-projects (INT2 and INT131), which focus on the Polish-German borderland. On one hand, the topics of the projects concerning emergency communication are still important, on the other hand, the materials which were prepared in the projects regarding learning the neighbour's language from kindergarten to the final school exam can be used and promoted as verified and well assessed. The goal of our reflections is to present and join the perspectives on teaching languages – education policy and teaching methodologies. The reflections are based on the usage of the materials that are being presented here and seen as a possibility for transfer to other subject areas. Because the classes with speakers of a neighbour's language need to be holistic, experiential, interdisciplinary and individualised it is important that we look at the materials and methods which were used in the projects. It is important to highlight that creating multilingual spaces for experience and action in school (Polish) lessons is the first step in ensuring that all pupils, regardless of their background, have access to an equitable education.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, neighbour's language, Polish as a foreign language, cross-subject learning, foreign language lessons as a space for life and experience.

ABSTRACT. Grenzregionen sind besondere geografische Räume, die in hohem Maße von Mehrsprachigkeit geprägt sind. Aus diesem Grund verfolgen zunehmend EU-finanzierte Projekte das Ziel, die Mehrsprachigkeit in diesen Gebieten zu unterstützen. Dieser Beitrag beleuchtet die Potenziale zur aktiven Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit anhand der Erfahrungen aus drei INTERREG-Projekten (INT2 und INT131), die sich auf das deutsch-polnische Grenzgebiet konzentrieren. Einerseits bleiben die in den Projekten behandelten Themen zur Notfallkommunikation von zentraler Bedeutung, andererseits bieten die im Rahmen der Projekte entwickelten Materialien zum Erlernen der Nachbarsprache – von der frühkindlichen Bildung bis zum Schulabschluss – bewährte und hoch bewertete Ansätze, die weiter gefördert und verbreitet werden können. Ziel dieser Analyse ist es, die Perspektiven des Sprachunterrichts aus bildungspolitischer und didaktischer Sicht darzustellen und miteinander zu verknüpfen. Die hier vorgelegten Überlegungen basieren auf der Anwendung der in den Projekten entwickelten Materialien und bieten zugleich einen Ansatzpunkt für die Übertragung auf andere Fachbereiche. Da der Unterricht mit Sprechern einer Nachbarsprache ganzheitlich, erfahrungsorientiert, interdisziplinär und individuell angepasst sein muss, ist eine vertiefte Betrachtung der verwendeten Materialien und Methoden von besonderer Relevanz. Abschließend ist hervorzuheben, dass die Schaffung mehrsprachiger Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume im (polnischen) Schulunterricht einen wesentlichen Schritt darstellt, um allen Lernenden, unabhängig von ihrer sozialen oder kulturellen Herkunft, einen gerechten Zugang zu hochwertiger Bildung zu ermöglichen.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER: Mehrsprachigkeit, Nachbarsprache, Polnisch als Fremdsprache, fächerübergreifendes Lernen, Fremdsprachenunterricht als Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum.

1. EINLEITUNG

Die im Titel unseres Aufsatzes auftauchende Bezeichnung „Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum“ basiert auf dem Gedankengut Hartmut von Hentigs (vgl. insbesondere 2003), der es für nicht hinreichend hielt, Schule vordergründig als Einrichtung zur Vermittlung von Kenntnissen und Fertigkeiten zu verstehen. Seine Schulkonzeption basierte auf fünf Prinzipien:

- 1) Schule als Lebensraum gibt Kreativität und Emotionen Raum und fordert 2) individualisierten Unterricht.
- 3) Als polis verfügt die Schule über selbst aufgestellte Regeln für das Zusammenleben.
- 4) Im Interesse einer Förderung des ganzen Menschen ist der Unterricht fächerübergreifend angelegt und enthält auch alltagswichtige Gegenstände.
- 5) Und als Brücke zwischen der Privatwelt der Familie und der öffentlichen Welt der Gesellschaft lässt Schule die Erfahrungsbereiche der Schülerinnen und Schüler mit zunehmendem Alter immer größer werden (Blömeke & Herzig 2009: 20).

Obwohl sich Hentigs Konzeption in erster Linie auf Schule als Institution bezieht, scheint sie mit dem Konzept des Nachbarsprachenunterrichts, der im Fokus des vorliegenden Beitrages steht und u.a. ganzheitlich, erfahrungsbezogen,

fachübergreifend und individualisierend sein soll (Barucki et al. 2020: 11–12), mehr als nur kompatibel zu sein.

Aus der Gegenüberstellung der bildungspolitischen Vorgaben und des Konzepts der Nachbarsprachendidaktik ergibt sich die erste Teilfrage dieses Beitrages: Kann der schulische Nachbarsprachenunterricht als „Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum“ bezeichnet werden, mit anderen Worten so gestaltet werden, dass er z.B. fachübergreifend und individualisierend ist und dabei den Kompetenzerwerb fördern kann? Die zweite Teilfrage, die sich uns stellt, lautet: Welche Bedingungen müssen erfüllt werden, damit dieser „Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum“ als mehrsprachig gelten kann? Bevor versucht wird, Antworten auf diese Fragen zu formulieren, soll zunächst erläutert werden, was unter Nachbarsprache verstanden wird, welche Rolle dabei die Mehrsprachigkeit spielt und welchen Beitrag dazu zwei bereits abgeschlossene INTERREG VA-Projekte geleistet haben und noch weiterhin leisten könnten.

2. NACHBARSPRACHE UND MEHRSPRACHIGKEIT

Aus soziolinguistischer Perspektive ist eine Nachbarsprache „die offizielle Sprache des Nachbarlandes, die von den Muttersprachlern der betreffenden Sprache als erste Sprache auf dem gesamten Gebiet des betreffenden Landes verwendet wird“ (Hryniewicz & Lisek 2019: 150). Aus bildungspolitischer Perspektive hat eine Nachbarsprache je nach Grenzregion entweder den Status eines Pflichtfachs und wird als Fremdsprache unterrichtet oder sie erhält den Status eines Wahlfachs und wird z.B. als Herkunftssprache angeboten. Aus sprachdidaktischer Perspektive muss zwischen Didaktik der Nachbarsprache als Fremdsprache und Didaktik der Nachbarsprache als Herkunftssprache differenziert werden.

Anders als „Mehrsprachigkeit“ ist „Nachbarsprache“ „sowohl in der Alltagssprache als auch im Wissenschaftsdiskurs noch im Begriff sich zu etablieren. Dies betrifft sowohl den deutschsprachigen Raum als auch etwaige Entsprechungen in anderen Sprachen“ (Knopp & Jentges 2022: 2). Eine für den Themenschwerpunkt „Nachbarsprachen und mehrsprachige Klassenzimmer“ der Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht durchgeführte stichprobenartige Recherche zeigte, dass englischsprachige (als neighbour / neighbouring language), französischsprachige (als langue du voisin oder langue frontalière), niederländisch-flämische (als buurtaal, buurtaalonderwijs) und skandinavische (als nabo-sprog) Entsprechungen des Begriffs „Nachbarsprache“ bereits existieren, jedoch noch seltener verwendet werden als die deutschsprachige Variante (vgl. Knopp & Jentges 2022: 2). Ein weiteres Ergebnis der Recherche war außerdem, „[...] dass

sich die Verwendung des Begriffs in Diskursen der angewandten Linguistik und Sprachdidaktik vorwiegend auf europäische Kontexte bezieht“ (Knopp & Jentges 2022: 2). Einen besonderen Beitrag haben hierzu Veröffentlichungen im Umfeld des Europäischen Rats geleistet, die die Stärkung gesellschaftlicher und individueller Mehrsprachigkeit ins Auge fassen (exemplarisch Raasch 2000; Raasch & Wessela 2008). Zurecht wird also geschlussfolgert, dass das Aufkommen des Konzepts *Nachbarsprache* mit der Intensivierung grenzüberschreitender Kontakte im Zuge der europäischen Integration „und der daran gekoppelten Forderung nach stärkerer Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in europäischen Grenzregionen durch *Nachbarsprachenlernen*“ (Knopp & Jentges 2022: 2) einhergeht.

Die genannten Phänomene waren auch für die im vorliegenden Beitrag präsentierten INTERREG VA-Projekte (vgl. Punkt 3) ausschlaggebend. Die geographische Nähe zwischen Polen/Polnisch und Deutschland/Deutsch in der deutsch-polnischen Euroregion Pomerania wurde nicht nur genutzt, um grenzüberschreitende Kontakte zwischen Verwaltung, medizinischem Personal, Schüler:innen und Bildungsinstitutionen auf beiden Seiten der Grenze zu intensivieren, sondern auch um die Mehrsprachigkeit von im Projekt anvisierten Zielgruppen zu fördern¹.

Die Herkunftssprachendidaktik kann auf die Potenziale einige Elemente des Sprachsystems der Herkunftssprache (z. B. der internen Grammatik, über welche die Herkunftssprechenden überfügen, einer ausgeprägteren richtigen Aussprache dank des Inputs von Geburt an sowie auf die Fähigkeiten im Bereich des Hörverstehens) zurückgreifen (vgl. Brehmer & Mehlhorn 2018: 85ff.). Die Herkunftssprache ist jedoch nicht mit der *Familiensprache* zu verwechseln; schließlich können in einer Familie verschiedene Sprachen existieren, und nicht beide Elternteile sprechen unbedingt dieselbe Sprache. Oft spricht jedes Elternteil eine andere Sprache und eine andere Sprache als die der Umgebung. Der Begriff *heritage Polish language* oder *heritage English language* in Anlehnung an die klassische Sicht des Phänomens von Fishmann (1966) zeigt daher treffend die Richtung des Spracherwerbs in einem nicht-institutionellen Umfeld und wird als die Sprache eines der Elternteile oder der häuslichen Bezugspersonen verstanden, die das Kind unter den Bedingungen der häuslichen Sozialisation erworben hat. Eine solche Sprache kann in dem Land erworben werden, in dem sie als Umgebungssprache benutzt wird und in die das Kind in den ersten Lebensjahren

¹ Die so durch diese Nähe entstehenden besonderen Sprachlernvoraussetzungen für das Nachbarsprachenlernen (u.a. Begegnungen von Lernern beider Nachbarsprachen, Nutzung der Potenziale von Herkunftssprechern im Nachbarsprachenunterricht) zeigten, dass diese sich dagegen vor allem gut für die Realisierung mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktischer Praktiken bzw. Prinzipien im Unterricht – wie mehrsprachige Sprachmittlungsszenarien für Herkunftssprecher:innen oder Content-Language-Integrated-Learning (CLIL) für Nachbarsprachler:innen – eignen.

hineingeboren wurde. Da die Herkunftssprache von einem der Elternteile in der regelmäßigen täglichen Kommunikation gesprochen wird, unterscheidet sich diese von der Sprache der Gleichaltrigen des Kindes. Im Gegensatz zum deutschen Begriff der *Herkunftssprache* haben Kinder nicht immer oder selten einen Bezug zum Herkunftsland ihrer Eltern, was der Begriff impliziert. Viele Benutzer einer Herkunftssprache sind bereits in dem Land der sie umgebenden Sprache geboren worden.

Beim Content-Language-Integrated-Learning (CLIL), auch als „bilinguales Lernen“ oder „fachsprachliches Lernen“ bekannt, handelt es sich um einen Ansatz für einen Lernprozess, der den Lernenden zwei wichtige Ziele vorgibt – das Lernen von Fachinhalten und das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache (vgl. Coyle et al. 2010). Um Missverständnisse auszuräumen:

Dieser Ansatz sollte nicht fälschlicherweise auf einen um fachsprachliche Elemente erweiterten Fremdsprachenkurs oder auf ein in einer Fremdsprache unterrichtetes Schulfach reduziert werden. Sein Mehrwert ergibt sich unter anderem aus seinem fächerübergreifenden Charakter und der interkulturellen Perspektive, die durch die Konfrontation unterschiedlicher nationaler Diskurse geprägt ist (Zawadzka 2018: 100).

Nachfolgend wird anhand von zwei INTERREG VA-Projekten geschildert, wie Herkunftssprachendidaktik und CLIL in der Unterrichtspraxis umgesetzt konnten und wie ihr Transfer im schulischen Unterricht des Polnischen als Nachbarsprache aussehen könnte.

3. ZWEI PROJEKTE ZUR FÖRDERUNG DER NACHBARSPRACHEN POLNISCH/DEUTSCH

3.1. INT2 Projekt InGRiP

Das Hauptziel des zwischen 2018 und 2021 in der Euroregion Pomerania durchgeführten Projektes INT2 „Integrierter grenzüberschreitender Rettungsdienst Pomerania/Brandenburg“ (InGRiP) war die Vermittlung von Grundstrukturen einer Berufssprache² im Bereich der Notfallmedizin sowie die Förderung des interkulturellen Bewusstseins für polnisches und deutsches medizinisches Personal. Dazu wurden u.a. berufsbezogene Sprachkurse für Rettungssanitä-

² Berufssprache bezeichnet eine Teilmenge des Systems der Fach- und Bildungssprachen und ist in allen Kontexten als Sammelbegriff für variantenreiche beruflich orientierte Kommunikationsformen zu verstehen. Vgl.: <https://www.lexikon-mla.de/lexikon/berufssprache/>

ter:innen mit L1 Deutsch ohne Polnischkenntnisse, die sich an dem Niveau A1.1 nach dem Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen (GeR)³ orientierten, konzipiert und durchgeführt. Nach Abschluss der Kurse sollten die deutschsprachigen Rettungssanitäter:innen ihre berufsspezifischen Polnischkenntnisse auf dem A1-ähnlichen-Niveau erreicht und somit eine grundlegende einfache Kommunikation mit polnischsprachigen Patient:innen realisieren können.

Der im Blended Learning-Format konzipierte Polnischkurs war ursprünglich so angelegt, dass Präsenzphasen, bestehend aus 120 Unterrichtsstunden für vier Gruppen je 13 Teilnehmende sich mit Online-Phasen abwechseln sollten. Aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie mussten zusätzliche Online-Stunden angeboten werden, die Durchführungsart des Kurses änderte sich jedoch nicht, d.h., die Gruppen wurden in Präsenz in drei nicht aufeinander folgenden Wochen (je 40 Stunden) unterrichtet und dazu standen den Teilnehmenden E-Learning-Module mit Wiederholungscharakter zur Verfügung; die ersten beiden Präsenzwochen wurden durch jeweils siebenwöchige online-Lernphasen ergänzt; nach der dritten Präsenzwoche sollten die Teilnehmenden eine achtwöchige online-Lernphase absolvieren. Die E-Learning-Module umfassten folgende Themenbereiche⁴:

- (1) Strukturen und Vokabular der berufsbezogenen Sprache, z.B. persönliche Daten, Aussehen, allgemeine Anatomie, Objekte von Interesse, Zeitbegriffe, (Wochentage und Monate) Facharztbezeichnungen sowie Bezeichnungen von weiteren medizinischen Berufen, Lebensmittel und häufige Allergien.
- (2) Grundlagen der medizinischen Kommunikation, z.B. Symptome von Krankheiten und Krankheitsentitäten, Elemente des Herz-Kreislauf-, Atmungs-, Skelett-, Verdauungs-, Nerven- und Urogenitalsystems, Wundarten sowie Darreichungsformen von Medikamenten⁵.

³ Mehr zu den Inhalten und zu den Stufen der Sprachverwendung unter <https://www.europaischer-referenzrahmen.de/>, wo ein Anfänger als eine Person auf dem Niveau A1 wie folgt charakterisiert wird: „Kann sich auf einfache Art verständigen, wenn die Gesprächspartnerinnen oder Gesprächspartner langsam und deutlich sprechen und bereit sind zu helfen“. Nur in Bezug auf die basale Verständigung, Langsamkeit und Einfachheit der (grammatischen) Mittel wird der hier thematisierte Sprachkurs auf dem Niveau verortet.

⁴ Die E-Learning-Materialien erwiesen sich als enorme Unterstützung während der Lockdowns, wenn es nicht möglich war, den Unterricht vor Ort durchzuführen. Im Rahmen des InGRiP-Projekts waren die dazugehörigen Sprachkurse speziellen Themen, wie Notfallmedizin, gewidmet. Da es sich bei den Kursen um Pilotdurchgänge handelte, wurde der Erstellung von Materialien und deren Erprobung bei potenziellen Nutzergruppen besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet.

⁵ Zwar wird die fachliche Nutzung der Sprache auf dem Niveau C1 GeR verortet, aber es existieren bereits Materialien, die die polnische Fachsprache auf dem Niveau B1 als einen Ausgangspunkt nehmen (vgl. Gębka-Wolak 2016: 11). Es wird gerade ebenso in polonistischen fachdidaktischen

- (3) Kommunikation bei medizinischen Notfällen, z.B. Einschätzung des Zustands von Patient:innen und Anwendung des ABCDE- und SAMPLE-Schemas, Mitteilung von Untersuchungsergebnissen, Sprechakte bei der Einleitung und Realisierung von Wiederbelebungsmaßnahmen, Kommunikation bei einem Herzinfarkt, Übergabe der Kranken und Benennung von medizinischen Geräten.

Das Spektrum der in den ersten beiden online-Modulen umgesetzten Themenbereiche orientierte sich an folgender Fachliteratur: (1) Fachartikel zur Fremdsprachendidaktik in der Medizinsprache (vgl. Dudzik 2014), (2) medizinische Sprachlehrbücher in polnischer Sprache (vgl. Bilicka 2018), (3) deutschsprachige Lernmaterialien für polnischsprachige Rettungssanitäter:innen (vgl. Ganczar & Rogowska 2015), (4) Umfrageergebnisse zu sprachlichen Bedürfnissen von Polnischlernenden an der Medizinischen Universität Łódź (Wojtczak 2016), (5) Ergebnisse eigener Umfragen zu Lerninhalten und Lehrbiographien (vgl. Lisek 2022: 72) sowie (6) eigene Recherchen zu allgemeinen Themen wie Gesundheit, Wohlbefinden, Essen, Trinken sowie Orts- und Zeitbezeichnungen. Bei der Auswahl der Themen für das dritte Modul wurden die Anregungen eines Notarztes berücksichtigt, um eine bessere Abstimmung und Verzahnung zwischen Sprachkurs und beruflicher Tätigkeit – in Analogie zur Verzahnung von allgemein- und fachsprachlichen Kursinhalten nach Baumann (2003) – zu erzielen, denn:

[Die] funktionale Teilkompetenz [umfasst] die Fähigkeit der Lerner, jene sprachlichen und nichtsprachlichen Mittel adäquat zu gebrauchen, die das Denken bzw. die Handlungs- und Erkenntnisfähigkeit im jeweiligen Fachgebiet auf dem jeweiligen Erkenntnisstand repräsentieren. Die Elemente des Begriffssystems des Lerners befinden sich dabei in komplizierter Wechselbeziehung mit dem lexikalisch-grammatischen System der Einzelsprache und den im Fachgebiet gängigen Organisationsstrukturen sprachlicher Kommunikation. [...] Die Betrachtung der funktionalen Teilkompetenz hat tiefgreifende Konsequenzen für eine weiterführende didaktisch-methodische Reform des fachbezogenen Fremdsprachenunterrichts (Baumann 2003: 128).

dafür plädiert, dass aufgrund marktspezifischer Bedarfe der Unterricht von Fachsprache, insbesondere für medizinische Zwecke, bereits ab dem Niveau A1 angeboten wird (vgl. Kubacka 2024). Daher sollte auch der Versuch entsprechende Materialien für Anfänger in einem Pioniervorhaben, welches ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt zur medizinischen Notfallkommunikation darstellt, nicht wundern. Es heißt darüber hinaus für den Anfänger im GeR (<https://www.europaeischer-referenzrahmen.de/>), dass der Lernende „vertraute, alltägliche Ausdrücke und ganz einfache Sätze verstehen und verwenden, die auf die Befriedigung konkreter Bedürfnisse zielen, [kann]“. Die alltägliche Situation bezieht sich im Rahmen des Projekts auf den Kontakt mit Patienten und Kolleginnen und Kollegen sowie ärztliches Personal im Rettungsdienst und wurde als alltäglich im medizinischen Kontext interpretiert. Dabei ist zu bemerken, dass die medizinischen Inhalte mehrheitlich als Chunks, ohne einen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit zu erheben, vermittelt worden sind.

Die spezifischen Bedürfnisse der Rettungsanitäter:innen konnten im Vorfeld der Kurse in Form von detaillierten Kannbeschreibungen mit Beispielen (vgl. Glaboniat et al. 2005) herausgearbeitet werden:

Tabelle 1. Fertigkeiten auf dem basalen Niveau der medizinischen Fachkommunikation für den deutschen Rettungsdienst in Anlehnung an die Niveaubeschreibungen des GeR für Allgemeinsprache Polnisch.

Hören	Kursteilnehmende können vertraute Wörter und ganz einfache Sätze oder elliptische Äußerungen verstehen, die sich auf sie selbst, das Rettungsteam, den Patient:innen oder auf konkrete Gegenstände um sie herum beziehen (z. B. auf Ausstattung des Rettungswagens oder bei einem Reanimationsvorgang), vorausgesetzt es wird in der Nachbarsprache langsam und deutlich genug gesprochen.
Lesen	Kursteilnehmende können einzelne vertraute Namen, Wörter (z. B. Krankenhausabteilungen im Entlassungsbrief, Dosierung auf dem Rezept) oder ganz einfache Sätze verstehen, z. B. auf Beipackzetteln von Medikamenten, Rezepten, Entlassungsbriefen oder Einsatzprotokollen.
Sprechen	Kursteilnehmende können sich auf sehr einfache Art verständigen, wenn ihr/e Gesprächspartner:in bereit ist, Gesagtes etwas langsamer zu wiederholen. Kursteilnehmende können einfache Fragen stellen und beantworten (z. B. beim Anamnesegespräch, Realisierung des SAMPLE(R)-Schemas), sofern es sich um vertraute Themen (z. B. Krankheitssymptome, Medikamentenverabreichung) handelt.
Schreiben	Kursteilnehmende können Stichpunkte oder eine einfache Nachricht in Form einer nicht vollständigen Äußerung oder eines Satzes schreiben. Sie können insbesondere auf medizinischen und alltäglichen Formularen Vor- und Nachnamen, Adresse, Alter oder eine ähnliche ihnen bereits begegnete Information eintragen.

Quelle: Lisek (2019: 23).

3.2. INT131

Als offiziell deklarierte Ziele des INTERREG V A-Projektes „Nachbarspracherwerb von der Kita bis zum Schulabschluss – gemeinsam leben und lernen in der Euroregion Pomerania“ (INT131, Laufzeit Juli 2020 – Dezember 2022⁶) galten:

⁶ Am Projekt nahmen folgende Partner aus Polen und Deutschland teil: als Leadpartner fungierte die Stadt Stettin, aktiv waren ebenso auf der polnischen Seite das Zachodniopomorskie Centrum Edukacji Morskiej i Politechnicznej (Westpommersche Marine und Polytechnische Hochschule) sowie auf der deutschen Seite: der Landkreis Vorpommern-Greifswald, der Landkreis Uckermark, das Institut für Slawistik der Universität Greifswald, die Regionale Arbeitsstelle für Bildung, Integration und Demokratie (RAA) Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e.V. und das Amt Gramzow.

- Stärkung und Ausbau des Unterrichts in Nachbarsprachen (Polnisch und Deutsch) sowie interkultureller Bildung bis zum Ende der Schulzeit in der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion,
- Konzeption und Implementierung eines Programms für den Online-Unterricht in Nachbarsprachen, das auf der Tandemmethode basiert,
- Förderung der interkulturellen Fähigkeiten bei Jugendlichen, Lehrkräften und Eltern sowie
- auf lange Sicht: Gewährleistung eines kontinuierlichen Erwerbs der Nachbarsprache von der Kindertagesstätte bis zum Schulabschluss sowohl in Polen als auch in Deutschland.

Als zentrales Output des o.g. Projektes, das als Folgeprojekt von INT76⁷ konzipiert wurde, kann das „Innovative grenzüberschreitende Programm zur Integration von Online-Tandems in den schulischen Nachbarspracherwerb“ (vgl. Herbst-Buchwald et al. 2023) betrachtet werden. Im Schuljahr 2021/2022 wurde das Programm im Rahmen eines Pilotprojekts mit zehn deutsch-polnischen Tandempaaren⁸ größtenteils realisiert, wobei die fächerübergreifenden Module ausgeklammert blieben (siehe weiter unten). Die pädagogisch-methodische Ausarbeitung übernahmen eine von der Stadt Stettin engagierte Expertin und eine Mitarbeiterin des Instituts für Slawistik der Universität Greifswald. Diese Arbeit umfasste die Entwicklung und Gestaltung eines Online-Tandemkurses auf der Moodle-Lernplattform, einschließlich interaktiver Online-Sitzungen über BigBlueButton (BBB). Dazu gehörten auch die Bewertung des Kurses sowie Schulungsmaßnahmen und Anleitungen für die teilnehmenden deutschen und polnischen Lehrkräfte zur Durchführung des Tandemkurses. Auf der Moodle-Plattform wurden in Absprache mit den interessierten Lehrkräften sechs thematische Kurseinheiten erstellt: „Begrüßung und Organisatorisches“, „Hobbys“, „Essen“, „Feste feiern“, „Traumreisen“ und „Präsentation der Ergebnisse“. In zwei dieser Module waren virtuelle Konferenzen vorgesehen. Jede dieser Moodle-Einheiten wurde so gestaltet, dass zunächst eine sprachliche Vorbereitung des jeweiligen Themas im Klassenverband stattfand, bevor in einem zweiten Schritt ein schriftlicher Austausch in deutsch-polnischen Tandems über themenspezi-

⁷ Eine ausführliche Darstellung des Vorgängerprojektes INT76 findet sich in der 2018 erschienenen Sondernummer „Polnisch als Nachbarsprache“ der Zeitschrift der Bundesvereinigung der Polnischlehrkräfte in Deutschland *Polski w Niemczech/Polnisch in Deutschland*, die auch online unter http://polnischunterricht.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/specjalny_2018.pdf verfügbar ist.

⁸ Die Tandempaare wurden von sieben deutschen und neun polnischen weiterführenden Schulen (Sekundarstufe I) gebildet. Aus projektbezogenen Gründen ist es wichtig hervorzuheben, welche deutsche Schulen aktiv waren: die Regionalen Schulen Penkun, Löcknitz und Pasewalk sowie das Oskar-Picht-Gymnasium Pasewalk, das Deutsch-Polnischen Gymnasium Löcknitz, das Greifen-Gymnasium in Ueckermünde und die Europäische Gesamtschule Insel Usedom Ahlbeck.

fische Moodle-Foren erfolgen sollte (vgl. Herbst-Buchwald et al. 2023: 29–99). Im dritten Schritt war eine abschließende Bearbeitung vorgesehen, bei der die Arbeitsergebnisse auf der Moodle-Lernplattform hochgeladen werden sollten (vgl. Putzier 2022). Dieses grundlegende Konzept konnte entweder unverändert übernommen oder von den Lehrkräften entsprechend der jeweiligen Tandemkonstellation und der technischen Gegebenheiten⁹ modifiziert werden.

Zusätzlich zu den alltagspraktischen Modulen wurden folgende Zusatzmodule entwickelt:

- ein Modul zum Thema „Zirkus“, da eine Live-Begegnung für Schüler:innen aus Deutschland und Polen als Zirkusworkshop kurzweg veranstaltet wurde,
- fünf Module für fachübergreifende Themen (vgl. Tab. 2) basierend auf dem Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)-Ansatz (vgl. Eurydice 2006). Ihre Umsetzung fand im Rahmen der o.g. Pilot-Tandems jedoch nicht statt.

Tabelle 2. Online-Module für fachübergreifende Themen im schulischen Nachbarsprachenunterricht

Schulfächer	Fachübergreifende Themen im schulischen Nachbarsprachenunterricht
Biologie	Erste Hilfe
Chemie	Chemie in der Küche
Geografie	Wir leben in Europa
Mathematik	Mathe im Alltag
Physik	Verkehrsmittel

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung.

Nachfolgend wird anhand der Themen „Chemie in der Küche“ und „Erste Hilfe“ geschildert, wie die in den beiden INTERREG VA-Projekten entwickelten Lehr-/Lernmaterialien im schulischen Nachbarsprachenunterricht so eingesetzt werden können, dass sie diesen zum mehrsprachigen Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum werden lassen können.

⁹Für alle am Tandem teilnehmenden deutschen Schulen wurden die Kosten der Endgeräte (25 Notebooks und 35 Router) vom Landkreis Vorpommern-Greifswald übernommen.

4. FACHÜBERGREIFEND, MEHRSPRACHIG, INDIVIDUALISIEREND UND KOMPETENZFÖRDERND?

4.1. Fachübergreifend

Die Entwicklung eines jeden Schülers und einer jeden Schülerin spielt im schulischen Kontext eine wichtige Rolle. Um die ganzheitliche Entwicklung der Schülerinnen und Schüler zu unterstützen, wird der Unterricht so konzipiert, dass er über die Grenzen einzelner Fächer hinausgeht und praxisnahe, für das tägliche Leben relevante Themen einbezieht (vgl. Hentig 2003). Diese Einstellung ist in den Rahmenplänen für Polnisch in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern ebenfalls erkennbar, es heißt:

Die Umsetzung der Ziele und Aufgaben des Polnischunterrichts erfordert ein Zusammenwirken mit anderen Unterrichtsfächern. [...] In Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Fächern wie z. B. Musik, Kunst, Geographie, Geschichte, Religion, Sozialkunde, Philosophie, Naturwissenschaften werden vor allem landeskundliche und soziokulturelle Kenntnisse vertieft und Themenstellungen der fachübergreifenden Aufgabengebiete bearbeitet (Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2002: 23).

Des Weiteren wird durch das Ministerium die integrative Herangehensweise unterstützt. Es wird hervorgehoben, dass der Bildungs- und Erziehungsauftrag vor allem durch einen Unterricht umgesetzt wird, der fächerübergreifend stattfindet:

Die Schule setzt den Bildungs- und Erziehungsauftrag insbesondere durch Unterricht um, der in Gegenstandsbereichen, Unterrichtsfächern, Lernbereichen sowie Aufgabenfeldern erfolgt. Im Schulgesetz werden zudem Aufgabengebiete benannt, die Bestandteil mehrerer Unterrichtsfächer sowie Lernbereiche sind und in allen Bereichen des Unterrichts eine angemessene Berücksichtigung finden sollen. Diese Aufgabengebiete sind als Querschnittsthemen in allen Rahmenplänen verankert (Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2019: 2).

Die nachfolgend präsentierten Aufgaben lassen sich sowohl im Chemie- als auch im Polnischunterricht integrieren. Sie wurden im Rahmen des INT131-Projektes primär für einen digitalen Tandem-Unterricht entwickelt und können nach entsprechender Adaptierung auch im klassischen Polnischunterricht eingesetzt werden. Das Thema „chemische Experimente“ eignet sich hervorragend, um das Verstehen komplexer Zusammenhänge einerseits zu erleichtern und

andererseits Sprachbarrieren für Lernende mit unterschiedlicher (Fach)Sprachkompetenz abzubauen. Und nicht zuletzt kann der Bezug zwischen einer Fachwissenschaft und der Lebenswelt der Schüler:innen hergestellt werden, denn Schulexperimente regen die Lernenden dazu an, selbständig durch Erfahrung zu verstehen und zu lernen.



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Wariant 1

Odwiedź stronę internetową pod linkiem: <https://kurzelinks.de/ql68>
Znajdziesz tu kilka prostych eksperymentów, które możesz wykonać samodzielnie w kuchni.



QR kod do strony internetowej

Wybierz eksperyment i przeprowadź go w domu lub w klasie.

Wariant 2

Wybierz dowolny eksperyment, który znasz lub wykonywałeś wcześniej.

Udokumentuj eksperyment zdjęciami, podpisz wszystkie zdjęcia i czynności i opublikuj tę fotorelację na platformie, aby koleżanki i koledzy z Polski mogli ją zobaczyć.

Twoje koleżanki i Twoi koledzy z Polski powinni przeprowadzić ten sam eksperyment i opisać go w swoim języku obcym, a następnie przesłać swoją fotorelację na platformę.

Powodzenia i dobrej zabawy!

Abbildung 1. Beispiel für eine fächerübergreifende (Tandem)Aufgabe im Polnischunterricht¹⁰ (entwickelt von Herbst-Buchwald¹¹)

¹⁰ Primär wurde dieses Arbeitsblatt als Tandemaufgabe konzipiert, Erfahrungen zeigen jedoch, dass diese Aufgabe mit Erfolg auch ohne Interaktion mit einem Partner lösbar sei.

¹¹ Dieses Arbeitsblatt entstammte Herbst-Buchwald et al. 2023: 127. Weitere Arbeitsblätter sind ebenso in dem Werk zu finden.

4.2. Mehrsprachig und individualisierend

Die im familiären Umfeld erworbenen Polnischkenntnisse der deutschen Schülerinnen und Schüler stellen laut Małolepsza (2018) ein besonderes Potenzial für den Fremd- und Herkunftssprachenunterricht dar, das sich besonders in sog. Sprachmittlungsaufgaben (d.h. Aufgaben, in denen nicht professionell¹² in beiden Sprachrichtungen übersetzt wird) entfalten kann. Die Sprachmittlung kann nicht nur die Sprachkenntnisse der zweisprachig aufgewachsenen Lernenden als ein großes Potenzial (vgl. Stolarczyk & Merkelbach 2018: 7) nutzen, sondern auch individualisiertes Lernen im Unterricht fördern, indem u.a. unterschiedliche Sprachniveaus und Unterstützungsbedarfe der Herkunftssprecher berücksichtigt werden. Somit steht das Individuum mit seinen situativen Bedürfnissen nach Unterstützung, Autonomie und Rückmeldung im Mittelpunkt (vgl. Hasselhorn et al. 2017).

In diesem Sinne kann unser nachfolgend präsentiertes Beispiel, das sich in eine Sammlung von Übungsbeispielen zur Sprachmittlung Deutsch / Polnisch und Polnisch / Deutsch einreicht (vgl. Małolepsza 2018; Mehlhorn 2018; Zawadzka 2018), sowohl die Mehrsprachigkeit als auch individualisiertes Lernen fördern. Es entstammt dem Projekt INT2 und wird zuerst in der Originalfassung für den berufsspezifischen Kontext „Rettungsanitäter:innen“ (vgl. Abb. 2) und anschließend in der für den schulischen Polnischunterricht adaptierten Fassung präsentiert (vgl. Tab. 3).

Die in der Abbildung 2 präsentierte Aufgabe war ursprünglich nicht als eine Sprachmittlungsaufgabe konzipiert¹³; Bedingt durch die Kurskonstellation wurde sie jedoch zu einer und zwar deswegen, weil ein am Sprachkurs teilnehmender Rettungsanitäter Polnisch als Herkunftssprache sprach. Sie ließ sich daher besonders gut dann umsetzen, wenn ein Rettungsanitäter gut auf Polnisch kommunizieren konnte und der andere ein noch geringes

¹² Während das Dolmetschen und das Übersetzen eine professionelle Möglichkeit darstellt, die eine fachwissenschaftliche Berufsausbildung erfordert, hat das Sprachmitteln einen alltagspraktischen Charakter und wird von Laien ausgeführt, denn für die Sprachmittlung als nichtprofessionelle Tätigkeit sind eher Alltagssituationen von Bedeutung, die im schulischen, akademischen, beruflichen oder privaten Kontext entstehen (Stolarczyk & Merkelbach 2018: 7).

¹³ Die Teilnehmenden verteilen selbstständig, als Stärkung der Autonomie der Lernenden, untereinander die Rollen. Aus diesen Rollen resultieren konkrete Arbeitsaufträge, da Beteiligte als Rettungsanitäter oder Patient andere Äußerungen tätigen, auch wenn diese beispielsweise den Schmerzcharakter betrifft. Dies betrifft auch die Situation, wenn Familienangehörige von am Kursbeteiligten gespielt werden und zu den Risikofaktoren berichten und der Rettungsanitäter diese eruiert. Den Schlüssel zu dieser Aufgabe, die sich im Laufe des Kurses zu einer Sprachmittlungsaufgabe wandelte, stellen die medizinischen Schemen, die jedem der Beteiligten und jedem medizinischen Fall charakteristisch sind.

Institut für Slawistik – Dr. Lisek



Sie arbeiten in einer Gruppe und stellen sich die folgende Situation vor:

Ein 46-jähriger männlicher Patient macht vor dem Antreten der Reise mit der Fähre nach Dänemark mit seiner Ehefrau an der Swinemünder Promenade einen Zwischenstopp. Es ist Sommer. Das Ehepaar hat sich mit kalten Getränken auf die Bank am Strandeingang hingesetzt. Nachdem eine Wespe in das Getränk des Patienten geraten ist, nimmt er einen Schluck und verspürt einen Stich in der Zunge. Bei dem 46-jährigen Mann entwickelt sich rasch eine ausgeprägte anaphylaktische Reaktion (III°). Die Ehefrau ruft die Rettungskräfte, alle polnischen Kollegen sind beschäftigt. Sie bekommen den Einsatz.

Stellen sich die folgende Situation vor: Sie treffen am Einsatzort ein. Verteilen Sie die Rollen (Patient, Familienangehörige, Rettungssanitäter, ggf. Arzt) untereinander.

Ihre Aufgabe beinhaltet: Fragen stellen und Antworten geben und/oder auf diese zu reagieren. Insbesondere sollten Sie auf diese Punkte eingehen:

- Kontakt und Vorstellung,
- Beschwerden verorten,
- Vorerkrankungen und mögliche Allergien erfragen,
- Informationen zum Beginn der Beschwerden erfragen,
- Schmerzstärke erfragen,
- Schmerzcharakter beschreiben,
- Informationen zum Schmerzverlauf sammeln,
- den Schmerz verstärkende oder lindernde Faktoren erfassen,
- Risikofaktoren eruieren.

dzień 2

Weitere Medizinische Parameter wie Blutdruck, Puls, Sauerstoffsättigung oder Zuckerwerte sowie verabreichte Medikamente sind zu nennen.

Verwenden Sie dabei die Ihnen bekannten Formulierungen und Schemata!

InGRIP wird gefördert durch das Kooperationsprogramm Interreg V A Mecklenburg-Vorpommern | Brandenburg | Polen aus Mitteln der Europäischen Union des Fonds für Regionale Entwicklung »EFRE«



Abbildung 2. Beispielaufgabe für Rettungssanitäter:innen aus dem Projekt INT2

lexikalisch-syntaktisches Repertoire verstand bzw. realisieren konnte. Für den schulischen Kontext könnte die Aufgabe etwas abgeändert wie folgt aussehen:

Tabelle 3. Mögliche Sprachmittlungsaufgabe Deutsch/Polnisch für den schulischen Kontext

Situation:
Ein 46-jähriger Mann polnischer Herkunft will eine Fährfahrt aus Deutschland nach Schweden antreten. Er hält sich mit seiner 15-jährigen zweisprachig (Polnisch und Deutsch) aufgewachsenen Tochter an einer Strandpromenade auf. Es ist Sommer. Die Beiden setzen sich mit ihren kalten Getränken auf eine Bank am Strandeingang. Nachdem eine Wespe in das Getränk des Mannes gelangt ist, nimmt er einen Schluck und spürt einen Stich auf seiner Zunge. Der 46-jährige Mann entwickelt schnell eine ausgeprägte anaphylaktische Reaktion (III°).
Aufgabe 1:
Stell dir vor, du bist die Tochter des 46-jährigen Mannes. Du wählst die Notrufnummer 112 und musst zunächst auf Deutsch mitteilen, wer du bist, was passiert ist, wer betroffen ist und wo ihr euch befindet.
Aufgabe 2:
Der Rettungswagen kommt und nun wird dein Vater versorgt. Er ist ansprechbar und die Rettungssanitäter stellen ihm Fragen. Du musst zwischen dem Patienten/deinem Vater und dem Rettungssanitäter dolmetschen. Wie würdest du folgende Fragen auf Polnisch und die Antworten des Vaters auf Deutsch sinngemäß formulieren? Rettungssanitäter (R): Welche Vorerkrankungen hat dein Vater? Vater (V): Nie mam żadnych. R: Welche Allergien sind Ihnen bekannt? V: Nie wiem. R: Welche Symptome sind bisher aufgetreten? V: Bardzo trudno mi się oddycha. Puchnie mi język. Mocno bije mi serce. R: Wie stark sind die Schmerzen? V: Bardzo boli mnie...

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung.

4.3. Kompetenzfördernd?

Ein Polnischunterricht, der sowohl die Lebens- und Erfahrungswelt der Schüler:innen berücksichtigt, kann auch deren Sprachkompetenz fördern. Für die oben dargestellten Aufgaben lassen sich problemlos Kompetenzen formulieren, die den Rahmenplan für Polnisch berücksichtigen (vgl. Tab. 4). Auch wenn es banal erscheinen mag, ist es wichtig festzuhalten, dass sich zwischen den beiden Ansätzen – Kompetenzorientierung und Ausrichtung auf die Lebens- und Erfahrungswelt der Schüler:innen – eine synergetische Wechselwirkung entfalten kann.

Tabelle 4. Mögliche Kompetenzen, die bei der Beschäftigung mit den Themen „Erste Hilfe“ und „Chemie in der Küche“ gefördert werden können

Kompetenzen laut Lehrplan (MBWK 2002)	Thema „Erste Hilfe“	Thema „Chemie in der Küche“
Fachkompetenz (Polnisch)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen können die typischen Fragen und Kurzsätze, die während eines Notrufs vorkommen, verstehen/verwenden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen lernen, wie über chemische Experimente berichtet wird
Sozialkompetenz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen stärken ihr Selbstbewusstsein, um in Notfallsituationen in Polen zurecht zu kommen Schüler:innen lernen, Verantwortung zu übernehmen Schüler:innen stärken ihre Team- und Kommunikationsfähigkeit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen lernen, vor einer Gruppe zu präsentieren Schüler:innen stärken ihre Kommunikationsfähigkeit
Methodenkompetenz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen erarbeiten sich angeleitet von der Lehrkraft mit Hilfe von google-Übersetzer mögliche, für den Notruf nützliche Formulierungen Schüler:innen reflektieren ihr Handeln 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schüler:innen können eine Foto-Geschichte entwerfen Schüler:innen können ihre Arbeitsergebnisse online (auf einer E-Learning-Plattform) veröffentlichen

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung.

5. SCHULISCHER NACHBARSPRACHENUNTERRICHT ALS MEHRSPRACHIGER LEBENS- UND ERFAHRUNGSRAUM?

Ziel unseres Beitrags war es, Antworten auf folgende Fragen zu finden:

1. Kann der schulische Nachbarsprachenunterricht als „Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum“ bezeichnet werden, mit anderen Worten so gestaltet werden, dass er z.B. fachübergreifend und individualisierend ist?
2. Welche Bedingungen müssen erfüllt werden, damit dieser „Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum“ als mehrsprachig gelten kann?

Bezüglich der ersten Frage kann konstatiert werden, dass der schulische Nachbarsprachenunterricht mit einem gewissen Aufwand seitens der Lehrkraft fachübergreifend gestaltet werden kann. Viele Themen wie z.B. „erste Hilfe“ und „Chemieexperimente“ lassen sich (wie unter Punkt 4 des vorliegenden Beitrages geschildert) hervorragend in den Polnischunterricht integrieren und bieten gute Möglichkeiten diesen fächerübergreifend und abwechslungsreich

zu gestalten. Warum wird dieses Potenzial möglicherweise eher sporadisch genutzt? Hryniewicz und Lisek (2019) deuten darauf hin, dass es beim berufsbezogenen Unterrichten nicht selten an geeigneten Methoden oder gut vorbereiteten Fachkräften und Unterrichtsmaterialien fehle und diese Aussage kann analog für fächerübergreifendes Lehren zutreffen.

Hinsichtlich der Frage zu potenziellen Bedingungen, die erfüllt werden müssen, damit der schulische Lebens- und Erfahrungsraum mehrsprachig werden kann, schließen wir uns Putzier, Hryniewicz-Piechowska und Brehmer (2022: 73) an, die das Ergreifen von gezielten bildungspolitischen Maßnahmen als zentral hierfür ansehen:

Denkbar wäre es, den Nachbarsprachen generell einen sprachpolitischen Sonderstatus (vergleichbar den Regionalsprachen wie Niederdeutsch) einzuräumen, der Spielräume für das Angebot spezifischer (z.B. bilingualer) Bildungseinrichtungen schaffen und einen entsprechenden Druck erzeugen könnte, damit verbindliche ministerielle Regelungen auf Länderebene für die Umsetzung von Maßnahmen zur durchgängigen Sprachbildung erlassen und ihre nachhaltige Finanzierung sichergestellt werden kann. Bislang ist dies nur für das Dänische aufgrund seines Status als offiziell anerkannter autochthoner Minderheitensprache in Deutschland der Fall (Putzier et al. 2022: 73).

Die genannten Maßnahmen könnten sich darüber hinaus positiv auf die Motivation der Polnischlernenden in Deutschland auswirken, die ein generelles Problem für den Polnischunterricht in Deutschland darstelle (vgl. Putzier et al. 2022; Brehmer 2018: 30), da das Prestige der polnischen Sprache in Deutschland Seite im Gegensatz zum Prestige von Deutsch in Polen gering sei (vgl. Prunitsch et al. 2015).

Abschließend möchten wir betonen, dass die Schaffung mehrsprachiger Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume im schulischen (Polnisch)Unterricht der erste Schritt ist, um sicherzustellen, dass alle Schülerinnen und Schüler unabhängig von ihrem Hintergrund Zugang zu einer gerechten Bildung haben. Wir plädieren nachdrücklich für ihren Einzug in den Sprachunterricht in allen formalen Bildungskontexten.

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W jaki sposób nauczanie w szkole języka sąsiada może stanowić wielojęzyczną przestrzeń zyciową i doświadczeniową? Przykłady realizacji na lekcjach języka polskiego

ABSTRAKT. Pogranicza to obszary, gdzie wielojęzyczność jest szczególnie widoczna. Co za tym idzie, coraz więcej projektów finansowanych przez UE stawia sobie za cel promowanie tej idei. Niniejszy artykuł poświęcony jest możliwościom aktywnego wspierania wielojęzyczności, opierając się na doświadczeniach z trzech projektów INTERREG (INT2 i INT131) dotyczących pogranicza polsko-niemieckiego. Projekty koncentrują się na wciąż aktualnej i istotnej tematyce komunikacji w sytuacjach kryzysowych. Materiały przygotowane w ramach projektów dotyczą nauki języka sąsiada od przedszkola do egzaminu maturalnego, zostały sprawdzone i dobrze ocenione. Celem naszych rozważań jest przedstawienie i połączenie perspektyw nauczania języków obcych – polityki edukacyjnej i dydaktyki języków obcych. Refleksje tu zawarte opierają się na wykorzystaniu prezentowanych materiałów. Można je przenieść także na inne obszary tematyczne. Zajęcia z osobami posługującymi się językiem sąsiada muszą być holistyczne, empiryczne, interdyscyplinarne oraz zindywidualizowane, co sprawia, że szczególnie istotne jest dokładne zbadanie materiałów oraz metod zastosowanych w omawianych projektach. Należy podkreślić, że tworzenie wielojęzycznych przestrzeni dla doświadczeń i działań na lekcjach języka polskiego jest pierwszym krokiem do zapewnienia wszystkim uczniom, niezależnie od ich pochodzenia, dostępu do sprawiedliwej edukacji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: wielojęzyczność, język sąsiada, język polski jako język obcy, nauka międzyprzedmiotowa, lekcje języka obcego jako przestrzeń dla życia i doświadczenia.

GRZEGORZ LISEK

University of Greifswald (Germany)

grzegorz.lisek@uni-greifswald.de

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1613-3855>

AGNIESZKA PUTZIER

University of Greifswald (Germany)

agnieszka.putzier@uni-greifswald.de

<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-2784-8641>

JOANNA ROKITA-JAŚKOW

University of the National Education Commission in Kraków

WERONA KRÓL-GIERAT

University of the National Education Commission in Kraków

Evaluating the linguistic repertoire of pre-primary educators by means of language portraits

ABSTRACT. Developing plurilingual and intercultural awareness is an essential aspect of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) teacher training programmes in countries like Poland, with its population becoming more diverse linguistically. Plurilingual and pluricultural awareness can aid teachers in teaching early foreign languages efficiently and in working with children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To achieve this goal, language portraits have been recognised as a useful tool in transformative and multilingual pedagogy (Coffey 2015; Hopp et al. 2020; Lau 2016) as they help educators become more aware of their linguistic repertoires and how they can use them when working with young learners (Prasad 2020; Soares et al. 2021). This study analyses language repertoires of 75 pre-primary educators utilising the technique of language portrait presented in the PEPELINO portfolio (Goullier et al. 2015). The content analysis of data indicates a vast repertoire of languages present in the teachers' lives; however, they are significant only in the emotional dimension and less in the cognitive and communicative ones. This finding is interpreted as a result of a solid monolingual ideology rooted in the teachers, lack of plurilingual and pluricultural awareness and thus foreseeing difficulties in teaching a foreign language or in linguistically diverse classes. Guidelines for ECEC teacher education are provided.

KEYWORDS: plurilingual awareness, pluricultural awareness, language portraits, the PEPELINO portfolio, foreign language, teacher education, Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC).

1. INTRODUCTION

Following the recommendations of the European language policy documents (European Commission 2011), FL learning at the pre-primary level has been present in Poland since 2015. Because Poland is a dominantly monolingual country, in popular opinion, a very early start in an FL is seen as aiding plurilingual development by lengthening the overall period of FL exposure. In western Europe, however, very early FL instruction can be seen as enriching the

young child's linguistic multicompetence, as many children already grow up multilingually in the family and the kindergarten.

Teaching FLs early places new demands on Early Childhood Education and Care (henceforth: ECEC) teachers, who, in line with the Polish curriculum (Ministry of Polish Education 2017) and European guidelines, are to raise children's plurilingual and pluricultural awareness, thus laying grounds for future more intensive language learning. They are not language specialists, i.e. they have not graduated from language departments, yet the younger generation of ECEC teachers have at least a 12-year-long experience of FL education, and a university degree obliges them to pass an exam in an FL at B2 level, which seems to be an adequate communicative competence to teach a FL to very young learners. In terms of didactic preparation, the teachers have been required to attend post-graduate courses in FL teaching methodology, during which the PEPELINO portfolio (Goullier et al. 2015) can be used as a tool promoting reflective teacher development in respect of plurilingual and intercultural development. Language portraits are one of the techniques aiming to fulfil this goal.

This paper aims to report on the study of the participants' plurilingual and intercultural awareness conducted by means of language portraits among post-graduate ECEC in-service teachers at the Pedagogical University of Krakow¹. In the light of other research, it is known that only teachers who are plurilingual themselves (Otwinowska 2017; Rokita-Jaśkow 2023) feel confident about their use of language and have higher degrees of intercultural competence, which are the required predispositions for teaching a FL by a non-specialist generalist teacher. In other words, if the teacher is to foster his/her learners' plurilingual and pluricultural skills, s/he should be made aware of his/her plurilinguism and trained with techniques that enhance such awareness and are easily transferable into the young learner's classroom. Language portraits as a reflective technique (cf. Glaser 2007) seem to serve this role.

2. LANGUAGE PORTRAITS IN EVALUATING PLURILINGUAL AND PLURICULTURAL AWARENESS OF PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATORS

Plurilingual and pluricultural awareness of European citizens is regarded to be a vital objective of European policy as it enhances mutual understanding and social cohesion, as shown in various documents (Recommendation R (98), 6 "Linguistic diversification" 1998, Recommendation 1539, 2001; Recommen-

¹ The name of the Pedagogical University of Krakow was changed to the University of the National Education Commission, Krakow in October 2023.

dation of The European Parliament and of the Council of December 2006) and language policy guidelines (Beacco & Byram 2007). It is defined as “the ability to use languages for communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures” (Council of Europe 2001: 168).

Plurilingual awareness is a component of pluricultural awareness, as language is one aspect of culture. As it is stated further in the same document “plurilingualism has itself to be seen in the context of pluriculturalism. Language is not only a major aspect of culture, but also a means of access to cultural manifestations” (Council of Europe 2001: 6). Furthermore, plurilingual and pluricultural competence becomes a cornerstone of education in a multilingual and democratic society. The CEFR Companion volume (Council of Europe 2018) emphasizes the importance of learners as ‘social agents’ who should utilize all of their linguistic and cultural resources to actively engage in social and educational settings. This ability enables them to achieve mutual understanding, access knowledge, and continue to develop their linguistic and cultural skills. Plurilingual and pluricultural awareness can constitute individual propensities, acquired through experience of different languages and cultures. When these experiences come into contact in communicative situations, the interlocutors use intercultural competence, allowing them to compare and contrast their cultures with mutual respect and understanding (Glaser 2007). Yet, for this ability to develop the growth of plurilingual and pluricultural awareness is a prerequisite. As Perez-Peitx et al. (2019: 235) argue,

Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism help create an individual who, in a particular communicative situation, is equipped with strategies to manage linguistic and cultural imbalance. These strategies allow the individual to develop a capacity to explore all available communicative resources, and to manage a wide field of knowledge and abilities, thus enhancing mutual understanding.

Plurilingual education of pre-service and in-service teachers bears the potential of the *mind-changer*, as Pinho (2019: 216) put it, as it is a “gateway to new ways of thinking, acting and be(coming)”. It can start with reflecting on one’s language learning history and different intercultural contacts’ roles in developing the teacher’s plurilingual identity. Self-perception as a plurilingual teacher can further yield such teaching practice in which teachers sensitise their learners to the similarities and differences between different languages and cultures (Rokita-Jaśkow 2023). Such practice can be particularly eye-opening in contexts where multilingualism is neither present in society nor emphasised in the curriculum

because it can prepare teachers for encounters with multilingual and multicultural learners. The teachers must change their attitudes toward such learners, appreciating their diversity and understanding “the sociopolitical dimensions of language use and education” (Lau 2016: 149).

Language portraits as an instance of visual narratives, which represent the semiotic approach to linguistic inquiry, have been recently appreciated as a potential technique for developing plurilingual and multilingual awareness in teacher education (Coffey 2015; Hopp et al. 2020; Lau 2016) and in working with multilingual children, whose linguistic repertoires can be fully recognised (Busch 2018; Obojska 2019; Prasad 2020; Soares et al. 2021). They consist in “colouring different languages in a body silhouette as a way of symbolically representing the embodiment of one’s languages, revealing attitudes towards and socio-affective links to languages and bringing forward the linguistic and cultural diversity of students” (Soares et al. 2021: 23). In addition, the outline indicates an organization based on different body parts, which could be linked to familiar, culturally established comparisons like the head representing rationality, the abdomen symbolizing emotions, the heart signifying intimacy, and the hands representing social engagement (Busch 2021: 12–13).

The images can be interpreted through their multimodal features, such as, sizes, shapes, colours, colour saturation, perspectives, framing and composition (Kress & Leeuwen van 2006: 179–185), which enables dialogic interaction and interpretation of messages between different modes of information: the verbal and the visual. One mode is not a translation or illustration of the other but serves as a beginning point for a conversation and thus facilitates “the elicitation of (biographical) narratives” (Busch 2018: 6). Therefore, body image in a language portrait can serve as a form of autobiographical narrative (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 9), a frame for a metaphor (Busch 2018), “emotionally highly loaded representation of one’s body in relation to others” (Busch 2021: 196).

As regards using language portraits in teacher education, Coffey (2015) notes their potential to foster future teachers’ reflexivity as well as raise plurilingual awareness. He believes that “learning foreign languages in both formal and informal settings is closely tied to autobiographical experience and personal beliefs about language(s)” (Coffey 2015: 502). This approach seems to be justified as the teachers “sequential mastery of language features acquired in a predictable order” (Coffey 2015: 500) is no longer sufficient, as teacher cognition is built through various life experiences. In order to raise their plurilingual awareness, the teacher candidates are invited to reflect on their language learning histories by referring to metaphors that depict their emotions and embodiments of the languages experienced. At the same time, the teachers acknowledge that their

transformative function is limited. However, they should be treated as inquiry-based activities that enable the understanding of the roles that different languages play in society and allow for the “growth of a [...] sense of symbolic self, the development of his or her ability to take symbolic action and to exercise symbolic power” (Kramsch 2009: 199).

Conversely, Perez-Peitz et al. (2019) in their study observed that using visual narratives in the teacher education course results not only in the change of type of visual used from more concrete to a more symbolic one but also indicates a shift in the learners’ understanding of the plurilingual competence.

To summarise, plurilingual and pluricultural competencies lie at the cornerstone of culturally and linguistically responsive and appropriate teaching, ensuring learners’ inclusiveness, irrespective of their languages and cultures. Both pre-service and in-service teachers need to experience plurilingual education to open their minds and shape their beliefs and attitudes towards working with linguistically and culturally diverse learners, which is gradually becoming a fact in the increasingly multilingual society, as is the case of Poland. As aimed in the PEPELINO portfolio (Goulier et al. 2015, pre-primary educators of a foreign language have the capacity to play a crucial role in shaping young children’s minds towards openness for diversity (Lau 2016), both realising the goals of early foreign language policy as well as helping multilingual and multicultural learners integrate into the new kindergarten environment at the same time

To date, plurilingual and pluricultural competencies of ECEC teachers in Poland have not been assessed, even though a foreign language is a part of the ECEC curriculum. However, these teacher competencies seem to be essential if they are to effectively instill similar mindsets in their child learners, and in the encounters of multilingual learners.

3. THE STUDY UNDERTAKEN

3.1. Research aims and questions

The study aims to determine the pre-primary teachers’ plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires and associated meanings in the emotional, cognitive and communicative dimensions. Thus, the following research questions have been posed:

RQ 1: How diverse is the pre-primary teachers’ language repertoire?

RQ 2: What meaning do pre-primary teachers attach to languages from their repertoire in the emotional, cognitive and communicative dimensions?

3.2. Participants

The study participants were in-service ECEC teachers who enrolled for postgraduate studies in TEYL methodology ($n = 75$) at the Pedagogical University of Krakow in the 2017/2018 academic year. Thus, convenience sampling was used. The respondents were all female, of whom 58% had no experience in TEYL prior to training, 32.5% had been teaching English to YLs for a year or two, and only 9.5% had been teaching a foreign language for more than two years. The mean length of teaching experience was about five months. This data shows that the participants were mainly young teachers who decided to participate in additional in-service training to obtain formal qualifications to teach an FL in the ECEC.

3.3. Research instruments and procedure

The data was obtained by employing the language portrait technique, one of the tasks in the PEPELINO portfolio (Goullier et al. 2015: 20). It was designed for reflective training of pre-primary educators in a FL. The portrait task aimed to encourage the trainees to reflect upon their own experience of languages and cultures around them, i.e., their plurilingual and pluricultural awareness. The participants were to answer the following guiding question: *Which languages and which language registers are important in your life?* They were given a silhouette (Goullier et al. 2015: 20) to complete with any colour(s) and drawing symbolising their linguistic resources in the figure. The participants were encouraged to make subjective choices of situations and events they have personally experienced and to relate to them by adding captions next to the visual representation, explaining the position and colour of the different languages in the diagram, either in English or Polish. Prompting questions relating to the emotional, cognitive or communicative dimensions were given, as suggested by Goullier et al. (2015: 21–22). The task was allocated 30 minutes.

Subsequently, the data elicited from the visual task has been analysed according to the methodology proposed by Prasad (2014, 2020). First, the number of languages indicated by the participants was calculated (RQ1). Next, the silhouettes were carefully examined by matching the languages, colours, their written accounts, and the position of the languages on particular body parts. This information was transferred into the Excel file. Finally, in line with the recommendation of Goullier et al. (2015), the captions were coded as either emotional, cognitive or communicative dimensions using the Nvivo 11 software. The thematic analysis of the codes and their references (Braun & Clarke 2006)

allowed the researchers to inquire into the roles the participants attach to the languages in their repertoire.

3.4. Study findings

The obtained results indicate a vast repertoire of languages present in the pre-primary teachers' lives (cf. App.1) in an apparently monolingual setting. The teachers attribute a significant role to Polish, their L1 ($n = 75$), English, L2, the language of instruction of the postgraduate course and the target language of instruction ($n = 73$), and to many other languages, which included those most common in the education system in Poland, i.e. German ($n = 46$), French ($n = 39$), Spanish ($n = 31$), Italian ($n = 24$), and Russian ($n = 21$). As for the other languages present in the language portraits, Latin – a “dead” language which is no longer spoken, has been recognised by 15 teachers. Next on the list were Norwegian ($n = 4$), Dutch ($n = 3$), Swedish ($n = 3$), Chinese ($n = 2$), Greek ($n = 2$), Ukrainian ($n = 2$). Finally, other languages, such as Croatian, Finnish, Georgian, Hungarian, Irish, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Slovak and Vietnamese, were mentioned only once. However, it must be highlighted that the significant role ascribed to a language does not coincide with the participant's level of proficiency in it.

As regards the importance attached to the languages in the emotional dimension, Polish, as the respondents' L1, evoked most emotional associations with the highest number of references ($n = 62$, 83%), which is demonstrated in Fig. 1.

In terms of metaphors occurring in the drawings, there were many profoundly moving beliefs, but one stood out in particular. More than half the participants ($n = 39$, 52%) drew a red heart for marking Polish on their silhouettes, indicating a solid emotional attachment to this language, which was further confirmed by short comments such as:

Polish is my first language (P_02), I love it and I'm proud of it (P_12); It's my beloved language, defining who I am and where I come from (P_24); It's the language of my mother and the people I love (P_27); It's my beloved mother tongue which I have both in my heart and in my head (P_39); I feel good, safe and secure when surrounded by it (P_41).

The teachers expressed their patriotism and devotion to Poland as their motherland. In reference to Polish, regardless of the body part coloured, 60 teachers (85%) chose red to mark it in their portraits, which is commonly indicative of connotations with love.

The second language with many references ($n = 44$, 59%) was English. It was marked green, popularly considered the colour of hope, 20 times. Indeed, the teachers explained their choice by commenting: “Green – hope to overcome the blockage and use it” (P_21), “All I need is English” (P_43), “I hope to learn it well” (P_67).

German, as the most frequently studied L3 in Poland, received the highest number of emotional references ($n = 29$, 39%), yet the majority of it with adverse connotations. 18 teachers marked German in black, one of them explaining that

I used to learn it at school, but I don't have good memories of the teacher (P_03); It was a difficult language to learn (P_13); I learned German in school for many years, it always weighed on me because I was forced to learn it (P_26); I have mixed feeling about it as it is 'tough' and 'cold' (P_28), I don't like how it sounds (P_56).

On the contrary, French ($n = 20$), Spanish ($n = 19$) and Italian ($n = 20$) evoked rather positive emotions. French was connected with pleasing sounds and travelling: “I dream about visiting France (P_2); I have good memories from holidays in France and Belgium (P_17); French is romantic (P_18); I love singing in this language (P_34); I like listening to French because it sounds nice, although I don't know this language (P_55).” Similarly, Italian was associated with travelling, cuisine, and the beauty of the language and the country: “I like eating Italian food (P_12); I would like to go on holidays there (P_24); Italy is my favourite country (P_35). I want to move to Italy in the future (P_41); Italian is a beautiful, 'sunny' language” (P_56). Analogically, Spanish made the teachers think of the sun, sight-seeing, music and hospitality: “I would like to visit Spain (P_24); Sunny, friendly people (P_40); I dance salsa (P_51); I like holiday animations with Spanish songs” (P_73). A few teachers recalled their past experiences, e.g. “I remember watching Spanish soap operas in my childhood” (P_19). These languages were typically marked by warm colours like red, yellow and orange.

As regards other languages, Russian² received 8 references being associated with fond memories of youthful days when the participants used to study it at school. Latin, ancestral to the modern Romance languages, was indicated 6 times and also brought about fond memories of the teachers' school days. One participant admitted taking pride in the ability to read Latin inscriptions in churches while travelling.

The remaining languages (numbered 9–33 in App. 1) received single indications in the emotional dimension, which stemmed from unforgettable life

² The study was conducted before the Russian invasion onto Ukraine in 2022, hence more positive views were held than are probably nowadays.

experiences, e.g. getting engaged in Greece, living in a given country for some time or having family members abroad and feeling nostalgic. Also, geographic proximity was noticed: “I live near Slovakia. I have much in common with this culture” (P_19). Two participants expressed their fascination with the Far East – its culture, history, style and languages, including the alphabetic-syllabic writing. One person had a father coming from Vietnam, thus marking Vietnamese in red and outlining the entire portrait likewise.

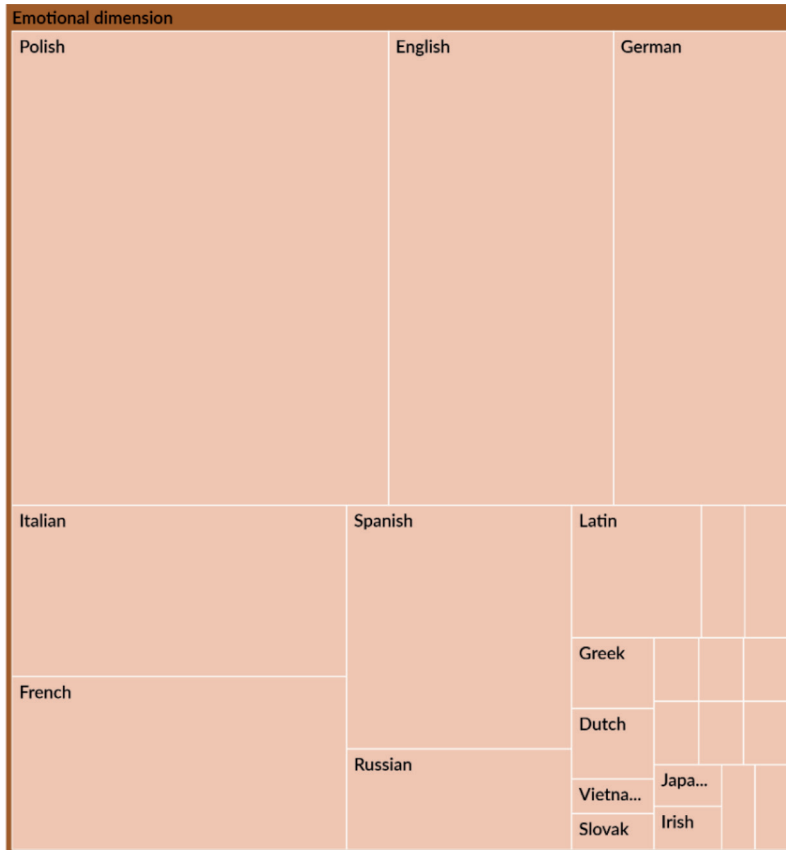


Figure 1. Hierarchical chart of codes (languages) in the emotional dimension (performed with the use of Nvivo software)

Source: current study.

Figure 2 depicts the distribution of references ($n = 195$) to languages ($n = 17$) in the cognitive dimension. As demonstrated (App. 1, Fig. 3), English, the participants' target foreign language, was by far most frequently referred to and gained

60 indications. It was also most often marked on the head/in the brain ($n = 33$), which matches the popular metaphors of cognition and language (Quirk 2008).

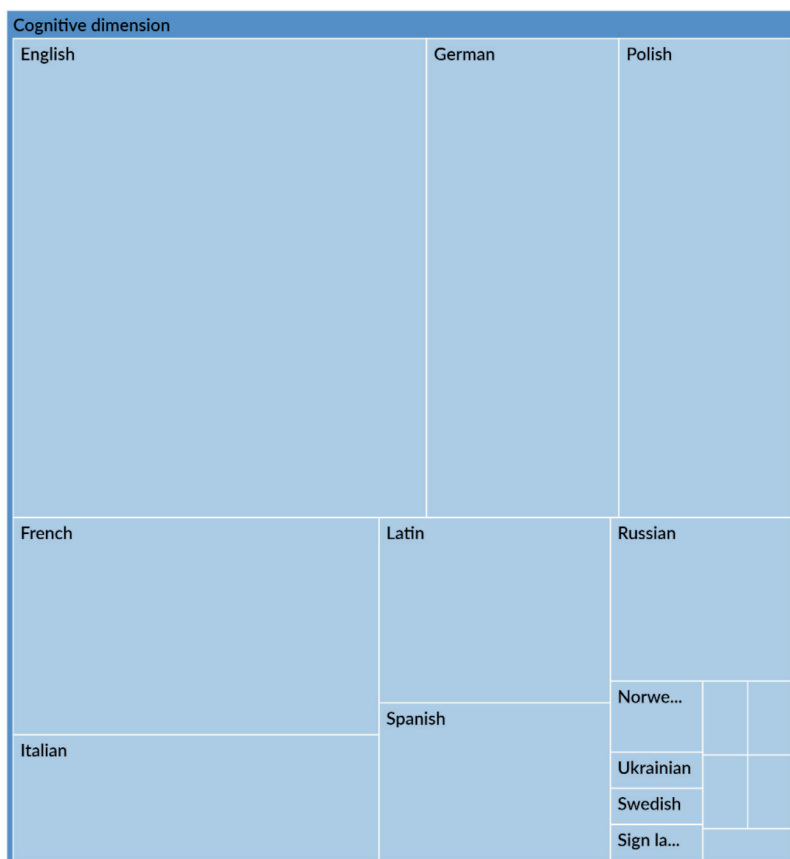


Figure 2. Hierarchical chart of codes (languages) in the cognitive dimension (performed with the use of Nvivo software)

Source: current study.

The most common narratives indicated the participants' awareness of the need for further study and development of English as a foreign language, e.g.: "I would like to learn it well and it's always on my mind (P_04); English has been in my life all the time, enhancing my education (P_07); It's the language I want to learn well and my actions are heading in this direction" (P_74). As for the reasons why the participants view learning English as priority, they stressed occupational motives: "It's the language I need for work and I need to think about it (P_01); All the time I think about this language because I would like to

speak it well and teach children (P_16); It absorbs a lot of my thoughts, because it prepares me for university and work" (P_68). A number of participants admitted to being cognitively stimulated in English: "I enjoy solving English grammar tasks (P_23); I like reading English literature (P_30), I like listening to songs and watching movies in English" (P_72).

The second language in the ranking was German, indicated 28 times. Within the cognitive dimension it was mostly related to the participants' past school experience and abandonment of the continuation of learning:

I used to learn German in high school (P_05); I used to know it quite well, but now I remember less and less (P_11); I used to learn it but I do nothing to maintain and develop it further (P_35); I've been learning it since childhood but with little success (P_38); Er hat es läuten hören, weiß aber nicht, wo die Glocken hängen [Eng. Lights are on but nobody is home - idiomatic] (P_44); I learned German many years but it's an albatross around my neck (P_47); It's not unfamiliar to me, but I do not associate a future with it (P_67).

Polish received 25 indications and was described as the language in which the participants think, read and write as native language users:

I think in this language all the time (P_06); It's my mother tongue which I know best and through which I perceive the world (P_28); I use it when I'm reading books or for thinking (P_38); I love Polish literature and I like writing in Polish (P_40); Most of the knowledge I was able to acquire was conveyed in Polish (P_62).

French received almost as many indications ($n = 24$) as Polish, but in this case the motives provided were different. Analogically to German, French was associated with past educational experiences (both positive and negative) or the wish to learn it: "I have nice memories of learning it; I studied it at university, it was nice, but I don't remember much; I learned French for 6 years and I wanted to escape from it; For me it's a difficult language to learn and I'm sick and tired of it; I would like to learn it, especially for travelling".

The next group of modern foreign languages with a considerable number of indications in the cognitive dimensions includes Italian ($n = 14$), Spanish ($n = 11$), and Russian ($n = 9$). While Italian and Spanish were accompanied by narratives expressing a desire to learn them, mainly for tourism (e.g. "I would like to learn them to travel freely in these countries" (P_49), Russian evoked memories of learning the language in the past, but not using it any more (e.g. "It was so long ago that I don't speak it" (P_03).

Latin, with 13 references, was clearly distinguished in the cognitive dimension. Similarly to Russian, however, it was associated with formal study in the

past and not remembering much: “Panta rei [Eng. everything flows] – it’s all water over the dam, a scarce level of knowledge” (P_02). The extinct Old Church Slavonic was referred to as “a nightmare” of Polish philological studies.

Languages numbered 9–25 in App. 1 received single indications in the cognitive dimension, most often expressing a wish to learn them. In contrast, languages numbered 26–33 were not taken into account at all.

As regards the communicative dimension, the participants made 97 references to 13 different languages in the communicative dimension, which also signifies the lowest score of the three dimensions. As shown in Fig. 3 and App. 1, English with 44 references was once again given special recognition.

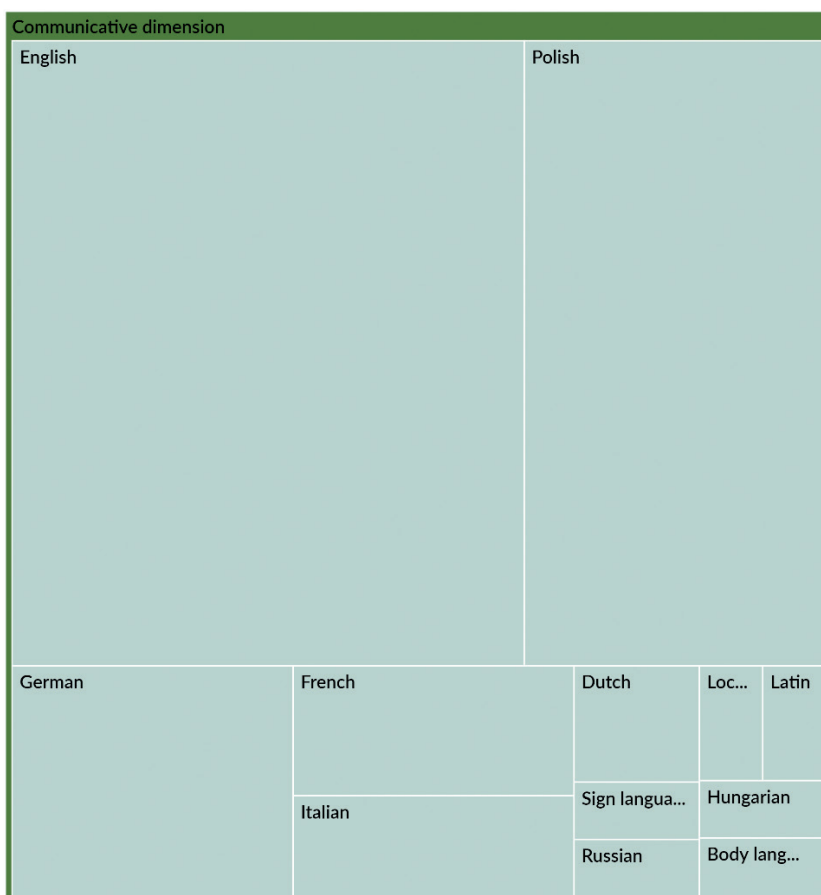


Figure 3. Hierarchical chart of codes (languages) in the communicative dimension (performed with the use of Nvivo software)

Source: current study.

A recognition of the communicative function of English as a global lingua franca and a job requirement can be gathered from comments such as:

I wish I knew English on a level which would allow me to communicate freely in this language (P_08); I would like to speak this language fluently, because it is omnipresent and useful (P_10); It allows you to communicate with the whole world (P_14); It's my working tool (P_27); I use English very often to communicate with my friends from different countries and I want to be fluent in this (P_29); I use English in contact with my friends in the USA and when I go abroad to another country (P_50); Knowing English makes travelling easier (P_62); I like playing with children using English (P_64).

One person highlighted that mimicry, gestures and expression are vital in communication. Two teachers used metaphorical language and illustrative comparisons as stylistic devices to denote the communicative role of English. One compared English to trousers, explaining that you put it on when you need it. In the latter case, English was compared to the Sun, since both are indispensable. Mouth ($n = 10$), symbolising speech, was the participants' second choice regarding marking the language on a selected body part. If marked on hands ($n = 5$), the narratives clarified that English was a working tool.

The second most frequently indicated ($n = 26$) language viewed as a means of communication was Polish. Being native speakers of Polish, the participants explained that:

I live in Poland, so I speak Polish (P_09); I use it every day (P_14); It's automatic to speak it, without inhibitions (P_22); It's the language best mastered (P_34); I marked Polish on my hands, legs and one third of the head, (because just like these body parts I need the language for daily activities, the simplest communication and working with others (P_71).

Although Polish was the mother tongue for 100% of the participants, only one third mentioned it in the communicative dimension. It can be presumed that they might have subconsciously considered this aspect to be too obvious to discuss.

Further on, a significant gap in the number of references can be observed. Among modern foreign languages, German ($n = 9$), French ($n = 5$) and Italian ($n = 4$) received a modest number of mentions. As for German, again, the participants expressed contradictory views. On the one hand they claimed that knowing German was helpful, yet on the other that they did not necessarily like speaking it: "I learnt it for 9 years, but still the words stick in my throat (P_09); It's an ugly sounding language of orders, but it is needed like

English. I go there very often" (P_57). In all cases, the participants' wish to develop communicative competence in Italian was for travelling purposes: "I like travelling to Italy very much and I would like to learn Italian in a practical way" (P_42). French was associated either with tourism or living in a French-speaking country.

Other languages were sporadically mentioned, usually resonating the context of its use/contact, e.g.

I was working in the forest in Sweden and I heard this language a lot, I was able to understand some expressions, which helped me to understand what I were expected to do (P_07); In the past I visited Belgium a few times, I have family there, and I would use French at that time (P_25);

I love the Netherlands, the people. I lived there and I like speaking Dutch, although I have difficulties with pronunciation (P_46).

Sign and body languages were also referred to. Graphically, body language surrounded the whole silhouette and was captioned: "It's the expression of the whole body" (P_11), while sign language was marked on arms, hands and fingers and described as a "channel of communication" (P_69). One person referred to Latin, emphasising the continued use of specialised terms in medicine and law.

In reference to other languages, interesting observations can be made concerning additional elements drawn in some of the portraits. When narrating about Polish, one teacher drew a book next to the silhouette, symbolising her craving for reading in L1. A book was also added to a different portrait when describing Italian to pay tribute to Italian literature. An interesting visual metaphor was once used for Russian, marked as a shadow of the character – always present but not being paid special attention to. In the case of German, one teacher added a ball and chain binding one leg to represent a restraint in using the language.

4. SPECIMEN LANGUAGE PORTRAITS

For the paper, two language portraits (of teacher A and teacher B) with captions written in English were chosen as illustrations of the aforementioned observations. No matter the occasional mistakes, the captions are left in the original.

4.1. Language portrait 1 – Teacher A

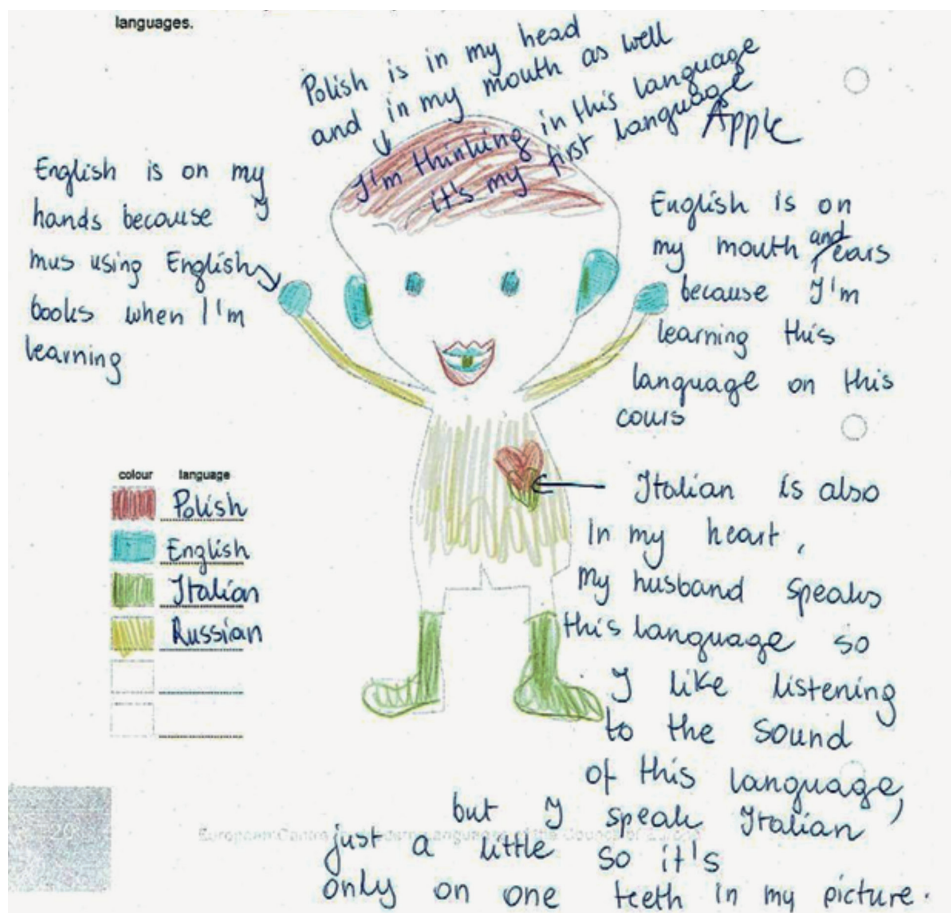


Figure 4. Exemplary language portrait no. 1

Source: current study.

Teacher A explicitly identifies Polish, English, Italian and Russian and their pivotal roles in her life. Polish comes first, which is Teacher A's first language. It is represented by red and placed in the heart, head, and mouth. The heart represents the emotional attachment to the mother tongue, the head symbolises the cognitive processes ("I am thinking in this language"), and the mouth implies the communicative function of Polish. Italian is among the languages that Teacher A places in the drawing in her heart. She uses the metaphor of the

heart as a site for emotionality and intimacy, thereby referring to her family situation. Her husband speaks Italian, so she likes listening to the sounds of this language. However, Teacher A speaks Italian only a little. Therefore, it is graphically represented by one tooth, not the whole mouth. It is also marked on the legs, but Teacher A does not explain this choice. English is also relevant in Teacher A's life. In her account, it is essential, i.e. because of learning the language during the postgraduate course. The ears designate developing listening, while the mouth speaking skills. The fourth language present in Teacher A's life is Russian, marked in yellow on both arms. Unfortunately, no explanatory caption is provided.

4.2. Language portrait 2 – Teacher B

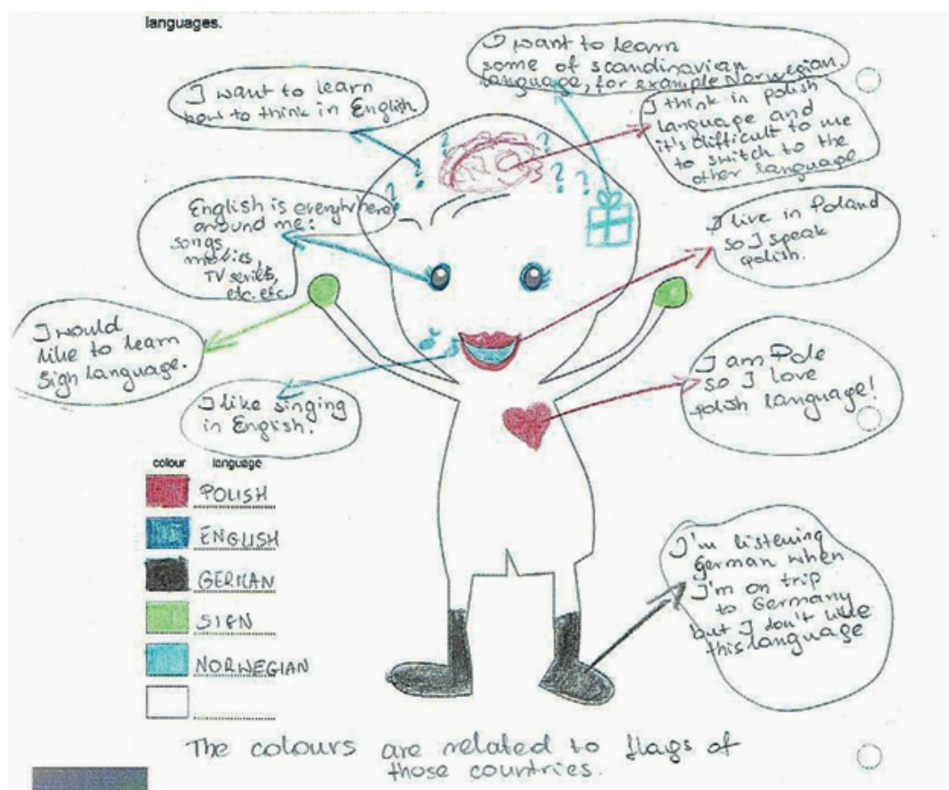


Figure 5. Exemplary language portrait no. 2

Source: current study.

In her portrait, Teacher B marks Polish, English, German and sign languages as present in her life. Except for the sign language, the colours are related to the flags of each country. In her account, Polish is the first and obvious choice, linked with the residential and emotional / patriotic domains: “I live in Poland, so I speak Polish” (red mouth); “I am Pole, so I love Polish language” (red heart). The teacher’s mother tongue is also graphically represented in the brain, directly pointing to Polish’s cognitive domain and thinking. Teacher B acknowledges difficulties in switching to another language but would like to learn how to think in English. The portrait expresses Teacher B’s desire with question marks that surround the brain. Teacher B sees English as omnipresent, thanks to its use in songs, films, and television. Musical notes also represent the language on the portrait, as the author of the portrait enjoys singing in English. The portrait has a gift box on top of the head, representing Teacher B’s interest in learning a Scandinavian language, possibly Norwegian. At the bottom of the picture, Teacher B evaluates the importance of German in her life. Although she listens to it while travelling to Germany, she does not particularly like the language. Finally, Teacher B acknowledges the importance of sign language and marks it in green on the hands.

5. DISCUSSION

In many contexts globally, multilingualism is part and parcel of teachers’ and learners’ everyday lives. Living near people of other cultures and languages combined with additional didactic training helps educators to develop plurilingual and pluricultural awareness (cf. Alisaari et al. 2019; Hopp et al. 2020; Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer 2021). This is, however, not easy for those who have come into contact with other languages only through a formal study.

In answer to the first research question, the analysis of the language portraits indicated the diversity of languages present in the study participants’ lives. In total, 33 different languages were mentioned, including sign language (App. 1), with Polish, English, and German being the top three languages, followed by French, Spanish, Italian, and Russian. These are the languages that have been present in education and do not always signify contact with speakers of those languages nor proficiency in them, which remains the sphere of dreams, desires and projections for the future. The participants were not language specialists, and despite learning English for at least 12 years at school and university, attaining native-like proficiency in it was still their unattained goal. In such a context, it is unsurprising that the common belief in the necessity of an *early start* in a FL finds fertile ground (Rokita-Jaśkow 2013). The respondents did not seem to be

particularly keen on learning other languages themselves if they were not present in education, even when they had such a natural opportunity, such as a foreign spouse. Thus, it would be an overstatement to say that the studied pre-primary ECEC teachers are plurilingual.

As regards the second research question, the in-service TEYL teachers showed a robust emotional identity associated with Polish, their mother tongue. In contrast, the cognitive and communication dimensions correspond to the most frequently taught languages in the educational setting, i.e. English as a *lingua franca* and the current subject of study in the TEYL course. Secondly, the respondents pointed to more languages (by 60%) in the emotional dimension than in the communicative one, which further endorses the view that languages exist in the sphere of aspirations rather than are used by the participants. This shows that the monolingual ideology is still deeply rooted in the teachers, which probably resonates with their earlier schooling experiences. The studied teachers were educated by dominantly monolingual subject teachers, aiming to achieve native-like proficiency in the target FL. Thus, pre-service ECEC teachers lacked confidence in using FLs and associated the possibility of attaining near-native-like foreign language command only by specialist language teachers. This ideology disempowers them from using the language in urgent situations, such as the need to communicate with a migrant foreign child.

These findings are in accord with previous studies (cf. Otwinowska 2017; Rokita-Jaśkow 2023), which indicate that even highly proficient FL speakers who have not had many contacts with speakers of other languages nor have known more than one foreign language and to high degree, find it challenging to develop plurilingual awareness by living in a monolingual country and learning language(s) only through a formal study. Therefore, they find it difficult to change their monolingual stance in teaching and require additional didactic training for working in linguistically and culturally more diverse classes (cf. Szczepaniak-Kozak et al. 2023). Likewise, ECEC teachers who are non-proficient in an FL are less likely to develop plurilingual and pluricultural awareness. Lack of FL competence also impedes them from teaching the FL communicatively. It also disables them from the efficient socialisation of foreign children, who, in recent years, have been joining Polish pre-primary institutions more frequently. This shows that not all educational goals set out in the PEPELINO portfolio (Goullier et al. 2015) can be realistically attained in the Polish ECEC setting. These findings align with our previous study (Rokita-Jaśkow & Król-Gierat 2021), in which we found that the trainees' weakest point was the perception of the diversity of children's languages in the ECEC and their lack of plurilingual awareness. They may find it challenging to teach an FL communicatively by engaging in authentic and meaningful interactions with

the children and scaffolding new meanings for them. All these skills would also be helpful while integrating a migrant child into the ECEC. This finding also shows that the PEPELINO portfolio (Goullier et al. 2015) is a more suitable learning and reflective tool for training teachers in more linguistically and culturally diverse settings. However, the language portrait technique seems to portray the language biographies of the participants accurately, pointing to the participants' "aspirational" rather than genuine multilingual lives. It also enhances deepened reflective practice on their own plurilingualism and the meaning of languages in their lives (Coffey 2015). As suggested by other researchers (Prasad 2020; Soares et al. 2021), it can be argued that teachers' familiarisation with the technique can aid their didactic practice as it can be used as a teaching technique while working with child learners, particularly in contact with multilingual newcomers.

As a limitation of the study, one should mention that the participants were ECEC teachers who voluntarily enrolled on the TEYL methodology course, which may have biased the results regarding the preference for English in the cognitive and communicative dimensions. If the study were conducted in a different environment and on a larger population, perhaps a more comprehensive array of languages and a greater degree of plurilingual awareness would be mentioned.

The study's findings are essential for in-service and pre-service ECEC as well as general teacher education. It seems that, particularly in the changing ECEC and school classrooms, which are becoming more and more multilingual, foreign language education should constitute an essential part of the university curriculum. It should include encompassing intercultural projects, exchange and telecollaboration programmes, among others, as these would give future teachers more confidence in actually using the languages and not only studying them. Such pre-service education, in turn, would contribute to the overall development of plurilingual and pluricultural awareness of all Polish teachers.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Languages indicated by the research participants in their linguistic portraits

Language indicated	No. of indications	Colour	Body part	No. of references to the emotional dimension	No. of references to the cognitive dimension	No. of references to the communicative dimension
Polish	75	red - 60 green, pink - 5 orange - 2 blue, yellow, white&red - 1	heart - 39 head/brain, mouth - 13 half of the body - 10 whole body - 4 arms - 4 hands, torso - 2 eyes/eyelashes - 2 legs - 1 (book) - 1	62	25	26
English	73	green - 20 yellow - 7 blue, red - 3 black, orange, pink - 2 gray, purple, white - 1	head/brain - 33 mouth - 10 heart - 6 hands - 5 face - 4 eyes, foot/feet, (fore) arms - 3 legs, torso - 2 half of the body - 2 ears, neck - 1	44	60	44
German	46	black - 18 blue - 8 green - 6 brown - 5 orange, purple, yellow - 3 gray - 2 white - 1	head, foot/feet, legs - 7 mouth - 3 arms, hands - 2 back, ears, heart, heels, rear, torso - 1 ball and chain - 1 (pockets - 1)	29	28	9
French	39	blue - 8 yellow - 7 pink - 5 black, green - 4 brown, orange, purple - 3 red - 2	head, legs - 3 eyes, hips, torso - 2 arms, hands, cheek, mouth, rear - 1 body sides - 1 whole body - 1 (asterisk next to the body - 1)	20	24	5
Spanish	31	red - 10 yellow - 6 orange - 5 green - 4 blue, pink - 2 gray, purple - 1	arms - 3 face, cheeks, torso - 2 ears, foot, head, hips, legs - 1 (glasses - 1)	19	11	-

Italian	24	yellow - 12 blue, green - 4 orange - 2 pink, silver - 1	legs - 3 face, feet/foot - 2 arms, head, stomach, tooth - 1 (book) - 1	20	14	4
Russian	21	blue - 5 green, purple - 4 white - 3 black, orange - 2 brown - 1	hips, mouth - 2 ears, feet, head - 1 (shadow - 1)	8	9	1
Latin	15	blue, brown - 4 black, yellow - 2 green, orange, purple - 1	head - 7 eyes, feet, mouth - 1	6	13	1
Norwegian	4	blue, orange, pink, yellow - 1	head - 1 torso - 1 ("speech bubble" next to the head, present in the head - 1)	2	2	-
10-11. Dutch	3	green, pink, purple - 1	head - 2 hands, heart, face, feet, mouth, neck, torso - 1	2	1	2
Swedish		blue, purple, red - 1	arms, legs - 1	2	1	1
12-14. Chinese	2	black, blue - 1			2	-
Greek		blue, red - 1	feet - 1	2		
Ukrainian		yellow - 2	foot - 1		1	
15. Sign language	2	blue, green - 1	hands - 2 arms - 1 fingers - 1	-	1	1
16-25. Croatian	1	yellow - 1		1		-
Finnish		orange - 1	ears - 1		1	
Georgian		red - 1		1		
Hungarian		purple - 1				1
Irish		blue - 1	heart - 1	1		
Japanese		orange - 1	hips - 1	1		
Korean		purple - 1	arms, torso - 1	1	1	

Portuguese		green - 1	head - 1	1	1	
Slovak		green - 1	hips - 1	1		
Vietnamese		purple - 1	whole body - 1	1		
26. Local dialect	1	pink - 1	torso - 1	1	-	1
27. Old Church Slavonic	1	brown - 1	rear - 1	1	-	-
28-31. Slavic lg	1		-	-	-	-
Romance lg						
Oriental/Asian lgs		green - 1		1		
32. Body language	1	green - 1	-	-	-	1
33. Music	1	pink - 1	heart - 1	1	-	-

Source: current study.

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Ewaluacja repertuaru językowego nauczycieli przedszkolnych przedstawiona za pomocą portretów językowych

ABSTRAKT. Rozwijanie świadomości różnojęzycznej i międzykulturowej jest istotnym aspektem programów szkolenia nauczycieli wczesnej edukacji i opieki nad dzieckiem (ECEC) w krajach takich jak Polska, gdzie populacja staje się coraz bardziej zróżnicowana pod względem językowym. Świadomość istnienia różnojęzyczności i wielokulturowości może pomóc nauczycielom w skutecznym nauczaniu języków obcych oraz w pracy z dziećmi z różnych środowisk językowych i kulturowych. Aby osiągnąć ten cel, portrety językowe zostały uznane za przydatne narzędzie w pedagogice transformacyjnej i wielojęzyczności (Coffey 2015; Hopp et al. 2020; Lau 2016), ponieważ pomagają nauczycielom stać się bardziej świadomymi własnego repertuaru językowego i tego, jak mogą go wykorzystać w pracy z małymi uczniami (Prasad 2020; Soares et al. 2021).

Niniejsze badanie analizuje repertuary językowe 75 nauczycieli przedszkolnych z wykorzystaniem techniki portretu językowego przedstawionej w portfolio PEPELINO (Goullier et al. 2015). Analiza danych wskazuje na szeroki repertuar języków obecnych w życiu nauczycieli – są one jednak istotne tylko w wymiarze emocjonalnym, a mniej w wymiarze poznawczym i komunikacyjnym. Zjawisko to może być wynikiem utrwalonego wśród nauczycieli podejścia monolingwalnego, braku świadomości różnojęzycznej i wielokulturowej, a tym samym braku umiejętności przewidywania trudności w nauczaniu języka obcego lub w klasach zróżnicowanych językowo. W artykule przedstawiono także wytyczne dotyczące kształcenia nauczycieli przedszkola.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: świadomość plurilingwalna, świadomość plurikulturowa, portrety językowe, portfolio PEPELINO, język obcy, edukacja nauczycieli, wczesna edukacja i opieka nad dzieckiem.

JOANNA ROKITA-JAŚKOW

University of the National Education Commission in Kraków (Poland)

joanna.rokita-jaskow@up.krakow.pl

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6272-9548>

WERONA KRÓL-GIERAT

University of the National Education Commission in Kraków (Poland)

werona.krol-gierat@up.krakow.pl

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6522-2550>

LARYSA SUGAY

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

ELŻBIETA M. GOŹDZIAK

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Heritage language preservation among migrant children in Poznań and Wrocław: The emic and etic perspective

ABSTRACT. Children in migrant families are often torn between maintaining their heritage language and acquiring fluency in the language of the country where they reside. Knowledge of the majority language helps them succeed in school and find meaningful employment, while the ability to speak the heritage language facilitates communication within their families. However, acquiring competencies in both languages is not always easy. It is especially complicated in multigenerational families, and families where the parents speak different heritage languages. In schools, the dynamics differ depending on the number of speakers of particular heritage languages. In this paper, we analyse the dynamics within families and schools of children with at least one foreign-born parent. We ask who is responsible for the children's facility with either or both languages and analyse ways of integration and exclusion of migrant children vis-à-vis the language/s they choose to speak. We explore these questions within grounded theory to identify emic and etic attitudes towards majority / minority languages. The empirical data come from ethnographic research with migrant children and their families, teachers, and teachers' intercultural assistants conducted in Poznań and Wrocław.

KEYWORDS: international migration, migrant children, heritage language, heritage language learners, integration.

1. INTRODUCTION

Children in migrant families are often torn between maintaining the language/s they speak at home and acquiring fluency in the language of the country where they reside. Knowledge of the majority language helps them succeed in school and find meaningful employment later in life. Many policy-makers and researchers see fluency in the language of the immigrants' adopted country as a mark of belonging and integration (Esser 2006).

However, the importance of heritage language/s cannot be underestimated either. Knowing their (or their parents') native / heritage language¹ facilitates children's communication within the nuclear family and beyond. Additionally, children who have an opportunity to maintain their heritage language while growing up, become bilingual and biliterate. Research shows that these abilities may positively affect their cognitive, intellectual, and identity development (Lee & Gupta 2020).

Acquiring competencies in both languages is not always easy. It is especially complicated in multigenerational families and families where parents speak different native and / or heritage languages. In this paper, we look at children with migration background in families with at least one foreign-born parent residing in the Polish cities of Poznań and Wrocław. We analyse the dynamics within families and schools at the intersection of "majority" and "minority" language learning and usage. We ask who is responsible for the children's facility with either or both languages and analyse ways of inclusion and exclusion of migrant children based on the language/s they choose to speak in different contexts.

We begin our paper with a brief review of existing research and the theoretical framework within which we situate our study. An overview of the study along with some remarks on our own positionality vis-à-vis the protagonists of this article follows. The main part of our article presents the results of our empirical research organized along the main themes stemming from ethnographic interviews and participant observation. In conclusions, we provide some comments for teachers and service providers working with children from migrant families.

2. EXISTING KNOWLEDGE

Heritage languages have been of interest to scholars and activists since the 1970s, when "they received recognition from the political and educational spheres in the United States and Canada" (Moreno-Fernández & Loureda Lamas 2023: 1). Heritage language acquisition and maintenance are an important aspect of migration studies. Given the number of Latinx immigrants in the United States, Spanish language has been of the most interest since the earliest stages of the heritage language studies (Evans 1989), but other languages have also garnered attention, including Chinese (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe 2009) and Korean (Lee

¹ Our interlocutors did not use the term "język odziedziczony" (heritage language); it is a term used mainly by scholars to describe a language passed down through generations, focusing on its role in cultural heritage preservation and linguistic study. Instead, they used the terms "język ojczysty", "рідна мова" or "mother tongue," depending which language we spoke to emphasize a sense of identity and belonging.

& Gupta 2020). Scholars also analysed heritage language maintenance and loss among Eastern European children residing in the United States (Nesteruk 2010).

A list of themes at the nexus of heritage language acquisition / maintenance and migration is long and includes among others: negative effects of heritage language attrition and eventual loss of heritage language leading to identity crisis (Law 2015); migrant children's relationships with their families and communities, including rejection of children who do not speak their heritage language from the ethnic community (Budiyana 2017); social values assigned to particular languages (Sánchez-Muñoz 2016); heritage language schools (Cho 2000; Lu 2001); role of home in the heritage language teaching (DeCapua & Wintergerst 2009; Lee & Wright 2014); parents' attitudes towards heritage language learning (Lee 2013; Park & Sarkar 2007); and practices to maintain heritage language (Kang 2013; Kim 2011). These topics have been investigated within diverse disciplines. Space limitation does not allow us to discuss all of them, but we want to mention the comprehensive review of sociolinguistic literature on heritage language learners undertaken by Jennifer Leeman and Rachel Showstack (2022). In the context of our research, their discussion of sociolinguistics in educational contexts and practical recommendations for educators working with heritage language learners is of most value.

The European Union "is generally pictured as valuing multilingualism, as reflected by EU policies and citizens' attitudes. However, when Europeans think and speak about protecting multilingualism, they do not necessarily have migrant languages in mind" (Kupisch 2021: 46). This does not mean that literature on heritage language and migration is absent in Europe, it is just not as plentiful as in the United States. Scholars have tested whether the hermeneutic models generated and applied to the study of heritage language in North America apply to the European context (Di Salvo 2016); assessed the demographic and linguistic situation of Spanish as a heritage language in Europe (Loureda Lamas et al. 2023); and analysed regional minority languages and immigrant minority languages in relation to educational policies (De Bot & Gorter 2005).

In Poland, the interest in heritage languages is predominantly confined to maintenance of the Polish language by members of various Polish diasporas or maintenance of heritage languages among national and ethnic minorities. Notable exceptions are articles about education and integration of children of Vietnamese immigrants in Poland (Nguyen & Phan 2016) and challenges Polish educators face while teaching Vietnamese children (Sznajder 2016). Polish scholars have written about Polish language as a heritage language in diasporic communities in Australia (Romanowski 2021; Dębski 2009), Chicago, Paris, and Vienna (Seretny & Lipińska 2016; Seretny 2011; Lipińska 2014). The scholarship of Anna Seretny and Ewa Lipińska closely allies with our interests as they

studied teaching Polish as a foreign language to members of a variety of Polish diasporic communities.

Ilona Banasiak and Magdalena Olpińska-Szkiełko (2021) discuss heritage language maintenance and second language acquisition in the context of bilingualism, thus adding yet another dimension to the study of heritage languages. Their empirical material comes from Polish diasporic communities in New Zealand. Ilona Matysiak (2014) explored the stigma attached to a minority status of Belarussians and Ukrainians in Poland before and after 1989. The Polish Constitution guarantees national and ethnic minorities the freedom to cultivate their own identity and cultural heritage, including language. Matysiak showed how historical stigmatization has affected different generations and often had polar opposite results: stigma or “added value.” The latter is quite visible today, when thousands of Ukrainians fleeing the Russian invasion seek refuge in Poland, and Ukrainian speakers are in high demand in schools and assistance programs.

There is virtually no research on heritage language learners in the immigrant communities in Poland. Some authors mention in passing the effects of adhering to one’s native language on children’s ability to integrate in Polish schools (e.g., Baranowska 2020), but most authors focus on learning Polish. Paulina Stasiowska (2022) reflects on Polish language acquisition among immigrant children using her experiences as a teacher of Polish as a foreign language. Pavlo Levchuk (2018) analyses trilingualism among adult Ukrainians living in Poland. Małgorzata Pamuła-Behrens (2018) discusses the relationship between teaching Polish as a language of school education and teaching Polish as a foreign language. Given the growing immigration to Poland and an increased number of children with migration background in Polish schools, with this paper we aim to stimulate scientific inquiry into the majority / minority language studies and debates.

3. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article is part of a larger study entitled “Good beginnings, promising futures. Children with migration background in Polish schools” examining integration of migrant children in schools in Poznań and Wrocław and by extension in the larger Polish society. This examination is undertaken from the *emic* (or insiders’) perspective of different actors: the children, their parents, their educators, and child activists. In this article, we look at the interplay of majority and minority languages and the ways they facilitate or impede migrant children and adolescents’ belonging in the classroom and beyond.

3.1. Grounded theory

Many different theories can be used to discuss language learning, be it native, heritage or second language. As anthropologists, we are not interested in the purely linguistic theories that are concerned primarily with an “ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance” (Chomsky 1965: 3). This approach to the study of languages has largely excluded bilingual and multilingual speakers from the linguists’ purview although in the early 1980s formal work considering bilingual grammars started to emerge (e.g., Hyams et al. 2015; Slabakova 2016). Our reading of this literature indicates that linguists have continued to focus on the “multilingual mind” and the “possible grammars” (Lohndal et al. 2019), not the socio-cultural context of language learning.

As anthropologists, we are less interested in the deep and surface structures of language learning Noam Chomsky wrote about, but rather how learning and / or maintaining the majority / minority languages affect immigrant children’s belonging and membership in the host society and their own ethnic community as well as the different contexts in which majority / minority languages are used. The ethnographic interviews and analysis employed in this study were informed by grounded ethnography (Babchuk & Hitchcock 2013), which builds on the classic grounded theory developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1965) and constructivist grounded theory, proposed by Kathy Charmaz (2006).

Grounded theory, understood as the discovery of emerging patterns in the collected empirical data (Glaser 1978; Glaser & Strauss 2017), is a systematic qualitative research methodology that emphasizes the generation of theory rooted in data (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2006) assumes a relativist approach, acknowledges multiple standpoints and realities, and takes a reflexive stance towards actions, situations, and participants. Constructivist grounded theory acknowledges that qualitative interviewing can provide an in-depth exploration of an aspect of life about which the interviewee has substantial experience and can elicit views of the person’s subjective world (Charmaz 2003).

Grounded theory and ethnography are highly compatible. Part of this compatibility derives from the similarities of the two methods. As a naturalistic form of inquiry, ethnography entails observing and analysing behaviour in natural settings (Belk et al. 1988; Longabaugh 1980) resulting in thick de-

scription (Geertz 1973). Grounded theory similarly performs best with data generated in natural settings (Robrecht 1995). Both have been derived from the symbolic interactionist perspective (Goulding 1998), and both often rely on participant observations. Sample selection is emergent in both ethnography and grounded theory (Belk et al. 1988), and both attempt to obtain emic descriptions of behaviour (Barnes 1996).

3.2. The sample and data sources

The data that informs our analysis comes from in-depth ethnographic interviews with migrant children, their parents, teachers, psychologists and focus group discussions with intercultural assistants in Poznań and Wrocław as well as participant observation at schools, extracurricular programs, and sometimes in the children's homes.

The protagonists of this article include both girls and boys ranging in age between 10 and 18. They hail from Afghanistan, Belarus, Brazil, Moldova, Nigeria, the UK, Ukraine, the United States, and Vietnam. All of the interviewees are currently living in western Poland. Some attend public schools where Polish is the language of instruction and some attend private schools, where the language of instruction is either Polish or English. Ukrainian migrant children represent the largest proportion of foreign-born children in public schools in Poland. Most of them are learning in brick-and-mortar Polish schools, or are simultaneously attending both a Polish school and an online Ukrainian one. Some students are solely attending online or on-site Ukrainian schools recently set up on the Polish territory.

Many of our young interlocutors come from bilingual or multilingual families. Several of the Ukrainian children in our sample have parents of Ukrainian ethnicity, but with different primary languages: Russian or Ukrainian. Often, these children were educated in the Ukrainian language but spoke Russian at home. Our sample also includes families with two foreign-born parents (sometimes coming from the same country but sometimes from two different countries and linguistic groups) and families with one Polish and one foreign-born parent or families with two Polish parents that lived abroad for a number of years and returned to Poland. Their children were either born abroad or in Poland, but spent parts of their childhood (and education) abroad.

The data was collected by the authors and their young co-researchers, i.e., teen students who elicited information from their peers both inside and outside schools, following the established informed consent-based procedures. In total, we interviewed 37 children, 17 parents, eight intercultural assistants, 10 school

principals, three teachers, four education experts, and two psychologists. We conducted interviews in Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and English, and on occasion in other languages, using trained interpreters. Interviews lasted from one to three hours. In some cases, we interviewed the children more than once. All interviews were voice-recorded, transcribed, and translated into Polish or English as needed. Informal conversations were shorter and were recorded as field notes. We used pseudonyms² and, in some cases, different locations to ensure anonymity. The field research was conducted between February and November 2023.

3.3. Positionality

Much has been written about reflexivity (Berger 2013) and positionality (Bourke 2014) of the researcher/s conducting qualitative studies. After all, research is shaped by both researcher/s and study participant/s (England 1994). In positionality theory, it is acknowledged that because we have multiple overlapping identities, we make meaning from various aspects of those identities (Kezar 2002).

Many things set us apart from our interviewees, but we had one very important characteristic in common. Both authors are immigrants, from Ukraine to Poland, and from Poland to the United States, respectively. Liisa Malkki warned about the risks of “posit[ing] a single, essential, transhistorical refugee condition” (Malkki 1995: 511). We, along with other scholars, acknowledge that refugeeness (and the state of being an immigrant) is always a highly context-dependent reality (Chossière 2021). Nevertheless, we posit that the experience of being a refugee or a migrant brings people together and allows for a more meaningful engagement between migrant scholars and the migrants they study. Linguistic similarities or the common struggle with the majority language also binds together migrant researchers and their study participants.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. Whose heritage language?

There is a consensus in literature regarding what constitutes “majority language.” In most studies, the majority / dominant language is considered either

²In anthropology, when quoting interlocutors, we assign them unique pseudonyms instead of using codes. To protect the sensitive migrant group, we avoid providing detailed notes regarding their place of origin. After each pseudonym, we include a number indicating the interlocutors age (e.g. Lina/14).

the official language of the country and / or the language spoken by the statistical majority of residents. Things get complicated when a country has more than one official language or introduces new language policies. In the educational context, the emphasis is on the language of instruction in the majority of schools. In Poland, all public schools provide instruction in Polish. Of course, there are specialized schools where instruction is provided in other languages. There are private schools, both Polish and international, where instruction is rendered solely or predominantly in English. There are also Ukrainian schools where students are taught in Ukrainian, but in Poland neither English nor Ukrainian are considered "majority languages."

There are many definitions of "heritage language" and "heritage language learners." In Canada and the United States, countries with long history of immigration, heritage language is defined as any immigrant language spoken by immigrants and their children (Montrul 2020), while in Australia it refers to "community language" (Clyne & Fernandez 2008), a term used in Australia since 1975 to denote languages other than English and Aboriginal languages. In some countries, "heritage language" is called a "minority language."

The term "heritage language learner" has been and continues to be a much-debated issue. The term first appeared in the ACTFL Standards of Foreign Language Teaching (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages 1996). In the United States, the term refers to a "wide variety of individuals" (Potowski 2014). Writing about Korean-American children who are raised to speak their heritage language in the United States, Lee and Gupta (2020) define "heritage language learners" as children who "have Korean heritage and speak Korean with at least one of the parents regardless of their proficiency in Korean" (Lee & Gupta 2020: 521).

There have been some disagreements regarding the accepted but broad definition. Guadalupe Valdés (2000) originally described the heritage language learner as an individual who "is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken. The student may speak or merely understand the heritage language and be, to some degree, bilingual in English and the heritage language" (Valdés 2000: 1). Kim Potowski (2014) critiqued this definition as too "narrow." According to her, it excludes a growing group of language students in the United States who may have been raised with a "strong cultural connection to a particular ethnolinguistic group and have a 'heritage motivation,' but who do not speak or understand the language at all" (Potowski 2014: 405). Valdés' definition also excludes a third type of student: someone who arrived from a Spanish-speaking country after the age of 12, and who has often developed proficiency in Spanish but who no longer uses the language. Potowski considers these students as "native" or "homeland" Spanish speakers.

The definitions discussed above do not account for children who grow up in families where multiple “heritage languages” are spoken. In our sample, we have children whose parents come from two different countries and speak two different “native languages” or come from the same country, have the same nationality, but speak different languages.

Two brothers growing up in the United States with their Filipino father and Polish mother wondered whose “heritage” they should adhere to. They looked at each other and Tom said: “Our heritage language is English” (Tom/12). Although born in the Philippines, their father said with a smile “I am as American as an apple pie and English is *my* language” (Erwing/40). He speaks Tagalog when he visits his family in Manila. However, he does not “have a feel for it.”

4.2. The emic (or insider’s) perspective

In our research, we use *emic* categories (Pike 2015) and try to avoid the dichotomy majority / minority language as it might be perceived as judgmental. During interviews, we did not introduce or mention this distinction. Emic categories highlight the agency of the interviewed children. Our interlocutors, both children and their parents, used a variety of phrases describing the language/s they speak, often indicating where they speak a particular language and with whom.

4.2.1. “Our language”

Two teenage sisters from Ukraine (Iza/14; Irin/18) speak Russian with their father and Ukrainian with their mother. They speak Polish at school and English on “Friday, an English Day.” Their mother, although Ukrainian by ethnicity, was born and spent part of her childhood in Africa. English was her first-learned language. She said: “We are a multilingual family, speaking Ukrainian, Russian, English, and for the last five years Polish.” She has instituted a “family language policy.” She said: “As a mother, who builds a family nest and is responsible for comfort of the family, I insisted that we speak Ukrainian at the dinner table, and the rest of the time we are free to use whatever language is needed” (Anna/42).

Polish parents, even when married to a partner with a different native language, used the term “język ojczysty,” literally “the language of the fatherland.” They were especially prone to using this term while emphasizing how important it is for children to speak their native language. It did not seem as important to them that the children speak the language of the other parent. Non-Polish parents

simply named the language/s they knew when talking about the languages they spoke or taught their children.

Children, especially those living in households where more than one language was spoken, provided more descriptive narratives. At least in one family, three siblings indicated that they have their own language “mamy nasz język” which combines both Polish and English (their dad is an English speaker): “We speak our own language. Often, we start a sentence in one language but continue it in another or we intersperse Polish words into English conversations and English words into Polish conversations” (Adam/14). Their mom also pointed out that her husband, who does not really speak Polish would include the few Polish words he does know into his speech, especially terms of endearment.

Our respondents used the term “our language” also in reference to dialects or regional languages they spoke. Lina, a 14-years-old girl, comes from the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. Lina’s father had experience working in Poland and the family planned to move to Poland after her graduation from school. Their native languages are Ukrainian and the Transcarpathian dialect, but keeping their migration plans in mind, they started to learn Polish before they came to Poland. Lina goes to Polish school and continues to learn Polish, but she is still fond of the Ukrainian language and the classical Ukrainian literature. She said:

When I am reading their [Polish] literature, it is kind of boring. There is no action there. But in Ukrainian literature everything is beautifully described, and the language itself both sounds and reads beautifully. I really like Ukrainian language. Our language [Ukrainian] is great, it’s a nightingale language [ukr. pronunciation *solov`ina*], there is no imperfection there. Sometimes when my friends hear me speaking Ukrainian, they say: “Hey, stop talking like that, speak ‘our language’ [Transcarpathian dialect], but I am resting inside of my soul, when I speak or read Ukrainian” (Lina/14).

“Our language” was also used in the context of intergenerational discussions and social media. The young interlocutors indicated that age differences between teachers and students affect the sense of belonging to the school community or to a particular group: “The language is fluid and constantly changing”, each generation has its own “set of remarkable words.”

Mari, is a 16-years-old influencer. She has her own Instagram page dedicated to photography. She found a lot of support from her teachers, first, with learning Polish, but later also with growing professionally.

There were a few teachers in my school who helped me running my Instagram page. When I came to Poland, I already had my own Insta page, because I love photography. When my teachers found out that I had an Instagram page, they helped me create captions in Polish. Moreover, they sent me to several photography and design

competitions. Becoming a part of the school [community] was easy, because we have a young team of teachers who help with digital development projects. I think the teachers' age is important because it helps them better understand our interests. With younger teachers we have "our language" we use to speak about our common interests in cyberspace (Mari/16).

Surprisingly, in some situations, Polish became "our (secret) language." One of our interlocutors, 16-year-old Anton, who is currently living in Wrocław, said that when he went on a trip abroad with his friends, while walking through the streets of Berlin, they started to speak Polish because it seemed "that everyone around them was speaking Ukrainian or Russian." In this situation, Polish became a kind of "protection against eavesdropping." Anton said:

I am from the Eastern part of Ukraine, and I have spoken Russian all my life. But then it happened that because of the war we had to not only flee to another region, but to another country, and change our language. Hmm, we had to change it twice: first, from Russian to Ukrainian [in 2014] and then to Polish [in 2022]. Being abroad, when we went for a walk, we first spoke Ukrainian to each other, but when there were a lot of people around us, we used Polish as *our secret language* so no one would overhear us (Anton/16).

4.2.2. Maintaining and learning heritage language/s

While Polish, the official language in Poland spoken by the majority of the population, is learned at schools and extracurricular programs, the maintenance and learning of heritage languages is confined to the family. At the moment, most students in primary schools learn foreign languages. In first grade, they choose one foreign language but in seventh grade they add a second foreign language. Even though the curriculum includes a "modern foreign language," in most cases children can choose one of the European languages: English, German, French, Spanish, and sometimes Russian. The choice of foreign languages is often limited due to availability of teachers (Figarski 2008).

In countries with a long history of immigration, ethnic communities provide many opportunities to continue studying heritage languages. The immigrant communities in Poland are not that well organized yet or not large enough to support heritage language schools. The Ukrainian community is an exception; there are Ukrainian schools both in Poznań and Wrocław, but they provide a full curriculum to their students, not just heritage language instruction. Additionally, there are over 100 centers serving the Ukrainian minority in Poland in regions where the number of potential students is small (Romaniuk & Jakubowska-Krawczyk 2022).

In the absence of heritage language classes, parents take responsibility for making sure that children maintain their heritage language/s. One of the families that had made a permanent home in the United States, came to Poland with the sole purpose for the boys to improve their Polish. The Polish mother said: "You cannot call yourself a Pole if you don't speak Polish. We came to live in Poland for a couple of years so my sons can get in touch with their Polish heritage and identity" (Izabela/38). She totally ignored the fact that her husband is not Polish and seemed surprised when we asked whether the boys will be learning Tagalog.

In a family with a Brazilian mother and a Polish father, the parents embraced, "right from the belly," a rule to communicate with the children in their respective native languages. This choice was grounded in the understanding that infants, from the very outset, "do not distinguish languages, but they are attuned to recognize whether it is mom or dad speaking." They also observed that later on their daughters began to distinguish these two languages (Marcia/40). Growing up in Poland the girls "switch from one language to another without any problems." The father noted that the girls "have better vocabulary in Polish, but their abstract thinking and communication were notably better in Portuguese" (Jan/42).

Miki, an 18-years-old boy from the Sumy region of Ukraine, spoke mainly *Surzhyk*, a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian (Gasparov 2006) spoken without following grammatical rules of the literary language/s (Romaniuk & Jakubowska-Krawczyk 2022). Miki has lived in Poland since March 2022 and learnt some Polish, but he claims that he "feels relaxed and secure" when someone addresses him in Ukrainian. He said:

I speak Surzhyk. And on one hand, I'm fine with that. The only ones in our family who speak pure and clear Ukrainian are grandma and grandpa. When we talk on the phone, I often think: "How nice it sounds!" I have a problem expressing myself in literary Ukrainian, especially when I need to write an official letter, it gets difficult. Who would have thought that there would be a time when I will learn pure Ukrainian from my grandparents?! (Miki/18)

Language is often considered an important attribute of identity and cultural heritage, although in some cases "cultural and linguistic ties" may be also used as a "cultural weapon" (Yao et al. 2023) understood as the intentional political manipulation, magnifying societal division. Currently in Ukraine, there is a public debate regarding "streamlining the mother tongue" and speaking solely Ukrainian. The debate has intensified since the Russian invasion of the country. This situation also affects families living abroad and requires replacing one heritage language with another (Seals & Beliaeva 2023). This switch under the

Ukrainization policy is not without its problems. A psychologist we interviewed who works with Ukrainian youth from Russian speaking families was quite concerned what the rather forceful emphasis on speaking solely Ukrainian might do to the adolescents dealing with identity issues.

4.3. The etic (or outsiders') perspective

While a couple of non-Polish parents stressed the importance of knowing Polish and encouraged their children to speak Polish at home, teaching the majority language is, by and large, the sole responsibility of schools. Although not particularly well trained in teaching Polish as a foreign language, teachers and intercultural assistants try their best to make learning Polish a pleasant experience. Children appreciate their efforts. Kira, a 14-years-old Ukrainian girl, liked her Polish classes, because her teacher explained the "hidden meaning of some main characters' attitudes, cultural codes or behaviours" in the compulsory school readings (*lektura*). It helped Kira to expand her Polish vocabulary as well as overcome a language barrier. Kira was "afraid to speak out loud in Polish" because "some words sound so similar, but have different meaning" (Kira/14). Her teacher's positive attitude provided a springboard - "a short bridge" (Gallegos et al. 2023) - for Kira's increased participation in the school community.

Many children with whom we spoke expressed a desire for their heritage language/s to be appreciated by their teachers and classmates. We have encountered only two teachers who spoke fluent Russian or Ukrainian. Although not explicitly forbidden, speaking heritage languages during recess or school excursions is discouraged. We have heard of a teacher gently encouraging her students to speak solely Polish when at school in order to get as much practice as they could. But we also encountered a principal who sternly admonished students by saying: "This is Poland and we speak Polish in this country!" (Joanna/50).

Eliza wished for her classmates to show interest in her native Belorussian, but "no one ever did" (Eliza/15). Igor, an 11-year-old Belorussian boy, said his teacher was only interested in his fluency in Russian when she needed him to explain something to a newly arrived Ukrainian student. Igor was proud to be able to help, but in the end resented being treated so instrumentally. He said: "The teacher is not interested in *me*; she only wants my language when it suits *her*" [emphasis in the original quotation] (Igor/11).

Once, we observed a boy from Afghanistan writing out his classmates' names in Farsi and explaining to the Polish and Ukrainian students that his heritage language is written in a different alphabet. That sparked a discussion of other

languages – Arabic and Russian – using other than Latin alphabets. A teen Russian boy born in Uzbekistan quickly told the group that during the Soviet era his grandparents wrote Uzbek in Cyrillic but he was using Latin alphabet in his school to write the same language. Witnessing this spontaneous discussion, we wished that Polish teachers facilitated more of such opportunities surrounding their students' heritage languages.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Schools are important to immigrant children and their families. They not only educate children but are also important “mediating institutions,” i.e., those institutions standing between the individual in her or his private life and the large institutions of public life (Berger & Neuhaus 2021). They help bridge the gap between each of us and the overarching society that we live in. Schools are also an important socialization agent (Corsaro & Eder 1990), especially if they implement cross-cultural and multilinguistic initiatives (Sznajder 2016). They are particularly important to migrant children and their families (Ryan & Sales 2013). They are often the only institution in the new country introducing migrant families to a new society (Pustułka et al. 2018) and provide a “systemic contact with the new culture” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 3). Lesia, a school-based intercultural assistant, said: “I have learned that school is often the first safe space in a new and unknown world, where children have the opportunity to discover their identity and learn how to live in a new country, and new community.” Lesia continued: “Once I read somewhere that schools aim to ‘be a bridge’ between what was previously ‘mine and known’ and what ‘was unknown,’ but is ‘now becoming mine’ and it still resonates for me” (Lesia/42). For most children with migrant background in countries where schooling is compulsory, such as in Poland, teachers inevitably become the first linguistic and cultural mediators who model for their students the communicator’s role in the new language. Teachers often also become the first resilience tutors, i.e., “people with whom a student will establish a relationship based on trust, giving a sense of security and comfort.” Such a relationship might be facilitated by the inclusion and appreciation of the students’ heritage language competences and the complexities of their linguistic background to enrich classroom discussions and the group’s emergent knowledge.

We posit that teachers, especially Polish language teachers, should mediate between their foreign-born students’ heritage language and Polish language, emphasizing the importance of both languages to their educational and personal development. Research shows that teachers’ good practices create “a long bridge” facilitating participation in the wider society (Gallegos et al. 2023). What might

constitute good or promising practices in the Polish context is perhaps a topic for another article.

In cases where acquisition of different languages is limited by the availability of teachers (e.g., lack of teaching staff or territorial restrictions), a viable solution may be the development of online language courses that make it easier for children with migrant background to learn their heritage language or the language of their choice.

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Zachowanie języka odziedziczonego wśród dzieci z doświadczeniem migracji w Poznaniu i Wrocławiu: Perspektywa emicjna i etyczna

ABSTRAKT. Dzieci w rodzinach z doświadczeniem migracji często są rozdarte między zachowaniem języka odziedziczonego/ojczystego a nabyciem biegłości w języku kraju, w którym obecnie mieszkają. Znajomość języka społeczeństwa goszczącego pomaga dzieciom odnieść sukces w szkole i później znaleźć dobrą pracę, a umiejętność posługiwania się językiem odziedziczonym ułatwia komunikację w rodzinie. Zdobycie kompetencji w obu językach jednak nie zawsze jest łatwe. Jest to szczególnie skomplikowane w rodzinach wielopokoleniowych i takich, w których rodzice posługują się różnymi językami odziedziczonymi/ojczystymi. W szkołach dynamika jest zróżnicowana w zależności od liczby osób posługujących się poszczególnymi językami. W artykule analizujemy dynamikę w rodzinach i szkołach dzieci, których co najmniej jedno z rodziców urodziło się poza Polską. Pytamy, kto jest odpowiedzialny za umiejętność posługiwania się przez dzieci jednym lub obydwojma językami i analizujemy sposoby integracji i/lub wykluczenia dzieci-migrantów ze względu na język, którym się posługują. Badamy te kwestie w ramach teorii ugruntowanej (*grounded theory*). Dane empiryczne pochodzą z badań etnograficznych prowadzonych w Poznaniu i Wrocławiu z udziałem dzieci migrujących i ich rodzin, nauczycieli i asystentów międzykulturowych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: międzynarodowa migracja, dzieci migranci, język odziedziczony, nauka języka odziedziczonego, integracja.

LARYSA SUGAY

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)

larsug@amu.edu.pl

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2192-6809>

ELŻBIETA M. GOŹDZIAK

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)

emg27@georgetown.edu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8793-0379>

STEFANOS SYRMAKESIS

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina

MARIA TZOUMA

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina

EVANGELIA KOUSIOURI

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina

Language repertoires of pupils with refugee and migration background: A case study at the 2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina, Greece

ABSTRACT. This article presents the findings of a case study conducted at the 2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina, Greece. In the first part, recent statistics on the education of students from refugee and migrant backgrounds are presented, as well as an analysis of concepts such as multilingualism, multilingual and intercultural competence, and multilingual and intercultural education. In the second part, the authors provide an overview of the school's multilingual development and evaluates key research areas, including the languages spoken by students, their level of proficiency, communication needs, and interventions aimed at fostering the school's multilingual and intercultural identity. Primary data were collected through questionnaires and the observational research method. The article concludes with recommendations for promoting intercultural awareness and multilingualism as essential elements in school communities. This work is part of the school's participation in the Erasmus+ project "MaMLiSE: Majority and Minority Languages in School Environment: Helping teachers, pupils, and parents."

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, multilingual competence, whole-child approach, whole-school development, pupils with refugee and migrant backgrounds in Greece.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural and linguistic diversity is prevalent in Greek classrooms, with a significant proportion of students being bilingual or multilingual. As of April 2023, UNHCR statistics indicate that 62% of school-aged children from refugee or migrant backgrounds living with their families in Greece were enrolled in

formal education. Some children attended non-formal education classes, while 23% of those not attending public schools cited the absence of reception classes or vaccinations as barriers to accessing the education system. In Greek public schools, alongside Modern Greek as the official language, three internationally recognized foreign languages are offered: English, which is compulsory, and French, German, or, in some cases, Spanish or Italian as optional subjects. English dominates Greece's nine-year compulsory education (Koiliari 2015: 210; Svarna 2022: 1–14), and its popularity extends beyond the formal education system (Androulakis 2008: 17–28). As Koiliari (2005: 104) notes, current educational policies and language preferences are influenced by the promotion of entrepreneurship and economic development within the European Union. However, despite the intercultural rhetoric in public discourse, Greek schools remain predominantly monolingual and monocultural, neglecting the specific characteristics and ethno-linguistic identities of students with migrant and refugee backgrounds (Koiliari 2015: 110; Skourtou et al. 2016: 14–62).

In everyday school practice, Greek teachers operate with a working definition of “bilingualism”, which, to varying extents, involves the alternation of languages (codeswitching) to achieve effective communication rather than full proficiency in both languages (Skourtou 2001: 184; Tsakaloudi & Palaeologou 2021: 113). This approach aligns with the principle of language interdependence, which holds that the languages in a bilingual individual's repertoire are not acquired independently but are in constant interaction. The more a bilingual learner develops their first language (e.g., Arabic), the faster they will acquire the second language (e.g., Greek). Conversely, when one language develops at the expense of another, it results in “subtractive bilingualism” (Skourtou 2001: 117; Vichou 2019: 15–19; Gaidartzi 2018: 12; Sotiropoulou 2024: 18). A key motivation for language learning, particularly for refugee and migrant students, is the perceived utility of the language, as many families view Greece as a transitional country (Koiliari 2015: 114).

The Council of Europe's new approach to language learning and teaching promotes plurilingualism, emphasizing that schools should embrace linguistic and cultural diversity and capitalize on the linguistic resources students already possess (Cavalli et al. 2009: 1–7, cited in Chatzidaki 2015: 1–6). Accordingly, a student's linguistic repertoire should not be seen as a collection of separate languages but as a synthesis, where different languages contribute to the individual's communicative competence (Centre for the Greek Language 2008: 1–5, cited in Chatzidaki 2015: 1–5). For refugees and highly mobile families, the host country may not be the first one, and students may have experienced multiple languages of instruction (Szczepaniak-Kozak et al. 2023: 173–199). Therefore, the goal of language education should not be merely to achieve “adequate knowledge” of one or more languages in isolation but to develop a dynamic linguistic

repertoire in which all linguistic abilities play a role (Centre for the Greek Language 2008: 1–4, after Chatzidaki 2015: 1–6).

The cultivation of multilingual and intercultural competence is interconnected and can only be nurtured through multilingual and intercultural education. Such education encompasses all languages in school, integrates them across subjects, addresses the specific educational and linguistic needs of all students, and ensures equal access to quality education. It facilitates the acquisition of language skills, leverages students' existing linguistic and cultural resources, and synthesizes the languages with which students engage. This approach supports the personal development of students and fosters respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in contemporary multicultural societies. As Beacco (2007: 116) asserts, "the aim of multilingual education is to increase understanding of the social and cultural value of linguistic diversity in order to ensure 'linguistic goodwill' and to develop intercultural competence" (Chatzidaki 2015: 1; Tsokolidou 2015: 198).

Multilingual and intercultural education is directed at all students and aims to develop both competencies. Plurilingual competence is defined as the ability "to master and use different skills in different languages, at varying levels of proficiency and for a variety of functions", while intercultural competence is "the combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors that enable an individual to recognize, understand, interpret, and accept other ways of living and thinking beyond their own cultural group". This is considered fundamental for fostering deeper understanding between people (Chatzidaki 2015: 1). Such education provides students with opportunities to construct their personal identities, become informed citizens of European values, and contribute to social cohesion, solidarity, participatory democracy, and mutual understanding, with a deep respect for linguistic and cultural diversity (Cavalli et al. 2009: 1, after Chatzidaki 2015: 1; Mouti et al. 2023: 14–34).

2. THE STUDY UNDERTAKEN

The 2nd Gymnasium of Ioannina was converted into an intercultural school during the 1998–1999 school year. Initially, reception classes were established to teach Greek as a second language to returning students and students with refugee or migrant backgrounds. In its early years, the school enrolled students primarily from neighboring countries, especially Albania, as well as from regions of the former Soviet Union, India, and China. In recent years, the school has admitted students mainly from Syria, Pakistan, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and Albania. Most recently, in the 2023/2024 school year, the student population

comprised primarily Greek children along with several students with refugee or migrant backgrounds.

In the last two years (2021 and 2022), several interventions were introduced at the school to promote multilingual school development. These efforts focused on implementing plurilingual education in conjunction with intercultural training and multilingual school development – specifically, a whole-child approach and whole-school development (Szczeplaniak-Kozak et al., 2023: 173–199) – through systematic observation and the use of questionnaires. Non-Greek-speaking students were also provided with free, specially designed textbooks.

To obtain insight into the outcomes of such systemic changes in the school, in November and December 2022, the present authors (teachers in this school) conducted lesson observations and a survey, based on a template created by the MaMLiSE project team for interviews on multilingualism. The template, translated into Greek and distributed electronically, was adapted to account for varying levels of pupils' proficiency in the language of instruction, Greek. The questionnaire addressed a range of topics, including language preferences, parental influence on language use, and the perceived benefits of learning multiple languages, both in school and in personal life. Respondents also shared their experiences with language support at school and their perspectives on participating in multilingual activities. The original questionnaire contained 36 questions (see Appendix), nine of which are the focus of this paper.

3. DATA ANALYSIS: MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN THE 2ND GYMNASIUM OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION OF IOANNINA

Ninety-nine students completed the questionnaire, ranging in age from 13 to 15 years. The students were found to speak two, three, or even four languages. Specifically, 34.3% spoke two languages, 47.5% spoke three languages, and 12.1% spoke four languages. When supported by our lesson observations regarding the languages spoken during school breaks, it can be said that Greek is the dominant language, followed by English and Albanian. It is noteworthy that, based on these observations, students with refugee or migrant backgrounds used Greek and English in their communication with Greek-speaking students and teachers (during both lessons and breaks), while their native languages were used in conversations among peers. In 28.3% of cases, students alternated their language of communication with family members at home, while 39.4% reported speaking only one language, and 32.3% alternated their language of communication occasionally. It should be noted that these statistics refer to spoken communication

and not to written language. Additionally, a significant percentage of students (71.7%) reported that they “hear, see, or speak” languages other than Greek at school (see Figure 1).

28. At school do you hear or see or speak more languages than Greek?

99 answers

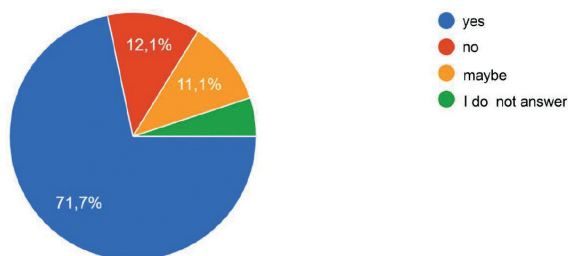


Figure 1. Languages heard or seen at school

Source: current study.

The responses to questions 29, 30, and 34 indicate that students feel the need to strengthen their intercultural competence by incorporating more languages and intercultural activities at school. Specifically, 47.5% of students expressed a desire for more languages to be spoken at school, and 26.3% wanted more intercultural activities to be implemented (see Figures 2 and 3). Additionally, 54.5% of students indicated that they would like to attend a course to learn at least one more language spoken at the school (see Figure 4).

29. Do you think that you should, to a greater extent, at school hear or see or speak more languages besides Greek since there are classmates from other countries?

99 answers

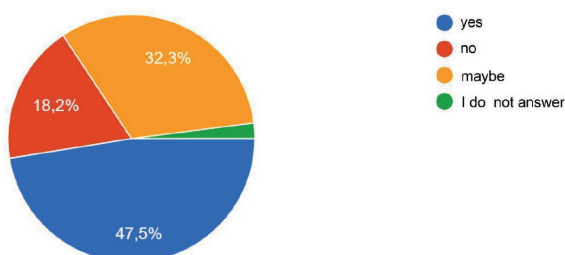


Figure 2. Pupils' expectations about their first languages at school

Source: current study.

30. Would you like to participate in activities where there is multilingualism, i.e. more than one language (Greek or English) e.g. to do multilingual tasks, to sing songs in several languages, etc
99 answers

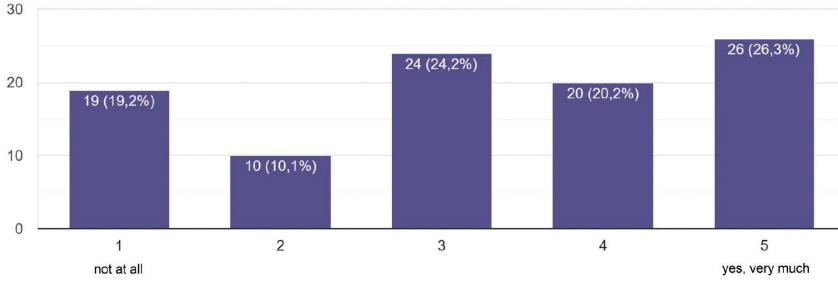


Figure 3. Pupils’ expectations about multilingual activities at school

Source: current study.

34. If there were classes for learning the above languages (eg Albanian, Arabic, Farsi, etc.) at school, would you like to attend any of them?

99 answers

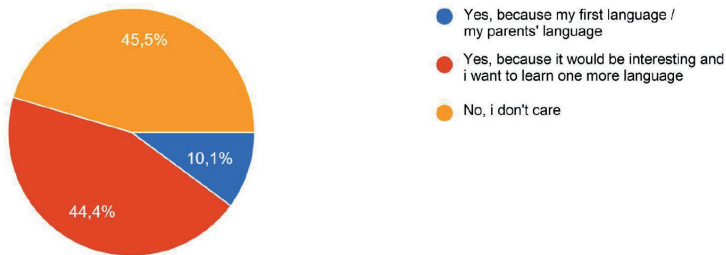


Figure 4. Pupils’ expectations about courses in their classmates’ first languages

Source: current study.

Of particular interest are the students’ responses regarding teaching strategies that can foster multilingualism. The most frequent answers were: using Greek vocabulary (41%), group activities (52%), using English to explain Greek vocabulary (29%), peer collaboration (42%), having two teachers in the classroom (15%), using dictionaries (27%), using tablets or laptops (55%), and using foreign language textbooks (35%).

The responses also provide insight into the students’ views on the concepts of the “whole-child approach” and the “whole-school development” (Szczeplaniak-Kozak et al. 2023: 173–199). Among the elements that contribute to an atmosphere supporting experiential aspects of whole-school development and

whole-child approaches, students listed: code-switching (34.3%), a positive atmosphere generated by feeling welcomed at school (82.8%), language support from peers (59.6%), language support provided by the school (47.5%), hearing languages other than the dominant one (71.7%), and school interventions aimed at strengthening its intercultural culture (e.g., creating information guides for foreign language learners in multiple languages, creating posters and signs to facilitate navigation around the school, meetings with parents and guardians, activating mechanisms to address individual issues students face, and involving them in activities). Overall, the majority of students (49.5%) consider multilingualism an asset (see Figure 5).

35. Do you think that the knowledge of several languages (multilingualism) is an asset in life?

99 answers

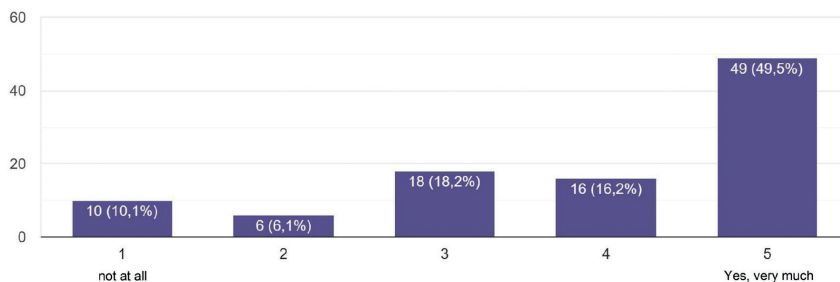


Figure 5. Students' views about benefits of multilingualism

Source: current study.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The 2nd Gymnasium of Ioannina provides intercultural education to students who are less proficient in Greek by adopting educational practices that enable them to learn Greek as a second language, creating conditions that support students in school activities, and strengthening communication with their parents and guardians. The benefits these students derive from their participation in the educational process are reflected in the positive feelings they expressed in interviews and questionnaires.

Based on our professional experience, we recommend the following strategies to foster a multilingual and intercultural ethos in schools:

- a) Leveraging and / or encouraging the use of students' entire linguistic repertoires (as well as those of their parents / guardians), both inside and outside the classroom.

- b) Ensuring close cooperation between parents/guardians and the school.
- c) Creating an action plan for the multilingual development of the school in collaboration with all teachers in the school unit.
- d) Establishing a dedicated space in the school (e.g., a library) where students are encouraged to speak their first languages.
- e) Training teachers in methods and strategies that promote the multilingual development of the school and facilitate the exchange of good practices; and
- f) Providing a variety of support for newly arrived students (e.g., information provision, peer guidance, specific social and psychological support, cooperation with local health authorities, etc.).

A key success factor is the close cooperation of all teachers in the school community, the exchange of effective teaching practices, and the promotion of multilingual and intercultural competence.

According to Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF 1990), the education of refugee and migrant children is a basic human right. On this basis, it is highly recommended to make use of such children's first languages, as these form the foundation for learning any second language. Recognizing students' first languages is, in fact, a recognition of their cultural capital. Additionally, a safe, diversity-friendly school environment, where teachers provide rich and varied learning opportunities and encourage personal and academic development, will help all students become linguistically and culturally aware. Awareness of the value of diversity and difference is essential for ensuring social cohesion, mutual understanding, solidarity, participatory democracy, and respect in modern multicultural societies.

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APPENDIX

The survey (originally distributed in Greek electronically)
(White bullets: choose one, black bullets: choose more than one)

1. How old are you?
 - 12 years old
 - 13 years old
 - 14 years old
 - 15 years old
 - over 15 years old

2. In which country do you live or have you lived?
 - Greece
 - Turkey
 - Albania
 - Afghanistan
 - Syria
 - Pakistan
 - Germany
 - France
 - Other:

3. How many languages do you speak?*

 - 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5 and more.

4. Which language(s) do you consider your first language?
 - Greek
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Roma
 - English
 - French

- German
 - Other:
5. Which languages do you use at home (at mealtimes, when doing chores)?
- Greek
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Roma
 - English
 - French
 - German
 - Other:
6. What languages do you use at home when you play?
- Greek
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Roma
 - English
 - French
 - German
 - Other:
7. Do you need to use your mother's first language when you talk to her?
- Yes, because she doesn't know my first language.
 - No, because we have the same first language.
8. Do you need to use your father's first language when you talk to him?
- Yes, because he doesn't know my first language.
 - No, because we have the same first language.
9. Are your parents' languages important to you? What do you think about them?
- I like to learn them.
 - I like to talk to them.
 - I prefer not to use them.
 - It's the language I learn at school.

10. Would you like to learn your parents' languages better?
- Yes, I would.
 - No, I wouldn't.
 - Maybe, I would.
 - It's the language I learn at school.
11. Would you like to take classes at school or outside of school to learn your parents' first languages?
- Yes, I would.
 - No, I wouldn't.
 - I am already learning my parents' first language at school or in evening classes.
12. In which language do you communicate with your relatives who are outside Greece?
- Greek
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Roma
 - English
 - French
 - German
 - Other:
13. Are you learning your first language at home?
- Yes, I am.
 - No, I am not.
14. Is Greek a difficult language?
- Yes, it is.
 - No, it isn't.
 - Yes, it is quite difficult.
 - It's my first language.
15. Do you mix languages when communicating at home with your parents and siblings?
- Yes, I do.
 - No, I don't.
 - Sometimes I do.
16. Are your parents' expectations about language use the same as yours?
- Yes, they are.

- No, they are not.
- They are similar enough.
17. Would you like to change anything in the way you use languages at school and home?
- Yes, I would.
- No, I wouldn't.
18. Does your family's urging you to learn your first language cause you anxiety?
- Yes, it does.
- No, it doesn't.
- It does a little bit.
- I am not encouraged/discouraged.
19. What languages do you use in public places? (e.g. during doing shopping, in restaurants, playgrounds, school)
- Greek
 - English
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Other:
20. What languages do you use when you communicate (play) with your friends?
- Greek
 - English
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Other:
21. Do you often switch languages when talking to others? If so, choose to which ones you switch.
- No, I don't.
 - Yes, I do to:
 - Greek
 - English
 - Albanian
 - Farsi
 - Arabic
 - Other:

22. Did you feel welcome at your new school?
- No, I didn't.
 - Yes, I did.
 - Other:
23. Tell us what the school did.
.....
24. Did the school offer you any language support? (e.g. extra lessons, activities, extra time during competitions)
- No, it didn't.
 - Yes, it did.
 - It did but not always.
 - Other:
25. Do/did you have a language assistant in the classroom?
- Yes, I do/did
 - No, I didn't.
 - Other:
26. Have you offered language support to a classmate (e.g. helping in class tasks or during a recess, studying together)?
- No, I haven't.
 - Yes, I have.
 - Other:
27. Have you received any language support from a classmate (e.g. helping in class tasks or during a recess, studying together)?
- Yes, I have.
 - No, I haven't.
28. At school do you hear or see or speak any other languages than Greek?
- Yes, I do.
 - No, I don't.
 - Maybe, I do.
 - I prefer not to answer.
29. Do you think that it would be beneficial to hear, see or speak languages other than Greek at school to a greater extent since there are pupils who are from countries other than Greece?
- Yes, it would.
 - No, it wouldn't.

- Maybe, it would.
- I prefer not to answer.
30. Would you like to participate in multilingual activities, i.e. activities in which more than one language (Greek or English) is used, e.g. singing songs in several languages?
- 1 Not at all
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Very much
31. Do you think any of the following are needed in the lesson? (choose more than 1)
- Vocabulary lists in Greek and other languages
 - Group activities
 - Using English in explanations
 - Peer cooperation, mutual help
 - A teaching assistant in the classroom
 - Dictionaries
 - Tablet or laptop with translation applications and for tasks
 - Activities where more than one language is used
 - Books in other languages (than Greek)
 - Other (provide an idea):
32. If you selected Other, write what:
.....
33. Do you think that language classes in the first language of your classmates (e.g. Albanian, Arabic, Farsi, etc.) should be held in the school in the afternoon?
- Yes, I do.
- No, I don't.
- I do not know
- Maybe.
34. If there were classes for learning the above languages (e.g. Albanian, Arabic, Farsi, etc.) at school, would you like to attend any of them?
- Yes, because it's my first language / my parents' language.
- Yes, because it would be interesting and I want to learn one more language.
- No, I wouldn't.
35. Do you think that the knowledge of several languages (multilingualism) is an asset in life?
- 1 Not at all

- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Yes, very much

36. Do you want to mention anything else or leave a comment?

Thank you for taking part in our survey.

Received: 7.12.2023; **revised:** 11.10.2024

**Repertuary językowe uczniów z doświadczeniem uchodźstwa i migracji:
studium przypadku w 2. Gimnazjum Interkulturowym w Ioanninie, Grecja**

ABSTRAKT. Artykuł przedstawia wyniki studium przypadku przeprowadzonego w 2. Gimnazjum Interkulturowym w Ioanninie w Grecji. W części pierwszej zaprezentowano najnowsze statystyki dotyczące edukacji uczniów z doświadczeniem uchodźczym i migracyjnym oraz analizę takich pojęć, jak wielojęzyczność, kompetencje wielojęzyczne i międzykulturowe, a także edukacja wielojęzyczna i międzykulturowa. Następnie zaoferowano przegląd rozwoju wielojęzyczności w tej szkole oraz ocenę kluczowych obszarów badawczych, w tym języków, jakimi posługują się uczniowie, ich poziomu biegłości językowej, potrzeb komunikacyjnych oraz działań mających na celu wspieranie wielojęzycznej i międzykulturowej tożsamości szkoły. Dane zebrano za pomocą ankiet oraz metody obserwacyjnej. Artykuł kończy się rekomendacjami mającymi promować świadomość interkulturową i wielojęzyczność jako niezbędne elementy w społecznościach szkolnych. Badanie to przeprowadzono w ramach udziału szkoły w projekcie Erasmus+ MaMLiSE (Majority and Minority Languages in School Environment: Helping teachers, pupils, and parents).

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: wielojęzyczność, kompetencja wielojęzyczna, podejście holistyczne do ucznia, całościowa polityka szkolna w zakresie wielojęzyczności, uczniowie z doświadczeniem uchodźstwa i migracji.

STEFANOS SYRMAKESIS

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina (Greece)

estebansir@yahoo.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-1454-324X>

MARIA TZOUMA

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina (Greece)

matzouma@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0002-2841-6481>

EVANGELIA KOUSIOURI

2nd High School of Intercultural Education in Ioannina (Greece)

evakousiouri@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0009-2930-3893>

EVA TESHAYEV SUNDERLAND

H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University

Das Russlandbild polnischer Studierender der Russischen Philologie vor und nach dem Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine

The image of Russians and Russia in the minds
of Polish students of the Russian language before
and after the Russian aggression in Ukraine

ABSTRACT. For centuries, Polish-Russian relations have been turbulent. However, the young generation of Poles born after 1989 seemed to be less burdened by history than their parents, and showed some interest in the Russian language and culture, for which the steadily increasing number of students taking a degree in Russian studies was proof. The Russian aggression in Ukraine, however, has dramatically worsened Polish-Russian relations again. The aim of this article is to investigate if, and to what extent the Ukraine war has influenced the attitude towards, and the image of Russia in the minds of young Poles who chose to take a degree in Russian studies prior to the war. In order to research this topic, I conducted a survey at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and compared the answers to a similar survey conducted in 2017. The results of the data analysis suggest that students who did their degree in 2017 had a relatively more positive image of Russia and its' people, and that both the image of Russia and Russians is considerably more negative amongst the participants of the recent survey.

KEYWORDS: image of the other, Russian-Polish relations, attitudinal change, Russian as a foreign language.

ABSTRACT. Seit Jahrhunderten sind die polnisch-russischen Beziehungen äußerst kompliziert und teils angespannt. Die junge, nach 1989 geborene, Generation der PolInnen schien jedoch historisch weniger belastet und voreingenommen als ihre Eltern und es ließ sich sogar ein gewisses Interesse an der russischen Sprache und Kultur beobachten, unter anderem anhand einer leicht steigenden Zahl Russischstudierender an polnischen Universitäten. Mit dem russischen Angriff auf die Ukraine sind die polnisch-russischen Beziehungen jedoch erneut auf einem Tiefpunkt angelangt. Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es, zu untersuchen, ob und inwieweit der Ukraine-Krieg die Einstellung und das Russlandbild junger PolInnen beeinflusste, die sich vor dem Krieg für ein Russischstudium entschieden hatten. Dazu wurden im Mai 2023 Studierende an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań und die Antworten mit einer ähnlichen Umfrage aus dem Jahr 2017 verglichen. Die Auswertung deutet darauf hin, dass die Probanden, die vor dem Krieg an der Befragung teilnahmen

ein relativ positives Russlandbild hatten und sich dieses Bild bei den Studierenden 2023 wesentlich verschlechtert hat, und zwar nicht nur in Bezug auf den russischen Staat, sondern auch auf die Bevölkerung.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER: Fremdbilder, polnisch-russische Beziehungen, Einstellungsänderung, Russisch als Fremdsprache.

1. EINLEITUNG

Der russische Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine seit Februar 2022 schockierte die Menschen in Europa und weltweit. Es folgten Sanktionen gegen Russland und auch die Kooperationen im Bereich der Wissenschaft und Kultur wurden zum Teil eingestellt. Diese Situation stellte auch Personen, die vor dem Krieg ein Russischstudium begonnen hatten, vor eine ganz neue Herausforderung: Sollten sie ihr Studium fortführen oder abbrechen? Hat sich ihr Russlandbild durch den Krieg verändert? Und wenn ja, inwiefern? In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Perspektive polnischer Russischstudierender interessant und zwar insofern, als dass in der polnischen Gesellschaft das Verhältnis sowohl zu Russland als auch zur russischen Sprache seit Jahrhunderten angespannt war, sich jedoch seit den 90er Jahren ein Wandel abzeichnete: Die, in der Volksrepublik Polen mehrheitlich unbeliebte, da aufgezwungene, russische Sprache begann sich bei jungen Polen und Polinnen eines wachsenden Interesses zu erfreuen. Im Gegensatz zur Elterngeneration, die noch Russisch in der Schule als Pflichtfach lernen musste und oft eine Abneigung dagegen hatte, ging die nach der Wende geborene Generation oft unvoreingenommen an die russische Sprache heran. So ließ sich nach 2010 eine steigende Zahl an Russischkursen in Sprachschulen und universitären Fremdsprachenzentren sowie ein leichter Anstieg bei den Studierendenzahlen im Studiengang Russische Philologie beobachten, laut der Aussagen so mancher Sprachschulen war Russisch „in Mode gekommen und deshalb erlernten viele junge Menschen immer öfter diese Sprache aus purem Vergnügen“.¹

Eine empirische Untersuchung aus dem Jahr 2017 (Teshajev Sunderland 2019), im Rahmen derer Studierende der Russischen Philologie an drei polnischen Universitäten (der Maria-Curie-Skłodowska-Universität in Lublin, der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań und der Jagiellonen-Universität in Krakau) nach ihrer Motivation und ihren Bildern von der Zielsprachenkultur befragt wurden, zeigte, dass die Probanden und Probandinnen nicht nur eine äußerst positive Wahrnehmung der russischen Sprache (viele entschlossen sich gerade aufgrund des „schönen Klangs“ für ihr Studium), sondern auch ein positives bis neutrales

¹ <https://f2f.edu.pl/>; <https://jezykiswiata.pl/>

Bild vom russischen Volk hatten (negativer fiel hingegen die Einstellung zum russischen Staat aus).² Es schien, dass die Haltung der Studierenden in gewissem Sinne eine allgemeine Entspannung der polnisch-russischen Beziehungen widerspiegelte.

Dieser positiven Entwicklung hat die aktuelle russische Politik ein Ende gesetzt. Umfragen zeigen, dass im März 2023 nur 6% der Befragten Sympathie für Russland deklarierten, während es vor dem Angriffskrieg noch 29% waren, und die Zahl der Personen, die eine Antipathie in Bezug auf Russland verspürten von 38% auf 82% gestiegen war (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej 2022: 2, 2023: 2). An den Instituten für Russische Philologie wurden Studienabbrüche und eine geringere Zahl von neuen Studierenden verzeichnet.

In dem vorliegenden Beitrag soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob und inwieweit das Russen- und Russlandbild derjenigen jungen Polen und Polinnen, die sich für eine Fortführung ihres Russischstudiums entschieden haben, im Vergleich zu dem Bild der im Jahre 2017 Befragten variiert und ob sich ihre Haltung zur russischen Sprache und zum russischen Volk verändert hat. Dazu werden die Aussagen der Probanden und Probandinnen aus der Befragung von 2017 mit denen aktueller Russischstudierender verglichen.

Nach Picht (1980: 127) setzen sich Fremdbilder aus historischer Erinnerung und kultureller Tradition zusammen, Dąbrowska-Burkhardt (2021: 375) ergänzt dies um „Erwartungen und Wunschdenken“ und Löschmann (1998: 21) zufolge bestehen Fremdbilder aus „Wahrnehmungen, Vorstellungen, Erfahrungen, Kenntnissen und Erkenntnissen, Ideen, Vermutungen, Gefühlen und natürlich auch Stereotypen und Vorurteilen“. Im Folgenden soll auf die historische Erinnerung als Element des polnischen Russen- und Russlandbildes eingegangen und ein Überblick über die polnisch-russischen Beziehungen gegeben werden.

2. DER EINFLUSS HISTORISCHER EREIGNISSE AUF DAS POLNISCHE RUSSENBILD

Die polnisch-russischen Beziehungen sind historisch stark belastet. Ab Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts stellten die wiederholten Feldzüge Polen-Litauens gegen Moskowien, die oftmals einzige Form des Kontakts zwischen den Völkern dar. Auf der Grundlage dieser kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen entstand ein Russenbild, das sich aus den Assoziationen „aggressiv, expansiv, ungläubig,

² Die Motivation der Probanden und Probandinnen wurde in einem Artikel (Teshajev Sunderland 2019) zusammengefasst, die Auswertung des Russlandbildes blieb bislang unveröffentlicht.

treulos, wild, barbarisch und unterwürfig“ sowie „grob“ und „ungebildet“ zusammensetzte (Cybulski 2009: 61–62; Niewiara 2006: 61–74).

Seit dem 18. Jahrhundert wiederum begann Russland die Politik im geschwächten Polen-Litauen entscheidend zu beeinflussen und war schließlich neben Preußen und Österreich eine der Mächte, die Polen untereinander aufteilten und ihm für über 125 Jahre seine Eigenstaatlichkeit nahmen. Während der Teilungszeit versuchten Polen und Polinnen sich wiederholt von der Fremdherrschaft zu befreien, obgleich es auch eine – heute oftmals vergessene – kurze slawophile Phase gab: Als viele Polen und Polinnen in ihren Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen Hoffnungen auf eine Unterstützung durch den jungen Zaren Alexander I. setzten, stieg das Interesse an Russland und seiner Literatur und in der polnischen Literatur offenbarte sich der Wunsch nach Verbrüderung mit Russland. Bald wurde jedoch deutlich, dass die erhoffte Verbesserung der Lage im russischen Teilungsgebiet nicht eintreten würde und so ist das 19. Jahrhundert von zwei großen Aufständen gegen Russland geprägt, deren Niederschlagung die slawophilen Sympathien dämpfte. Die Literatur der polnischen Romantik hat das polnische Russenbild wohl am stärksten beeinflusst, da jeder große polnische Dichter der Epoche über Russland schrieb, die romantische Dichtung wiederum Bestandteil des Schulunterrichts ist und die Grundlage des literarischen Wissens eines Durchschnittspolens bildet. Die Werke wurden aus einer patriotischen, also antirussischen Perspektive gelesen und festigten das negative Bild des „Moskal“ (Sucharski 2006: 102–104). Unter dem Eindruck der niedergeschlagenen Aufstände, Deportationen nach Sibirien, Enteignungen und der Russifizierung, die bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg anhielt und unter anderem eine Verdrängung der polnischen Sprache zum Ziel hatte, wurde Russland zum Inbegriff von allem Negativem, was man mit dem Osten assoziierte, zu einem wilden, barbarischen und in jeder Hinsicht schlechtem Reich (Borkowicz 2002: 57–58).

Als Polen gegen Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs seine Unabhängigkeit wiedererlangte, wurde der neue Staat erneut von dem östlichen Nachbarn – diesmal in Form der Sowjetunion – bedroht. Das bolschewistische Russland wurde als weitaus gefährlicher als das Zarenreich empfunden. Polnische Karikaturen aus der Zwischenkriegszeit offenbaren ein Bild von den Sowjets als grausamen, wilden und verwahrlosten, kulturverachtenden, östlich-asiatischen Barbaren mit imperialistischen Ambitionen (vgl. Lazari & Riabow 2008).

Zu einer weiteren Verschlechterung des Russenbildes trugen schließlich der Zweite Weltkrieg, die Massendeportationen nach Sibirien und die Ermordung polnischer Kriegsgefangener im Massaker von Katyn bei. Dementsprechend wurde die Befreiung Polens von der deutschen Besatzung durch die Rote Armee nicht von allen Polen als solche erlebt. Zwar wurde in Volkspolen von offizieller Seite die polnisch-sowjetische Waffenbrüderschaft gefeiert, aber das von der

Propaganda aufgebaute positive Bild von der Sowjetunion wurde nicht von der breiten Masse der polnischen Gesellschaft angenommen (Borkowicz 2002: 73).

Somit wurde das Jahr 1989 nicht nur als Befreiung von der Sowjetunion, sondern auch als Befreiung von den russischen Soldaten empfunden. Da über zuvor verschwiegene Geschehnisse nun offen gesprochen werden durfte, war die erste Phase nach der Wende von einer starken Enttabuisierung geprägt. In den Medien entwickelte sich der polnische Antikommunismus allmählich zu einer Russophobie, obwohl in der Bevölkerung auch ein gewisses Mitleid mit den verarmten Händlern aus der ehemaligen UdSSR, die nun auf polnischen Basaren anzutreffen waren, bemerkbar war (Lazari & Riabow 2008: 35).

Nach der Jahrtausendwende wurde in den polnischen Medien ein russisches Großmachtstreben wahrgenommen, dass von vielen Polen und Polinnen als antidemokratisch und inakzeptabel aufgefasst wird und von Zeit zu Zeit historische Wunden aufbrechen lässt (vgl. Lazari 2006). Als Beispiel kann hier der Wunsch russischer Politiker und Politikerinnen nach dem Bau einer, über polnisches Territorium führenden, Verbindungsstraße zwischen Moskau und Kaliningrad, sowie der Streit um die Unterwasser-Gasleitung Nord Stream gelten, die von dem polnischen Verteidigungsminister Radosław Sikorski (2006) mit dem Molotow-Ribbentrop-Pakt verglichen wurde.³ Nach 2010 überschattete wiederum der Absturz der polnischen Regierungsmaschine in Smolensk die polnisch-russischen Beziehungen.

Diese negative Einstellung zum russischen Staat bezieht sich nicht zwangsläufig auf die russische Kultur und die Russen und Russinnen als Volk. So antwortet Andrzej de Lazari auf seine rhetorische Frage „Was regt die Polen am meisten an Russland auf?“ mit „Natürlich der Staat und die Regierung. Hätten die Russen keinen Staat, sondern nur ihre Kultur, wären sie bei den Polen die beliebteste Nation von allen“ (Lazari 2004). Das mag vielleicht übertrieben optimistisch erscheinen, die Umfrageergebnisse des Zentrums für polnisch-russischen Dialog und Verständigung (im Folgenden CPRDiP abgekürzt) bestätigen jedoch, dass dem russischen Volk mehr Sympathie entgegengebracht wird als dem russischen Staat. So überwogen in einer Befragung von 2020 (CPRDiP 2020: 14) die als positiv⁴ zu wertenden spontanen Assoziationen zum Wort „Russe/Russin“ mit 43% gegenüber den negativen⁵ (38%), während Russland als Staat und insbesondere die russische Außenpolitik als aggressiv und bedrohlich wahrgenommen wurden. 33% der Befragten befürworteten eine polnisch-russische

³ Kloth (2006).

⁴ Sehr nettes, offenes, gutes Volk; freundlich gesinnt, gastfreundlich; slawisches Volk, kulturelle Ähnlichkeiten; schöne Frauen; interessante, reiche Kultur, schöner Gesang, Ballett.

⁵ Alkohol, trinken viel; Besetzung Polens, Kommunismus, Katyń; vom Staat (der Politik) unterdrückt; Feindseligkeit, Aggression, Misstrauen, Intoleranz.

Zusammenarbeit im Bereich von Kultur und Gesellschaft (CPRDiP 2020: 25). Ein Vergleich der Untersuchungen des CPRDiP (8–9) aus den Jahren 2012, 2014 und 2020 zeigt, dass der Anteil der Personen, die Russland für einen Staat halten, der Polen gegenüber (eher bzw. entschieden) feindlich gesinnt ist, vergleichbar hoch blieb (2012 – 80%, 2014 – 82%, 2020 – 79%). Der Anteil derer, die die Russen und Russinnen als (eher bzw. entschieden) freundlich gesinnt wahrnahmen, lag hingegen 2012 bei 61% und 2020 bei 64% (im Jahre 2014 war die Zahl auf 46% gesunken).

Seit 2000 nahm das Interesse an Russland zu, die Zahl der Russischlerner und Russischlernerinnen, die nach 1989 dramatisch sank⁶, war erstmals wieder im Steigen begriffen und auch die Studierendenzahlen im Fach Russische Philologie wiesen – trotz des demographischen Tiefs – eine steigende Tendenz auf. Der Umfrage des CPRDiP (2020: 13) zufolge erachteten im Jahr 2020 16% der Befragten Russisch für eine Sprache, die es sich zu lernen lohnt – damit hatte Russisch in der Umfrage einen „Vorsprung“ vor Spanisch (15%) und Französisch (9%).

Die Annexion der Krim durch Russland im Jahre 2014 schien das polnische Interesse an Russland und der russischen Sprache nicht zu bremsen. Zu einer drastischen Umkehr führte jedoch der russische Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine im Februar 2022. Waren die Polen und Polinnen auch zuvor Russland skeptisch gegenüber, so sanken nun die Beziehungen auf einen Tiefpunkt: Laut einer jährlich wiederholten Umfrage des polnischen Meinungsforschungsinstituts CBOS (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej) bezüglich der Haltung der Polen und Polinnen gegenüber anderen Völkern deklarierten im Februar 2022 (noch kurz vor dem Angriffskrieg) 29% der Befragten ihre Sympathie für das russische Volk, 38% ihre Abneigung und 27% waren gleichgültig (CBOS 2022: 2). Damit befanden sich die Russen und Russinnen auf einer Liste von 18 Völkern auf dem drittletzten Platz – im März 2023 sanken sie auf den letzten Platz, 82% der Polen erklärten ihre Abneigung, 8% waren gleichgültig und nur 6% empfanden Sympathie (CBOS 2023: 2).

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, welches Russenbild gegenwärtige Russischstudierende haben und ob Aspekte der oben angeführten historischen Russlandbilder sowie der aktuellen Situation in den Aussagen der Studierenden zum Vorschein kommen und zwar ebenfalls im Vergleich zu der anfangs erwähnten Befragung aus dem Jahr 2017.

⁶ Von 83% der Schüler im Schuljahr 1986/87 auf 24%. im Schuljahr 1997/98 (Wróblewska-Pawlak & Strachanowska 2009: 103–104).

3. BEFRAGUNG DER STUDIERENDEN ZU IHREM RUSSENBILD

Von Oktober bis Dezember 2017 wurde unter Studierenden der Russischen Philologie an der Jagiellonen-Universität Krakau, der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań und der Maria-Curie-Skłodowska-Universität Lublin (im Folgenden UJ Krakau, UAM Poznań und UMCS Lublin abgekürzt) eine Befragung durchgeführt. Es wurden Universitäten in Großstädten gewählt, die sich in der Vergangenheit in unterschiedlichen Teilungsgebieten befanden: Poznań (ehemals preußisch), Krakau (ehemals österreichisch), Lublin (ehemals russisch). Dies diente unter anderem der Ermittlung dessen, ob das Russlandbild der Probanden und Probandinnen aufgrund der historisch unterschiedlichen Prägung ihrer Region variierte.

Im Rahmen der Untersuchung wurden unter anderem Studierende im letzten Jahr des BA-Studiums nach ihrer Motivation und ihren Bildern von der Zielsprachenkultur befragt. Die Auswertung ihrer Antworten zur Motivation deutete auf eine äußerst positive Einstellung zum Lernobjekt, woraus die Vermutung entstand, dass auch das Bild von der Zielsprachenkultur positiv geprägt sein könnte. Die Beschäftigung mit dieser Hypothese erschien gerade deshalb so interessant, weil die positiv affektiven Motive der Studierenden mit den historisch belasteten polnisch-russischen Beziehungen kontrastieren.

Daher wurde im nächsten Schritt den folgenden Fragen nachgegangen: Welches Bild haben die Studierenden von Russland und den Russen und Russinnen? Basieren ihre fremdkulturellen Assoziationen auf Primärerlebnissen? Welche Erfahrungen haben die Studierenden im Zielland gemacht? Gibt es Übereinstimmungen hinsichtlich der fremdkulturellen Assoziationen?

Insgesamt wurden die Antworten von 72 Probanden und Probandinnen (polnischen Staatsangehörigen, die auch aus Polen stammen; pro Universität 23 bis 25 Personen) erfasst.

Im Mai 2023 wurde die Untersuchung mit den gleichen Fragen an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań wiederholt, allerdings unter anderen Rahmenbedingungen: Ein Jahr nach Ausbruch des Krieges und nachdem die Stadt Poznań zahlreiche Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine aufgenommen hatte, mit denen sich die Bevölkerung in den ersten Monaten stark solidarisierte. So manch Russischstudierende/r hatte unter dem Eindruck der Geschehnisse sein Studium abgebrochen, die Zahl der Studienanfänger und Studienanfängerinnen ging zurück. An der Befragung nahmen 40 Personen polnischer Nationalität aus allen Studienjahren teil. Ihre Aussagen werden im Folgenden mit denen der Probanden und Probandinnen aus der Befragung von 2017 verglichen.

3.1. Russlandaufenthalt

Die Auswertung der Fragebögen von 2017 ergab, dass von den Probanden und Probandinnen der UAM Poznań und der UJ Krakau jeweils neun Personen (also ein Drittel des Studiengangs) und von den Probanden und Probandinnen der UMCS nur zwei Personen in Russland waren. Die meisten Befragten (72%) konnten ihr Russlandbild also nicht auf Primärerfahrungen im Land stützen.

Die Russlandreisenden hatten überwiegend nur einen Aufenthalt hinter sich, der eine Woche bis maximal einen Monat dauerte. Sie kommentierten ihren Aufenthalt als „sehr positiv“ bis „positiv“ (die beiden Studierenden aus Lublin schrieben „fantastisch“ und „sehr positiv, sehr inspirierend“), einige äußerten sich ausführlicher zu ihren Eindrücken, die an dieser Stelle genannt werden sollen:⁷

- „sehr positiv, durch die nahe russische Mentalität fühlte ich mich wie zu Hause“,
- „mir gefällt alles, was mit kyrillischen Buchstaben geschrieben wird. In Russland gefiel es mir in den großen Städten sehr. Als ich durch die kleineren Städte fuhr, war ich entsetzt, dass ich auf der Straße so viel Armut sehen konnte“,
- „Russland unterschied sich stark von westeuropäischen Ländern und genau das hat mir gefallen. Diese Andersartigkeit, und auch Klang und Melodiehaftigkeit der Sprache“,
- „ich war bezaubert von der Kultur, der Gastfreundschaft, entzückt von den historischen Sehenswürdigkeiten“.

Von den Studierenden, die im Sommersemester 2023 an der Befragung teilnahmen, waren nur sechs (also 15%) in Russland gewesen. Fünf hatten positive Eindrücke (zwei schrieben ausführlicher: „Ein unglaubliches Land mit reicher Kultur und Geschichte. Freundliche und gastfreundliche Menschen.“; „Sehr schön, recht modern, ich würde gerne wieder hinfahren.“), eine Person hatte einen ambivalenten Eindruck: „St. Petersburg, die Perle des Nordens. Die Menschen sind kühl und nicht sonderlich an Fremden interessiert. Die Stadt ist gepflegt, sauber, aber wie es in der Provinz aussieht (Smolensk), ist weit von zivilisierten Standards entfernt. Als ich durch Westrussland gefahren bin, habe ich mir die Frage gestellt, wie tragisch die Lebensbedingungen der Menschen in den Dörfern des Fernen Ostens sein müssen“.

⁷ Die deutsche Übersetzung der polnischen Antworten ist bewusst stark am ausgangssprachlichen Wortlaut orientiert, um die Nuancen in den Aussagen der Probanden so getreu wie möglich wiederzugeben.

3.2. Haltung gegenüber Russen und Russinnen

Im Jahr 2017 hatten insgesamt 80,5% aller Befragten der drei Universitäten eine positive Einstellung gegenüber Russen und Russinnen. Diejenigen Befragten, die Russlanderfahrung hatten, beschrieben die Russen und Russinnen als „sehr herzliche, gastfreundliche Menschen, die Ausländern gegenüber wohlgesonnen sind“, wobei auch auf die gemeinsame slawische Herkunft verwiesen wurde: „das ist für mich ein slawisches Brudervolk“ und „die Russen haben eine sehr ähnliche Mentalität und ich kann sie wie Brüder behandeln“. Eine Person hingegen kritisierte trotz generell positiver Haltung, den „Snobismus, die Homophobie und die Überzeugung, dass Männer den Frauen helfen müssen, weil diese alleine nicht zurechtkommen“.

Eine deutliche Veränderung der Haltung gegenüber den Russen und Russinnen ist in den Antworten der Probanden und Probandinnen von 2023 spürbar: Hier deklarieren ca. 67% der Befragten eine neutrale Haltung, eine Person war gleichgültig und nur sieben Personen bezeichneten ihre Haltung als „positiv“. Während 2017 nur eine Person ihre Einstellung mit „eher negativ“ angab, waren es im Mai 2023 fünf Probanden, die eine negative Haltung deklarierten.

Einige der Studierenden mit positiver Einstellung gegenüber den Russen erläuterten hierzu:

- „man muss die Politik von den gewöhnlichen Menschen trennen können“,
- „es kommt auf ihre Haltung gegenüber der Regierung und dem Krieg in der Ukraine an, aber generell habe ich ein gutes Verhältnis zu ihnen, unter dem Vorbehalt, dass sie ihrer Regierung öfter Widerstand leisten könnten“.

Manche Probanden und Probandinnen, die eine neutrale Einstellung angegeben hatten, kommentierten dies:

- „Ich finde, dass die Russen aufgrund der Regierung Putins rückständig sind, sie haben keinen Zugang zu freien Medien und wahrheitsgetreuen Informationen“,
- „vor dem Krieg war meine Einstellung gegenüber den Russen wesentlich besser. Jetzt sehe ich, dass sie ein furchtbar manipuliertes, verschlossenes Volk sind, ähnlich, wie China oder Nordkorea“,
- „in Zukunft würde ich gerne eine Reise nach Russland unternehmen, um mein Wissen über das Land und seine Bürger in der Praxis zu vertiefen. Das russische Volk fasziniert mich, seine Geschichte, Folklore, sein Glauben und seine Mentalität. Im Allgemeinen glaube ich daran, dass es in jedem Staat gute und schlechte Menschen gibt. Leider haben mich die aktuellen politischen Geschehnisse davon überzeugt, dass die russische Regierung seit jeher und vielleicht für immer ein negatives Element

Russlands darstellt. Dies wirkt sich jedoch nicht auf meine objektive Wahrnehmung aus und auf mein Bestreben mich im Bereich der Russischen Philologie weiterzuentwickeln“,

- „gegenwärtig ist es für mich schwierig, mich zu positionieren, aber ich habe den Eindruck, dass die Russen nur wenig dahingehend zu sagen haben, wie ihr Staat funktionieren soll. Andererseits scheinen sie mir kulturell „weit hinter Europa“ zu sein, besonders wenn es um Ansichten wie z.B. Feminismus, allgemeine Gleichberechtigung der LGBT-Community und ihre Rechte geht – besonders, wenn man bedenkt, dass dort immer noch das Patriarchat vorherrscht“,
- „das ist eine vollkommen andere Zivilisation, man fühlt noch die Mongolenherrschaft. [...] Die Menschen in meinem Alter, die ich kennengelernt habe, zeigten kein Interesse an der Welt außerhalb Russlands, und dies 2019. Sie lebten in hermetischen Regionen und erledigten alles, ohne ihre Siedlung zu verlassen. Es war traurig. Ich weiß, dass viele von ihnen den Krieg unterstützen. Ich erinnere mich daran, dass ich noch vor einigen Jahren ein Bruder für sie war, heute bin ich ein Feind, der in sozialen Medien blockiert wird, weil ich die Wahrheit poste und Bilder davon, was in der Ukraine geschieht. Mediale Statistiken, die eine Unterstützung des Krieges von 70% der Gesellschaft zeigen, erscheinen absolut realistisch. Es reicht sich „1410“ auf YouTube anzuschauen. Es ist traurig, dass sich nicht viel mit dieser Nation machen lässt“.

3.3. Haltung gegenüber Russland

Im Vergleich zu der überwiegend positiven Haltung der Befragten von 2017 gegenüber den Russen als Volk war ihre Haltung gegenüber dem russischen Staat bereits distanzierter. Während insgesamt 58 Studierende (80,5%) dem Volk gegenüber Sympathie empfanden, deklarierten mit 38 Personen wesentlich weniger (52%) eine positive Haltung zum Staat.

Die Studierenden mit positiver Haltung gegenüber Russland begründeten diese mit ihrer „Faszination“ in Bezug auf „die Weite dieses Landes, die Vielfalt der Kulturen, die russische Literatur“, ihrem „Interesse“ an dem „Land, der Kultur und der Geschichte“ sowie den „Bräuchen und dem alltäglichen Leben“ und weil sie Russland für ein „wunderschönes“, „interessantes“, „ungewöhnlich vielfältiges“, „einmaliges“ „Land voller Sehenswürdigkeiten, mit einer interessanten Geschichte, reicher Kultur und Tradition“ hielten.

In den Aussagen anderer wird an die schwierige polnisch-russische Geschichte erinnert:

- „Ich verstehe dieses Land nicht ganz, ich lerne es immer mehr kennen, erfahre neue wesentliche Dinge. Irgendwo in meinem Inneren erinnere ich mich an den Krieg und das Leid, dass die Russen unserem Volk angetan haben, aber man darf nicht die Zeitgenossen für eine solche damalige Politik ‚bestrafen‘. Es ist sicherlich ein Land, mit dem es sich lohnt gute Kontakte zu knüpfen und zu erhalten (nicht nur politische oder wirtschaftliche)“,
- „gut – wir vergeben, aber wir vergessen nicht“.

Probanden mit einer ambivalenten und vorsichtigen Haltung schrieben:

- „Russland ist ein wunderschönes Land mit einer interessanten Tradition, aber ich habe Bedenken seiner Regierung gegenüber“,
- „Ich weiß, dass die politische Situation in Russland nicht rosig ist, aber ich interessiere mich nicht besonders für Politik. Über Russland denke ich als Ziel für wunderschöne Reisen und einen Ort mit einer wunderbaren Kultur“,
- „[Haltung] vorsichtig, ich bin fasziniert von der Kultur, der Sprache und Geschichte, aber ich bin mir der gegenwärtigen politischen Situation und der historischen Ereignisse bewusst“,
- „Politik – negativ, Kultur – positiv“.

In Bezug auf die Umfrage von 2023 war – wie zu erwarten – die Stimmung verhaltener: Nur zwei Personen deklarierten eine positive Haltung, sechs eine neutrale, vier eine negative und eine Person eine „turbulente“. Die übrigen Probanden wollten oder konnten sich nicht auf eine eindeutige Meinung festlegen und schrieben stattdessen Erläuterungen.

In den Aussagen mancher Personen wurde die aktuelle Politik Russlands nicht thematisiert:

- „ein wunderschönes Land, mit reicher Kultur und Geschichte. Eine wunderschöne Architektur und Natur. Ein riesiger Staat mit vielen Geheimnissen. Ich bin entsetzt von dem Gefälle: die erdrückende Armut in der Provinz und der Reichtum der größeren Städte. Nichtsdestotrotz möchte ich gerne einmal hinfahren und sowohl Moskau als auch das ferne Archangelsk sehen“,
- „ein sehr interessantes Land mit einer komplexen Geschichte, was sich auf die Einmaligkeit des Landes auswirkt. Russland erweckt den Eindruck vom Rest der Welt getrennt zu sein und das gibt dem Land viele individuelle Merkmale, eine Einzigartigkeit und etwas Geheimnisvolles“.

Andere Probanden wiederum trennen das Land als solches von der herrschenden Regierung:

- „ein Land mit interessanter Geschichte und vielen Orten, die ich gerne besuchen würde, das aber von den falschen Personen regiert wird“,

- „Russland ist wunderschön und ich würde das Land gerne sehen. Dort leben Menschen, die genauso wie die Polen auch, unter starkem Einfluss der Politik stehen“,
- „Ich trenne ganz klar Kultur, Architektur und die Schönheit der Natur, aber vor allem die Bewohner von der Politik. Deshalb kann ich mein Verhältnis zu Russland als positiv bezeichnen, obwohl ich zu 100% gegen den Krieg bin, den Russland gegenwärtig führt (und gegen alle Kriege, die es in der Vergangenheit geführt hat)“,
- „Russland hat einige schöne Orte, eine interessante Kultur und Geschichte (wenn auch eine brutale). Die Menschen sind – aus der Perspektive eines Slawen – auch überwiegend wirklich in Ordnung. Aber diese Regierung, die Kriege, die Politik... was soll man da nur sagen“.

Aus der Aussage einer Studierenden geht hervor, wie sehr der Krieg ihre anfangs positive und interessierte Haltung gegenüber Russland beeinflusste:

- „Im Allgemeinen war mein Verhältnis gegenüber Russland im ersten Studienjahr 2020 eher positiv. Ich wollte sehr mein Wissen hinsichtlich der Geschichte, der Folklore, der Sprache und Allem, was mit Russland verbunden ist, vertiefen. Ich bin von Russland fasziniert – wie auch sonst, ich habe ja Russische Philologie als Studiengang gewählt. Nichtsdestotrotz rufen alle aktuellen Geschehnisse, die mit dem Krieg in Zusammenhang stehen, automatisch negative Emotionen in mir hervor, und eine Abneigung sowie Enttäuschung über Russland und seine Bürger.“

3.4. „Typische“ Eigenschaften eines Russen

Im nächsten Teil des Fragebogens wurde den Studierenden eine Tabelle mit gegensätzlichen Eigenschaftspaaren⁸ präsentiert. Zwischen den Gegensatzpaaren wurden die Zahlen von 1 bis 5 angegeben und die Studierenden sollten „typische“ Eigenschaften auf dieser Skala von 1 bis 5 markieren, wobei 1 z.B. „sehr gehorsam“ und 5 „sehr eigenwillig“ bedeutete (Beispiel: gehorsam 1-2-3-4-5 eigenwillig).

Gewiss ist eine solche Aufgabe kontrovers, da Eigenschaften auf eine ganze Nation bezogen und verallgemeinert werden. Picht (1980: 123) zufolge, der diese Art der Befragung grundsätzlich kritisiert, können auf diese Weise ermittelte Ergebnisse dennoch „als grober Indikator für allgemeine Trends durchaus von Nutzen sein, um die Felder zu bezeichnen, in denen [...] die gruppenspezifisch

⁸ Das Design für diese Tabelle wurde einer Studie des polnischen Instituts für Öffentliche Angelegenheiten (Instytut Spraw Publicznych, ISP) zum Deutschlandbild der Polen entnommen (Falkowski 2006).

motivierten“ Urteile besonders in Erscheinung treten. Albrecht (2003: 236) macht darauf aufmerksam, dass ein Fremdbild „keine reale, sondern eine virtuelle Struktur“, die sich in Abhängigkeit von Eigenschaften der wahrgenommenen Person oder Sache und der jeweiligen Beobachtungsperspektive konstituiert“, ist. Somit wird bei der Untersuchung der Fremdbilder, wie Picht (1980: 123) anmerkt, nicht die objektive Realität des Ziellandes ermittelt, sondern die subjektive Wirklichkeit des Befragten widergespiegelt, da das Fremdbild auch immer etwas über das Selbstbild verrät.

Da es sich aber, aufgrund ihres verallgemeinernden Charakters, um eine Aufgabe handelt, die bei kritischen Probanden und Probandinnen Unwillen hervorrufen kann, wurde den Befragten ausdrücklich die Wahl gelassen: Sie konnten die Tabelle entweder ausfüllen oder – falls sie mit der Verwendung einer solchen Art von Tabelle nicht einverstanden waren – nichts markieren, aber stattdessen ihre Kritik begründen. Diese Alternative war in der Aufgabenstellung enthalten. Beide Vorgehensweisen geben Auskunft über die Sichtweise und Bewusstheit des entsprechenden Probanden und Probandinnen. So äußerten 2017 Studierende Kritik an dieser verallgemeinernden Darstellung: Drei Befragte gaben an, jeder Mensch sei anders und man könne ihn nicht auf diese Weise bewerten. Eine Person befand: „Das russische Volk ist sehr differenziert, man müsste präzisieren, ob es um die Nationalität oder die Staatsangehörigkeit geht. Wenn es um die Nationalität geht, so möchte ich keine Stereotypen verwenden, da sie mehrheitlich falsch sind, und ich selbst kenne nicht genug Russen, um mich zu ihrem Thema äußern zu können.“ Eine schrieb: „Ich mag keine Verallgemeinerungen, ein Pole gleicht ja auch nicht jedem anderen Polen und ich empfinde solche Verallgemeinerungen als verletzend“.

Hinsichtlich der Umfrage von 2023 waren es noch mehr Personen, nämlich neun (22,5%), die sich weigerten, die Tabelle auszufüllen. Sie argumentierten damit, dass man die gesamte Gesellschaft eines Landes nicht bewerten könne, ohne sie zu kennen, die Eigenschaften von der Person abhängig seien und nicht von der Nationalität, und dass es sich bei der Aufgabe um eine vereinfachende Verallgemeinerung handle, die unzulässig sei, ein Schubladendenken, bei dem eine riesige Gruppe von Menschen über einen Kamm geschert wird.⁹

Die Probanden und Probandinnen aller drei Universitäten, die 2017 eine Bewertung abgaben, hatten sehr unterschiedliche Vorstellungen hinsichtlich

⁹ Eine Probandin schrieb: „Ich bin nicht in der Lage, einen „typischen Russen“ zu visualisieren. Nicht nur deshalb, weil Stereotype schlecht sind, sondern einfach darum, weil Russland ein zu diverses Land ist, sowohl im Hinblick auf sein Territorium, seine Gesellschaft und seine Kultur, um sich überhaupt die Eigenschaften eines „typischen Russen“ vorstellen zu können. Denn man kann sich genauso gut einen Moskauer oder St. Petersburger Oligarchen vorstellen, als auch eine ‚Babuschka‘, die in einem Dorf in der fernen Provinz lebt.“

„typischer“ russischer Eigenschaften, sowohl die mit Russlanderfahrung als auch diejenigen ohne. Auf der Skala der gegensätzlichen Eigenschaften, waren alle Konstellationen vertreten (von sehr gehorsam bis sehr eigenwillig; sehr bescheiden bis sehr eingebildet usw.), wobei die meisten Befragten sich nicht festlegen wollten und ihr Kreuz in der Mitte der Skala (bei einer neutralen 3) setzten. Eine klare Tendenz bei allen Probanden und Probandinnen gab es bezüglich der Meinung, dass der „typische“ Russe religiös und von der Überlegenheit des eigenen Volkes überzeugt sei. Auch tendierten alle Probanden dazu, den „typischen“ Russen als „wohlwollend“ zu bewerten.

Auch 2023 waren die Befragten nicht zu einer eindeutigen Bewertung eines „typischen“ Russen bereit und so setzten die meisten ihre Markierung im mittleren Bereich:

Tabelle 1. „Typische“ Eigenschaften eines Russen ($n = 31$). Die Ergebnisse werden in Prozent angegeben

Ein typischer Russe ist						
Eigenschaften	1	2	3	4	5	Eigenschaften
gehorsam	16,1	38,7	32,2	12,9	-	eigenwillig
bescheiden	-	16,1	32,2	41,9	9,6	eingebildet
reinlich	-	22,5	54,8	12,9	9,6	schmutzig/schlampig
modern	-	16,1	25,8	48,3	9,6	rückständig
ehrlich	-	6,4	74,1	19,3	-	unehrlich
fleissig	6,4	41,9	32,2	22,5	-	faul
freundlich/wohlwollend	16,1	29	51,6	6,4	-	unfreundlich
unternehmerisch	3,2	35,4	38,7	22,5	-	passiv
tolerant	3,2		25,8	45,1	25,8	intolerant
religiös	9,6	32,2	35,4	12,9	3,2	nicht religiös
die eigene nation nicht hervorhebend	-	3,2	19,3	54,8	22,5	von der Überlegenheit der eigenen Nation überzeugt
gebildet	-	16,1	67,7	16,1	-	ungebildet
aufgeschlossen	9,6	22,5	29	32,2	9,6	verschlossen
spontan	12,9	22,5	38,7	22,5	3,2	steif/formalistisch
gut organisiert	3,2	25,8	41,9	22,5	6,4	schlecht organisiert

Quelle: Eigene Bearbeitung, angelehnt an Fałkowski (2006).

Die Tendenzen, die sich erkennen ließen, betrafen die Beurteilung der Russen und Russinnen als eher gehorsam, eher „eingebildet“, eher „rückständig“, eher „fleißig“, eher „freundlich / wohlwollend“, eher „unternehmerisch, eher intolerant, eher religiös, von der Überlegenheit der eigenen Nation überzeugt.

Nach dieser Aufgabe mit einer vorgegebenen Tabelle wurden die Studierenden mit Hilfe der Frage „Fallen Ihnen andere Eigenschaften eines ‚typischen‘ Russen ein?“ nach Assoziationen befragt.

2017 gaben nur 18 Probanden „typische“ Eigenschaften an. Darunter waren Personen mit Russlanderfahrung und ohne. Was erstere anbelangt, nannten sie die Assoziationen „höflich, freundlich; ist dem Alkohol nicht abgeneigt, ist sehr gastfreundlich, mag Komplimente, ist unterhaltsam, gesprächig, offen für andere, etwas aufgewühlt; Patriot“. Eine russlanderfahrene Person aus Lublin beschrieb einen „typischen“ Russen wiederum als „misstrauisch, falsch, gastfreundlich, unterhaltsam, gesellig“.

Diejenigen Befragten, die nie in Russland waren, gaben sehr unterschiedliche Eigenschaften an: „kennt sich gut mit Kultur, Literatur und Geschichte aus“, „stolz, gesprächig, gut orientiert, stur“, „trinkt gern und hat gern Spaß“, „Trinker, aufbrausend, impulsiv“, „gastfreundlich“ und „ergeben, ehrenhaft, für sein Land“, „ein typischer Russe: entweder sehr arm oder ein Geschäftshai, er zieht ein patriarchalisches Familienmodell vor. Die Frauen sind schön, weil sie gepflegt sind“, „mag Unterhaltung“, „fröhlich, lebenslustig, optimistisch, stolz“, „trinkt viel Vodka“.

Auf die gleiche Frage nach weiteren Eigenschaften eines „typischen“ Russen antworteten 2023 fast alle, nämlich 36 Probanden und Probandinnen. Auch sie hatten Assoziationen mit „Alkohol“ (sieben Personen) und „Gastfreundschaft“ (drei Personen) und ebenfalls die Assoziationen „stolz“, „gesellig“, „mag Unterhaltung“ und „fühlt starke Loyalität gegenüber seinen Freunden und seinem Land“ wiederholten sich. Außerdem nannten die Studierenden: Einfallsreichtum, mutig, er hat enge Familienbande, traditionsverbunden, mag keine Veränderungen bzw. moderne Lösungen, hat einen harten russischen Akzent, mag Vodka, kitschige Kleidung. In dieser jüngeren Befragung wurden jedoch mehr negative Assoziationen genannt als 2017, unter anderem: Mafia; ein Mensch mir stereotypen Vorstellungen gegenüber anderen; schlau; sein Sinn für Humor ist eher vulgär (das schließe ich aus dem, was ich im Internet sehe); fordernd; prügelt sich gerne; hohes Ego. Es kamen dabei auch Assoziationen auf, die mit der politischen Situation Russlands zusammenhängen: schlecht informiert, vom Staat unterdrückt, vereinsamt, aggressiv; gleichgültig gegenüber der sozialen und politischen Realität (als Ergebnis einer Funktionsweise in einem bestimmten historisch-politischen Umfeld); ein von der Propaganda befeuertes Gehirn; negative Haltung gegenüber dem Westen.

Eine Studentin merkte an: „Von den negativen Eigenschaften, die mir in den Sinn kommen, würde ich Korruption nennen, fehlende Motivation zum Kampf, zur nationalen Vereinigung und einem Aufstand gegen den politischen Terror (besonders im Kontext des Ukraine-Krieges). Ich bin entsetzt über den Gedan-

ken, dass manche Bürger und Bürgerinnen Russlands stolz auf den Krieg und den Tod ihrer Soldaten sind (die zahlreichen Aufnahmen im Internet, in denen Interviews mit russischen Müttern gezeigt werden, die trotz ihrer Tränen stolz sind und sich darüber freuen, dass ihr Sohn im Krieg für Russland gefallen ist). Was positive Eigenschaften anbelangt, würde ich sagen, dass Russen in der Regel eher gastfreundlich sind.“

3.5. Assoziationen zum Stichwort „Russland“

Auf die Frage nach drei Assoziationen in Bezug auf Russland folgten 2017 äußerst vielfältige Antworten. Zahlenmäßig am häufigsten wurden mit Russland assoziiert:

- Putin, Matrioschka (jeweils 22%),
- Moskau bzw. Moskau und seine Sehenswürdigkeiten (16%),
- das größte Land der Welt bzw. ein riesiges Territorium / große Fläche (15%),
- Sibirien bzw. die „wilde Natur Sibiriens“ (12,5%),
- Kreml (11%),
- Kälte bzw. eisige/sibirische Kälte (9%),
- Vodka, Sankt Petersburg, Bär (jeweils 8%),
- Reichtum; mächtiger Staat / Macht; reiche / vielfältige / großartige Kultur (5%),
- (starker) Alkohol; Bajkal; Schönheit / schöne Landschaft / schöne Städte; dreifarbige/russische Flagge (4%),
- Roter Platz, orthodoxe Kirche, Musik, Winter, Bania, Weiße Nächte (jeweils 3%).

Einzelnennungen waren: Slawentum, Silbernes Zeitalter, Bulat Okudschawa, schöne Sprache, Literatur, Puschkin, Musik, Festival des Russischen Liedes, kulturell heterogen, russische Mentalität, Mütterchen Russland, Adler, Zug, Samowar, Einmaligkeit, religiös, Ikone, Unternehmergeist, Luxus, Armut, Mammut, Oimjakon, Kemez (Lastwagen), Erdöl, Gas, Gazprom, Embargo, Kontrolle, Autorität, Willkür, UdSSR, Imperium, Armee, Kalter Krieg, Krieg, Katyń und „Teilungszeit“.

Zwei Studierende, die in Russland gewesen waren assoziierten das Land mit „Bär, Politik, Revolution“ und „bravourös auf der Straße (ein gefährlicher Fahrer), arrogant, verhält sich überheblich, rüpelhaft“.

Im Mai 2023 assoziierten die Studierenden Russland am häufigsten mit „Krieg“ (22,5%) und am zweithäufigsten (mit jeweils 17,5%) mit „Putin“, aber auch mit Literatur (Literaturklassiker/große, hervorragende Literatur, 16%), danach folgten:

- Moskau, Petersburg (jeweils 15%),
- Religion / russisch-orthodoxer Glaube (12,5%) großes Territorium, riesige Fläche,
- Vodka (10%),
- Matrioschka, Sibirien, russisch-orthodoxe Kirchen, Armut, (Wirtschafts-)macht (jeweils 7,5%),
- Zarentum, Imperialismus, Imperium, Kommunismus, Macht, (lange) Geschichte, Ballett, Bär(en), (herrliche) Natur, geheimnisvoll (jeweils 5%).

Einzelnennungen betrafen:

- Kulinarisches - Pelmeni, Bliny, Erdbeeren, leckeres Essen und Trinken,
- Literatur - Puschkin, Tolstoj, Sozialismus, Schuld und Sühne, Der Meister und Margarita, Lolita,
- Geografie und Landschaft - Osten, Kaukasus, Wald,
- Kultur - reiche Kultur, viele Kulturdenkmäler, hervorragende Architektur in den Städten, Ikonen, reiche Tradition, Mystizismus,
- Gesellschaft - Reichtum oder Armut (zweimal) und nichts dazwischen, rückständig, extrem, Patriarchat, ethnische Minderheiten, Traurigkeit,
- Sonstiges - Zug, Transsibirische Eisenbahn, wunderschöne Sprache, Kälte, Anna Wojtacha.¹⁰

Während die Assoziationen 2017 überwiegend neutral gewesen waren, kamen 2023 mehr kritische hinzu: Regime, Propaganda, Nationalismus, Konservatismus, antieuropäische Einstellung, arme unterdrückte Minderheiten, brutale Politik, Feststecken in der Vergangenheit; ein schönes Land, dass wiederholt von seinen eigenen Herrschern misshandelt worden ist.

3.6. Assoziationen zum Stichwort „Russe“

Auch die jeweiligen drei Assoziationen in Bezug auf das Stichwort „Russe“ waren 2017 sehr vielfältig. Es dominiert das Bild vom Russen, der gerne (bzw. zu viel) Alkohol trinkt; mehr als ein Drittel der Befragten vertrat diese Vorstellung. Auch positive Eigenschaften, wie Wohlwollen, Gastfreundschaft und Offenheit wurden wiederholt genannt:

- Vodka/trinkt Vodka (18%); Alkohol/trinkt gerne Alkohol, betrunken, Trinker (15%): insgesamt 33%,
- wohlwollend/Wohlwollen (12,5%),
- gastfreundlich/Gastfreundschaft (10%),
- offen / Offenheit, aufgeschlossen (10%),

¹⁰ Polnische Kriegsberichterstatteerin.

- religiös / Religion / Religiösität (jeweils 8%),
- fleißig/Fleiß (7%),
- hilfsbereit (5%),
- mag Unterhaltung (jeweils 5,5%),
- Balalajka (4%).

Die weiteren Assoziationen lassen sich folgendermaßen unterteilen:

- *Neutrale bis positive Eigenschaften*: gehorsam / Gehorsam, unterhalt-sam (jeweils Doppelnennungen), unternehmerisch, kollegial, ernst, gutaussehend, elegant, frei, reich, spontan, gesellig, unverstanden, stark emotional, mit seinem Land verbunden, stolz, reiche Seele, fröhlich, ehrlich / Ehrlichkeit, gebildet, sympathisch, nett (jeweils Doppelnennungen), freundlich, belesen, mutig, guter Mensch, höflich, herzlich, positiv, tolerant,
- *Negative Eigenschaften*: herrschsüchtig, stur, zieht sich schlecht an, ambiva-lent, rückständig, ziemlich einfacher Mensch, einfach (ein Simpel), ohne eigene Meinung, Schlampigkeit, Mangel an Manieren, Rüpelhaftigkeit, intolerant,
- *Kleidung*: Jogginganzug (Doppelnennung), Adidas-Turnschuhe, bunte Tücher, Pelz, Pelzmütze, Ohrenmütze,
- *Personen*: Putin, der Maler Vrubel, Wladimir Wysozki, Diktator, Anna German, Dima Bilan, rückständig (war nie in Europa), mag Unterhaltung, Blondine mit langem Zopf, Arbeiter, Bauer,
- *Sonstiges*: Soldat, Tradition, Teppiche an den Wänden, Lächeln (Dop-pelnennungen), Folklore, Patriot, Matrioschka, Slawentum, sie reisen viel, Andersartigkeit, Mensch, Materialist, Musik, teure Autos, Pelmeni, Armut, lauter Gesang, warm angezogen, Kommunismus, Rote Armee, hat ein Auto, Sprache, Vielfalt.

Es fällt auf, dass die Befragten, die nie in Russland waren, zum Teil negative Assoziationen hatten (z.B. „Schlampigkeit“, „Mangel an Manieren“), während die Assoziationen der Probanden und Probandinnen mit Russlanderfahrung positiv bis neutral waren.

Bestimmte Assoziationen wiederholten sich auch in der aktuellen Befragung, so assoziierten 2023 20% der Probanden und Probandinnen die Russen mit Alkohol (Alkohol, trinkt Vodka, Alkoholiker, betrunken), aber auch mit Gastfreundschaft (10%) und mit Fleiß (7,5%) – allerdings wurden genauso oft Armut (10%) und Passivität (7,5%) genannt. Des Weiteren wurden Doppel- und Einzelnennungen neutraler Art angegeben:

- *Neutrale Eigenschaften*: etwas traurig / Traurigkeit, Stolz (jeweils Dop-pelnennungen), unterhaltsam, gesellig, hochgewachsen, kräftig, abge-härteter Mensch, ehrgeizig, Einfachheit, gläubig, von Emotionen ges-

teuert, heimatverbunden, streng, harter Mensch (starker Charakter), spirituell, vom Leben gezeichneter Mensch,

- *Kleidung*: Jogginganzüge, Markenklamotten oder Volkstracht, Diamantringe, die ohne besonderen Anlass getragen werden,
- *Sonstiges*: russisch-orthodoxe Kirche/orthodoxer Glaube, reich / Reichtum (jeweils Doppelnennungen), Akzent, Tee, Puschkin, Oktoberrevolution, große Literatur und Kultur, Putin, Bär, Zigaretten, Samowar, Matrioschka, Dorf, Datscha, Babuschka, Widersprüchlichkeit, Individualismus, physische Arbeit, Patriot, alle russischen Bands, die ich höre (Leningrad, Notschnyje Snajpery, Glukoza, Graschdanskaja Oborona, Little Big).

Während die Probanden und Probandinnen 2017 das Stichwort „Russe“ mit einer Vielzahl (insgesamt 25%) positiver Eigenschaften assoziierten, nannten die Studierenden 2023 außer den weiter oben angeführten Eigenschaften gastfreundlich (10%) und fleißig (7,5%) nur jeweils einmal „freundlich“ und „höflich“. Stattdessen wurden wesentlich mehr negativ konnotierte Assoziationen angegeben: Propaganda, Verbrechen (jeweils Doppelnennungen), Mafia; jemand der pedantisch nach Vorschriften vorgeht; manipuliert, ohne eigene Meinung, laut, beschränktes Denken, unterdrückt, Unterwürfigkeit, untertänig, „bequemlich“, Chauvinismus, streitsüchtig, kein Respekt gegenüber Frauen, Provinzmentalität, Gewalt, Verbrechen, Dummheit, schlampig, fehlende Erziehung; Unwille, tätig zu werden, Apathie, Gehorsam, vulgär, kein rationales Denken, Formalismus, Stereotypenhaftigkeit, verschlossen, gangsterhafter Lebensstil, Problem mit diversen Abhängigkeiten.

3.7. Bekannte Gestalten aus Russland

Da das generalisierende Fremdbild sich ebenfalls aus Gestalten mit Russlandbezug zusammensetzt, wurde anschließend nach drei Persönlichkeiten, die den Probanden und Probandinnen im Hinblick auf Russland einfallen, gefragt.

2017 nannte über die Hälfte der Befragten Vladimir Putin (ca. 55%), ca. 39% nannten Alexander Puschkin, 25% Fjodor Dostojewski, 12,5% Lenin. Es folgten mit jeweils ca. 11% Stalin und Dmitri Mendelejew, mit ca. 10% Lew Tolstoj und mit jeweils ca. 7% Iwan, der Schreckliche sowie Michail Lermontow. Dreifachnennungen betrafen Dmitri Medwedew, die Sängerin Alla Pugatschowa, Michail Bulgakow und Nikolai Gogol. Doppelt genannt wurden Jurij Gagarin, Peter I. der Große, Maria Scharapowa, Peter Tschajkowsky, Alexander Solschenizyn, Fjodor Sologub, Wladimir Wyssozki, Wladimir Nabokov, Michail Wrubel, Marschall Schukow, Vitas, Polina Gagarina.

Weitere genannte Persönlichkeiten und Gestalten waren Anna German, Nikolai Rimski-Korsakow, Bulat Okudschawa, Dima Bilan, Filip Kirkorov, Wiktor Zoi, Sergei Schnurow, Sergei Lasarew (Musik); Anton Tschechow, Andrei Bely, Iwan Bunin, Marina Zwetajewa, Dmitri Gluchowski, Sergei Lukjanenko (Literatur), Nikita Chruschtschow, Michail Gorbatschow, Boris Nemzow, Nikita Michalkow, Sergei Besrukow, Anna Pawlowa, Alexei Spiridonow, Jewgeni Pljuschtschenko und sein Sohn, Jana Rudkowskaja, Wladimir Monomach, Nikolaus II., der Patriarch Nikon, Rasputin, Nadeschda Krupskaja, Jermak Timofjewitsch, General Arkadi Jermakow und General Anton Denikin. Außerdem wurden Mascha und der Bär, sowie Hase und Wolf genannt.

In der Umfrage von 2023 wurde die Liste der am häufigsten genannten Gestalten aus Russland von zwei Persönlichkeiten aus der Literatur angeführt: Fjodor Dostojewski wurde von 42,5 % der Befragten genannt und Alexander Puschkin von 40%. Wladimir Putin folgte zwar (gemeinsam mit Jurij Gagarin) auf Platz drei, war aber von deutlich weniger Probanden und Probandinnen (15%) genannt worden. Weiter folgten Peter Tschajkowsky (12,5%), Michail Bulgakow (10%) sowie Katharina II. die Große, Peter I. der Große und Michail Lermontow (7,5%). Doppelnennungen betrafen Rasputin, Iwan, den Schrecklichen, Dmitri Mendelejew, Nikolaus II., Alexei Nawalny, Wiktor Zoi. Auch Lenin und Stalin, die 2017 noch wesentlich öfter angegeben worden waren, wurden in der aktuellen Umfrage nur jeweils zweimal genannt. Des Weiteren wurden genannt: Andrej Rubljow, Alexander II., Leo Trotzki, Igor Girkin, Igor Djatlow und seine Gruppe, Nikolai Gogol, Marina Zwetajewa, Wladimir Majakowski, Joseph Brodsky Fjodor Sologub, Wladimir Sorokin, Dmitri Gluchowski, Wladimir Wysozki, Anna German, Alla Pugatschowa, Morgenschtern, Instasamka, das Pop-Duo t.A.T.u. (Jelena Katina und Julija Wolkowa), die Punkrock-Band Korol i Schut, Jekaterina Gordejewa und Sergei Grinkow, Alexandra Trussowa, Alina Sagitowa, Maria Scharapowa, Mascha und der Bär, Hase und Wolf.

3.8. Das Verhältnis zu Russen angesichts des Ukrainekriegs

Zum Abschluss der Untersuchung 2023 wurden die Studierenden gefragt, ob sich ihr Verhältnis zu den Russen nach dem Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine verändert hat. Sechs Studierende verneinten die Frage, elf bejahten sie. Die Probanden und Probandinnen, die angaben, dass sich ihr Verhältnis nicht verändert hat, begründeten dies damit, dass „man nicht alle Russen über einen Kamm scheren“ dürfe, „Putin an der ganzen Situation schuld“ sei. Eine Person schrieb: „Mein Russlandbild blieb unverändert. Ich kann nicht behaupten, dass ich über die Entwicklung der Situation überrascht war. Anders gesagt, dies war eigentlich

zu erwarten, wenn man die Politik Russlands beobachtet hat. Auch die Russen selbst, als Menschen, die ihrem Vaterland treu ergeben sind, überraschten mich nicht, mit ihrer Unterstützung dieses Krieges trotz des sichtbaren Widerstands des Westens und der schweren Sanktionen.“

Die Befragten, deren Haltung gegenüber den Russen sich verändert hat, schreiben dazu:

- „man kann nicht ein ganzes Volk dafür beschuldigen, was der Machthaber tut. Viele Russen wissen aufgrund der Propaganda nicht wirklich, was passiert“,
- „meine Meinung hinsichtlich Russlands hat sich verschlechtert. Aber meiner Ansicht nach ist die Situation nicht so eindeutig, wie sie in den Medien dargestellt wird“,
- „Ich bin von den Russen enttäuscht, die nicht in der Lage sind, sich ihrer Regierung zu widersetzen, blind an die Regierung glauben und nicht in der Lage sind, etwas zu verändern. Sie sind in Apathie versunken“,
- „mein Verhältnis hat sich verändert, aber nicht so sehr, dass ich mein Russischstudium abbrechen oder meine damit verbundenen beruflichen Pläne ändern würde“,
- „ja, ich fühlte Enttäuschung und irgendwann auch Abneigung“.

Andere Probanden äußern sich differenzierter:

- „mein Verhältnis zu den Russen hat sich nicht verändert, wohl aber mein Verhältnis zu den russischen Politikern, und allen Menschen (gleichgültig welcher Herkunft), die ihre Handlungen unterstützen“,
- „mein Verhältnis hat sich zu einem Teil der Russen verändert, aufgrund der hohen Anzahl der Personen, die den Krieg unterstützen“.

4. DIDAKTISCHE IMPLIKATIONEN

Die oben beschriebene kriegsbedingte Verschlechterung des Russlandbildes stellt die Institute, an denen Russische Philologie gelehrt wird, vor ein Problem: Wie soll in dieser Situation dem Rückgang der Studierendenzahlen entgegengewirkt werden? Angesichts der Kriegsgräuere gestaltet sich die Werbung für den Studiengang Russische Philologie sowie eine Popularisierung der russischen Kultur schwierig bis kontrovers.¹¹

¹¹ So werden in der Ankündigung einer Konferenz zur Zukunft der Russischen Philologie an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität die Fragen gestellt: Kann man nach Butscha noch Dostojewski lesen? Wird Russisch die Sprache von Puschkin oder von Putin sein? (<https://ifw.amu.edu.pl/konferencja-miedzynarodowa-rusycystyka-europejska-a-wspolczesnosc/>)

Auch wenn die Studierenden bzw. Studieninteressierten selbst ein neutrales Russlandbild haben, könnten sie befürchten, dass es in Zukunft schwierig sein wird, mit einem Abschluss in Russischer Philologie eine Stelle zu finden, in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass gegen Russland Sanktionen verhängt worden sind¹² und auch das polnische Bildungsministerium seine Zusammenarbeit mit Russland eingestellt hat. Tatsächlich sind die Arbeitsangebote mit Russischkenntnissen sichtlich zurückgegangen. Nichtsdestotrotz werden in Polen weiterhin Stellen für russischsprachige Personen ausgeschrieben und auch wenn Russisch an Popularität eingebüßt hat, lässt sich die Sprache dennoch beruflich verwenden.

Welche Möglichkeiten haben die Institute nun, um den Einbruch der Studierendenzahlen aufzuhalten? Sie können z.B. ihr Studienangebot um Studiengänge erweitern, in denen Russische Philologie mit einer anderen Sprache kombiniert wird, so wie dies tatsächlich am Institut für Ostslawische Philologien an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Poznań erfolgt. Dort werden die kombinierten Studiengänge „Russische Philologie mit englischer Philologie“, „Russische Philologie mit ukrainischer Philologie“ und „Russische Philologie mit angewandter Linguistik“ (hier können die Studierenden als zweite Fremdsprache z.B. Deutsch wählen) angeboten. Die Studierenden „fahren“ hierbei „zweigleisig“, indem sie einen Abschluss in zwei Fremdsprachen erhalten und die zweite Fremdsprache eine Absicherung bietet, falls sich die Russischkenntnisse als nicht zukunfts-trächtig erweisen.

Des Weiteren reagierte das besagte Institut für Ostslawische Philologien auch auf die Tatsache, dass das EU-Mitglied Polen für Ausländer aus nicht-europäischen Staaten immer mehr zu einem attraktiven Studienstandort wird und führte den englischsprachigen Studiengang „Global Communication“ ein, der sich vor allem unter Studierenden aus Asien großer Beliebtheit erfreut. Es handelt sich dabei um einen Studiengang, in dem Theorie und Praxis miteinander verzahnt sind: Neben Kenntnissen in Sprach-, Kultur- und Kommunikationswissenschaft erwerben die Studierenden auch praktische Kenntnisse der englischen, russischen sowie optional einer zusätzlichen west- (Deutsch oder Spanisch) oder osteuropäischen Sprache (Ukrainisch oder Belarussisch). Dieser Studiengang eröffnet somit die Möglichkeit die fehlenden einheimischen durch ausländische Studierende zu ersetzen.

Abgesehen von den oben genannten praktischen Maßnahmen stehen die Institute für Russische Philologie vor der Herausforderung sich angesichts der gegenwärtigen politischen Situation zu positionieren. Bei aller Kritik gegenüber

¹² Allerdings gibt es nach wie vor polnische Unternehmen, die die gegen Russland verhängten Sanktionen umgehen und über Drittländer wie z.B. Kirgistan oder Armenien Waren nach Russland exportieren (Chrabota 2024).

dem russischen Staat muss dabei Eines bedacht werden: Es ist eine Tatsache, dass die russische Sprache nicht auf Russland begrenzt und nicht nur von Russen bzw. russischen Staatsbürgern gesprochen wird. Russisch war fast 70 Jahre lang die Amtssprache in der Sowjetunion und sie ist als Kommunikationssprache nach wie vor auf dem Gebiet der ehemaligen UdSSR, z.B. in den Staaten Zentralasiens und des Kaukasus verbreitet, wo sich die Fremdsprache Englisch immer noch nicht durchgesetzt hat.

Auch im Rahmen der Flüchtlingshilfe war die russische Sprache von Nutzen: Als nach der russischen Invasion massenweise Ukrainer und Ukrainerinnen in Polen Zuflucht fanden, wurden verstärkt polnische Freiwillige mit Russischkenntnissen gesucht, die die Aufgabe hatten, den Geflüchteten als Dolmetscher und Dolmetscherinnen beizustehen, da Ukrainischkenntnisse unter Polen kaum vorhanden waren und Russisch in vielen Fällen die einzige gemeinsame Kommunikationssprache darstellte, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Geflüchteten aus der Ostukraine, wo Russisch nach wie vor verbreitet ist.

Daher können auch die Russischlehrenden dafür plädieren, die russische Sprache als praktisches, nützliches und hilfreiches Werkzeug zu betrachten und nicht als Sprache Putins.

5. FAZIT

Die Auswertung der Fragebögen von 2017 deutet darauf hin, dass das Russenbild der Studierenden tendenziell positiv bis neutral und im Allgemeinen differenziert war. Dabei kam auch ein Unterschied in der Haltung der Probanden und Probandinnen gegenüber dem russischen Volk und Staat zum Ausdruck. Während 88,5% der Befragten Sympathie gegenüber den Russen und Russinnen empfanden, deklarierten wesentlich weniger (52%) ein positives Verhältnis zu Russland. In der Befragung von 2023 fällt jedoch auf, dass nicht nur das Verhältnis gegenüber Russland wesentlich negativer ist (nur 5% der Studierenden bezeichneten es als positiv), sondern auch gegenüber den Russen und Russinnen, denn nur 17,5% gaben diesmal eindeutig ein positives Verhältnis an.

Das Russenbild der 2023 befragten Probanden und Probandinnen unterscheidet sich von dem positiven bis neutralen Russenbild von 2017: Zu den Stichwörtern „Russland“ und „Russe“ hatten sie weitaus mehr negative Assoziationen als es bei der früheren Befragung der Fall war.

Viele der negativen Assoziationen bezogen sich auf die aktuelle Situation Russlands (Propaganda, manipuliert, untertänig), was darauf hindeutet, dass der Angriff auf die Ukraine die Wahrnehmung Russlands und der Russen sei-

tens der Probanden erheblich negativ beeinflusst hat. Dies kommt auch in der abschließenden Frage der Untersuchung zum Ausdruck, da über ein Viertel der Befragten angibt, ihr Verhältnis zu den Russen und Russinnen habe sich nach dem Angriffskrieg verschlechtert. Trotz der in der Befragung von 2023 spürbaren Enttäuschung über die russische Bevölkerung, bleibt das Interesse der Studierenden an der russischen Kultur bestehen und ein Teil der Probanden und Probandinnen betont, dass man nicht alle Russen über einen Kamm scheren und ein ganzes Volk für die Taten seiner Regierung verantwortlich machen dürfe.

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Obraz Rosji wśród polskich studentów filologii rosyjskiej przed rosyjską agresją w Ukrainie i po niej

ABSTRAKT. Stosunki polsko-rosyjskie są od wieków burzliwe. Młode pokolenie Polaków urodzonych po 1989 roku wydawało się jednak mniej obciążone historią niż ich rodzice i wykazywało pewne zainteresowanie językiem i kulturą rosyjską, czego dowodem była stale rosnąca liczba studentów podejmujących studia rusycystyczne. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie, czy i w jakim stopniu wojna w Ukrainie wpłynęła na obraz Rosji w świadomości tych młodych Polaków, którzy wcześniej zdecydowali się na studia rusycystyczne. Wyniki analizy danych uzyskanych w ankietach przeprowadzonych na Uniwersytecie im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu w 2017 i 2024 roku sugerują, że studenci, którzy ukończyli studia w 2017 roku, mieli relatywnie bardziej pozytywny wizerunek Rosji i jej obywateli niż studenci przebadani w latach późniejszych oraz że wśród uczestników nowszego badania zarówno wizerunek Rosji, jak i Rosjan jest znacznie bardziej negatywny.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: obraz obcego, stosunki polsko-rosyjskie, zmiana nastawienia, rosyjski jako język obcy.

EVA TESHAJEV SUNDERLAND

H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University (Ukraine)

kharkiv.npu@daad-lektorat.de

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2202-548X>

ELIZABETH WOODWARD-SMITH
University of A Coruña

MARÍA JESÚS LORENZO-MODIA
University of A Coruña

Language acquisition and bilingualism in the family: A case study

ABSTRACT. This article will examine some of the variables involved in simultaneous child bilingualism. Among variables considered are the native languages spoken by the parents (the same or different languages), the country of residence (and if it corresponds to one of the parents' languages or neither), the prestige attached to either of the languages, the majority or minority status in context, and attitudes shown by the protagonists of each family story and those surrounding them. More than half the world's population uses two or more languages in everyday life, which implies that bilingualism is by no means a rare phenomenon (Van Wechem & Halbach: 2014). Yet people surrounding the families of children involved in a bilingual situation often voice concerns over the children's future linguistic competence, worrying that they will speak neither language adequately. However, studies have shown that they are neither delayed in their linguistic development nor disadvantaged by their bilingualism, and in fact their ability to manage more than one language can become an important asset in life. Data from a case concerning three brothers will be presented, showing that their language acquisition broadly followed the same stages as in monolinguals, and that there was no cause for concern over delayed cognitive skills.

KEYWORDS: bilingual children, variables in multilingual acquisition, multilingual practices in families.

1. INTRODUCTION

More than half the world's population uses two or more languages in everyday life, which implies that bilingualism is by no means a rare phenomenon (Van Wechem & Halbach: 2014). Similarly, Crystal (1986: 211) maintains that "The world is full of children who grow up bilingual without a linguistic care in the world". However, relatives and people surrounding the families of children involved in a bilingual situation often voice concerns over the children's possible linguistic competence, fearing that they will speak neither language adequately. In researching harmonious bilingual development, De Houwer

(2015: 169) observes that when children raised with two languages appear to be slow in developing language, relatives, speech therapists and educators are quick to blame the bilingual element. She adds that at school bilinguals may be ridiculed when they are heard speaking their “other” language, and that bilingualism is often blamed for bad behaviour in unruly children. None of this criticism is received, however, by monolingual families whose children may also experience slow language acquisition or unruly behaviour.

Numerous studies have shown that children raised as bilinguals are neither delayed in their linguistic development nor disadvantaged by their bilingualism. In a detailed review of research on early childhood bilingualism, Genesee (2015: 7) concludes that children acquiring two languages from birth achieve the same basic milestones in language development as monolinguals, and that “learning two languages simultaneously is no more challenging for the human neurocognitive system than learning one” (Genesee 2015: 8). For her part, Susanne Döpke (2004) deals with language development in bilingual children, the milestones of linguistic development, and questions whether bilinguals might experience difficulties. She maintains that, based on evidence she has examined, “bilingualism DOES NOT CAUSE [capital letters in the original] any difficulties with language development” and that “bilingual children do not have such problems any more frequently than do monolingual children” (Döpke 2004: 5). It is interesting to note that in addition to being a linguist, Döpke is a speech pathologist, and has raised two bilingual children.

Fantini (1985) presented a detailed study of his son’s bilingual upbringing from a sociolinguistic perspective, examining the social factors which influenced the child’s language choice and differentiation awareness. He concluded that the child demonstrated, through proficiency tests at different times, that he was at a similar developmental level to that of monolingual children of his age, and that there was no evidence of impairment or disadvantage due to early exposure to two languages.

Such studies by linguists are generally confirmed by lay families’ experiences. No two family situations are completely alike, and therefore it would be unwise to try to establish rules about how to manage the bilingual acquisition process. Among possible variables are the native languages spoken by the parents (the same or different languages), the country of residence (and if it corresponds to one of the parents’ languages, both, or neither), the prestige attached to either of the languages, the majority or minority status of the pair of languages in context, and not least important, attitudes shown by the protagonists of each family story and those surrounding them.

2. BASIC ISSUES FOR BILINGUAL FAMILIES

When life provides the opportunity to raise bilingual children, parents should be aware that the process requires a great deal of thought and effort on their part (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 81). Firstly, parents might vary considerably in how they view their own language (and that of their partner if different from their own), and their attitudes will determine how committed they will become to the idea of a bilingual home, and ultimately how successful the experience will be. By successful, we mean the achievement of a satisfactory mastery of the two languages from the child's point of view, with her / him being able to communicate and be understood in both languages, and knowing which one is most appropriate in a given context. Differentiating between languages is a skill also needed in diglossic communities where one language or dialect has precedence over another and is considered to be socially more acceptable or is officially required for certain communicative purposes. The same kind of differentiating skill is also needed in monolingual communities in which register is important as a marker of respect and politeness. Knowing what to say and to whom is part of a life-long learning process for all speakers, and bilingual children are no exception, using this skill to make their language choices.

As Harding-Esch and Riley (2003: 82) point out, one of the most frequent and understandable reasons for parents wishing to bring up their children as bilinguals is so that they are able to talk to their grandparents and other relatives. Otherwise, family visits with a lack of communication cause emotional hardship especially to grandparents, who, in addition, may not see the children often enough to maintain linguistic contact.

However, it is useful to ask exactly what is meant by being bilingual. Verhagen et al. (2022: 1109) maintain that "not all children who are exposed to two languages from a young age onward become active users of these languages themselves, and those who grow up bilingual show wide variation in the proficiency levels they achieve". Indeed, some children may be passive bilinguals in practice, while others achieve widely differing degrees of bilingualism. What degree of mastery constitutes bilingual status? Among the many definitions of bilingualism offered over time, the following could be considered to shed some light on the question (all cited in Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 23):

1. "Bilingualism [is] native-like control of two languages... Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative" (Bloomfield 1933).
2. "Bilingualism is understood... to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language" (Haugen 1953).

3. "The phenomenon of bilingualism [is] something entirely relative... We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" (Mackey 1962).
4. "The bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration" (Grosjean 1992).

It can be seen how definitions such as the above have changed over time. In (1), bilingual mastery is said to be relative and difficult to define. The author of (2) situates the bilingual threshold at the point in which meaningful utterances are produced in both languages, but this would include anyone who studies enough of a foreign language at school or college to pass exams, and seems to be an exaggeration of foreign language proficiency. The term 'relative' appears again in (3) and the author refers to an individual's alternating use of the languages. Perhaps the most useful definition is found in (4): bilinguals are individual cases, with unique circumstances and outcomes, and therefore it is arbitrary to state when a person can be considered bilingual and to what degree. This brings us back to the family and the particular situation experienced at home. This article will therefore examine some of the factors influencing linguistic development in two languages in the family context.

Several authors write to dispel some of the myths of bilingualism (Genesee 2015; Grosjean 2010; Lowry 2015). For example, Borges and Lyddy (2023) maintain that bilingualism is often associated with misconceptions which have implications for education, policy-making, and for parental decisions. One of the misconceptions they highlight is that acquiring more than one language at once in early childhood causes impaired general cognitive development. Although research has found that this is not the case, society and relatives echoing such myths may cause the parents to doubt whether to continue. Equally, widespread exaggerated beliefs such as bilingualism resulting in "bigger, better brains" should be rejected, and a more realistic expectation for parents is that bilingual children will probably gain specific skills such as a greater understanding of language as an abstract system (King & Wright-Fogle 2013: 173). We would also suggest that native-like performance in each language is not a realistic goal, and that a successful bilingual upbringing may promote instead domain-specific competencies in each language (Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2023: 7), fulfilling the speaker's needs at any specific time in their life. Another common myth among lay people is that bilinguals are equally proficient in both languages, but it is rare to find such an individual. Neither are monolinguals proficient in all the registers and vocabulary of their native language. Additionally, the dominance of one language over the other may change over time depending on the language

of the place of residence, and on “age, circumstance, education, social network, employment and many other factors” (Lowry 2015: 3). Bilinguals are not born translators (Woodward-Smith et al. 2018: 183–184); they may have a domain of specialization in one language which is lacking in the other.

3. FAMILY EXPERIENCES: VARIABLES

Hoff and Core (2013: paragraph 6) maintain that language skills in bilingual children are diverse due to the variability in their language experiences, and that recent research makes it clear that the “variation in the quantity and quality of input in each language affects the rate at which each language is learned”. Most children growing up with two languages hear one of them more than they hear the other. This dual language input “creates a common feature of bilingual children’s language skills – that they are more advanced in one language than the other”. This variability may also depend on factors such as place of residence, parental languages, family usage or custom, and schooling, as well as access to literacy in the home. Language status is important and will be dealt with later in this article.

The family context is key to understanding how bilingualism develops. Harding-Esch and Riley (2003) interviewed 18 families for the first edition of their work on bilingualism in the family (1986), and after a detailed analysis of their answers to a questionnaire, as well as observational sessions, case studies were prepared which illustrate the great number and probably infinite combinations of variables at play in the complicated panorama of bilingual families. Apart from the data the authors collected over the initial period, an interesting addition was made to the second edition of the work (2003), consisting in interviewing the children of these families, some 20 years later, to find out their point of view regarding the bilingual upbringing they had received. The authors had an additional intention present in the second part of the title, *A handbook for parents*, clearly indicating that the objective was to offer guidance for the best possible outcome. Based on their findings they advised prospective bilingual families to compare the case studies with their own situations, and learn from others’ experiences. They warned, however, that parents should not be surprised if none of the cases described exactly their unique set of variables, since “bilingualism is a complex phenomenon and the changes that can be rung on it seem infinite” (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 95). The authors visually simplified the complicated linguistic relations of each case study with diagrams showing the language(s) used between the parents, the language used by the mother and the father to the children, the language children used to each parent, and the language used between siblings as they developed. The 18 case studies include different com-

binations of parental native languages, the languages used between parents, if both parents were fluent or not in the other's language, if one of the parental languages coincided with the community language, and if the family had outside help from a carer speaking that language. There were some families who had moved from one parent's country to that of the other parent, bringing about a change in the dynamics of the family language balance. Moving house, even in monolingual situations, often implies logistic and emotional issues, especially as changing schools and leaving one's friends can cause serious harm to the stability of family relationships and identity. Dominance of one of a bilingual's languages over the other is not static: "When a bilingual family moves from one country to another, the pattern of linguistic input to the child may be entirely changed" (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 59). A change in balance may also be observed, for example, after a holiday in the country of the non-dominant language, or after a prolonged visit by a monolingual relative.

In the case studies Harding-Esch & Riley (2003), it was also observed that in adolescence, some children may see their *other* language as something which makes them different or odd, and they might rebel against its use, preferring instead to use the dominant language of the community, in an attempt to fit in. A language can define a person's identity, with emotional connotations, and while positive associations can help children to acquire it, negative experiences can obviously hinder the process. The authors stress that it is important for parents to create a relaxed linguistic environment, so that the *other* language is not perceived negatively. Parents should avoid, for example, scolding a child for speaking to them in a language other than the one they are trying to get them to speak. This requires restraint on the part of parents, who might be tempted to over-correct mistakes, or show disapproval of the mixing of languages. In any case, it should be remembered that language mixing mid-sentence is normal at first, and it does not mean that the child is confused or lazy (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 56). Children are probably trying out different hypotheses by slotting together what seems logical to them for the best effect, and we must remember to see the resulting forms from the child's point of view and not from our own. The authors remind us that "the way a child switches codes reflects the way his two languages serve his communicative ends" (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 143). By continuing with adequate parental input, and an open mind about language learning and progress, language-mixing is usually resolved without any intervention. However, if strict rules are imposed over which language is to be used when and where, this can cause unnecessary tension, and ultimately failure to reach the desired objective.

Crystal (1986: 213) writes of the "remarkable skills children have when they learn a language", estimating that by the end of their fourth year "most bilin-

gual children have reached the same stage of linguistic development in both languages as have their monolingual counterparts". This is very encouraging for parents who are perhaps challenged by relatives who cast doubt on the bilingual experiment. Interference from relatives is another variable rarely mentioned as such in the corresponding literature on bilingualism, but it can undermine the parents' best intentions. Crystal describes the three stages through which bilingual children progress (Crystal 1986: 213). Firstly, the child builds up a list of vocabulary taken from both languages, without there being many equivalents. Secondly, when the bilingual child starts to make two-word sentences, these usually consist of one word from each language. Additional vocabulary is acquired in each language, with more equivalents in a kind of common zone, but morphology and syntax are still a mixture. The third stage is reached when children are able to separate the sounds, grammar and vocabulary of the two languages, are conscious of which language to speak to whom, and are even able to use the different languages to play parents off against each other when it suits them (Crystal 1986: 214).

4. LANGUAGE PRESTIGE

Harding-Esch and Riley (2003: 83-84) discuss the relative status of the pair of languages involved in the bilingual upbringing, both in the family and in the surrounding community. As to what happens when the bilingual process involves languages from different linguistic families, "the particular pair of languages concerned does not make much difference to the eventual outcome" (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 83). Although the pair of languages may be grammatically quite different, the "actual mechanics" of acquisition will not determine to what extent bilingualism will be achieved. However, the authors highlight that a satisfactory bilingual experience may depend much more on the relative status of the pair of languages involved (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 84). Sacrificing a minority language for a majority one may seem like common sense, prioritizing the usefulness of one over the other, but parents should consider the social and emotional benefits of maintaining the lower status language for family reasons (relationships with grandparents and other relatives), as well as cultural traditions associated with that language. In the case of lesser-spoken languages such as Breton, Scots or Basque, the issue is "inevitably political in nature" due to arguments over "the degree of political autonomy of the speakers" (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 11). This is not an issue for languages which are perceived as having high prestige, such as world languages, or which have some special economic, religious or cultural value (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 84). A high-

status language can be identified if it is one offered as a subject in secondary education (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 81), and so “few people will criticise the value (as against practicability) of bringing up children as French / English or German / Spanish bilinguals” (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 85). However, there may be negative reactions if the pair of languages includes a minority language, considered by family members or friends as being of lower status. As well as high and low prestige languages, there are also middle prestige languages, often ones associated with cultural and ethnic groups which have settled extensively over a period of time in another territory (for example Scandinavian languages during the period of colonisation of North America). Low prestige languages not only have to prove their usefulness as part of bilingual acquisition, but they also have to overcome prejudice by their speakers and observers who may perceive them as old-fashioned, on the point of dying out, or irrelevant in the modern world (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 85). This often happens with “so-called regional languages” (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003: 85) such as Gaelic in Scotland or Occitan in France, not due to any inherent characteristics of these languages but merely from a practical point of view. Parents intending to bring up bilingual children should be aware of the existence and scale of language prestige described by Harding-Esch and Riley (2003: 77–88) because they and their children will be judged by others according to the relative status of their languages, and unfortunately evaluation by lay observers may undermine the process and affect the necessary commitment of the parents.

5. THE STUDY CONDUCTED

After referring to issues dealt with by researchers, some specific examples taken from the bilingual family experience of one of the authors of this article will be presented. The study focused on some of the variables involved in bilingual development by referring to the circumstances experienced by one family. Both parents were teachers, the father specialised in didactics while the mother taught English, and they agreed on the benefits of a bilingual upbringing. The language used by the parents with each other was Spanish, with the father unable to speak more than a few words of English, and consequently it was decided to follow the one person, one language approach with the child (OPOL). This could have implied that the father (not being in any way fluent in English) might have felt excluded, but this was avoided by patience, on his part, translation or summary when necessary, so that both parents were able to present a united front in spite of using different languages to the child. At first, there were some negative reactions from older relatives who perhaps feared the rearing of a Span-

glish speaker, because this hybrid language is viewed pejoratively within Spain. Their attitude soon changed, however, when they saw how the child was able to switch from one language to the other, and they even began to express pride in his bilingual progress.

The authors present the findings of observations of three siblings: Miguel, Pablo and Daniel, the children of a Spanish father and English mother living in Spain (the lead-author of this article; hence the availability of detailed data). The methodology used for the data collection was the writing of observational diaries in which the linguistic milestones of each child were noted, along with the age in years and months, and any immediate contextualising factors. The use of detailed diaries over approximately seven years, covering the early period of the children's development was inspired by Alvino E. Fantini (1985) whose longitudinal study dealt with the developmental bilingualism of his son. It could be argued that such methodology is lacking in objectivity on the part of the parent-authors. However, parents are ideally situated for capturing the small details of natural everyday interaction in the home and immediate surroundings. Fantini's study was originally his doctoral thesis, later presented as a book. This article aims to be a more modest contribution to the issue of simultaneous bilingualism, offering insight into the unique situation of families who opt for such an experience. It was attempted to also gather audio recordings of some of the examples of linguistic development, but this was unsuccessful due to both technical issues, and the fact that the children would fail to reproduce what had been observed as soon as a microphone was placed in front of them.

The diary for Miguel, the first-born, started at one year and eight months (1:8), and the subsequent diaries for Pablo and Daniel followed a similar pattern and timescale. This age seemed to be a reasonable point at which to start recording data. Though children may babble and produce sounds before this point, it was at this age when Miguel produced his first recognisable words, apart from referencing his parents. His first words were few and only in one language or the other, but not both. However, his comprehension was equal in both languages, and he was able to respond successfully to all "show me x/bring me x" requests. He also used gestures to indicate significant gestures or characteristics mimicking other family members such as grandparents when they were mentioned. From 1:8 onwards, the diaries contain monthly updates.

At 2:1, a rapid increase in production was noted, not only in vocabulary, but also in grammatical and morphological aspects. From 2:2 to 2:5 Miguel's diary records the appearance of two-word utterances, declination of some Spanish verb forms in the present, less use of verbs in English but, in contrast, more incorporation of nouns with adjectives. At this time there were more mixed utterances combining elements from each language. The important factor of input due to

visits to and from English-speaking grandparents was associated with bursts in production in English. An interesting observation was that even when playing alone, Miguel used fragments of English, which would seem to indicate that his use of English was spontaneous and not only to please his mother. Gradually, over subsequent months other milestones were observed, as can be seen in the following highly summarised table.

Table 1. Summary of some major milestones for Miguel

Age (years and months)	Examples of milestones (E = English; S = Spanish)
3:1	E. Personal pronouns; S. past, present and future; E. negative imperatives; E./S. less mixing; E./S. equivalent numbers; E. definite and indefinite articles (previously random S. articles attached to E. nouns).
3:8	E. difficulties with interrogative word order; E. difficulties with past of irregular verbs.
4:9	E. More use after 3 weeks in the UK; E./S. interference, as in referring to gymnastics hoops as <i>arrows</i> , based on S. <i>aros</i> .
5:3	E. Successfully reads out loud and answers comprehension questions on <i>Lucky Dip</i> , Book 1, Ladybird Sunstart Reading Scheme (Murray 1974). Recommended age 3-5.
5:8	On a two-week visit to the UK, Miguel acts as interpreter between his father and local children at the playground.

Source: current study.

The diary continued to record linguistic development until 7:6, at the end of the second year of primary education, with annotations being more spaced out than monthly updates because major changes became fewer. At this age Miguel was able to invent simple jokes in English using wordplay, and English-Spanish jokes using false friends.

The following tables (Tables 2–4) illustrate some examples of the stages of development, broadly following the phases mentioned by Crystal (1986: 213). Vocabulary only known in English or in Spanish, not in both, was quite specific for Miguel's needs, and depended on whom he was speaking to and the topic talked about. This is similar to adults' switching between registers, using a particular vocabulary for certain needs such as professional ones, and speaking differently in more informal contexts. The common zone, in which Miguel knew and used equivalents from each language, was quite small at first. It seems reasonable to assume that he did not need duplicates in order to communicate in each language with the corresponding parent.

Table 2. Miguel 1:10 (1 year and 10 months)

Only in English	Common zone: both languages	Only in Spanish
Water	car + <i>coche</i>	<i>¡mira!</i>
Balloon	grandad + <i>abuelo</i> ¹	<i>Grúa</i>
Moon	Mummy + <i>mamá</i> ²	<i>uno, do (= dos)</i> [counting]

Explanation:

¹From Miguel's point of view, grandad and *abuelo* were two different persons, paternal and maternal grandfathers, rather than equivalents.

²He used "Mummy" to address his mother, but to talk about her to Spanish-speakers he used "mi mamá".

Source: current study.

The entry for 5 months later shows that Miguel had acquired more vocabulary in the common zone, while still being very specific in the words and expressions he found most useful in the context of each language and addressee.

Table 3. Miguel 2:3

English	Common zone: both	Spanish
fish and chips	come here + <i>ven</i>	<i>tú no tienes</i>
Letter	tower + <i>torre</i>	Koptro (= helicóptero)
/ku:l/ (= school)	yes + <i>sí</i>	<i>payaso</i>
'elo car (=yellow car) ¹	empty + <i>vacío</i>	<i>quiero agua</i> ²
-	full + <i>lleno</i>	-
-	book + <i>libro</i>	-
-	penny + <i>peseta</i>	-
-	key + <i>llave</i>	-
-	toys + <i>juguetes</i>	-
-	"Glafas" (blending of glasses and <i>gafas</i>)	-

Explanation:

¹Only in English because the mother drove a yellow car, and the father a less distinctive one.

²The Spanish request for water (*agua*) prevailed. This met the need with more possible addressees, being more economical and effective from the child's point of view.

Source: current study.

Illustrative of the second stage described by Crystal (1986) are Miguel's first sentences, taking elements from each language.

Table 4. Miguel's first sentences 2:3 to 3:1

Mixed sentences	Age
<i>abre la door; estoy looking a los hombres</i>	2:3
<i>quiero play con estos toys</i>	2:10
<i>tengo que hacer a house</i>	3:1

Source: current study.

The parents' reaction to these mixtures was to repeat the phrase entirely in one language, without any implication of criticism or correction, and gradually these mixtures disappeared perhaps because some other listeners, such as the part-time Spanish carer, did not understand them. If she expressed incomprehension, Miguel would correctly join together the Spanish elements to achieve communication. It could be claimed, however, that his first mixtures were grammatically sound, from his point of view, as in the example "*estoy looking*", in which he had made a seamless graft of the Spanish verb "to be" + English present participle / gerund.

Crystal's (1986) third stage was reached by Miguel quite quickly. At 3:8, and after a visit from his monolingual English-speaking grandparents, he started to ask how to say items in English or Spanish, demonstrating that he was aware that there were two systems with names and users. Previously he had only referred to how his mother or father spoke. He did, however, have problems with word order: *What it is? / *How it is?, probably due to interference from Spanish (*¿Qué es? / ¿Cómo es?*), and the past tenses of irregular verbs were problematic (*I heard it, / *I seed it / *I falled), but in this aspect he was at the same stage as monolingual children of this age.

When his brother Pablo was born, Miguel was three and a half, and the family language balance changed. From birth Pablo was surrounded by two people speaking English (mother and Miguel) and two speaking Spanish (father and the part-time carer), and so, in theory, there would be fairly equal input. However, Pablo followed his own style and pace, and it seemed irrelevant how much of each language he was hearing and using. Being the first-born, second, or subsequent child is yet another variable to consider, as family dynamics change. As in many aspects of child-rearing, parents often make more effort with the first child, centring their attention on her / him, and when subsequent children arrive they

abandon some of their practices because they were unsuccessful, or simply due to lack of time. Pablo's early phases may have been conditioned by this situation.

However, at 2:6 Pablo was able to quickly accommodate both mother and father in the same expression of urgency: "Mummy, here no, *papa, aquí no*". He was conscious of the existence of two languages though he did not refer to them by name. On one occasion he excitedly reported that on TV there was somebody talking like his mother. He must have previously thought that his mother's way of speaking was unique or at least a rarity. At 5:8, if someone tried to practice on him their imperfect English he would usually answer in Spanish, yet when his father tried to say something in English, he would congratulate him but correct his pronunciation.

Pablo had started to attend kindergarten at 3:3 and almost immediately a change in sibling linguistic relations began. Until then the two brothers had played together using either language, mainly depending on what kind of activity was taking place. As the elder brother Miguel patiently corrected Pablo's pronunciation, syntax and morphology in both English and Spanish. The language chosen when acting out games involving astronauts, policemen, soldiers, etc. was usually Spanish, probably due to the input from television jargon, but other activities could be in either language. When Pablo started infants' school at 5 years old, he began using more Spanish with his brother, especially incorporating playground language pertaining to differences of opinion or organisation of roles in games. Gradually the siblings used Spanish as their usual language of communication to each other, persisting even to this day. However, they continued to speak to each parent in the appropriate language. When a third son was born, with an age difference of 12 years from Miguel and 8 years from Pablo, they both took it on themselves to speak to him in English. In this respect, Daniel enjoyed the benefits of having three sources of input in English, which was even more advantageous than being the first-born. Today, the sibling dynamics are varied, depending on who is present. Miguel and Pablo use Spanish reciprocally; communication between Miguel and Daniel, and Pablo and Daniel takes place in English. However, when any of the siblings speaks to a mixed audience consisting of his brother(s) and monolingual Spanish speakers, the conversation takes place in Spanish, in deference to the monolinguals, meaning that Daniel addresses and replies in Spanish with his siblings. However, as soon as the siblings are alone again, they revert to the language use described above. Macleroy Obied (2009: 705) reports how siblings may shift the language balance in the home and "build bridges or barriers to language acquisition", with older siblings acting as mediators of both languages, supporting younger siblings in their language acquisition. This sibling bridge-building and shifting is what happened, and still happens, in this particular family.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the question of language prestige had no impact on the bilingual upbringing of the three brothers in the examples cited (Tables 1 to 4), since English and Spanish belong to the same high prestige band. Though Spanish was the usual language of the neighbourhood, mastery of English was universally valued as a future asset, as evidenced by the popularity of extra English classes for children, adolescents and adults in the city's numerous English language academies. The place of residence was in Galicia, one of Spain's 17 autonomous communities where the Galician language is recognised officially and promoted by the local government and other institutions. Galician is taught at school, with some other subjects also being taught through the same language. It could be said that in the context of this bilingual region both Spanish and Galician are considered prestige languages, with Spanish legislation stating, moreover, that Galician citizens have a duty to know the Galician language and the right to use it (*Ley de Normalización Lingüística 3/1983*). The three siblings had access to Galician in their everyday lives, and especially in the village of their paternal grandparents. Galician was the choice when the sociolinguistic context required its use. They were never told which language to use when visiting the village; they naturally fitted in with what was being spoken at the time.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the light of current research on bilingual development in the family, King and Wright-Fogle (2013: 172) conclude that though some family members may still cast doubt on bilingualism, fearing language delay and confusion, research suggests that monolingual and bilingual children meet major language developmental milestones at similar times. There is, they maintain, no evidence to support the fear of confusion being caused in bilingual children. The authors state that "On the contrary, use of two languages in the same conversation has been found to be a sign of mastery of both languages" (173). As to input, the authors recommend that relying on television and other audio-visual sources is probably not a productive way of acquiring a language, and that human input is much more important.

The eighteen case studies elaborated by Harding-Esch and Riley (2003: 93–134) were presented by these authors as "linguistic family portraits" showing the variety and variability of the many factors involved in raising bilingual children. Their intention was to make available an appraisal of the arrangements found by each family as viable in their particular situations. It was hoped that the accumulated experience of the families could enable more informed decisions regarding parental practices. The recommendations in this handbook for

parents were in fact considered by the parents of the three children cited above, even though none of the case studies coincided with their particular situation.

The linguistic experiences of the siblings presented in this article show that though each developed differently, considering some of the variables involved (place in the family, parental languages, amount of input, contact with speakers of English, or country of residence), they acquired both languages without any kind of developmental delay. Their bilingual upbringing enabled them later to apply strategies to the formal learning of a third language (French as a foreign language) in the school context. In addition, they had no difficulty in keeping separate their two linguistically related community languages (Spanish and Galician, the latter being the language of their paternal grandparents). They learnt different ways of handling the linguistic world around them, and as they grew up they assimilated some of the culture and traditions attached to each language, creating their own hybrid linguistic identity. Their ability to manage more than one language from early childhood can be considered satisfactory, even though none of them went on to be linguists, each choosing a different scientific or technical career. However, they have all encountered moments in adult experience when a bilingual background has proved to be an important asset in their professional lives. We consider that this is a positive characteristic shared by most bilinguals after early exposure to two or more languages in the family context, and it could be an encouraging sign for parents about to embark on the bilingual experience.

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Przyswajanie języka i dwujęzyczność w rodzinie: studium przypadku

ABSTRAKT. W artykule omówiono niektóre zmienne związane z równoczesnym przyswajaniem dwóch języków u dzieci. Wśród rozważanych zmiennych są języki ojczyste rodziców (ten sam język lub różne języki), kraj zamieszkania (i czy odpowiada jednemu z języków rodziców, czy żadnemu z nich), prestiż przypisany któremuś z języków, status większościowy lub mniejszościowy w kontekście społecznym oraz postawy prezentowane przez członków każdej rodziny i osób ją otaczających. Ponad połowa populacji świata używa dwóch lub więcej języków w codziennym życiu, co oznacza, że dwujęzyczność nie jest rzadkim zjawiskiem (Van Wechem & Halbach: 2014). Jednak osoby z otoczenia rodzin dzieci znajdujących się w sytuacji dwujęzycznej często

wyrażają obawy dotyczące przyszłych kompetencji językowych dzieci, martwią się, że nie będą one mówiły poprawnie w żadnym z języków. Badania pokazują jednak, że ich rozwój językowy nie jest opóźniony ani też takie dzieci nie są w żaden sposób poszkodowane przez swoją dwujęzyczność. Co więcej, ich zdolność do zarządzania więcej niż jednym językiem może stać się cennym atutem w życiu. Autorki przedstawiają dane ze studium przypadku trzech braci, pokazujące, że przyswajanie języka u nich przebiegało zgodnie z etapami obserwowanymi u dzieci jednojęzycznych i nie było powodu do obaw o opóźnienie zdolności poznawczych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: dzieci dwujęzyczne, zmienne w przyswajaniu wielojęzyczności, praktyki wielojęzyczne w rodzinach.

ELIZABETH WOODWARD-SMITH

University of A Coruña (Spain)

elizabeth.woodward@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8475-4584>

MARÍA JESÚS LORENZO-MODIA

University of A Coruña (Spain)

maria.lorenzo.modia@udc.es

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3524-9477>

II. ARTICLES

ILARIA COMPAGNONI
Ca' Foscari University of Venice

The results of a pilot study on immersive Virtual Reality to boost learner-to-learner mediation strategies in Italian as a foreign language

ABSTRACT. The development of immersive technologies in language education has led to pedagogical experimentations on enhancing students' collaborative skills through task-based immersive Virtual Reality (iVR), a technology that allows users to experience real-like interactions with objects and other individuals. Despite positive correlations between the use of iVR in language learning and task accomplishment (Chen et al. 2022; Wu & Hung 2022; Romano et al. 2023), evidence is missing on the development of mediation strategies in a foreign language (FL), regarding learner-to-learner mediation strategies. Therefore, this study presents the results of a pilot study conducted at the University of Siena (Italy) on a pair of students of Italian as FL. The students were involved in digital multimodal composing (DMC) activities on the iVR platform *Immerse*. Results showed that mediation strategies surfaced through verbal and non-verbal facilitations of peer interactions, meaning-making, conceptual talk encouragement, and interaction management. It also highlighted methodological considerations on using iVR to involve language students in training scenarios for the development of mediation skills transferrable to real-life socio-pragmatic contexts.

KEYWORDS: immersive virtual reality, digital multimodal composing, mediation strategies, language pedagogy, teaching foreign languages in Italy.

1. INTRODUCING CORE CONCEPTS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Human beings are inherently social and have evolved to cooperate through language production by mediating decisions and devising strategies to effectively reach mutual goals. This social behaviour can be considered the foundation of cooperative language learning as it facilitates task-oriented interactions and the valorisation of group work as a collective effort toward goal attainment (Johnson & Johnson 2013). On a linguistic level, these behaviours are likely to

manifest through mediation strategies, which foster language learning effectiveness through cooperative meaning-making activities (Moore 2014; Rusbult & van Lange 2003). In this way, students may develop contextually driven, mutually beneficial relationships facilitating the establishment of trust, cooperation, and conflict resolution. Moreover, if integrated into the language curricula, these skills may increase leadership awareness, promote goal-oriented discussions, and clarification requests, as well as encourage feedback provision and critical reasoning (Loh & Ang 2020). To facilitate the curricular adoption of these skills and meet students' learning necessities, the Council of Europe revised language programs so that learners could more efficiently communicate and address the multifaceted demands of a digital society, and transfer their skills to interconnected disciplines (Herget 2020). This process led to the recognition of mediation strategies as key digital and social competences in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR 2020), which classified mediation strategies according to their behavioural impact on cognitive and creative thinking in co-constructive language learning processes (CEFR 2020: 108–112).

The framework foresees that mediation strategies can contribute to teamwork success as individuals act with a shared objective or communicative task in mind, making conscious interventions to orient discussions, balance contributions and overcome communication difficulties. The development of these skills is highly dependent on activity structure and content, as well as on the use of virtual tools to enhance memory retention, agency, and project-based work. However, the literature lacks investigations on the tasks and tools that may support language practices of social and linguistic mediation, which prompts further analysis of highly interactive virtual tools enabling such pedagogical support.

Due to recent technological advancements in language education, students often use virtual materials across multiple semiotics modes and adapt their knowledge to meet the socio-pragmatic demands of task-based digital activities (Siegel 2006; Liang & Lim 2020; Shen et al. 2022). In these virtual spaces, students collaborate in shared task projects through foreign language production using ubiquitous technologies to implement their agentive capabilities (Kukulska-Hulme et al. 2017; Ajabshir 2019; Cunningham 2019; Dai 2023). Practices for improving learner-to-learner foreign language interactions in task-based collaborative projects revealed positive results on the enhancement of goal-oriented strategies (Rattanasak 2023). Despite these findings, questions have been raised on the virtual spaces that could best facilitate students' synchronous collaboration through task attainment, with preferences leaning towards immersive Virtual Reality (iVR), a technology that immerses individuals in realistic virtual environments of avatar-like interactions (Han et al. 2023). The increased use of iVR tools in language learning curricula has sparked research on the educational

Table 1. Parameters and descriptions of mediation strategies adapted from the CEFR guidelines

Parameters	Descriptions of mediation strategies
1. Facilitating collaborative interactions	a. Collaborative participation by consciously managing one's own role and contributions to group communication.
	b. Active orientation of teamwork by helping to review key points and consider or define the next steps.
	c. Using questions and contributions to move the discussion forward in a productive way.
	d. Using questions and turn-taking to balance contributions from other group members with their own contributions.
2. Collaborating to construct meaning	a. Cognitively framing collaborative tasks by deciding on aims, processes, and steps.
	b. Co-constructing ideas / solutions.
	c. Asking others to explain their thinking and identifying inconsistencies in their thought processes.
	d. Summarising the discussion and deciding on the next steps.
3. Managing interactions	a. Leading plenary activity.
	b. Giving instructions and checking understanding of communicative task objectives.
	c. Monitoring and facilitating communication within the group without impeding the flow of communication between group participants.
	d. Reorienting communication in the group or sub-groups.
	e. Intervening to put the group back on task, adapting one's own contributions and interactive role to support group communication according to need.
4. Encouraging conceptual talk	a. Asking questions to stimulate logical reasoning (dialogic talk).
	b. Building contributions into logical, coherent discourse.

Source: current study.

benefits associated with social constructivist learning theories, which postulate that educational environments should be complex, realistic, and relevant to students' needs (Vygotsky 1978; Piaget 2001; Maroukias et al. 2023). Researchers have found that iVR experiences facilitate constructive learning experiences, increase students' perceived self-efficacy, collaborative participation, and reflective thinking which provide opportunities for social negotiation, shared responsibility, and ownership of group projects (Dede 2008; Madathil et al. 2017; Huang & Liaw 2018; Oigara 2018). From a linguistic point of view, iVR can boost communicative confidence, vocabulary acquisition, speaking and listening skills (Wu et al. 2020; Di Natale et al. 2020). It also improves oral comprehensibility

with consequential benefits for group-oriented interactions and students' well-being (Thrasher 2022). Despite these positive findings, disruptions in iVR tracking, rendering, and display interactions may hinder users' ability to accomplish task goals. They can impede both verbal and non-verbal self-expression, leading individuals to withdraw from social interactions. Potential solutions to these challenges have not yet been explored in the literature. Additional research is missing on iVR integrations in academic courses and curricula, and the impact of virtual technologies on teamwork and conflict management. Therefore, inquiries on the use of iVR in language education must take into account ways to involve students in FL learning spaces facilitating group-oriented interactions as well as the acquisition and use of task-oriented linguistic strategies. iVR may foster these communicative skills by involving language students in task-based, sensorial experiences through multi-user activities in hybrid learning environments. This is contingent upon structuring tasks in alignment with established pedagogical methodologies.

A language learning approach that has gained momentum in recent years is task-based language learning with technology (TBLLT) which involves students in initial brainstorming and technology training, followed by task planning through personalized content choices and group reports (Ellis 2003; Hampel 2010). Students are involved in activities of digital multimodal composing (DMC) that may include content production and personalization of virtual stories, portfolios, and multimedia presentations (Jiang 2017; Robin 2016). DMC has numerous benefits for collaborative language learning as it encourages the production of coherent narratives and the sharing of decisional practices improving speaking, reading, and writing skills (Liu et al. 2019; Nicoli et al. 2022). Through the combined use of the target language and digital tools, students collaboratively plan and design artifacts while evaluating other people's opinions. Some DMC interventions in language learning have involved the use of *izi.Travel*, a free application accessible on PCs and mobile phones where users create interactive and geo-localized city tours combining texts, interactive quizzes, video and audio recordings. When used for collaborative language learning purposes, *izi.Travel* allows students to deepen their cultural knowledge and boost collaborative planning skills (Spaliviero 2022; Fazzi 2021). Literature suggests that *izi.Travel* can be used to prepare students to showcase iVR group projects. Hence the need to identify iVR spaces effectively facilitating the deployment of mediation strategies. An option might be the platform *Immerse*, a multi-user virtual environment (MUVE) supporting social interactions and real-time language learning through avatar-based object manipulation and peer collaboration (Dooly et al. 2023). According to the literature, the affordances of *Immerse* also facilitate students' engagement in role-plays through customizable avatar features and interactable

objects in real-like locations (Bonner et al. 2023). While students join the application from *Meta Quest 2* headsets, teachers manage language classes from their computers using virtual whiteboards, scoreboards and labels, assigning learners to groups and sending chat messages (Figure 1).

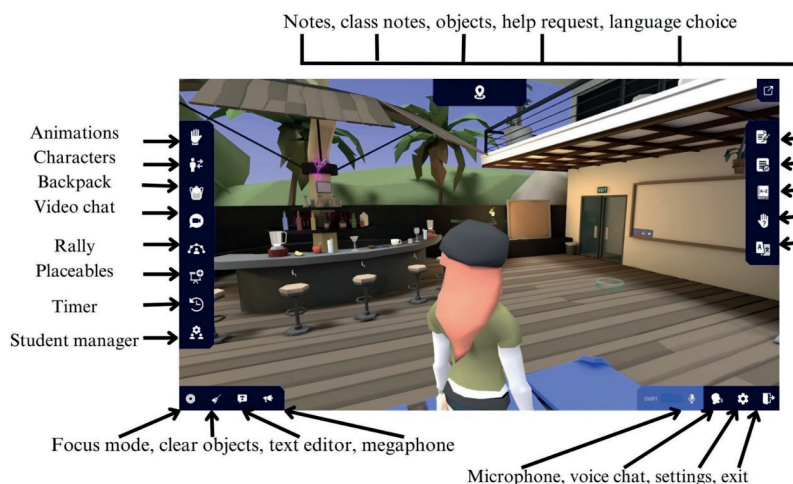


Figure 1. View from a PC-based teacher interface. App features are outlined according to classroom and student management features.

Source: current study.

Language studies conducted with *Immerse* have also led to positive results in terms of speaking skills support and vocabulary acquisition through contextualized verbal and non-verbal digital interactions (Bonner et al. 2023). This suggests the potential integration of *Immerse* in immersive, task-based DMC language activities targeting students' mediation strategies development in iVR. Despite these results, the literature currently lacks evidence on the integration of DMC activities in iVR platforms and further enquiries are needed to understand its ability to foster mediation strategies in collaborative task attainment. Therefore, this study aims at better understanding the effects iVR on learner-to-learner mediation strategies, as well as proposing a methodology to enhance contextualized communication practices and facilitate language acquisition through goal-oriented interactions.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study uses the guidelines of the Council of Europe (2020) and a mixed-methods approach to investigate the mediation strategies deployed by 2 students

of Italian as a FL whilst conducting DMC group activities with the iVR platform *Immerse*. The research question it addresses is: “what are the effects of using iVR to boost mediation strategies amongst students of Italian as a FL in learner-to-learner interactional contexts?” Data was obtained through a mixed-methods design of qualitative and quantitative information (Dörnyei 2007), and included the administration of a pre-and post-activity questionnaire, the conduction of class observations as well as a focus group interview. While the questionnaires included qualitative queries, the majority of collected data consisted of qualitative information stemming from observations and feedback to focus group interviews. Due to the limited number of participants, the study is intended as a pilot for future investigations in language learning. It hypothesises that mediation strategies can emerge from students’ linguistic and non-linguistic output in the form of turn-taking, clarification-seeking, and meaning-making, as well as from facilitations of cooperative interactions.

2.1. Participants and research tools

Data was collected at the LabVR of the University of Siena from a case study on 2 female students of Italian as FL, who participated in the study voluntarily. They spoke Spanish as a native language and possessed advanced Italian proficiency. They used *izi.Travel* in 3 learning spaces of *Immerse*, called *Welcome Deck*, *Meeting Room*, and *Presentation*. The former represented a training space while the latter two reconstructed a meeting and a conference room (Figure 2).

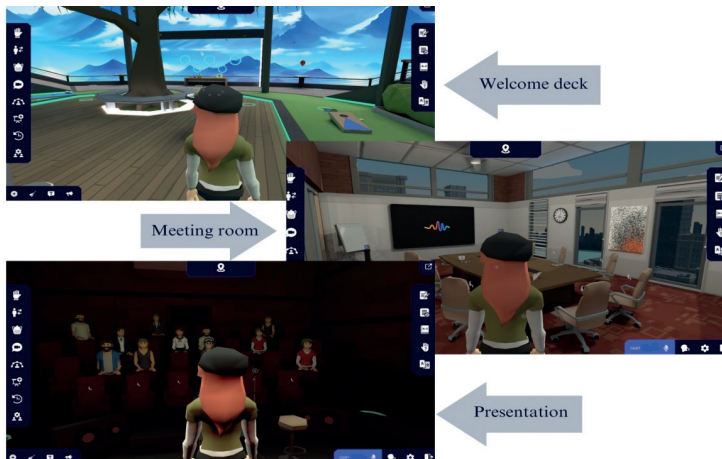


Figure 2. Visual perspectives of the 3 environments used to conduct the interventions.

Source: current study.

2.2. Activity structure

Approval to conduct the activities was received from the host institution before the start of the experiments, which lasted for a total of 12 hours and were conducted 3 times a week. Each intervention lasted for 2 hours, of which 30 minutes were spent in iVR. Before participating in the sessions, participants signed consent forms outlining the research aims, potential side-effects of iVR exposure, data collection and storage methods, and privacy protection procedures. Upon returning the signed consent forms, participants were sent email invitations with the date and time of the meetings. The participants initially used the application *izi.Travel* to conduct an in-person, guided tour of the city of Siena as part of pre-task training. They were supervised by the researcher during task-based activities focused on speaking, reading comprehension, and written production in Italian. In the next task phases, participants alternated iVR participation on *Immerse* with in-person activities where they planned and created digital tours on *izi.Travel*. They were trained to wear iVR headsets and use hand controllers to move around and grab virtual objects. Upon real-world emersion, they attended in-person classes during which they created a digital tour on *izi.Travel CMS* and published it online following a supervised analysis of written content. Lastly, they delivered a presentation of their digital tour on *Immerse*. An in-person reflection on the experience, the completion of a post-activity questionnaire, and a focus group interview constituted the last part of the activities (Table 2).

Table 2. Activity contents, related platforms and time partitioning

Intervention structure			
Classes	iVR activities	In person activities	Duration
1	None	Tour of the city of Siena with <i>izi.Travel</i> .	2 hours
2	Welcome deck	Training on <i>izi.Travel CMS</i> .	40 minutes in iVR 80 minutes in person
3	Meeting room	Collaborative written production in Italian.	55 minutes in iVR 65 minutes in person
4	Presentation	Self-assessment and reflection, post-activity questionnaire completion.	23 minutes in iVR 97 minutes in person.
5	None	Focus group interview.	2 hours

Source: current study.

2.3. Design checklist and activity contents

The design of the virtual experiences was underpinned by structural as well as linguistic considerations. Lesson plans were crafted using the interac-

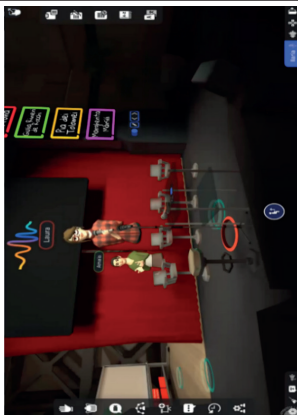

tional affordances of the 4 iVR environments *Welcome deck*, the *Meeting room* and *Presentation*. Within these environments, the language learning activities were planned according to the TBLL methodology. Specifically, the *Welcome deck* was dedicated to tech training whilst *Meeting room* activities concerned content planning and group discussions. The *Presentation* environment enabled participants to showcase their project work. The activities were designed to maximise group interactions and included mediation tasks where students decided on tour destinations and virtual contents (Table 3). Throughout the iVR interventions, the participants embodied avatars, while the researcher provided technical assistance, time-monitored iVR exposure, observed participants' interactions, and provided feedback on their written production before content publication without explicit instruction on linguistic and structural contents.

2.4. Data collection methods

The mixed-methods design used for data collection purposes is outlined in Table 4. A few weeks before starting the activities, a pre-task questionnaire was distributed via email to the participants. It consisted of 39 items related to participants' demographic information, knowledge of conditional and subjunctive moods in Italian tested through gap-filling exercises. Questions also gathered information on technology use and habits, digital skills, online learning, and previous exposure to immersive language learning tools. The responses obtained from this preliminary investigation enabled the researcher to tailor class materials to students' needs and abilities.

The post-task questionnaire was distributed to the 2 participants during their last class so that they could complete it at the end of the group presentation. The questionnaire was organised into 4 sections on the experience of language learning, sense of presence, usability, and post-activity comfort with VR. To each parameter corresponded an assessment model on which survey items were structured. Specifically, the TAM model of Davis (1993) was used for experiential assessment purposes. Conversely, sense of presence was measured with the 32 items of the survey of Witmer et al. (2005), with judgements expressed on a 7-point Likert-scale. Perceived usability of VR tools was measured with the 10 questions from the revised System Usability Scale of Brooke (1996) by Wenk et al. (2021) and the participants expressed their judgements on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (SD) to strongly agree (SA). Lastly, tool comfort was measured through 16 parameters from the list of Kennedy et al. (1993), with judgments being expressed on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from "none" to "severe".

Table 3. Summary and descriptions of task-based iVR activities.

	 <p>Welcome deck</p>	 <p>Meeting room</p>	 <p>Presentation</p>
Description	Training space allowing avatar interactions, handling of virtual objects and spatial movements.	Virtual office consisting of a round table, chairs and whiteboards.	Digital conference hall consisting of a backstage with interactive whiteboards, a stage with seats, a microphone and a virtual audience.
Aims	User familiarisation with iVR interactions.	Outline of digital storytelling principles and planning of digital tour contents.	Presentation of a digital tour.
TBLL phase	Pre-task.	Task cycle (task and planning).	Task cycle (report).
Pair work tasks	Suggesting items to wear based on their avatar appearance, answering queries on activity contents, playing group games to enhance familiarisation with virtual interactions.	Instruction on digital storytelling principles conducted with avatar-based participants. Role assignment, group story planning ordering of story contents for subsequent in-person story creation.	Backstage: participants rehearsed presentation contents. On stage: digital tour presentation and outline of the collaborative process followed by the participants during story planning.

Source: current study.

Table 4. Intervention and data collection stages

Research stages	Procedures	Collected data
Preparation	Pre-test survey.	Qualitative information from open-ended answers to the questionnaire.
Intervention 1	Walking tour with <i>izi.Travel</i> .	Quantitative information from interactional observations during group activities.
Intervention 2	Immerse tutorial.	Qualitative information from observations of group behaviours and transcript analysis.
Intervention 3	Immerse activity 1.	Qualitative information from observations of group behaviours and transcript analysis.
Intervention 4	Immerse activity 2.	Qualitative information from observations of group behaviours and transcript analysis.
Intervention 5	Immerse activity 3.	Qualitative information from observations of group behaviours and transcript analysis.
Post-intervention data	Focus group interview and post-activity questionnaire.	Qualitative information from observations of group behaviours, transcript analysis and open-ended answers to the questionnaire. Quantitative information from judgements expressed in the questionnaire.

Source: current study.

As for qualitative data, mediation strategies were identified from the transcripts of participants' interactions during the activities using the CEFR guidelines outlined in Table 1. Synthetised versions of the descriptors were used to analyse participants' interactions, transcribed with the software *Descript*. The focus group interview was conducted in Italian and designed according to the indications of Krueger and Casey (2015). It included questions on the experiential assessment of positive interdependence strategies unfolding between participants during the interventions. The interview transcripts underwent thematic analysis to identify instances and clarifications of the mediation strategies employed by the participants throughout the activities.

3. ANALYSIS

Results were grouped according to mediation strategy appearance and parametrical overlapping. Participants' names were anonymised and excerpts were provided in Italian together with their English translation. Manifestations of mediation strategies were highlighted next to their corresponding parameters in Table 2.

Table 5. Excerpts from participants' transcripts in iVR.

1a, 1b, 1c, 1d	<p>a. SPEAKER A: <i>[planning the project presentation]</i> Bene, "esposizione" direi che è l'introduzione no? <i>All right, I would say that "esposizione" is the introduction, right?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Ok ma aspetta... la presentazione con l'introduzione la facevi tu? Ok, but wait... the presentation with the introduction was on you?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Sì, la faccio io. Yes, I'll do it.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>E anche perché mi ricordo che era con la presentazione e con la risoluzione e poi...? Also because I remember it was with the presentation and then solution and...?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B; <i>Ok, e poi devo dire che la durata e come accedere. Ok, then I need to say how long it lasts for and how to access it.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Sì, gli ultimi due sono tuoi. Yes, the last ones are on you.</i></p>
2a, 3a, 3d	<p>b. SPEAKER A: <i>Non si può mettere *****? [mentions the creation of username to access the platform izi.Travel combining the names of both participants] Can't we put *****?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Eh no, meglio di no, si ricollega ai nostri nomi per privacy. Better not to. It can be linked to our names for privacy reasons.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Allora tipo qualcosa sulle donne... le donne di Siena... o qualcosa così. Something about women then... the women of Siena... or something like that.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Va bene. E la password? Sounds good. What about the password?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Cosa ne dici di ****? What do you think about ****? [says the name of a potential password]</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Sì ottimo! Sounds great!</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>E per il correo... no la e-mail scusa? What about the [says the Spanish equivalent for mail, correo]... no sorry, the email?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Mettila tua poi mi dici qual è. Put yours and then you tell me what it is.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Va bene. All right.</i></p>
2b	<p>c. SPEAKER A: <i>[interpreting a piece of artwork displayed in the Meeting Room]</i> Possiamo dire che era una donna giovane che stava... mmm... abitando in centro e che... non so, stava aspettando qualcuno che tornava a casa? <i>We could say that she was a young woman who was... mmm... living in the city center and that... I don't know, was waiting for someone who was returning home?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Sì ma da quella immagine si può capire che sta aspettando uomo, no? Non vedi che è desnuda? (giggles) [describing a statue] Yes but from that picture we can understand that she is waiting for a man, right? Can't you see she is naked?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Mi sembra che però stia aspettando qualcuno che torni, non lo so, per lo sguardo... it seems to me she is waiting for someone to return, I don't know, because of her gaze...</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Forse il ragazzo è lì fuori. O forse non viene... Maybe the guy is just outside. Or maybe he is not coming...</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>Forse dovremmo fare delle ricerche dopo... Maybe we should do some research afterwards.</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>È strana la sua posizione...e se ha ucciso qualcuno? Her position is strange... what if she has killed someone?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER A: <i>[referring to the position of the statue] Cosa c'è di strano? What's so strange about it?</i></p> <p>SPEAKER B: <i>Che è spogliata! That she is without clothes!</i></p>
2c	d. Not recorded in the transcripts.

2d	e. SPEAKER A: [<i>referring to the presentation sequence</i>] Comunque qua dovevo dire la durata del percorso e come accedere al tour. Poi dopo tu le prime tappe, no io le prime tappe e tu quelle due ultime e poi le motivazioni. Ok. L'hai fatto tu? <i>By the way, here I need to talk about the length of the tour and how to access it. Then it's your turn with the first destinations, no sorry, I start with the first destinations then you do the last ones and finally the motivations. Ok. Did you do it?</i>
3a	f. SPEAKER A: [<i>discussing the name of the tour on izi.Travel</i>] Che nome gli diamo?
3b	<i>What name should we give to it?</i>
3c	SPEAKER B: <i>Cariño!</i> (giggles) <i>Cariño</i> [<i>meaning "cute" in Spanish</i>]
3d	SPEAKER A: No dai stai seria! Perché poi lo devono cercare in tanti! <i>Come on, be serious! Because many people will look for it!</i>
3e	
4a	SPEAKER B: In effetti se poi tutti possono cercare il sito...! <i>Yeah right, if then everybody can look up the website...!</i> SPEAKER A: Sì è vero, deve essere qualcosa di più formale. <i>That's true, it must be something more formal.</i>
4b	g. SPEAKER A: [<i>in the Presentation room</i>] Ok. Comincio? [<i>rising excitement in her voice once she grabs the virtual microphone</i>] Noi siamo L ed A, due studentesse dell'Università degli Studi di Siena siamo anche delle creatori...creatrici di questa guida. Parleremo di quattro donne di Siena parleremo delle quattro donne che sono Pia de' Tolomei e...? <i>Ok, shall I start? We are L and A, two students of the University of Siena and we are also the creators of this tour. We will talk about four women of Siena wo are Pia de' Tolomei and...?</i> SPEAKER B: [<i>says one of the names of the women mentioned in the tour</i>] Margherita! SPEAKER A: Grazie. <i>Thank you.</i>

Source: current study.

In the post-task questionnaire, results on the behavioural facilitation of mediation strategies in iVR measured with the rating scales of strongly disagree (SD), disagree (D), agree (A), and strongly agree (SA) concurred with those obtained on ease of use (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 6. Participants' answers to the survey question "Think about your experience of learning Italian through Virtual Reality in pairs and rate your agreement with the following statements"

Items	SD	D	A	SA
Virtual Reality facilitated language interactions with my classmate.	0	0	2	0
Virtual Reality was useful for collaboration.	0	0	1	1
The use of Virtual Reality facilitated me in requesting the help of my classmate when there were issues with task conduction.	0	1	1	0
Using hand controllers and VR headset facilitated language interactions with my classmate.	1	1	0	0
Conversations flowed as easily as they would in face-to-face contexts.	0	1	0	1

Source: current study.

Table 7. Participants' answers to the question "Think about your experience with Virtual Reality and rate your agreement with the following statements"

Items	SD	D	A	SA
I found it difficult to interact with my classmate in Virtual Reality.	1	1	0	0
I felt inhibited from expressing my opinions in Virtual Reality.	2	0	0	0
I felt prevented from being a group leader in Virtual Reality.	0	2	0	0
I felt Virtual Reality prevented me from proposing new ideas to my classmate.	0	2	0	0

Source: current study.

Additional information on the mediation strategies deployed by the participants during the interventions was retrieved from excerpts of the focus group interview. Participants' contributions were grouped by thematic area and translated into English.

Table 8. Extract from participants' contributions to the focus group interviews

Questions	Answers and translations
1. What did you enjoy the most about learning Italian with Virtual Reality together with your partners?	a. È stato interessante scambiare le idee con lei quando stavamo parlando del percorso e pensare insieme. Poi anche vedere nella realtà virtuale è stato più interessante. <i>It was interesting to share ideas when we were discussing about the tour and think together. Also seeing [says the other participants' name] in Virtual Reality was interesting.</i>
2. What was the most challenging aspect of it?	b. Ho imparato tanto della realtà virtuale di cui non conoscevo niente. Questa esperienza mi ha obbligato a studiare davvero. <i>I felt I learned a lot about Virtual Reality about which I knew nothing before. This experience forced me to really study.</i> c. È stato difficile renderle visibili, non più difficili, il fatto di dovette prendere delle decisioni, esprimere visibili incertezze e difficoltà. <i>It was difficult to show, not to do, the fact of taking decisions, express visible uncertainties and difficulties.</i>
3. How much did Virtual Reality limit your group interactions?	d. Per me è la visione, perché a volte era un po' sfocato ed era difficile concentrarsi, così quando si muove tutto e poi leggere, ci vuole tempo per aggiustarsi. Ma con la differenza tra una realtà che io vedo bene e poi mi salta fuori una sfida in più, ma devo imparare. <i>For me is the vision, because sometimes things were a bit blurred and it was difficult to concentrate, so that when everything moves and we had to read, we needed time to adjust [to the environment]. With the difference with a reality in which I see well and then there is a new challenge that appears, but I need to learn</i>

	<p>e. Forse i movimenti non li controllavo molto bene, tipo sedermi o calcolare la distanza quando andavo avanti. Per questi problemi tecnologici a volte ci sentivamo tagliate fuori. Come per la direzione dell'audio. Una volta abbiamo provato ad interagire ma non ci siamo riusciti perché non capivamo da dove veniva la voce. Eravamo confuse. <i>Maybe I could not control the movements very well, like when sitting down or calculating distances as I was moving forward.</i></p> <p><i>For these technological problems we sometimes felt we were cut out, like for audio direction. Once we tried to interact but we could not because we could not understand from where the voices were coming from. We were confused.</i></p>
<p>4. How much did these influence your language production in Italian?</p>	<p>f. Non penso che questo abbia avuto un'influenza sull'italiano. Noi lo conoscevamo bene e questo non ci ha impedito di parlare. Nell'aula fisica dove di solito uno studente capisce di star bene però forse può non ascoltare bene le pronunce. Mentre nella realtà virtuale si può fare bene. <i>I don't think this had an impact on [the use of] Italian. We knew it well and this did not prevent us from talking. In the physical room a student understands to feel well but maybe he cannot hear pronunciations well. Conversely this is something you can do well in Virtual Reality.</i></p>
<p>5. How much did Virtual Reality facilitate your group interactions?</p>	<p>g. È la vicinanza che consente di avvicinare le persone. Quando sei da sola con il computer...non è la stessa cosa. In questo esperimento c'eravamo tutti e due nella stessa stanza. Per questo non sento che questo strumento abbia facilitato o interferito nelle mie interazioni. <i>It is proximity that helps people to connect. When you are alone with your computer it is not the same thing. In this experiment we were both together in the same room. This is why I don't feel that this instrument has nor facilitated nor interfered with our interactions.</i></p> <p>h. No non credo che la realtà virtuale abbia fatto più difficile interagire con il sociale. E tutti possono sentire quello che stai facendo. Si va in classe per parlare. Forse se non avessimo questa presenza virtuale qua e non lo so, alzare la mano, qualcosa per parlare forse lì sarebbe più difficile. Ma per me queste va tutto bene, è stato normale e per quanto riguarda l'aiuto reciproco è andato bene aiutarci sia dal punto di vista linguistico, sia pratico. <i>No, I do not think that Virtual Reality has made social interactions more difficult. Everybody could hear what was said. We were in [the virtual] class to speak. Maybe if we didn't have this virtual presence, or the chance to, I don't know, raise our hands, or something to talk, it would have been more difficult. But all went well. It was good to help each other from a practical and linguistic side.</i></p>
<p>6. How did you facilitate your mutual interactions in Virtual Reality?</p>	<p>i. Ci siamo fatte tante domande e abbiamo discusso sulle scelte da fare. È stato naturale chiederci domande soprattutto perché avevamo chiaro cosa fare. Ed è stato facile perché avevamo tanti strumenti per lavorare. Però non poteva durare a lungo. Sì, soprattutto per quello che non puoi stare più di venti minuti, perché si viene la stanchezza. <i>We asked each other many questions and we discussed the choices to make. It was natural to ask each other questions because we knew what to do. And it was easy because we had many instruments to do our work but it could not last long, especially because you cannot stay for more than 20 minutes [in Virtual Reality] otherwise you get tired.</i></p>

Source: current study.

4. DISCUSSION

A discussion on the results departs from a transcript analysis and observations of students' interactions. The most significant patterns of mediation strategies arose from facilitations of peer interactions and teamwork management, meaning co-construction and conceptual talk encouragement, which corresponded to the elements of positive interdependence cited in the literature by Moore (2014) and of Rusbult and van Lange (2003). Specifically, participants managed each other's roles by selecting tour destinations and directing decisions (Table 5, 1b, 1c, 1d). They also mediated interactions by assigning and revising their roles, making use of subjunctive moods in Italian (*direi che è, mi ricordo che, devo dire che*). Additionally, participants utilised subjunctive and conditional moods to assist their meaning-making process as they decoded the virtual elements displayed in the iVR environments. The presence of modal verbs (*possiamo dire che, devo dire che*) and adverbs of doubt (*forse*) emphasized participants' behavioural intention to decode meanings (Table 5, 1b). This led to the production of coherent narratives while participants presented the contents of their digital stories, which is in line with the identified benefits of DMC for language learning purposes as seen in the literature of Liu et al. (2019) and of Nicoli et al. (2022). It also prompted participants to produce words in their native language, only to ask each other their Italian equivalent (*correo... no la e-mail scusa?*), disambiguating meanings (*cariño*) and engaging in clarification requests (*esposizione" direi che è l'introduzione no?*) as shown in Table 5 a, b, f. The above-mentioned competences are in line with the CEFR guidelines of 2020 on mediation strategy development (Table 2). Missing data on participants' requests for justifications of thinking and planning processes from their partners are believed to be due to limited time in conducting the activities (Table 5, 2c, d). Mediation strategies were also supported by iVR gestural affordances as participants used non-verbal avatar communication to facilitate task conduction whilst passing iVR objects to one another (Table 5, 4b). This instance supports the findings of Bonner et al. (2023) as well as those of Dooly, Thrasher and Sadler (2023) in terms of avatar-based cooperation support. Team-bonding was also enhanced by goal-oriented behaviours as individuals took notes on virtual notepads during the tour planning process and proposed to create a password containing their names, hinting that they considered the product design as a cooperative endeavour (Table 5, b). These findings are in line with the theories of Ajabshir (2019), Cunningham (2019), Dai (2023) and Rattanasak (2023), as they outline the benefits of ubiquitous technologies and the TBLLT methodology in boosting students' sense of agency and goal oriented behaviours. Moreover, facilitations of mediation strategies in iVR were further confirmed by post-activity questionnaires as participants stated that

the end product was the result of mutual contributions. Participants also appeared positively inclined to cooperatively repeat the iVR experiences, hence signalling experiential enjoyment which eased cooperative relationships and favoured mediating dispositions (Table 6). However, they also revealed contrasting opinions on their ability to request help and interact through headsets and hand controllers. Even more polarized were their answers on facilitating iVR conversations (Table 7). Conversely, strong disagreements were reached in terms of preventing the expression of opinions in iVR, idea proposition and leadership, signifying positive implications for teamwork conduction. From methodological perspectives, data suggest that planning language activities targeted at developing students' mediation strategies in iVR should consider linguistic and behavioural aspects of cooperative task attainment. Moreover, the provision of a pre-activity tech training, scaffolding of activity goals and interactional iVR complexity highlighted that TBLLT might be a successful methodology for iVR incorporation in language education curricula.

In the focus group, participants claimed the iVR experiences on *Immerse* were fascinating as they motivated them to learn contents (Table 8, 1a, 2b). Participants also compared iVR with other remote language learning experiences they had been exposed to and emphasized that audio affordance capabilities facilitated pronunciation understanding (Table 8, 4f). They also recognised the need to keep iVR experiences short to maintain high attention levels and support the natural flow of interactions (Table 8, 5g, 5h, 6i). Moreover, participants seemed to enjoy with exchanging opinions in Italian (Table 8, 1a and Table 5, 2d), whose production appeared unaffected by iVR interactions due to their advanced Italian proficiency (Table 8, 4f). Despite not perceiving agentive limitations in iVR, blurred vision and audio directionality affected participants' interactions in their ability to locate the position of their partner in virtual space (Table 8, 3d, 3e). Limiting factors were attributed to iVR affordances as they prevented readable intentions and hampered the ability to concentrate (Table 8, 5c, 5d). These findings are in line with the results of Bonner et al. (2023), suggesting that mediation strategies are subject to the interpretation of communication cues in iVR scenarios and promote positive group dynamics related to sharing a collective responsibility over task goals. These findings aligned with the studies of Dede (2008), Madathil et al. (2017), Oigara (2018) and Adams et al. (2021). They also confirm the negative outcomes of iVR cybersickness, a downside that could be avoided through repeated tech exposure. Other factors preventing the deployment of mediation strategies were attributed to movement control and audio directionality (Table 8, 3e, 6e). With regards to the focus group interview, participants understood that iVR can bring people closer in remote learning settings by promoting a natural and real-like interaction flow in Italian (Table 8, 5h). Additional attitudes hinting at consolidations of media-

tion strategies were traced in preferences for the first-person plural pronoun “we” (*noi*) instead of its singular equivalent “I” (*io*) as participants described their tour planning process (Table 8, 1a, 3d, 3e, 5h, 6i).

A major limitation of this pilot study was its small population size that implies the necessity of conducting further research on a wider sample. Potential replications of this study could be extended to other education levels, prior to activity adaptations to students’ educational contexts. This would imply close collaboration between researchers and school teachers in assessing students’ needs and institutional resources to purchase the necessary equipment and design a collaborative-centred task-based language curriculum with iVR.

5. CONCLUSION

Results from this pilot study cast light on the effects of iVR technologies on enhancing students’ mediation strategies in Italian as an FL through multimodal group activities blending in-person with remote task-based language learning practices. Positive results were identified in the enhancement of peer interactions, meaning co-construction, conceptual talk encouragement, and interaction management as outlined in the CEFR guidelines of 2020. Moreover, since investigations on iVR-based mediation strategies in Italian as an FL are still largely unexplored, results from this study suggest that further research contributions in the field are needed. While the small sample size precludes generalizations, the study underscored significant insights for innovating language learning methodologies and mitigating the limitations associated with virtual and unimodal learning platforms. It is hoped that results may inspire language educators to foster mediation skills amongst their students through iVR technologies. Future project implementations may include assessing participants’ inclination towards engaging in mediation-oriented conversations and examining the influence of presence and tool comfort on the mediation strategies deployed by language students.

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Wyniki badania pilotażowego dotyczącego immersyjnej wirtualnej rzeczywistości w celu wzmocnienia strategii mediacyjnych między uczącymi się w języku włoskim jako obcym

ABSTRAKT. Rozwój technologii immersyjnych w edukacji językowej umożliwił eksperymenty pedagogiczne mające na celu poprawę umiejętności współpracy uczniów poprzez zadaniową immersyjną

wirtualną rzeczywistość (iVR), technologię umożliwiającą użytkownikom doświadczanie interakcji przypominających rzeczywiste kontakty z obiektami i innymi osobami. Pomimo pozytywnych korelacji pomiędzy wykorzystaniem iVR w nauce języka a realizacją zadań (Chen i in. 2022; Wu & Hung 2022; Romano i in. 2023), brakuje dowodów na rozwój strategii mediacyjnych w języku obcym (JO), zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do strategii mediacyjnych między uczącymi się. W związku z tym niniejsze badanie przedstawia wyniki badania pilotażowego przeprowadzonego na Uniwersytecie w Sienie (Włochy) na dwóch studentach uczących się języka włoskiego jako JO. Studenci uczestniczyli w działaniach związanych z cyfrową kompozycją multimodalną na platformie iVR Immerse. Wyniki pokazały, że strategie mediacyjne pojawiały się dzięki werbalnym i niewerbalnym ułatwieniom interakcji między uczestnikami, np. wspomaganie tworzenia znaczeń, zachęcanie do rozmów konceptualnych oraz zarządzanie interakcjami. W artykule zwrócono również uwagę na metodologiczne kwestie związane z wykorzystaniem iVR do angażowania osób uczących się języków w scenariuszach zajęć, które rozwijają umiejętności mediacyjne, które mogłyby być przenoszone na rzeczywiste konteksty społeczno-pragmatyczne.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: imersyjna wirtualna rzeczywistość, cyfrowa kompozycja multimodalna, strategie mediacyjne, pedagogika językowa, nauczanie języków obcych we Włoszech.

ILARIA COMPAGNONI

Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Italy)

ilaria.compagnoni@unive.it

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3998-7995>

ZDENA KRALOVA

*Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Tomas Bata University in Zlin*

KATARINA NEMCOKOVA

Tomas Bata University in Zlin

KARLA HRBACKOVA

Tomas Bata University in Zlin

SAMUEL KRAL

Trnava University

Identification and evaluation of English accents by listeners with related native languages

ABSTRACT. This study explores the identification and evaluation of English accents by non-native English speakers, specifically Czech and Slovak undergraduate students majoring in English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The research aims to determine how these students perceive and rate ten English accents, including native and non-native varieties. Using questionnaires, the study examines the correlation between the ability to identify the speakers' native language and the evaluation of their English pronunciation quality. The findings reveal that Czech and Slovak students generally share similar evaluations of English accents, with significant differences primarily in identifying and evaluating accents related to their native languages. This research contributes to understanding how related linguistic backgrounds influence the perception and judgment of English accents, providing insights for language teaching and accent training in EFL contexts.

KEYWORDS: English accents, EFL teaching, accent identification, pronunciation evaluation, non-native speakers.

1. INTRODUCTION

Many distinct variants of English have emerged across time and space as a result of the English language spread (e.g., Graddol 1997; Kirkpatrick 2007; Smith 2012). Over the last few decades, the number of non-native English speakers (NNS) has significantly surpassed that of native English speakers (NS) (Kachru

1986). Speaking English as a foreign language has become more common than speaking English as a first language these days (Crystal 2008; McKay 2002).

Earlier studies have proved that non-native English varieties are frequently considered less prestigious and even slightly inferior, whereas native English varieties like General American and British English, are typically recognized as prestigious (e.g., Cargile 1997; Chien 2018; Ryan & Carranza 1975). However, increasing legitimation and changing attitudes towards non-native English varieties have been noted to occur concurrently with their growth (e.g., Jenkins 2006; Kachru 1997; Tsurutani 2012).

It has long been believed by academics and laypeople alike that non-native speech is more difficult to understand than native speech, and research has indicated that listening to speech with an unusual accent causes listeners to exert more effort (Porretta & Tucker 2019; Van Engen & Peelle 2014). Nonetheless, it is a variety of characteristics, not only talker or accent familiarity, that influence how speech is perceived (Weissler et al. 2023). Communication success with non-native accented speech may also depend on the listener's expectations, experience, language background, social prejudices, cognitive ability, and motivation (Baese-Berk et al. 2020).

As many scholars have noted, assessments of language varieties are not necessarily assessments of the language itself, but rather of the groups that speak them (Lippi-Green 1997). Views regarding the ethnicity of a speaker have been sufficient to cause the speaker to be classified as non-native and even to result in reduced understanding rates (Rubin 1992). Folk perceptions of native and non-native English are examined in the current study applying the methodology of perceptual dialectology (Lindemann 2005), which examines multiple individual responses to determine the level of agreement in the reactions to language varieties.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The way speech is perceived may be influenced by many factors, both internal and external to the speaker and the listener. L1 is one of the primary variables that predict the listener's perception and attitude towards accented speech (Beinhoff 2013), given that speech comprehension is optimized for the native language of the listener (Cutler 2012). If the listener's accent deviates from their perception, their evaluation of the speaker may be less favorable (Beinhoff 2013; Bent & Bradlow 2003).

Previous research has demonstrated the "interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit" – the ability of non-native listeners to transcribe the speech of people

with similar linguistic backgrounds accurately (Bent & Bradlow 2003). Language background can also influence other evaluations of non-native speech, ranging from solidarity ratings (Brennan & Brennan 1981) to ratings of unpleasantness (Fayer & Krasinski 1987). In addition to language background and familiarity with a non-native accent, social attitudes toward speakers are frequent predictors of listeners' accentedness ratings (Lindemann 2002).

Listeners rely on the accent to identify the speaker's origin, as stated by Wright (1996). Some studies have attempted to examine how accurately listeners can identify the origins of different English accents. It is important to find out whether listeners judge individual varieties of English based on their supposed identification of the speaker's origin as this often causes stereotypical judgments (Preston 2004).

The argument is backed by the idea that a speaker's accent can elicit favorable or unfavorable attitudes based on contextual factors like nationality or ethnicity, which can influence the speaker's discourse evaluation (e.g., Chien 2018; Edwards 1999; Rubin 1992). Therefore, scientists have focused on verifying the correlation between knowing where speakers come from and evaluating their speech. Different connections between listeners' ability to identify the origins of various English speakers and their assessments.

The first main finding indicates that correctly identifying the speaker's origin has a beneficial effect on listeners' perceptions of the way they speak English (e.g., McKenzie 2008). Yook and Lindemann (2013) also found a connection between accurately recognizing the speaker's origin and evaluation. Research by Zhang (2010) shows that positive ratings of English speech sometimes remain even when the rater incorrectly assigns the speaker's ethnicity. Both native speakers (e.g., Lindemann 2003) and non-native speakers (e.g., Ladegaard 1998) were subjects of studies that illustrated the association between misidentifying the speaker and negative evaluation of English utterances.

In contrast, several studies (e.g., Ladegaard 1998; Lindemann 2003) demonstrated a weak connection between identifying a speaker's background and speech judgments. This suggests that stereotypical responses to different varieties of English may be influenced by subconscious opinions, regardless of knowing the geographical affiliation of a particular variety (Ladegaard 1998).

Early research on accent perception has focused on the evaluation of non-native speech by native listeners (Cunningham-Andersson & Engstrand 1989). Later, studies appeared that dealt with non-natives' attitudes toward non-native accents (e.g., Chiba et al. 1995), and few have compared the attitudes of natives and non-natives to examine any similarities and differences that might exist between the two groups (McKenzie 2008; Zhang 2010; Yook & Lindemann 2013). To the best of the authors' knowledge, there has yet been no comparison of ge-

neologically and typologically related L1 listeners' judgments of both native and non-native English accents, which is addressed in the present study.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Objectives

The aim of the study was to detect a possible relationship between accent identification and evaluation of native and non-native English accents by speakers of different yet related L1 languages. The study's primary research question was: How do different but related L1 listeners' identification and evaluation of English accents correlate?

To obtain the data for the study, non-native undergraduate students of EFL were asked to volunteer to complete a questionnaire that surveyed their verdicts on various English accents. The questionnaire consisted of two parts since the research question contained two components – accent identification and evaluation. First, the study sought to find what L1 the listeners think each speaker has. Second, the study sought to understand how NNSs rate the quality of NS and NNS' English pronunciation.

Research Hypotheses

Based on the information discussed in the previous sections, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Listeners with related native languages identify the native language of speakers similarly.

H2: Listeners with related native languages judge native and non-native accents of English similarly.

H3: Listeners' identification of speakers' origins correlates with their evaluations of accents.

3.2. Sample

Participant listeners were non-native English-speaking first-year university students majoring in EFL, with Czech (114 listeners) and Slovak (86 listeners) being their native languages. Respondents were informed that the study would be conducted anonymously. All of them gave their written consent to participate in the research.

The Slovak and Czech languages belong to the West Slavic languages. They are genetically and typologically very close; their closeness and “brotherly” relationship during the common state of Czechs and Slovaks (1918–1993) led to present-day extensive passive bilingualism. Similarities between the two languages are numerous: Slovak and Czech both use Latin script, display striking parallels in their grammatical systems, share similar vowel and consonant pronunciations, and a considerable portion of their vocabularies. For example, of the 500 most frequent lexemes, 230 (46%) are completely identical and 154 (30.8%) are partially identical (Sokolova 1991).

Before listening to the stimuli, Czech and Slovak students were informed about the number of speakers and approximate length of recordings, and they learned that the speakers would be from various parts of the world, both of native and non-native status. The listeners also obtained the information that all speakers would be reading the same text, and they received a printed transcript of the recording before listening. The listeners were also ensured that the speakers’ linguistic identities would be disclosed after finishing the experiment.

The material used for recorded speech stimuli was obtained from IDEA (2024). To minimize potential extraneous factors amongst the selected speakers, several other factors were controlled. The speakers shared several variables: age (19–23), university students (not majoring in English), and no long-term experience in an English-speaking environment in the case of NNS. The speakers (4 females and 6 males) were from a variety of first language backgrounds: 1. British English, 2. American English, 3. Czech, 4. Slovak, 5. Japanese, 6. Finnish, 7. Chinese, 8. Swahili, 9. Arabic, and 10. Australian English, presented to listeners in that order. British and American English are commonly taught at Slovak and Czech schools and were included as an initial control for speech sample quality. The questionnaires, which the listeners completed for each speaker after listening, took an average of forty minutes for listeners to complete.

The speech sample stimuli were comprised of ten speakers reading the story *Comma Gets a Cure* (Honorof et al. 2000), focusing the listeners specifically on accent and avoiding the possible problems in comprehension. Although McKenzie (2010) highlighted the benefits of using spontaneous speech recordings as auditory stimuli, for this research, a scripted passage was selected to eliminate the influence of other lexical and grammatical variations (Martens 2020). The selected stimulus had neutral content and was distinguished by its simple language structure.

3.3. Instruments

L1 Identification

In the first part, listeners reported their opinions on the speakers' native language (L1). The responses identifying the country or geographical region of the supposed speaker's origin were also accepted (e.g., Japan instead of Japanese). The design of the survey made it possible to study the ability of Czech and Slovak students to recognize the origin of speakers based on their audio recordings.

The answers were coded on a 3-point descending scale: 2 – correct identification, 1 – close identification (correctly approximated region/area/continent but not exactly the native language, e.g., Scandinavia instead of Finnish, or Asia instead of Japanese), and 0 – incorrect identification.

Pronunciation Evaluation

In the second part of the survey, listeners rated the speakers' English pronunciation in general (in the Results section referred to as MARK), using the equal-appearing interval 5-point Likert scale commonly used in European education (1 – excellent; 2 – very good; 3 – quite good; 4 – not very good; 5 – poor).

3.4. Data analysis

The survey generated a lot of data from both groups of listeners. The questionnaire responses were quantitative and required the following statistical techniques. The t-test was used to verify the first and the second hypotheses and Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was used to verify the third hypothesis. Further, the Pearson correlation coefficient was used to express the correlation between the variables L1 and MARK, and the chi-square test was applied to detect the differences between the Czech and Slovak listeners' evaluations of each speaker.

4. RESULTS

The data collected from 200 participants ($N = 200$) showed a wide range of correct cases of accent identification: the minimum score of L1 was 1, which means that the listener with that score approximately identified only one of the possible ten accents (the region was identified correctly but the specific identification was not stated) while other nine accents were identified incorrectly or not at all. The maximum L1 score was 18, which means the listener with that

score identified nine accents correctly and one incorrectly or not at all, or eight accents were identified correctly and two with sufficient approximation. The average L1 grade was 7.77, which corresponds to roughly the listener's four correct identifications and six incorrect/none or eight approximate and two missing, or a proportionate combination of the two. The average L1 grade is of a middle value within the given interval.

In terms of accent evaluation, the range of MARK grades was smaller among the listeners. The best-grading listener averaged a MARK of 1.6, which would equal six accents graded 'excellent' (1), two accents graded 'very good' (2), and two accents graded 'quite good' (3). The most critical listener averaged the MARK of 3.33, which translates to, for example, three accents graded 'excellent' (1), four accents graded 'quite good' (3), two accents with 'not very good' score (4) and two grades of 'poor' (5). The average MARK among the 200 listeners, each evaluating ten accents, is 2.39, which, similarly to the L1 grade, was almost in the middle of the grading interval. Table 1 shows the descriptive data for the two variables analyzed (L1 and MARK).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
L1	200	1	18	7.77	2.478
MARK	200	1.60	3.33	2.3930	.38061
Valid N (listwise)	200	-	-	-	-

Source: current study.

L1 Identification

The t-test revealed that both groups (Czech and Slovak listeners) identified the native language of the speakers with similar success rates ($t = 1.200$; $p = 0.232$) (Table 2, Figure 1). In terms of the comparison between the two groups, Czech listeners were marginally more successful in the L1 identification overall. All the listeners were most successful in identifying British and American English, and the most difficulty in identifying the Arabic speaker.

Table 2. L1 identification by Czech and Slovak listeners

	Listeners	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
L1	Czech	114	7.95	2.664	.249
	Slovak	86	7.52	2.200	.237

Source: current study.

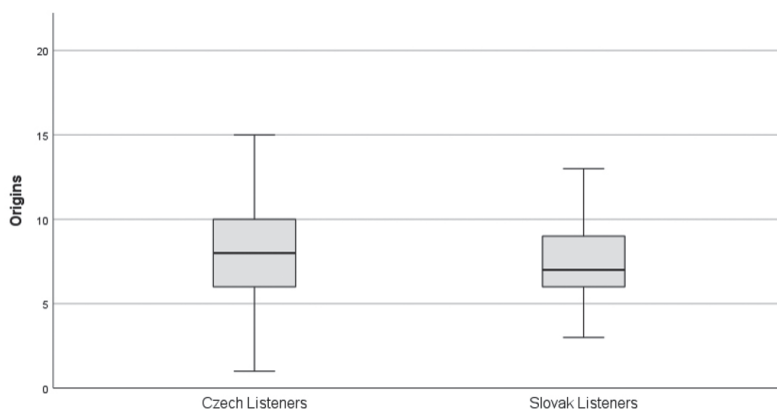


Figure 1. L1 identification by Czech and Slovak listeners

Source: current study.

The significant differences between Czech and Slovak listeners in the identification of speakers' native language were found only in the case of the Czech speaker identification. Czech listeners identified the Czech speaker significantly better than Slovak listeners ($p < 0.001$) (Table 3). Out of 200 listeners, 37 did not identify the Czech speaker at all, with almost double the number of Slovaks (24 listeners) failing in the identification as compared to the Czechs (13 listeners). Almost one-half of all the Slovak listeners (41 out of 86) identified the approximate region or language family in the case of the Czech speaker. On the other hand, over 75% of all Czech listeners identified the Czech speaker precisely, with only 17% of Slovaks succeeding in the Czech speaker's precise identification.

Table 3. L1 identification of the Czech speaker

Crosstabulation			Listeners		Total
			Czech	Slovak	
Czech_L1	0	Count	13	24	37
		Expected Count	21.1	15.9	37.0
	1	Count	7	41	48
		Expected Count	27.4	20.6	48.0
	2	Count	86	15	101
		Expected Count	57.6	43.4	101.0
Total		Count	106	80	186
		Expected Count	106.0	80.0	186.0

Chi-Square Tests		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square		75.097 ^a	2	<.001
Likelihood Ratio		81.487	2	<.001
Linear-by-Linear Association		46.681	1	<.001
N of Valid Cases		186	-	-
Symmetric Measures		Value	Approximate Significance	
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.635	<.001	
	Cramer's V	.635	<.001	
N of Valid Cases		186	-	

a. 0 cells (.0%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.91.

Source: current study.

Pronunciation Evaluation

The best rating by all the listeners, irrespective of their native language, was given to the American English speaker (MARK = 1.11) and the worst to the Japanese speaker (MARK = 4.41) (Table 4). Among all the listeners, the best mark assigned to the American speaker was 1 ('excellent') and the worst was 3 ('quite good'). The best mark for the Japanese speaker was 3 ('quite good') and the worst was 5 ('poor').

Table 4. Pronunciation evaluation by all the listeners

MARK	N		Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
	Valid	Missing				
British	200	0	1.46	.701	1	5
American	200	0	1.11	.329	1	3
Czech	198	2	2.69	.748	1	5
Slovak	198	2	2.69	.788	1	5
Japanese	200	0	4.41	.602	3	5
Finnish	198	2	1.28	.482	1	3
Chinese	196	4	3.64	.742	2	5
African	196	4	2.99	.694	1	5
Arabic	195	5	2.26	.655	1	4
Australian	193	7	1.40	.579	1	4

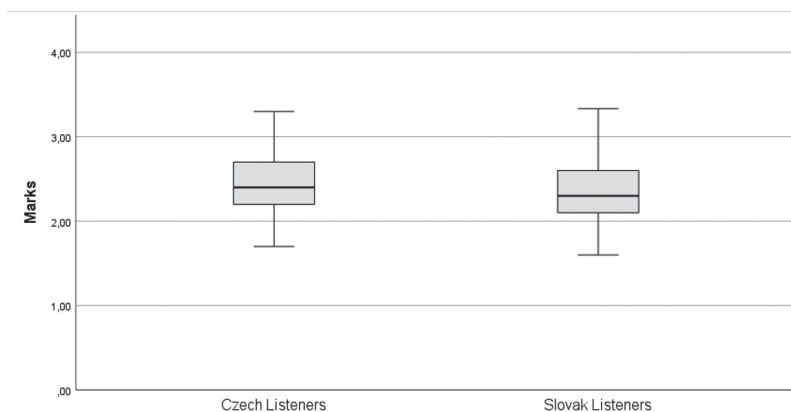
Source: current study.

The t-test revealed that Czech and Slovak listeners rated speakers' pronunciation similarly ($t = 1.462$; $p = 0.145$) (Table 5, Figure 2), with Slovak listeners grading marginally better.

Table 5. Pronunciation evaluation by Czech and Slovak listeners

MARK	Listeners	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Czech	114	2.4271	.37292	.03493
	Slovak	86	2.3478	.38814	.04185

Source: current study.

**Figure 2.** Pronunciation evaluation by Czech and Slovak listeners

Source: current study.

Significant differences between Czech and Slovak listeners in pronunciation evaluation were detected in the case of the Czech, Slovak, and Chinese speakers. Czech listeners rated the Czech speaker lower than Slovak listeners ($t = 2.896$; $p = 0.004$) (Table 6).

Table 6. Pronunciation evaluation of the Czech speaker

Group Statistics					
MARK	Listeners	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Czech	Czech	113	2.82	.735	.069
	Slovak	85	2.52	.734	.080
Independent Samples Effect Sizes ¹		Standardizer ²	Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
Czech	Cohen's d	.734	.416	.131	.700
	Hedges' correction	.737	.414	.130	.697
	Glass's delta	.734	.416	.127	.703

Source: current study.

Similar to the lower grades assigned to the Czech speaker by Czech listeners, they were also more critical of the Slovak speaker and evaluated them worse than Slovak listeners ($t = 2.113$; $p = 0.036$) (Table 7). However, the difference between the mean value of Czech and Slovak listeners evaluating the Slovak speaker was not so high as in evaluating the Czech speaker.

Table 7. Pronunciation evaluation of the Slovak speaker

Group Statistics					
MARK	Listeners	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Slovak	Czech	112	2.79	.850	.080
	Slovak	86	2.56	.679	.073
Independent Samples Effect Sizes ¹		Standardizer ²	Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
Slovak	Cohen's d	.781	.303	.020	.585
	Hedges' correction	.784	.302	.020	.583
	Glass's delta	.679	.348	.061	.633

Source: current study.

Czech listeners were also stricter than Slovak listeners in evaluating the Chinese speaker ($t = 2.761$; $p = 0.003$) (Table 8).

Table 8. Pronunciation evaluation of the Chinese speaker

Group Statistics					
MARK	Listeners	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Chinese	Czech	113	3.76	.794	.075
	Slovak	83	3.47	.631	.069
Independent Samples Effect Sizes ¹		Standardizer ²	Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
Chinese	Cohen's d	.729	.399	.113	.685
	Hedges' correction	.732	.398	.112	.682
	Glass's delta	.631	.461	.168	.752

Explanation:

¹ Cohen's d uses the pooled standard deviation.

Hedges' correction uses the pooled standard deviation plus a correction factor.

Glass's delta uses the sample standard deviation of the control group.

² The denominator used in estimating the effect sizes.

Source: current study.

The Relationship of L1 Identification and Pronunciation Evaluation

There was a weak correlation between L1 identification and pronunciation evaluation ($r = -0.143$; $p = 0.043$), meaning that the better the listeners identified the speakers' L1, the better they rated their pronunciation (Table 9).

Table 9. The correlation between pronunciation evaluation and origin identification

Correlation		Origins	Marks
Origins	Pearson Correlation	1	-.143*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	-	.043
	N	200	200
Marks	Pearson Correlation	-.143*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.043	-
	N	200	200

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: current study.

No significant influence was found of listeners' native languages (Czech or Slovak) on the combination of both pronunciation evaluation and L1 identification ($F(2.197) = 2.096$, $p = 0.126$; Wilks' lambda = 0.979). No significant effect of the listener's native language was identified solely for pronunciation evaluation ($F(1.198) = 2.137$; $p = 0.145$). A significant effect of the listener's native language was detected only for L1 identification ($F(1.198) = 1.439$; $p = 0.232$) (Table 10).

Table 10. The effect of listeners' native language on pronunciation evaluation and L1 identification

Descriptive Statistics				
Variable	Listeners	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
L1	Czech	7.95	2.664	114
	Slovak	7.52	2.200	86
	Total	7.77	2.478	200
Mark	Czech	2.4271	.37292	114
	Slovak	2.3478	.38814	86
	Total	2.3930	.38061	200

Multivariate Tests ¹							
	Effect	Value	F ²	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.983	5531.668	2.000	197.000	<.001	.983
	Wilks' Lambda	.017	5531.668	2.000	197.000	<.001	.983
	Hotelling's Trace	56.159	5531.668	2.000	197.000	<.001	.983
	Roy's Largest Root	56.159	5531.668	2.000	197.000	<.001	.983
Origin	Pillai's Trace	.021	2.096	2.000	197.000	.126	.021
	Wilks' Lambda	.979	2.096	2.000	197.000	.126	.021
	Hotelling's Trace	.021	2.096	2.000	197.000	.126	.021
	Roy's Largest Root	.021	2.096	2.000	197.000	.126	.021

Legend:

¹ Design: Intercept + Origin

² Exact statistic

Source: current study.

5. DISCUSSION

The relationship between the listener's identification of an English speaker's native language and their evaluation of the speaker's English output has been widely studied and various factors influencing the outcomes have been described in the literature. Nevertheless, the situation when the speakers' native languages are identified and spoken outputs evaluated by two groups of listeners with different but closely related native languages has, to the best of our knowledge, not been a subject of any studies.

This study claims that differences in identification and evaluation of English-spoken output by the two groups of listeners with Czech and Slovak native languages exist, but they are, expectedly, not overwhelming. The expectedness is based on the fact that the two languages and the two nations using them are historically, geographically, and culturally close. Despite three decades of independent development in two separate nation-states, the relationship between the two nations is marked by proximity in many aspects, underlined by the mutual legislative status of the other language understandability in each state.

Based on the existing knowledge, it is suggested that the positive or negative perception of a specific English dialect is likely to be influenced by the supposed origin of the speakers (e.g., Callan et al. 1983; Chien 2018; McKenzie 2008; Preston 2010). As a result, the identification success of various English speakers' mother tongues by Czech and Slovak students would enhance the credibility of their further evaluations of English varieties.

In the study, three hypotheses addressing the issues of identification and evaluation of speakers' English output were formulated and tested. The first hypothesis (H1) states: *Listeners with related native languages identify the native language of speakers similarly*. Based on the results, the hypothesis is confirmed. No significant difference was found between how successfully Czech and Slovak listeners identify the native language of ten different speakers of English.

The noteworthy detail, however, seems to be in the difference between the Czech speaker's identification by Czech and Slovak listeners, and the Slovak speaker's identification by Slovak listeners. Despite the similarities between the Czech and Slovak languages, the Slovak listeners achieved much lower scores in the precise identification of the Czech speaker. In most cases, they (mis)identified the Czech speaker as a Slovak one. This stands in contrast with the Slovak speakers' identification of the Slovak speaker, which does not show such a discrepancy. It seems natural that Czech listeners were able to pinpoint a fellow speaker with high precision. However, why Slovak listeners were less successful in identifying their fellow speakers and why so many lacked precision in identifying the Czech speaker remains a suggestion for future research.

Concerning speakers evaluated by lower grades (e.g., Japanese and Chinese), both groups of listeners frequently (mis)identified them as French or Indian; Slovak listeners also frequently misidentified the Japanese speaker as Russian. Both groups were similarly mistaken with the Finnish speaker, who was most frequently (mis)identified as American and graded by the 'very good' score, which suggests the listeners acknowledged native-like pronunciation but they were aware of the actual non-native background of the speaker.

The second hypothesis (H2) states: *Listeners with related native languages judge native and non-native accents of English similarly*. Like H1, this hypothesis is also confirmed by the results – both groups of listeners evaluated the ten English speakers with similar grades. The notable difference in evaluations lies in stricter evaluations of Czech, Slovak, and Chinese speakers by the Czech listeners. Again, the reasons behind such an outcome remain unclear.

The third hypothesis (H3) says that *Listeners' identification of speakers' origins correlates with their evaluations of accents*. The hypothesis is also confirmed, albeit the correlation is very weak. The origin of the listeners seems to influence the identification rather than the evaluation of the speakers. However, the identification and evaluation of the speakers by the Czech and Slovak listeners differ in case they identify and evaluate their fellows.

In general, the results show that Czech and Slovak students mostly share similar assessments of different varieties of English. These results add to the understanding of the parallels and distinctions between the attitudes towards English varieties in the globalized world with a growing presence of non-native

English speakers. Further research could provide more insights into the reasons behind the reactions of listeners to various varieties, the specific characteristics of varieties that are important to them and the reasons for their significance, and the extent to which such beliefs are commonly held (Sykes 2010).

6. CONCLUSIONS

Studying language attitudes is crucial for understanding interpersonal communication, as many non-native speakers interact with native speakers in social and economic contexts that greatly impact people's well-being. It is therefore important to be aware of how individuals view both native and non-native accents (Barona 2008). Perception of a non-native accent can have negative consequences on listener evaluations of a speaker's competence, likeability, and believability (Gluszek & Dovidio 2010). It is possible to evaluate how native and non-native varieties of English are identified and evaluated by the confrontation of two close language contexts. It would be useful – especially for language teachers and practitioners – to have more detailed information on what influences the perceived accentedness and intelligibility in non-native accents.

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Identyfikacja i ocena angielskich akcentów przez słuchaczy posługujących się pokrewnymi językami ojczystymi

ABSTRAKT. Niniejsze badanie dotyczy identyfikacji i oceny akcentów angielskich przez osoby niebędące rodzimymi użytkownikami języka angielskiego, w szczególności czeskich i słowackich

studentów studiów licencjackich na kierunku język angielski jako język obcy (EFL). Badanie ma na celu określenie, w jaki sposób studenci ci postrzegają i oceniają dziesięć różnych akcentów angielskich, w tym zarówno rodzimych, jak i nierodzimych odmian. Za pomocą kwestionariuszy zbadano korelację między zdolnością do identyfikacji języka ojczystego mówców a oceną jakości ich wymowy angielskiej. Wyniki pokazują, że czescy i słowaccy studenci generalnie podobnie oceniają angielskie akcenty, a znaczące różnice występują przede wszystkim w identyfikacji i ocenie akcentów związanych z ich językami ojczystymi. Badanie to przyczynia się do zrozumienia, w jaki sposób pokrewne pochodzenie językowe wpływa na postrzeganie i ocenę akcentów angielskich, zapewniając wgląd w nauczanie języków obcych i trening akcentu w kontekście EFL.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: akcenty angielskie, nauczanie języka angielskiego jako obcego, identyfikacja akcentu, ocena wymowy, osoby niebędące rodzimymi użytkownikami języka.

ZDENA KRALOVA

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra (Slovakia)

Tomas Bata University in Zlin (Czechia)

zkralova@ukf.sk

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6900-9992>

KATARINA NEMCOKOVA

Tomas Bata University in Zlin (Czechia)

nemcokova@utb.cz

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1393-4745>

KARLA HRBACKOVA

Tomas Bata University in Zlin (Czechia)

hrbackova@utb.cz

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8192-7235>

SAMUEL KRAL

Trnava University (Slovakia)

samuel.kral@tvu.sk

<https://orcid.org/0009-0002-9074-8735>

III. BOOK REVIEWS

Marina Foschi Albert / Marianne Hepp. *Mehrsprachiges Leseverstehen für Deutsch nach Englisch. Eine Einführung.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2024. S. 171

Marina Foschi Albert und Marianne Hepp geben mit ihrem Buch *Mehrsprachiges Leseverstehen für Deutsch nach Englisch. Eine Einführung* einen fundierten Einblick in die Förderung des Leseverstehens von Deutsch als Fremdsprache bei Lernenden, die bereits Englisch beherrschen. Das Werk bietet Lehrenden und Forschenden sowie Studierenden im Bereich der DaF-Didaktik Ansätze zur Unterstützung des Text- und Leseverstehens im Kontext des Mehrsprachigkeitsdiskurses. Die Beschreibung von ausgewählten Strukturen der deutschen und der englischen Sprache hat zum Ziel, metasprachliches Wissen zu vermitteln und dabei die metasprachliche Bewusstheit zu festigen. Dies geschieht insbesondere durch die Entwicklung von Strategien des Sprachvergleichs und -transfers zwischen Deutsch und Englisch, was – wie die Autorinnen betonen – den Prozess des Fremdspracherwerbs fördert und beschleunigt, da unterschiedliche Sprachen nicht in strikt voneinander getrennten mentalen Bereichen gespeichert werden, vielmehr eine synergetische kommunikative Kompetenz bilden, zu der alle Sprachkenntnisse und Spracherfahrungen beitragen (S. 8).

In der Einführung zum Buch wird zunächst auf die Folgen der heute etablierten Rolle des Englischen im internationalen Bereich eingegangen, die ihre Auswirkungen nicht nur auf den Bereich der Wissenschaftssprachen, der Wirtschaft und das Parkett der internationalen Politik zeigt, sondern vielmehr den institutionellen DaF-Unterricht beeinflusst. Wird Englisch in den meisten europäischen Ländern als L2 (erste Fremdsprache nach der L1) unterrichtet, so folgen Deutsch (und viele weitere Sprachen) als L3 (zweite oder dritte, bzw. weitere Fremdsprache) und werden somit als Tertiärsprache aufgenommen. Vor diesem Hintergrund beleuchtet das Buch, wie sich eine mehrsprachige Perspektive auf die Sprachvermittlung und ganz konkret auf das Leseverstehen positiv auswirken kann.

Außerdem wird das Potenzial des mehrsprachigen Fremdsprachenlernens diskutiert. Es werden Ansätze zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik aufgezeigt, wobei das Sprachpaar Deutsch und Englisch, entsprechend der Zielsetzung des Buches, fokussiert wird.

Hervorgehoben wird zunächst der positive Transfer von ähnlichen Sprachelementen, die als Transferbrücken wirken können (Kap. 1.1), um dann auf zwei Schlüsselkonzepte des fremdsprachigen Text- und Leseverstehens einzugehen (Kap. 1.2). Erstens erweisen sich die Ähnlichkeiten der allgemeinen Kompetenz Leseverstehen als unabhängig von der zu erwerbenden Sprache, da beim Lesevorgang als einem kognitiven Prozess der Herstellung von Textkohärenz Muttersprachler:innen gleichermaßen wie Nicht-Muttersprachler:innen „eine mentale Repräsentation des Textgegenstands auf der Grundlage der im Text enthaltenen und von ihnen erkannten Textkohärenz erstellen müssen [...]“ (S. 11). Damit verbunden ist der zweite Schlüsselbegriff der „Textkomplexität“. Die Autorinnen vertreten die Meinung,

dass die Förderung der Lesekompetenz anhand einer Vielfalt authentischer Texte erfolgen sollte. Ihre gezielte Auswahl soll zu einer progressiven Erweiterung des Textverstehens durch den schrittweisen Ausbau der Sprachkompetenzen führen. Die Zielsetzung des Buches, eine Förderung des mehrsprachigen Leseverstehens, wird mit einem didaktischen Modell verbunden (Kap. 1.3), das detailliert in den folgenden fünf Kapiteln (Kap. 2–6) entfaltet wird. Die Grundkonzeption des Modells besteht aus einem Text-zu-Text-Verfahren, das die Vermittlung von Strategien zur Beobachtung der Textgesamtheit ins Zentrum stellt. Nach einem globalen Texterfassen durch die Beobachtung der Textgestaltung folgen das Eingehen auf die kommunikative Funktion, die formalen und logischen Relationen auf der Ebene der Textkohäsion, die Wahrnehmung des Textes als komplexes Sprachgebilde und die induktive Erfassung seiner Bedeutungen (S. 16).

Die fünf Hauptkapitel widmen sich jeweils einem zentralen Aspekt des mehrsprachigen Leseverstehens und bieten eine detaillierte Analyse des behandelten Gebiets. Jedes Kapitel ist klar strukturiert und besteht aus drei Unterkapiteln: Das erste und zweite beschreiben theoretisch den Lerngegenstand und exemplifizieren kontrastiv Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede des behandelten Phänomens im Sprachpaar Deutsch-Englisch, das dritte – als *Didaktisches Intermezzo* überschrieben – präsentiert konkrete Lern-Lehr-Einheiten, die die pragmatische Anwendung des erworbenen Wissens anhand verschiedener Textsorten veranschaulichen und so das behandelte Thema einzuüben erlauben. Wie die Autorinnen betonen (S. 16), finden sich hier „konkrete Beispiele von Lerntätigkeiten, die durch Aktivierung mehrsprachigen Textwissens und Sprachbewusstseins einen konkreten Weg in die Vielschichtigkeit der Textkohärenz und -komplexität für das Deutsch-als-L3-Leseverstehen bahnen.“ Der Band bietet eine fundierte Grundlage für die Entwicklung effektiver Lehr- und Lernstrategien und ist ein unverzichtbares Hilfsmittel für alle, die Deutsch als Folgefremdsprache unterrichten oder studieren.

Die zentralen Kapitel des Buches behandeln in klarem Aufbau und gut nachvollziehbar die einzelnen Bausteine des Modells zur Förderung des mehrsprachigen Leseverstehens. Im Folgenden soll kurz auf ihre Schwerpunkte eingegangen werden:

- a) Textgestaltung: Das zweite Kapitel des Bandes konzentriert sich auf die *Textgestaltung* und die Rolle von Textsorten sowie parallelen Texten. Die Autorinnen machen darauf aufmerksam, dass Textsorten im Deutschen und Englischen auch anders gestaltet sind oder sein können, deshalb weisen sie auf die spezifischen Merkmale hin. Sie heben die zentrale Bedeutung von Paralleltextanalysen hervor, da diese es den Lernenden ermöglichen, Strukturen und Inhalte beider Sprachen miteinander zu vergleichen. Sie diskutieren, wie durch die Verwendung solcher Paralleltexte das Verständnis für die Textorganisation in der Zielsprache verbessert werden kann und bieten praxisnahe Beispiele für die Implementierung solcher Texte im Unterricht.
- b) Schriftlichkeit von Texten: Das dritte Kapitel behandelt die *schriftliche Wiedergabe* von Texten, wobei das Augenmerk auf dem Erkennen von einzelnen (isolierten) Wörtern im deutsch-englischen Vergleich unter Einbeziehung der wichtigsten Regeln für die sprachliche Zeichenkombinatorik in beiden Sprachen liegt. Ein wesentlicher Teil dieses Kapitels widmet sich der Diskussion über die gemeinsame Herkunft des Wortschatzes im Deutschen wie im Englischen (historische und etymologische Verbindungen). Ein vergleichender Blick auf die Schriftsysteme des Deutschen und des

Englischen kann helfen, scheinbar nicht miteinander verwandte, fremd erscheinende Wörter als genetisch verwandt zu erkennen (S. 44). Außerdem wird kontrastiv auf Interpunktion und Orthografie eingegangen, die als grundlegender Normkomplex für die Schriftlichkeit gelten. Diese Erkenntnisse helfen den Lernenden, Wortähnlichkeiten und -unterschiede zwischen Englisch und Deutsch zu erkennen und beim Leseverstehen zu nutzen.

- c) Wörter im Text: Im vierten Kapitel wird die morphologische Dimension von *Wort* fokussiert. Dabei interessieren sich die Autorinnen am meisten für die Regeln der Flexion, die Wortbildungsverfahren und die grammatischen Verknüpfungen von einzelnen Wörtern zu Wortgruppen in beiden Sprachsystemen, die jeweils auf ihre Weise eine besondere Rolle für die Lesekompetenz aus mehrsprachiger Perspektive spielen. Der Vergleich von Wortstrukturen und der kohäsiven Einbettung der Wörter in den Text in beiden Sprachen veranschaulicht ihre essentielle Rolle für das Leseverstehen. Beispiele und Übungen geben einen Überblick darüber, wie einfache Wörter oder Wortbildungen und Wortgruppen in ihrer Struktur selbst und als Ausgangspunkt für thematische Verknüpfungen im Text das Textverständnis beeinflussen können.
- d) Sätze im Text: Im fünften Kapitel stehen die Verknüpfungen von Wörtern zu syntaktischen Einheiten im Mittelpunkt. Insbesondere geht es darum, Verbgruppen als Kern größerer syntaktischer Einheiten zu identifizieren und die Zusammengehörigkeit von Wörtern zu erkennen, die im Satz eine bestimmte Funktion als Verbkomplemente erfüllen. Es werden somit äquivalente Mechanismen bei der Bildung deutscher und englischer Sätze betrachtet und die Struktur und Stellung der Satzglieder verglichen. In erster Linie wird auf Strukturen des Deutschen und des Englischen hingewiesen, die ähnlich gestaltet sind und ein vergleichbares Verhalten zeigen. Das Bewusstmachen der Ähnlichkeiten aber auch Differenzen kann das Leseverstehen für die Lernenden des Deutschen erleichtern und die Lesekompetenzzunahme beschleunigen. Die detaillierte Betrachtung der grammatischen Aspekte zeigt, wie die korrekte Anwendung von grammatischen Mitteln das Leseverstehen fördern kann; praktische Hinweise zur Unterrichtsgestaltung inbegriffen. Außerdem ist Grammatikwissen für ein vertieftes Leseverstehen, das über eine erste globale Erfassung der kommunikativen Funktion und der Hauptthemen eines Textes hinausgeht, unerlässlich.
- e) Textverknüpfungen: Das sechste Kapitel nimmt semantische Relationen zwischen den Elementen eines Textes – d. h. Wörtern, Wortgruppen, Satzteilen und Sätzen – unter die Lupe. Die Unterkapitel widmen sich zwei Punkten en détail, nämlich *Textkohäsion und referentielle Mittel* sowie *Konnektoren und Kohärenznetze*. Um einem Text Bedeutungen zuordnen zu können, ist es unerlässlich, funktionale Kohärenznetze im Text zu erkennen. Zum Aufbau der Textkohärenz dienen sprachliche Mittel, die referentielle Funktionen übernehmen. Textkohärenz entsteht durch vielschichtige Vernetzungen von Beziehungen zwischen Referenten, die unterschiedlicher Art sein können. Die Autorinnen betonen, dass der kognitive Prozess des Erkennens von Mechanismen der Textkohärenz in englischsprachigen Texten bei DaF-Lernenden zur Bewältigung des Leseverstehens deutschsprachiger Texte beitragen kann, indem sie äquivalente Mechanismen in diesen Texten identifizieren können (S. 117).

Im letzten Kapitel wird nochmals betont, dass die theoretischen und anwendungsorientierten Ausführungen des Buches einer Lesemethodik zuarbeiten, die einen progressiven Zugang in die Textkomplexität anstrebt. Die Autorinnen äußern sich dazu wie folgt: „Das vorgeschlagene Modell basiert auf der Verwendung authentischer Texte von verschiedenen Texttypologien mit dem didaktischen Ziel, das Leseverstehen progressiv zu fördern. [...] Eine Erweiterung des Textverstehens soll [...] schrittweise durch die Entwicklung der Sprachkompetenzen erreicht werden. Durch den Einsatz einer textlinguistisch orientierten Lesedidaktik werden Sprachkompetenzen begünstigt, die eine bewusste Erkennung und Visualisierung formaler und logischer Kohärenzstrukturen ermöglichen“ (S. 143).

Der Band geht aus langjährigen Erfahrungen der Autorinnen im DaF-Hochschulbereich hervor und beruht auf linguistischen Beobachtungen und Überlegungen, was ihm einen zusätzlichen methodischen und didaktischen Vorzug verleiht. Er überzeugt durch die fachlich fundierte und zugleich praxisorientierte Darstellung des komplexen Themas des mehrsprachigen Leseverstehens. Durch die Aktivierung vorhandenen Wissens in Bezug auf Englisch soll die Lese- und Verstehenskompetenz in Deutsch als Fremdsprache verbessert werden. Die präzise Analyse der sprachlichen Phänomene liefert Lehrkräften dafür eine wertvolle Handreichung.

Das Buch von Marina Foschi Albert und Marianne Hepp ist empfehlenswert für alle, die sich mit der Vermittlung von Deutsch als Folgefremdsprache auseinandersetzen und die Stärken eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes nutzen möchten. Durch die fundierte Behandlung der verschiedenen Aspekte des mehrsprachigen Leseverstehens bietet das Werk eine solide Grundlage für die Weiterentwicklung der DaF-Didaktik und ist ein unverzichtbares Hilfsmittel für Dozent:innen, die ihre Lernenden effektiv unterstützen möchten.

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AGNIESZKA MAC
University of Rzeszów (Poland)
agmac@ur.edu.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2670-6656>

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IV. REPORTS

Bericht über die II. Internationale Konferenz im Rahmen der Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft Poznań – Marburg – Nijmegen „Interaktion und Kompetenzerwerb in professionellen Lerngemeinschaften in DaFZ“. Marburg, 7.–8. Juni 2024

Die Konferenz „Interaktion und Kompetenzerwerb in professionellen Lerngemeinschaften in DaFZ“ war eine wissenschaftliche Veranstaltung im Rahmen der vom DAAD geförderten Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft (GIP) in Kooperation mit der Arbeitsgruppe Deutsch als Fremdsprache des Instituts für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft der Philipps-Universität Marburg, der Abteilung Deutsche Sprache und Kultur/Niederlande-Deutschland-Studien der Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen sowie dem Institut für Angewandte Linguistik der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań. In diesem Jahr fand die Konferenz an der Philipps-Universität Marburg am 7.–8. Juni 2024 statt und stand unter wissenschaftlicher Leitung von Prof. Dr. Kathrin Siebold (Marburg), Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz (Poznań) und Dr. Sabine Jentges (Nijmegen). Das Ziel der Konferenz war es, den wissenschaftlichen Austausch über die aktuellen Fragestellungen im Bereich der internationalen Bildungskooperation und Begegnungsdidaktik in DaFZ, insbesondere mit dem Fokus Interaktion und Kompetenzerwerb in professionellen Lerngemeinschaften, zu ermöglichen sowie Perspektiven für Forschung und Praxis aufzuzeigen. Die Konferenz wurde in sechs Sektionen eingeteilt: Professionalisierung, Kulturreflexives Lernen, Professionalisierung und interinstitutionelle Kooperationen, Gestaltung von Lernprozessen, Interinstitutionelle Kooperationen sowie Reflexion und Autonomie.

Die Konferenz wurde mit Grußworten von Prof. Dr. Kati Hannken-Illjes (Vizerektorin für Bildung an der Philipps-Universität Marburg) und Prof. Dr. Ulrike Domahs (Studiendekanin für Germanistik und Kunstwissenschaften der Philipps-Universität Marburg) sowie von Verantwortlichen für die lange Kooperation zwischen den drei Standorten Marburg – Nijmegen – Poznań eröffnet: Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz, Prof. Dr. Kathrin Siebold und Dr. Sabine Jentges. Den Eröffnungsvortrag zum Thema „Kompetenzgewinn im Rahmen von akademischer Mobilität – Beispiele aus der Förderpraxis des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes“ hielt Leiterin des Referats für Germanistik, deutsche Sprache und Lektorenprogramm (DAAD) Prof. Dr. Hebatallah Fathy. Der Vortrag stellte Ergebnisse von Befragungen und Studien des DAAD vor, die sich mit der Frage der Wirkungen beschäftigt haben, insbesondere in Bezug auf den Mehrwert und den persönlichen Kompetenzgewinn im Kontext der Förderung von akademischer und wissenschaftlicher Mobilität.

Nach der Kaffeepause fanden zwei Parallelsektionen zu den Themen „Professionalisierung“ und „kulturreflexives Lernen“ statt. Die Sektion zur Professionalisierung eröffnete der Vortrag von Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kalkavan-Aydın (Pädagogische Hochschule Freiburg), deren thematischen Schwerpunkt videobasierte Unterrichtsanalysen in DaF zur Förderung der

professionellen Wahrnehmung von Fremdsprachenlehrkräften bildeten. Im Vortrag wurde aufbauend auf den vorgestellten theoretischen Überlegungen das Projekt „Multilingual Classroom Interaction“ präsentiert, bei dem es sich um ein Forschungsprojekt im Rahmen der GIP (International Graduate School GFL) der GJU Amman und PH Freiburg sowie dem German Language Center (Amman) handelt. Als nächste präsentierten Dr. Paul Voerker, Valentina Melano und Mauro Pinheiro von der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena ein Referat zum Thema „Gemeinsam von- und miteinander lernen: Kooperation als Grundlage von COIL bei der Professionalisierung von DaF/DaZ-Lehrenden“. Die Referierenden stützten sich dabei auf ihre Erfahrung aus dem Seminarangebot, das im Rahmen der an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena bestehenden GIP nach dem Konzept des Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) angeboten wird und die Beteiligung von zehn Hochschulen auf drei Kontinenten umfasst. Im Anschluss daran berichtete Doris Abitzsch M.A. (Universität Utrecht) über „Design-Based Research (DBR) in der Lehr*innenausbildung“, in dessen Fokus die Entwicklung adaptiver Expertise durch professionellen Austausch und curriculare Innovation steht. Die Sektion endete mit einem Beitrag von Dr. Tamara Zeyer von der Universität Augsburg, in der die Referentin „Entwicklung professioneller Kompetenzen in der Unterrichtspraxis: Eine Begleitstudie von Berufseinsteigerinnen und -einsteigern“ vorstellte. Den Schwerpunkt des Vortrags bildeten Analyseergebnisse zum Kompetenzerwerb bzw. -entwicklung, auch die Bedeutung von Austauschmöglichkeiten mit erfahrenen Lehrpersonen wurde betont.

In parallel stattfindender Sektion thematisierte Prof. Dr. Paul Sars von der Radboud-Universität Nijmegen die Aspekte für ein Experiment zu ko-kreativer Materialentwicklung. Der Vortragende stellte seine Projekte zur Materialentwicklung vor: „Drillingsberichte“, „Todefuge“ (www.celan.nl) und „Diet en Jan“ (www.dietkloos.nl). Nachfolgend sprach Dr. Elżbieta Dziurewicz von der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań über die Förderung des DACHL-Prinzips bei polnischen Deutschlernenden und -lehrkräften in dem Projekt *DACHL-Eulen*. In ihrem Vortrag wurde das übergreifende Tagungsthema der Professionellen Lerngemeinschaften aufgegriffen, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Förderung des interkollegialen Austauschs und der kontinuierlichen Weiterentwicklung, die mit dem oben genannten Projekt initiiert wurden. Die Sektion wurde mit einem Vortrag von Dr. Maria Hummel (Universität Kassel) und Florian Thaller M.A. (Philipps-Universität Marburg) zum Thema „Kulturreflexives Lernen in einem *Virtual Exchange*-Projekt: Potenziale und Herausforderungen auf dem Weg zu Professionellen Lerngemeinschaften in DaFZ“ fortgesetzt. Im Zentrum dieses Beitrags stand das *Virtual-Exchange*-Projekt, das zwischen DaFZ-Masterstudierenden der Universität Kassel und Deutschlernenden der Seoul National University (Südkorea) durchgeführt wurde. Die Sektion rundete der Beitrag von Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz, Dr. Luiza Ciepiewska-Kaczmarek und Dr. Magdalena Jaszczyk-Grzyb von der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań zur Kompetenzerweiterung durch studentische Kollaborationen in internationalen Hochschulprojekten ab. Die Referentinnen präsentierten die Ergebnisse einer Fragebogenerhebung nach zwei Projektseminaren mit anschließenden Studienreisen, die einen vielseitigen Kompetenzerwerb im sprachlichen und kulturellen Bereich aufzeigten und im Kontext der professionellen Lerngemeinschaften diskutiert wurden.

Nach der Mittagspause hielt Prof. Dr. Camilla Badstübner-Kizik von der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań den ersten Plenarvortrag der Konferenz mit dem Titel „Professionelle

Lerngemeinschaften in DaFZ – Wer lernt hier wo was, warum und mit wem?“. In dem Vortrag wurde der Begriff der „professionellen Lerngemeinschaften“ kritisch beleuchtet und das Konzept um weitere „professionelle Lernsituationen“ in Bezug auf deren Zusammensetzung und Zielsetzungen erweitert.

Nach der Kaffeepause begann eine Postersession, während der junge Forscher:innen Ergebnisse¹ ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, Forschungs- und Projektergebnisse präsentierten.

Die Postersession war eine gute Möglichkeit nicht nur Feedback und Impulse einzuholen. Auch neue Kontakte für zukünftige Kollaborationen konnten entstehen. Die parallel ablaufenden Sektionen fokussierten die Themen „Professionalisierung und interinstitutionelle Kooperationen“ sowie „Gestaltung von Lernprozessen“.

Die Sektion zum Thema „Professionalisierung und interinstitutionelle Kooperationen“ eröffneten Elias Aragão, Stefan Baumbach M.A., Karoline Schleyer, Luise Flick und Lucas Sousa Vianna von der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, die über ein Projekt zur Planung einer DaF-Netzwerkkonferenz in Lateinamerika berichteten, das im Rahmen der Partnerschaft der Universitäten in Deutschland, Brasilien, Argentinien und Paraguay mit aktiver Beteiligung von Studierenden dieser Institutionen veranstaltet wird. Daran anschließend beleuchtete Guiming Tian M.A., ebenfalls von der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, ihr Forschungsprojekt, das sich mit der Frage beschäftigt, wie chinesische DaF-Masterstudierende in einer professionellen Lerngemeinschaft ihr Wissen ko-konstruieren und welche Rolle Harmonie und Partizipationsstrukturen dabei für ihre Professionalisierung spielen. Die Sektion wurde mit dem Vortrag „Kooperative Entwicklung der Rahmencurricula für moderne Fremdsprachen in den Niederlanden“ von Doris Abitzsch M.A. (Universität Utrecht) und Dr. Marjon Tammenga-Helmantel (Universität Groningen) abgeschlossen, in dem über die Erfahrungen von Lehrkräften und Experten bei der Aktualisierung der Lernziele für moderne Fremdsprachen berichtet wurde.

Im Mittelpunkt der zweiten Sektion standen Fragen des erfolgreichen kooperativen Lernens. Zunächst thematisierte Dr. Michael Langner in seinem Vortrag die Grundlagen Professioneller Lerngemeinschaften und behandelte dabei zentrale Aspekte wie Professionalisierung, lebenslanges Lernen sowie die Bedeutung sozialer Lernprozesse im Gruppenkontext. Virginia Gil M.A. knüpfte an diese Themen an und bot den Teilnehmenden einen Workshop an, der darauf abzielte, Aspekte bei der Gestaltung kooperativer Aufgaben aufzuzeigen, um den Lernenden eine optimale Beteiligung und erfolgreiche Lernerfahrungen zu ermöglichen.

Der zweite Konferenztag begann mit dem anregenden Plenarvortrag von Prof. Dr. Karen Schramm (Universität Wien) zum Thema „Von der Helikopter-DaF-Fortbildung zur Professionellen Lerngemeinschaft“, in dem auf die Bedeutung von Interaktionen in PLGs für den Kompetenzerwerb von Fremdsprachenlehrkräften aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Nach einem kurzen Überblick über DaF-spezifische Beiträge zum viel beklagten Praxis-Theorie-Dilemma wurde das ESRIA-Modell zur Weiterbildung von DaF-Lehrpersonen vorgestellt. Erfahrungs- und reflexionsbasierte Vorgehensweisen illustrierten Beispiele aus ERASMUS+-Projekten zur DaF- Lehrer:innenbildung.

¹ Die Beiträge wurden im Rahmen der am Tag zuvor stattfindenden Nachwuchstagung vorgestellt (Vgl. „Bericht über die XI. Internationale Nachwuchskonferenz Junge Forschung im Bereich Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Marburg, 6. Juni 2024“ in diesem Band).

Die erste Sektion „Interinstitutionelle Kooperationen“ leiteten Prof. Dr. Mariola Jaworska (Warmia-und-Mazury-Universität in Olsztyn) und Prof. Dr. Anna Jaroszevska (Universität Warschau) ein mit einem Vortrag zur Kooperation zwischen Forschenden, Lehrenden und Schulpädagogen, um individuelle Sprachlernprofile von legasthenen Jugendlichen zu erstellen und deren Sprachlernprozesse durch gezielte Unterstützung zu optimieren. Das Thema professioneller Kollaboration zwischen Lehrkräften, Forschenden und Studierenden wurde wiederum von Katharina Eichhorn M.A. von der Tesla Schule in Berlin und Dr. Constanze Saunders (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) aufgegriffen, die von einem Unterrichtsentwicklungsprojekt zur Leseförderung in einer sprachlich heterogenen Klasse und damit verbundenen Herausforderungen und Erfolgsfaktoren berichteten.

Stefan Baumbach von der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und Annika Herrmann sowie Michael Priesteroth (beide von der Deutschen Schule Sevilla „Albrecht Dürer“) zeigten mit ihrem Vortrag „Kollaborative Schulentwicklung in (Multi-)Professionellen Lerngemeinschaften“ anhand von Beispielen aus der Zusammenarbeit der Deutschen Schule Sevilla „Albrecht Dürer“ und der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena Arbeitsformen und Potenziale interinstitutioneller Kooperationen im Kontext von Unterrichts- und Schulentwicklungsprozessen mit besonderem Fokus auf die schulische Perspektive. Auch Prof. Dr. Małgorzata Bielicka (Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań) berichtete über die langjährige Zusammenarbeit und zwar zwischen der Universität und dem zweisprachigen polnisch-deutschen Kindergarten *Ene due Rabe*. Im Mittelpunkt des Vortrags standen insbesondere die Ergebnisse und Verbesserungspotenziale in der Lehrkräfteausbildung.

Die bestehende Komplexität des Themas zeigte sich in den weiteren Referaten. Im Fokus der zweiten Sektion standen „Reflexion und Autonomie“. Den ersten Vortrag hielt Prof. Dr. Karin Kleppin (German-Jordanian University), die den Einsatz sprachlicher Kooperationsstrategien in Tandemprojekten zur Förderung sprachlicher Kompetenzen behandelte und deren Übertragbarkeit auf exolinguale Interaktionen in Hochschulprojekten diskutierte. Das Thema der Tandemprojekte wurde auch im zweiten Vortrag fortgesetzt. Prof. Dr. Javier Martos (Universität Sevilla) thematisierte die Bedeutung von reflexiven Praktiken für den Erwerb der mündlichen Sprachkompetenz in autonomen Tandem-Lernszenarien. Anhand eines Projekts der Universität Sevilla zeigte der Vortragende, wie Tandempaare (Spanisch-Deutsch) durch Interviews Strategien der Mündlichkeit erlernen und ihre Reflexionsfähigkeit durch die Analyse ihrer eigenen Gespräche weiterentwickeln. Dr. Katarzyna Bieniecka-Drzymala (Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań) untersuchte wiederum, wie Reflexions- und Austauschprozesse in Professionellen Lerngemeinschaften durch den Einsatz von Coaching-Dialogen effizient gestaltet werden können. Die Sektion endete mit einem Vortrag von Dr. Bettina Kaminski (Universität Sevilla), im Rahmen dessen die Anwendung des Konzepts der PLGs auf das autonome Fremdsprachenlernen in Tandempartnerschaften und die Rolle von WhatsApp-Chats als kooperative Ressource zur Aushandlung von Lernsituationen und -zielen beleuchtet wurden.

Abschluss der Konferenz bildete der Vortrag „Gemeinsam(e) Sprache(n) finden: Zur Aushandlung von digitalen Interaktionsräumen“ von Prof. Dr. Sandra Ballweg (Universität Paderborn). Am Beispiel von digital durchgeführten Reflexionsgesprächen von angehenden DaF-Lehrenden im Rahmen eines virtuellen Schüler:innen- und Studierendenaustauschs

konnte deutlich gemacht werden, wie verschiedene semiotische Ressourcen eingesetzt werden, um gemeinsame sprachliche Praktiken auszuhandeln und gleichzeitig zu diskutieren und zu reflektieren, wie gemeinsame Diskursräume für die Austauschteilnehmenden in Chats und Videocalls geschaffen werden können.

Nach dem letzten Plenarvortrag wurde die Konferenz offiziell mit den Abschlussworten von Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz (Poznań), Prof. Dr. Kathrin Siebold (Marburg) und Dr. Sabine Jentges (Nijmegen) beendet, in denen die Konferenzleiterinnen den Teilnehmenden sowie dem Organisationsteam ihren aufrichtigen Dank für deren Engagement und aktive Teilnahme aussprachen. Sie betonten die wertvollen Beiträge, die während der Veranstaltung zu den Professionellen Lerngemeinschaften (PLGs) geleistet wurden, und hoben hervor, wie wichtig der Austausch von Ideen und Erfahrungen in diesem Kontext für die Weiterentwicklung der Fachdisziplin ist. Auch dem DAAD wurde ein besonderer Dank für finanzielle Unterstützung ausgesprochen.

Die III. Internationale Konferenz im Rahmen der Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft Poznań – Marburg – Nijmegen ist für 2027 in Nijmegen geplant.

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LUIZA CIEPIELEWSKA-KACZMAREK
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)
luizac@amu.edu.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9255-493X>

ELŻBIETA DZIUREWICZ
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)
edziu@amu.edu.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2782-1389>

MAGDALENA JASZCZYK-GRZYB
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)
magdalena.jaszczyk@amu.edu.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0551-3388>

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Bericht über die XI. Internationale Nachwuchskonferenz „Junge Forschung im Bereich Deutsch als Fremdsprache“. Marburg, 6. Juni 2024

Die internationale Nachwuchskonferenz im Bereich Fremdsprachendidaktik mit Schwerpunkt Deutsch als Fremdsprache findet jährlich zwischen dem Lehrstuhl für Fremdsprachendidaktik und interkulturell orientierte Studien des Instituts für Angewandte Linguistik der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań, dem Studium Deutsche Sprache und Kultur / Niederlande-Deutschland-Studien der Radboud Universität Nijmegen und der Arbeitsgruppe Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache des Instituts für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft der Philipps-Universität Marburg statt. In diesem Jahr wurde die Nachwuchskonferenz zum dritten Mal im Rahmen der vom DAAD geförderten Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft Marburg – Nijmegen – Poznań ausgerichtet.

Zwanzig Nachwuchswissenschaftler:innen aus Nijmegen, Paderborn, Freiburg, Leipzig, Gießen, Augsburg, Marburg, Poznań, Osnabrück, Jena, Schwäbisch-Gmünd und Tübingen stellten am 6. Juni 2024 ihre aktuellen Forschungsprojekte zur Diskussion. In diesem Jahr wurden dafür erstmals nicht nur Vorträge gehalten, sondern auch Projekte im Rahmen einer Postersession vorgestellt, in der zehn Projekte präsentiert wurden.

Die Konferenz begann mit einer Begrüßung durch Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztowicz, Dr. Sabine Jentges und Prof. Dr. Kathrin Siebold, die als Verantwortliche der jeweiligen Standorte die diesjährige Internationale Nachwuchskonferenz in die lange Tradition der Kooperation zwischen den drei Standorten Marburg – Nijmegen – Poznań einordneten und auf die besondere Rolle des Formats hinwiesen: Im Gegensatz zu anderen Konferenzen liegt der Fokus hier nicht auf der Präsentation von Ergebnissen abgeschlossener Projekte, sondern vielmehr darauf, laufende Forschungsprojekte in einem internationalen Rahmen vorzustellen, sich mit anderen Wissenschaftler:innen über aktuelle Forschungsfragen auszutauschen, inhaltliche und methodische Impulse für die eigene Forschung zu erlangen sowie internationale Kooperationen zu fördern.

Die ersten drei Vorträge der Internationalen Nachwuchskonferenz handelten vom kulturellen bzw. kulturbezogenen Lernen im Fach Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Henning Meredig von der Radboud Universität Nijmegen stellte dazu in seinem Vortrag „Die Rolle von Schulkultur bei der Implementierung kulturellen Lernens im niederländischen DaF-Unterricht“ erste Ergebnisse einer Literaturstudie im Rahmen seines Dissertationsprojekts vor. Anschließend berichtete Laura Kiefer von der Universität Paderborn in ihrem Vortrag „Erinnerungsdiskurse im DaF-Unterricht postmigrantischer Gesellschaften“ von dem aktuellen Stand ihres Forschungsprojekts, in dem sie u.a. der Frage nachgeht, wie postmigrantisches Erinnern in DaF-Sprachkursen initiiert und ausgehandelt wird. Im dritten Beitrag präsentierte Nadia Keller von der Universität Freiburg schließlich den aktuellen Stand ihrer Dissertation mit dem Thema „Deuten, aushandeln und lernen in Kleingruppen. Kulturbezogene Lernprozesse DaF-Studierender bei der Auseinandersetzung mit (literarischen) Texten“. Eine zentrale Frage ihrer Studie ist, wie Bedeutungen kultureller Deutungsmuster von in Kleingruppen arbeitenden Lernenden ausgehandelt werden, wie kulturbezogene Lernprozesse entstehen und welchen Verlauf sie nehmen.

Nach einer Kaffeepause, in der ein informeller Austausch zwischen den Teilnehmenden der Konferenz möglich war, berichtete Mihaela Markovic von der Universität Leipzig in ihrem Vortrag „Systematische Analyse virtueller Austausche im Fremdsprachenbereich“ vom Potential virtueller Austausche, aber auch von der mangelnden Forschungsübersicht zu diesem Thema. Mit ihrer Dissertation will sie eine Grundlage schaffen, von der die weitere Forschung zu diesem Thema profitieren kann. Anschließend präsentierte Luisa Knechtel von der Universität Gießen ihr Dissertationsprojekt mit dem Arbeitstitel „Lehrwerkpersonen – die Protagonistinnen und Protagonisten der Lehrwerke. Eine werks- und rezeptionsanalytische Untersuchung von DaF-Lehrwerken“. Im Rahmen dieser Konferenz stellte sie erste Ergebnisse einer Vorstudie mit Befragungen zweier Lernender vor. Érika Lucena von der Universität Augsburg schließt die zweite Vortragsrunde mit ihrem Vortrag „Konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit im DaF-Unterricht brasilianischer Universitäten – eine empirische Untersuchung“ ab. Sie sprach von den Schwierigkeiten, die viele Lernende in Bezug auf Sprech- und Gesprächsfertigkeit erfahren und ihrem Vorhaben, mit einem Design-based-research-Ansatz, konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit in der Lehrer:innenbildung in Brasilien zu integrieren.

Nach der gemeinsamen Mittagspause in der Mensa stellte Bingchen Zhou von der Philipps-Universität Marburg erstmals ihr Dissertationsprojekt im Rahmen der Germanistischen Institutspartnerschaft mit dem Thema „Zitate in der deutschen Wissenschaftssprache: Eine korpuslinguistische Studie zum Zitatgebrauch von deutschen Germanist*Innen und chinesischen Germanistikstudierenden“ vor. Auch Maria Ammari von der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań beschäftigt sich in ihrem Dissertationsprojekt mit der Wissenschaftssprache, insbesondere unter dem Vortragstitel „Preparatory Study: Academic Insights into Early and Primary School Pedagogic Practices“ mit der Perspektive von Wissenschaftler:innen auf pädagogische Praktiken.

Aufgrund der Vielzahl der eingegangenen Beitragsvorschläge von hoher Qualität wurde in diesem Jahr erstmals eine Postersession durchgeführt, in der neun Promotionsprojekte und eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit einer Marburger Studentin ausgestellt und diskutiert wurden. Obwohl sich diese Arbeiten in verschiedenen Phasen befanden, konnten vor allem Ergebnisse von Teilstudien zu vielen unterschiedlichen Themen präsentiert werden. Zum Thema Literacy gab es je ein Poster von Martina Franz dos Santos (Philipps-Universität Marburg), nämlich zum Messen funktionaler literaler Kompetenzen bei gering literalisierten DaZ-Lernenden, und Alina Bachmann (Universität Osnabrück) zur Mehrsprachigkeit im fortgeschrittenen Literacy-Erwerb. Die Poster von Julia Weber (Universität Jena) und Amir Meshkin Mehr (PH Schwäbisch Gmünd) stellten den Gebrauch von digitalen Medien und Hilfsmitteln im DaF-Unterricht vor. Julia Weber fokussierte dabei, wie digitale Medien im DaF-Unterricht in den Niederlanden eingesetzt werden und welche Haltungen und Überzeugungen sich diesbezüglich bei DaF-Lehrkräften identifizieren lassen. Amir Mashkin Mehr stellte die von ihm entwickelte App und Lernumgebung Davilo vor. Jennifer Müller gab mit ihrem Poster einen Überblick über ihr fast abgeschlossenes Dissertationsprojekt „Unterstützung, Verständnis(probleme) und Zusammenarbeit. Analyse der Herausforderungen beim Lesen für die Konzeption Sprachsensiblen Geschichtsunterrichts“ zu den vielfältigen Einflussfaktoren auf den Verstehensprozess. Außerdem gab es verschiedene Poster zum Sprachgebrauch und zur Mehrsprachigkeit. Guiming Tian präsentierte das Thema der Entwicklung von Interak-

tionskompetenz und Reflexionskompetenz angehender Lehrkräfte für den chinesischen DaF-Unterricht. Maxi Sander stellte ihr Projekt zur Ko-Konstruktion von Beziehung und Verstehen in virtuellen Austausch im Kontext von Mehrsprachigkeit vor und Chrissy Laurentzen präsentierte Ergebnisse ihrer ersten Teilstudie zum Thema Inklusive Mehrsprachigkeit in Gesprächen zwischen Schüler:innen aus Deutschland und den Niederlanden. Schließlich stellte auch eine Masterstudentin der Philipps-Universität Marburg, Stella Theochari, ein Poster zur kulturellen Zugehörigkeit vor. Alles in allem war diese Postersession eine gute Möglichkeit, um Projekte in verschiedenen Phasen zu verschiedenen Forschungsthemen zu zeigen und darüber ins Gespräch zu kommen.

Den Abschluss der Nachwuchskonferenz bildeten die Vorträge von Kexin Sun von der Philipps-Universität Marburg mit dem Thema „Zum Erwerb der deutschen Negation von Lernenden mit L1-Chinesisch“ und von Sarah Löber von der Universität Tübingen über das „Automatisierte Texten von Sprachkenntnissen – eine Intelligent Language Assessment Platform“. Kexin Sun zeigte, welche Schwierigkeiten mit der deutschen Negation chinesische Lernende noch nach der fünften Datenerhebung in ihrem longitudinalen Projekt hatten und welche Negationen zielsprachenadäquat eingesetzt wurden. Sarah Löber warf einen Blick in die Zukunft, indem sie automatisierte Sprachtests vorstellte und Möglichkeiten diskutierte, adaptive Tests zu entwickeln.

Nach der offiziellen Verabschiedung durch Prof. Dr. Sylwia Adamczak-Kryzstofowicz, Dr. Sabine Jentges und Prof. Dr. Kathrin Siebold wurde bei einem gemeinsamen Abendessen im Café Barfuß in Marburgs Oberstadt informell weiter diskutiert und dem internationalen Netzwerk weitere Kontakte hinzugefügt. Vor allem die informelle Atmosphäre und das konstruktive Feedback zu solchen unterschiedlichen Themen während der gesamten Nachwuchskonferenz wurde geschätzt und positiv hervorgehoben. Das Netzwerk der Nachwuchswissenschaftler:innen hat sich erfolgreich vergrößert.

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CHRISSEY LAURENTZEN
Radboud University Nijmegen (the Netherlands)
chrissy.laurentzen@ru.nl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7879-2699>

NEO LAUTENSCHLÄGER
University of Marburg (Germany)
neo.lautenschlaeger@uni-marburg.de
<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-3522-8414>

JENNIFER MÜLLER
University of Marburg (Germany)
jennifer.mueller2@upb.de
<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-8909-2287>

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International conference “Spaces for change in law, language, literature, history and cultural imagination of Asia, Africa and Europe”. 19th Conference of Translation, Interpreting, LSPs and Cultural Studies and 4th East European Consortium of Korean Studies (EECKS) and the International Conference on East Asian and Korean Studies. Gultowy, 27th–29th June 2024.

Held in picturesque surroundings of Gultowy Palace, the event provided its participants with a splendid opportunity to discuss, exchange and reflect upon various aspects of law-related, linguistic, literary, historical and cultural changes to be observed regarding Asia, Africa and Europe.

Following a warm welcome by the organising committee, the first keynote speech was delivered by Prof. Onorina Botezat, Bucharest University of Economics Studies, titled “Navigating the Nexus: Law, Literature and Imagology in the Shaping of European Identities. Prof. Botezat began her presentation by explaining how imagological constructs influence the way legal matters are depicted in literary works. Followed by an examination of works by Umberto Eco – exploration of law and cultural identity, Agatha Christie – portrayal of legal processes in detective fiction, and Stieg Larsson’s critique of the Swedish legal system’s flaws in addressing crimes against women, Prof. Botezat highlighted how literature reflects cultural perceptions of legal systems, challenging and reinforcing societal beliefs.

After the opening speech, the conference was divided into two parallel sessions, a Korean one and a German one. Concerning the Korean session, the first keynote speech was given by Prof. Kangsok Cho, affiliated to Yonsei University, Seoul, who explained “Why – and how – we need to approach literature through the lens of affect”. Prof. Cho looked into Spinoza’s concept of ‘affect’ and its implications for literature, emphasising the chain of cognitive and emotional responses triggered by literary texts. It was argued that literature goes beyond representation, becoming a generator of text-affect that jolts preconceived notions and triggers affective fluctuations. Through examples from Hwang Ji-woo’s poems about Gwangju in 1980 and Kim Soom’s novels on Japanese military sexual slavery, Prof. Cho illustrated how affective literary reading enhances the tangibility of life and connects readers to the text on a deeper level. The next keynote speech was delivered by Prof. Aleksandra Matulewska and Prof. Kyong-geun Oh, both affiliated to Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, titled “Translation of religious elements from Polish into English and Korean – A case study of “Master Thaddeus” by Adam Mickiewicz”. The authors focused on religious elements to be found in the Polish epic and translating them into both English and Korean. The emphasis was placed on preserving the Christian symbolism and religious themes embedded in the original text, while ensuring cultural and contextual accuracy in the translations. Also, the researchers highlighted the challenges faced by translators regarding the religious elements and the cultural context of “Master Thaddeus”. Prof. Ho Kim, representing Seoul National University, was the next keynote speaker, and he discussed the matter of “Law, emotion, and the Rhetoric of Justice in Pre-Modern Korean Legal Documents”. Prof. Kim investigated the connection between law and emotion in pre-modern Korean legal documents, focusing on murder cases. The study highlighted the role of district magistrates in uncovering the truth through sophisticated investigative techniques and the importance of considering the moral feelings of the people in legal reasoning. Another speech also had a historical tone as Prof. Woo, affiliated to INHA

University, Seoul, presented "Recent Trends in History and Prosopography in North Korea". Prof. Woo examined the use of prosopography, a historical research method that compiles brief biographies of individuals, in North Korean academia. The study explored the way in which collective biographies of significant figures reflect the editor's historical perspective and provide insights into North Korea's recent academic trends, which are not easy to access due to political issues and tensions. In addition, the analysis highlighted the importance of prosopography in understanding the historical narratives and ideological underpinnings of North Korean research. The last speech in the Korean session was delivered by Dr Soonmo Yang, Yonsei University, who reflected on "How a 'new lyricism' is born out of a relationship with a pet". Dr Yang's presentation explored the profound emotional connections between humans and pets, focusing in particular on the theme of pet loss in contemporary literature. Furthermore, he argued that while many poems still rely on conventional lyrical elements, some are tempted to innovate by reflecting on the human-pet bond from a new, fresh perspective. The new lyricism, mentioned in the title, provides possibilities of portraying pets as those who enrich experience and inspire deeper emotional reflections.

Meanwhile, in the German session, Prof. Artur Kubacki, representing the University of the National Education Commission (UNEC), Kraków, gave his speech on "Übersetzung deutscher Berufsbezeichnungen aus diachroner Sicht". Prof. Kubacki examined the translation of German occupational titles into Polish from a diachronic perspective, using a 1936 register as the research corpus. The study involved both a semantic and structural analysis of occupational titles, followed by an evaluation of translation strategies and techniques used at the time. Furthermore, Prof. Kubacki discussed the evolution of these titles and the differences between historical and contemporary nomenclature, highlighting the impact of socio-political changes on translation practices. The next keynote speech given in the German session was "Language biographies of the German minority in Poland as spaces for defining identity and revising historical narratives" by Dr Barbara Jańczak, representing Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań. Dr Jańczak discussed the question of the evolving identity and language use of the German minority in Poland over the past 80 years. She examined the impact of historical and political changes using the theory of language biographies. Moreover, the study presented the transition from the post-war pressure to assimilate and become one with the majority, to the revival of German minority after the collapse of communism. The presented circumstances provided an insight into the language and identity evolution of the German Minority in Poland. The next presentation, held online, was presented by Beata Podlaska, MA, affiliated with UNEC, Kraków, titled "Didaktik des juristischen Übersetzens in einem Online-Kurs zur Vorbereitung auf die staatliche Prüfung zum bee". Ms. Podlaska presented methods for teaching legal translation in an online course designed to prepare students for the state certification exam for German translators. The presentation addressed some common translation challenges faced by students, such as understanding complex legal terminology and navigating differences between legal systems. The next speech was also devoted to translation, it was given online by Dr Justyna Sekuła, representing UNEC, titled "Probleme beim Übersetzen von Kurzwörtern und Abkürzungen in deutschen Stelleangeboten". The author discussed the challenges of translating German abbreviations and acronyms in job advertisements into Polish. The study provided an insight into the impact of incorrect translations on job

seekers' understanding of job offers and the recruitment process. Additionally, Dr Sekuła also discussed some strategies regarding accurate translation of these abbreviations, emphasising the importance of context and industry-specific knowledge. The next speaker was Dr Magdalena Łomzik, affiliated to UNEC, and she delivered an online speech titled "Patientenverfügung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht". In her speech, Dr Łomzik analysed the living will (declarations) (Patientenverfügung) in German-speaking countries from a linguistic perspective. The study compared these documents to the legal situation in Poland, highlighting the linguistic features and legal terminology used. The research conducted provided insights into the legal, medical, and ethical discussions surrounding living wills, emphasising their importance in the matter of ensuring that patients' wishes are respected. This speech was followed by Aleksandra Wronkowska, MA, UNCE, with a speech titled "Änderungen in Qualifizierung und Beerdigung von Dolmetschern und Übersetzern in Deutschland". Wronkowska discussed the matter of changes in requirements to be met and qualifications needed for sworn translators and interpreters in Germany.

Prof. Edyta Więclawska, affiliated to the University of Rzeszów, presented her research on "Variantivity potential of English legal binomials and related translational implications" in which she investigated the flexibility and variation of legal binomials in English legal discourse. By subjecting binomials to the variantivity test, it was possible to identify patterns of structural and functional variations. The presented study discussed the implications for translators, emphasising the need to recognise and adapt to the dynamic nature of legal language in order to ensure accurate and effective translations. The penultimate speaker was Prof. Izabela Prokop who gave a speech titled "Ausgewählte Probleme der empirischen Fachtextforschung in polnisch-deutscher Konfrontation anhand der Imkersprache". In her presentation, Prof. Prokop examined issues related to the comparison of Polish-German beekeeping language in specialised texts. The last speech of the day was delivered by Prof. Ferit Kilickaya, Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, titled "Unleashing the Potential of Online Resources for Self-Directed Professional Development for EFL teachers in Turkey". Prof. Kilickaya examined the benefits and challenges of using online resources for the professional development of EFL teachers in Turkey. The study highlighted the accessibility and flexibility of online tools, such as webinars, virtual conferences, and social media groups, which allow teachers to customise their learning experiences. However, Prof. Kilickaya also noted the challenges of evaluating the quality of online content and managing information overload.

The first conference day ended with a bonfire. The participants had the opportunity to admire the beautiful surroundings of Gułtowy Palace and were able to discuss the presentations, speeches and lectures, and become better acquainted.

The second conference day started with a workshop summary - the GEMMA Project: Game Based Learning for Enhancement of New Skills Using Micro-MOOCs for Academic Staff, conducted by Prof. Joanna Kic-Drgas and Prof. Aleksandra Matulewska. Next, the floor was taken by Prof. Guanghua Liu, affiliated to the School of Law, Lanzhou University, China, who delivered a keynote speech titled "The Interaction between the Reform of Chinese Legal Institution and the Dissemination of Foreign Law: A Case Study of the Codification of the Right of Habitation in Roman Law". Prof. Liu analysed the connection between traditional Chinese law and foreign legal concepts, focusing on the adoption of the Roman law concept

of the right of habitation in China's Civil Code. The study examined the historical and socio-logical contexts of China's legal reforms, the compatibility of foreign legal institutions with Chinese traditions, and the roles of major historical events in shaping legislative decisions. Subsequently, the conference was again divided into two parallel sessions, a Korean one as well as a French and English one. Regarding the Korean session, the first presentation was given by Dr Hyun Jae Yoo, Gyeongsang National University, Korea, titled "Coin Circulation and Its Characteristics in Premodern Korea". Dr Yoo's research focused on the historical context and characteristics of coin circulation in premodern Korea and East Asia. The study highlighted the significance of copper imports from Japan in the late 18th century, which enabled Korea to produce and distribute coins on a national scale. The government's role in controlling currency distribution and the economic implications of these practices were discussed as well. Another speech was given by Minjung Lee, Seoul National University, titled "King's one Body with many Symbols". Lee investigated the symbolic transformation of King Hyojong of the Joseon Dynasty into a figure associated with "Northern Subjugation" against the Qing Dynasty. The study aimed at categorising various symbolic interpretations of Hyojong from historical texts, including novels, poems, inscriptions, government records, and memoirs, from 1659 to the present. Lee analysed the way these symbols had evolved, as well as their implications for understanding Korean historical narratives. Jonghyun Na, Seoul National University, presented the problem of "The Political Activities of the Sanrin (山林) in the King Yeongjo's Reign in the Joseon Dynasty" which focused on the political influence and activities of the Sanrin scholars during King Yeongjo's reign in the Joseon Dynasty. Concentrating on the Noron-Horon faction, the study examined the roles of key figures like Han Wonjin and Yun Bonggu, reconstructing their political aims and strategies, providing a detailed analysis of their opposition to the king's policies and their impact on the political landscape of the time. The next presentation was delivered by Prof. Hyeon-Jeong Lee, affiliated to Yonsei University, titled "A comparative study on the 'sense of existence' in Wislawa Szymborska and Kim Hye-soon's Poetry".

At the same time, the French and English session was running, and it started with a speech given by Rabah Tabti, Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria, titled "Revitalisation du Tamazight en Algérie: Impact des politiques linguistiques sur l'identité culturelle berbère" who explored the impact of linguistic policies on the revitalisation of the Tamazight language, and its role in constructing Berber cultural identity in Algeria. The study examined historical and contemporary policy dynamics, the efforts to preserve and promote Tamazight, and the challenges faced in maintaining linguistic diversity. The next speaker, Ramdane Boukherrouf, Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria, gave a speech titled "Le projet de l'enseignement en anglais dans les formations spécialisées à l'université en Algérie. De la formation à l'enseignement: Cas de l'université Mouloud Mammeri de Tizi-Ouzou" in which the integration of English as a medium of instruction in specialised university courses in Algeria was examined. The study assessed the impact of this policy on linguistic and communicative competencies and the challenges of implementing English in a traditionally French-dominated academic environment. Agnieszka Fleszar, MA, Koszalin University of Technology, was another speaker, who discussed the matter of "Teaching legal English to Polish students of English Philology - teaching the impossible? A never-ending debate on

the use of authentic materials in the Specialised vocabulary and translation class". First, Fleszar discussed the challenges of teaching legal English to BA students of English Philology. The study addressed the use of authentic materials and strategies to enhance students' comprehension and translation skills in the limited time of a course's duration. The emphasis was placed on the importance of balancing the students' knowledge of legal Polish, general English, and translation techniques to achieve effective learning outcomes. Later on, Bartosz Mołęda, MA, Koszalin University of Technology, presented a speech titled "Lost in translation: the dilemma of timeframe and scope organising a 30-hour-long course of specialised translation for Polish students of English Philology (MA)" which focused on the complexities of organising a specialised translation course within a 30-hour timeframe. The study addressed the problem of balance between depth and breadth of content to optimise learning outcomes for MA students. Mołęda discussed the assumptions and strategies for crafting an impactful curriculum that covers essential translation skills and provides a multitude of opportunities to practice translation, while still managing time constraints.

The next set of presentations was also divided, this time into Korean and translation sessions. The first speaker in the Korean session was Mateusz Moszczyński, Adam Mickiewicz University, who presented "Falconry, as unifying intangible cultural heritage". Moszczyński highlighted falconry's role as a social and recreational practice that has connected communities for over 6,000 years. Falconry's cultural significance was emphasised, along with its integration into various societies. Moreover, Moszczyński discussed how this ancient practice had become a symbol of cultural heritage, fostering a connection with nature and promoting conservation efforts. Subsequently, the floor was taken by Jiyoung Kim, Seoul National University, with a presentation titled "The Periphery Within Us: Contested Discourses of Civilization in the Local Gazetteers of the Joseon Dynasty". Kim examined the portrayal of folk customs in 16th- to 18th-century Joseon Dynasty gazetteers, focusing on the negative perception of shamanism and local traditions. The study highlighted the efforts to demean or reform these customs, and the emerging discourse of peripheral culture as local identity, exploring how these dynamics evolved and contributed to the construction of regional identities in Joseon. Boram Han, representing Daejeon University, Korea, provided insight into "A Characterization of Korean Empire Women Immigrating to Hawaii in the Early 20th Century: From Labor Migrants' Companions to Picture Brides". Han challenged stereotypes of early 20th-century Korean women immigrants to Hawaii, portraying them as active participants in their destinies. In her study, she highlighted the roles of these women as patrons of Korean newspapers, participants in the patriotic enlightenment movement, and pioneers in their own lives emphasising their resilience in finding themselves in new environments and contributing to their communities. Concerning the Translation session, Mahmoud Fannouna, representing Eötvös Loránd University, delivered a presentation titled "The Role of Localisation in Translation: The Case of Advertisements for Marketing". Fannouna's study investigated the effects of location on translation of advertisements for Arabic-speaking audiences. The study addressed cultural and linguistic challenges, such as cultural translation, denotation and connotation, technical terminology, and socio-cultural factors. Strategies for effective intercultural communication in marketing were provided, emphasising the importance of adapting advertisements to cultural and religious contexts to ensure successful campaigns.

The next speaker was Przemysław Kusik, affiliated with University of Warsaw, PhD student, who gave a speech on "Translatability and Transplantability of Law: Legal Translation and Comparative Law Brought Together Around the Concept of Legal Transplants". In his study, Kusik examined the spread of legal ideas and the challenges of adapting them to different cultural and legal contexts. He juxtaposed the arguments on translatability and transplantability, providing insights into how legal and translation scholars can inform each other's work to better understand the dynamics of legal change.

Dr Katarzyna Jaworska-Biskup, affiliated to the University of Szczecin, presented the problem of "Translating Welsh medieval law into English and Polish. A comparative study of English and Polish versions of *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi*". In her study, Dr Jaworska-Biskup highlighted challenges faced by translators, particularly the legal vocabulary, and the evolving approaches to legal translation. Dr Jaworska-Biskup provided a comparative analysis of selected legal terms and their equivalents in English and Polish translations, putting emphasis on the need for accuracy and cultural sensitivity. After lunch, the conference was again divided into parallel sessions, a literature and heritage session, and a teaching session. The first person to speak was Katarzyna Szyszka, MA, alumnus of the University of Warsaw; the speech was titled "Third culture kids stories. Notions of cultural identity, loyalty and belonging in Magdalena Stanhoff's novels". Her study explored character dialogues and inner reflections to address complex emotional and cultural issues. Szyszka highlighted how the novels track the languages of conversations and address linguistic nuances, offering insights into the broader implications of third culture experiences and cultural exchange. Another speech, delivered by Tamara Jolevska Popov, MA, Sonja Vitanova-Strezova and Kalina Maleska, representing University American College Skopje, was titled "Spectral Tongues: Missandei's Polyglot Prowess Unveiling the Multifaceted Language Tapestry of Westeros and Essos". The authors explored the linguistic diversity in "Game of Thrones" through the character of Missandei. They analysed the creative construction of fictional languages, such as Dothraki and Valyrian, and their cultural contexts. The authors used Missandei's polyglot abilities to highlight the narrative's linguistic richness and the significance of language diversity in the story. Dr Artur Urbaniak, affiliated to Adam Mickiewicz University, addressed the problem of "Voices Unheard? The Empowerment of Marginalized Communities: A Pragmatic Analysis of Inclusive Rhetoric in Selected American Presidential Inaugural Addresses". His study employed Critical Discourse Analysis to identify rhetorical strategies addressing issues fundamental to African Americans, LGBTQ+ individuals, indigenous peoples, and other minorities. Dr Urbaniak's research provided insights into the changing dynamics of inclusive rhetoric in American political discourse. Meanwhile at the teaching session, Merve Baran, representing Bartin University, Turkey, talked about "Exploring Ethical Dynamics and Their Impact on Student Anxiety in Technology-Enhanced Language Classrooms: A Survey-Based Approach in Turkey". The study presented employed the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) and surveys to explore perceptions of ethical and unethical teacher behaviours. Baran aimed to develop ethical guidelines for digital education to improve student well-being, particularly in multicultural and multilingual settings. The next presentation was given by Dr Suheyła Demirkol Orak, Firat University, Turkey, titled "Digitalized Gamification As A New Method in Specialized Language Teaching". In her study, Dr Orak highlighted the benefits of integrat-

ing gamification in language teaching for GenZ students. The study reviewed digital games like Kahoot!, H5P, Nearpod, and Forum (Moodle) used in language education.

Dr Orak suggested incorporating gamification into the curriculum to enhance learning outcomes, emphasising the need for engaging and interactive teaching methods that fit students' interests and technological skills. The last speech in the teaching session was given by Prof. Yi-Wen Huang, affiliated to the University of New Mexico, who tackled the problem of "Silence in a College Classroom near the Navajo Reservation: Cultural and Linguistic Perspectives". Prof. Huang examined the cultural and linguistic factors contributing to student silence in classrooms near the Navajo Reservation. The study explored Navajo communication styles, such as avoiding direct address and using indirect communication, and their impact on classroom participation. Prof. Huang suggested strategies for fostering participation, such as providing waiting time and accommodating non-participation, to create a more inclusive learning environment. After a short coffee break, it was time for the last session of the day, the English session, where two speeches were given. The first one was delivered by Dr Agnieszka Borowiak, affiliated to the Akademia Ekonomiczno-Humanistyczna, Łódź, and was devoted to the question "Is teaching CLIL an obstacle race?" Dr Borowiak addressed the challenges of teaching Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where non-linguistic subjects are taught using a foreign language. The study focused on teachers' beliefs and the difficulties of implementing CLIL, such as the lack of teacher interest and training. What is more, Dr Borowiak discussed preliminary research findings and suggested strategies to overcome these obstacles and enhance the effectiveness of CLIL. Dr Jan Gościński, representing University of National Education Commission, Kraków, focused on the issue of "Feminine forms within the field of law in Polish and English". Dr Gościński discussed the social and linguistic importance of introducing feminine counterparts of masculine terms in the legal field. The study explored the challenges of creating and implementing feminine forms in Polish, a language with grammatical gender, and compares this situation with English. Furthermore, Dr Gościński examined the social impact of these linguistic changes and the resistance they face, emphasising their significance for gender equality. The second conference day ended with a Gala Dinner which became a splendid opportunity to further discuss the issues mentioned during the day, and provided the participants an occasion to socialise further.

The last day of the conference consisted of online presentations only. The first speaker was Prof. Eunjeong Park, affiliated to Suncheon National University, Korea, who gave a speech titled "Teacher-Made Authentic Materials for EFL Vocational High School Students with an LSP Perspective". However, due to technical difficulties, after the beginning of the presentation, the transmission was disrupted and did not resume. The next speech, titled "Beyond the Cold War Front: U.S. and South Korean Politics in the 1970s Global Human Rights Arena", was delivered by Prof. Jooyoung Lee, INHA University, Korea. The last speech (as one of the speakers was unable to appear) was delivered by Dr Hasibe Ambarcioğlu, representing Firat University, Turkey, who talked about "Survival of the Women in Sophie Mackintosh's *Water Cure* (2019)". Dr Ambarcioğlu analysed Sophie Mackintosh's dystopian novel "Water Cure" through the lens of feminist ethics. The novel, which narrates the isolation and oppression of three sisters by their parents, highlights issues of body, emotions, and identity. Dr Ambarcioğlu discussed the oppressive practices imposed by the father and mother, the

sisters' struggle for survival, and the broader implications of patriarchy and a gender-based oppression system in dystopian fiction.

After the last speech, the conference officially ended. Considering the number of informative and impactful presentations, the conference was a significant and illuminating event. For just a couple of days, Gultowy Palace became an important venue for constructive discussion and meaningful exchange of scientific ideas encompassing a variety of fields to be pontificated upon – from historical actualities influencing present circumstances, to materials best facilitating both acquisition of specialised language and the development of translation skills. The fact that the participants represented three continents and a significant number of universities ensured a diverse range of perspectives on the subject matters tackled during the event, as cultural and linguistic differences provide opportunities to consider different points of view, as well as reevaluate one's own viewpoints. All in all, the collaborative environment of the conference significantly contributed to professional development of all those involved.

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BARTOSZ MOŁĘDA
Koszalin University of Technology (Poland)
bartosz.moleda@tu.koszalin.pl
<https://orcid.org/0009-0006-1334-3194>

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