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Lingwistyka Stosowana 17: 2/2016, 1–13

Antoinette CAMILLERI GRIMA
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Young Children Living Bilingually in Malta

Abstract:
Malta presents a unique and interesting sociolinguistic scenario of widespread bilingualism in Maltese and English. Over 95% of the population are ethnic Maltese, learn and use Maltese in their everyday life as a first language, in parallel co-existence with English. In fact, over 85% of Maltese people are also fluent in English. This chapter takes a look at the bilingualism of Maltese children aged four to seven, and describes the ways in which the children interact bilingually in the home, at kindergarden and in public play areas across the two Maltese islands. All the studies reported here were conducted independently of each other in the last few years and theyhave produced remarkably similar results. Ineach instance a balanced use of each language was observed, such that it can be safely concluded that young Maltese children are already functioning bilingually by age 4-5. This is very similar to the situation found in primary and secondary schools, and in Maltese society in general.

1. The sociolinguistics of bilingualism in Malta

Recently, while sunbathing on one of the popular Maltese beaches, I heard a brief conversation between a girl about six years of age, who was swimming in front of me, and her mother who was sunbathing next to me:

Girl: **Ma issa ejja ilgħab miegħi**.	Girl: **Mum now come and play with me.**
Look ma this is protecting me from the waves (*showing a piece of wood she was holding in front of her face*)	
Mother: **Iva ejja hawnhekk**.	Mother: **Yes, but come here.**

I immediately realised how typical this use of language was among Maltese children. In this example, the girl utters one full sentence in Maltese (shown in bold) asking her mother to play with her, followed by a full sentence in English giving information about what she was doing, and then her mother reacts by ordering her in Maltese to come close by. In this chapter I would like to show how Maltese children are growing up in a fully bilingual environment, where they are not only exposed to the Maltese and English languages in a non-diglossic context, but to which they are also contributing as active participants by interacting bilingually.

The Maltese scenario presents a unique situation where one ethnic group functions bilingually on a daily basis. According to the traditional concept of languages as depicted by J.A. Fishman (1967), it can be described as bilingualism without diglossia because the two languages are used in all social domains and treated on an equal footing. Indeed, the majority of citizens have command of both Maltese and English, in both written and spoken formsto various degrees, and therefore, as explained by A. Hudson (2002) and by D. Snow (2010, 2013), such a context would be considered as non-diglossic. According to J.A. Fishman (1967: 85) a speech community that functions bilingually without diglossia must be showing signs of "rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones". However, the Maltese context challenges this observation because Maltese society has been operating in this way for a good number of decades. While it is true that the Maltese language has been influenced by English on a number of linguistic levels such as the morphological and lexical ones, and that the variety of English used in Malta is described as Maltese English (J. Brincat 2011, A. Vella 2013) one cannot say that the Maltese language has been in any way 'swallowed' by this major international language, or that Maltese English is in any way unintelligible to the international community. In A. Camilleri Grima (2015) I explain this successful bilingual reality in terms of a healthy tension between valuing the Maltese language for identity and self-preservation, while adopting English for instrumental reasons in order to fit in with the rest of the world. There is no doubt that the fact that Maltese was recognised as an official European Union (EU) language in 2004 when Malta became a member state, strengthened the social and political standing of the Maltese language.

In this contribution I concentrate on young Maltese children and my aim is to describe and discuss how they function bilingually in Maltese and English in the home, at kindergarten and during play time in public gardens and play areas. I will start by presenting the local sociolinguistic context.

The Maltese Constitution recognises Maltese as the national language and both Maltese and English as official languages (Constitution of the Republic of Malta 1974, Section 5). Maltese law is written in both language versions, although the Maltese one is binding. In public administration, for example, the *Gazzetta tal-Gvern ta' Malta/ Malta Government Gazette* is published on-line in two separate language versions, but it is printed and is available in pdf format on-line with the two languagesappearing side by side on the same page, as shown in Figure 1.

BORD TAD-DIRETTURI TAL-KORPORAZZJONI GĦAS-SERVIZZI TAL-ILMA

NGĦARRFU b'din illi bis-saħħa tas-setgħat mogħtija lilu bl-artikoli 5 u 7 tal-Att dwar il-Korporazzjoni għas-Servizzi tal-Ilma, il-Ministru għall-Enerġija u s-Saħħa għoġbu jaħtar mill-ġdid lill-Bord tad-Diretturi tal-Korporazzjoni għas-Servizzi tal-Ilma kif jidher hawn taħt b'seħħ mis-27 ta'April, 2015 għal perjodu ta' sena.

WATER SERVICES CORPORATION BOARD OF DIRECTORS

IT is notified that, in exercise of the powers conferred through articles 5 and 7 of the Water Services Corporation Act, the Minister for Energy and Health has re-appointed the Water Services Corporation Board of Directors with effect from the 27th April, 2015 for a period of one year.

Figure 1. Extract No 608 from the Gazzetta tal-Gvern ta' Malta/MaltaGovernment Gazette (30 June 2015, page 11, 345)

The Maltese media is roughly equally divided into English and Maltese broadcasts on radio, television and in printed matter.Two of the four daily newspapers and five of the eleven weekly papers are in English. Out of the thirteen Maltese radio stations at least six broadcast in Maltese, a couple of others have programmes in both languages such as the University-based station *Campusfm*, and the rest broadcast only in English (A. Vella 2013). There are six local TV stations and on all of them most programmes are transmitted in Maltese, but films and documentaries, as well as adverts in English are shown. Films in Maltese in local cinemas have recently started to be shown, such as the successful film called 'Simshar' based on a real life tragedyat sea[1]. Telenovelas in Maltese on local TV stations are very popular. English documentaries and other programmes in English on TV, and films in English at the cinema, are shown without dubbing. In 2015 a new radio and TV station were inaugurated in order to transmit live parliamentary sittings which are always carried out in Maltese.

In education, although the teaching of the majority of subjects relies on textbooks in English starting from the Early Years upwards, the use of Maltese is widespread especially as a spoken medium of communication among learners and between the teacher and the learners (A. Camilleri 1995). Bilingual classroom discourse in Malta has been well researched, and there is clear evidence that the learners' linguistic repertoires, including the dialects of Maltese, Standard Maltese and English are,in many cases, admirably used to promote and sustain learning across subjects (A. Camilleri Grima 2013, M.T. Farrugia 2013, H. Gauci/ A. Camilleri Grima 2013). It will suffice to say that at school leaving age (age 16), the national matriculation examinations required for entry to futher education include five subjects,namely Maltese History, Social Studies, Religion, European Studies, and Environmental Studies,in which candidates are allowed to answer questions in either Maltese or English.The language subjects are examined in the language under investigation and the rest are examined in English. To gain entry to a post-secondary institution and/orto the University of Malta, candidates must pass the examinations in Maltese, English, Mathematics and one Science subject.To enter teacher education courses at the Faculty of Education of the University of Malta, passes in written and spoken proficiency tests in both Maltese and English are obligatory. The *de facto*bilingual school policy has been in place for many decades and it will remain so in the foreseeable future given that both the Maltese government, as well as European policy, support bilingualism (Commission of the European Communities 2007, Council of Europe 2015).

National statistics,based on self-report data, give a clear picture of how the vast majority of the Maltese people are bilingual, with more than a third of them being trilingual (Table 1).

[1] http://www.imdb.com/media/rm2597570816/tt2521700?ref_=tt_ov_i#

Languages spoken	Well	Average	Total	% of Maltese citizens
Maltese	352,121	5,571	357,692	90%
English	248,570	61,709	310,279	78%
Italian	93,401	62,863	156,264	39%
French	11,698	18,886	30,584	8%
German	3,979	3,987	7,966	2%
Arabic	3,948	2,457	6,405	1.6%

Table 1. Languages spoken in Malta (Adapted from the Census of population and housing 2011, National Statistics Office 2014)

The essential characteristics of the speech community under investigation that need to be highlighted are that, (i) it consists of a single ethnic group; (ii) it has experienced bilingualism historically for many centuries. For instance,there was a degree of bilingualism concerning the Maltese vernacular and the Latin and Italian languages from the Middle Ages to the latter part of the ninteenth century(J. Brincat 2011); (iii) both Maltese and English have been present in the education system since education became compulsory for all at the beginning of the twentieth century under British rule; and (iv) to a lesser or greater degree the Maltese population has been functionally bilingual in Maltese and English for decades, with each language expanding its roles, e.g. English gaining important ground in the tourism industry which is the mainstay of the Maltese economy, and Maltese developing intensively in terms of lexicalelaboration. Malta's entry to the EU offered the opportunity for EU legislation to be translated into Maltese, and this created a new translation and interpreting industry. Such new language services brought about "an expansion of the language's functional range, allowing it to serve, for example, as a medium of scientific and technical discourse" (G. Ferguson 2006: 24). Since the focus of this article is on children, in the following sections I will focus on three domains: the home, the kindergarten, and the public play area, in order to describe the bilingual life of young Maltese children. In order to do this, I will draw mainly on the research conducted by M. Sultana (2014), T. Scerri (2015) and D. Caruana Lia (forthcoming).

2. Bilingualism in the home

M. Sultana (2014) observed two boys (names changed to Aron and Brent) and two girls (names changed to Clara and Donna) aged 4–5 years in their homes. She visited the familiesfor an average of four hours per week at different times during the day, over a period of nine months during 2013. All four children who were chosen randomly by convenience sampling (L. Cohen/ L. Manion/ K. Morrison 2000: 102), resided in a central conurbation, attended the local state kindergarten and hailed from working class families where none of the parents had attended school beyond the age of 16. At the start of the study it was ascertained that all the parents spoke Maltese as L1 but also had knowledge of English. In addition to her field notes and recordings the researcher asked the parents to keep a language diary on certain days of the week for fourteen weeks in which they recorded samples of speech during activities such as waking up the child, getting the child dressed, during meals, dropping off or collecting the childfrom school and other daily routines.

Tables 2 and 3, based on M. Sultana's (2014) work,present a succinctpicture of the presence of Maltese and English in the home life of these children.Table 2 takes into account three types of activities carried out by the children, namely, wathching television, using the internet, and reading books. The internet is largely used in English, although Clara was observed to use one Maltese site. Books, on the other hand, were widely available in both languages. As Table 2 shows, books in English are likely to be more plentiful in the home.

	T.V. programmes	Internet	Books
Aron	Only in English	Only in English	Equal number in Maltese & English
Brent	All in English except one in Maltese and one in Italian	Only in English	Two-thirds in English and one-third in Maltese
Clara	Mostly in English but watched two in Maltese and three in Italian	All in English but one site in Maltese	Two-thirds in English and one-third in Maltese
Donna	Only in English	Only in English	In English except for one book in Maltese

Table 2. Children's exposure to Maltese and English at home

In order to obtain a more holistic picture of bilingual life at home it is necessary to look at Table 3which provides the percentages of spoken language in the homes of the four children. In the case of Aron, Brent and Clara, Maltese was much more profusely used than English by the children and their parents. In the case of Donna, there was a more balanced bilingual interaction.

	Aron		Brent		Clara		Donna	
	child	parents	child	parents	child	parents	child	parents
Maltese	87%	85%	81%	64%	76%	90%	47%	59%
English	13%	15%	19%	36%	24%	10%	53%	41%

Table 3. Percentages of Maltese and English words used by children and their parents

Aron is an only son whose father works at the airport interacting mainly in English at work while his mother works in a factory using almost only Maltese. The language of the home is largely Maltese, but English is used in polite formulas, as in 'good morning' and 'please'; andto refer to items such as 'socks', 'noodles' and 'toast'. Aron did utter sentences in English occasionally such as, 'Today I am going to school with dad' when addressing the researcher. The researcher spoke Maltese to the child but the child was aware that she was a 'teacher' and this could have triggered his use of English. Many other utterances addressed to the mother were in Maltese: 'tini oħra għax għandi l-ġuħ' (*give me another one because I'm hungry*); 'ma rridx brodu, ma rridx laħam' (*I don't want broth, I don't want meat*).

Brent has an older sister aged eleven. Their mother is a housewife and their father is a computer technician and is more likely to use English at work than the mother. Although Maltese is clearly the dominant language of home conversation, the mother

said she makes a conscious effort to address Brent in English, for instance, when dropping him off at school: 'Bye', 'God Bless you', 'take care', 'be good', 'pay attention'. Brent's parents reported that they had made a conscious decision to adopt Maltese as the language of the home, and to expose their children to English through books and by occasionally using English with them. Brent's utterances in Maltese tend to be longer than those in English, as in:

Brent's utterances in Maltese	**Brent's utterances in English**
Iva kollox kilt. (*Yes I've eaten everything*)	Bye bye
Ma rridx lariġ illum. (*I don't want any oranges today*)	Good night
Ma rridx niekol is-soppa. (*I don't want to eat any soup*)	Show!
Illum għall-iskola? (*Are we going to school today*?)	I love pasta

Clara has an older brother aged ten. The mother is a housewife and the father is a store-keeper and they use Maltese throughout the day. Nevertheless, they sporadically use English, for instance during meal times: 'Do you want any more?', or when dropping off Clara at school: 'Bye, love you'. The mother admitted that she sometimes makes an effort to speak English to her daughter in order to provide Clara with an opportunity to feel more confident in an English speaking environment. The following are some examples of Clara's utterances:

Clara's utterances in Maltese	**Clara's utterances in English**
Ma kiltx kollox illum. (*I didn't eat everything today*)	Thank you.
Ma rridx aktar. (*I don't want any more*)	Love you.
Kemm hu tajjeb. (*This tastes really nice*)	Good morning.

Donna has an older sister aged nine, and a younger brother aged two. The father works in a factory where Maltese is used and the mother is a housewife and uses Maltese predominantly in the household. However, during the observations it transpired that in the presence of the brother-toddler, English is used as a form of 'motherese', using words like 'paint', 'pink', 'chocolate', 'nice', 'police', 'cereal, 'strawberry milk'; and other adapted words like 'wakey, wakey' for 'to wake up', 'milky' for milk and 'facey' for 'face'. Given that the mother speaks in this way to the young brother, Donna imitates this and uses the same form of motherese. It is interesting that as A. Borg (2011) notes, the use of English as motherese is eventually replaced by the use of Maltese as the children grow older.

The final reflection I would like to make about language use in the Maltese family is that all the parents included in M. Sultana's (2014) project were surprisingly aware of how Maltese and English were being used at home. The following quotations from the interviews with these parents illustrate how the children's parents spoke about their language use in the home:

L-iktar li nitkellmu bil-Malti. Bil-Malti drajt u l-Malti l-lingwa tagħna. Meta jkun hemm kliem aktar faċli bl-Ingliż bħal 'bus', 'car' nuża l-Ingliż biex ikun jaf jitkellem mal-barranin u meta ma jkunx jaf xi kelma bl-Ingliż naqleb għall-Malti jew nuża terminu ieħor. (Aron's mother)

We speak mainly in Maltese. I'm used to speaking Maltese and Maltese is our language. When I find easy words in English like 'bus', 'car' I use English so that Aron will know how to speak English to foreigners, and when he does not understand a word in English I switch to Maltese or use another term. (Aron's mother)

Donna qed titgħallem il-kuluri biż-żewġ lingwi imma l-aktar li nużaw l-Ingliż, pereżempju 'orange' mhux 'oranġjo', 'pink' mhux 'roża'. Meta nara li Donna mhix qed tifhem meta nsaqsiha għal xi kulur li ngħidilha bl-Ingliż, nirrepeti bil-Malti. (Donna's mother)

Donna is learning the colours in both languages but we use English more frequently, for example 'orange' not 'oranġjo', 'pink' not 'roża'. When I feel that Donna is finding it difficult to pick the right colour from a set of crayons if I ask her in English, I repeatthe colour in Maltese. (Donna's mother)

During the interviews the parents were able to speak about their employment of bilingualism fluently and with ease. They all explained that Maltese was the first language of the home, and that they were aware of how English pervades their children's life; of how they sometimes shifted from one language to another and of how at times they made an effort not to; and that their overall belief was that while Maltese was a natural and obvious choice, it was necessary to expose their children to English as this was crucial in education and for life. This perspective that English is synonymous with education is also attested by A. Borg (2011).

3. Bilingualism in early childhood education

The first study in Malta that looked specifically at language in a kindergarten setting through observation was that of I. Banković (2012). This was a case study that studied language use in two kindergarten classrooms with children aged 4. According to I. Banković (2012: 72):

> The findings showed that acquisition of English was a priority. Activities which had great potential for children's learning and development were organised. These include storytelling, drama and crafts.

Similarly, M. Sultana (2014) conducted six hours of observation in three kindergarten classrooms in alarge state school located in the largest town of Malta. Table 4 gives an idea of how the teachers of the children mentioned in the previous section, Aron

(Teacher A), Brent and Clara who were in the same class (Teacher BC), and Donna (Teacher D), adopted language by activity.

Number of activities by language during researcher's observation period			
	English	Maltese	Both languages
Teacher A	1	5	8
Teacher B C	2	6	8
Teacher D	0	11	4

Table 4. Number of activities by language in three kindergarten classes

The information gleaned from Table 4 suggests that while Teacher A and Teacher BC conducted many activities in Maltese with a majority of activities utilizing both languages, Teacher D emphasised Maltese. Indeed, the teacher herself is a significant variable when it comes to language choice in Maltese classrooms (A. Camilleri 1995). As mentioned by I. Banković (2012), M. Sultana (2014) also refers to the use of songs, CDs, and games in English and, in fact, this naturally results in the use of English and Maltese within the same activity because the dialogue and interaction with the children in activities using English media tends to involve Maltese anyway.The following is an outline of a two-hour period of observation in Aron's kindergarten classroom:

First: Children watch video in English called 'Noah's Ark' twice	The volume of the video is very low and the children do not seem to be paying much attention.	This lasts 35 min.
Second: Activity in English about letter sounds like 'cl' (cliff, clap), including a word search game.	The children write down words, colour the words starting with the 'cl' sound.	This session lasts 45 minutes. The teacher speaks mostly in English to the group and to individual pupils but towards the end of the activity switches to Maltese.
Third: Activity in Maltese, including reading and vocabulary work.	At the start of the activity the teacher specifies that now they are shifting language to Maltese 'Mela tfal, issa ħa naqilbu għall-Malti' (*so, children, now we are switching to Maltese*).	This activity lasts for 30 minutes and ends with a prayer in Maltese.

It is typical of teachers to draw pupils' attention to the use of either Maltese or English at any point in the interaction. In the example from Teacher A's class above it was toward the end of the activity in English, and highlighting that the next activity was going to be in Maltese, that the teacher announces the switch from English to Maltese. However, in the following excerpt transcribed from a recording of an activity in Teacher BC class (M. Sultana 2014: 52), the teacher requests the use of English half-way through the interaction:

	Interaction	*Translation*
Teacher	What should we do before we cross the road?	
Brent	**Inħarsu 'l hemm u 'l hemm.**	*We look there and there*
Teacher	Why?	
Brent	**Biex jekk ikun hemm karozza nieqfu**.	*So that if we see a car we stop.*
Teacher	Try to speak in English	
Brent	When we are crossing the road we look this way and that way.	
Teacher	Very good !	

Even from this brief interaction one can appreciate how Brent could understand and speak English, but using Maltese came more spontaneously to him as he answered in Maltese to the teacher's questions in English. The teacher, on her part, insisted on an answer in English and Brent was able to give it. This is quite typical of bilingual use in Maltese classrooms throughout the age groups (A. Camilleri Grima 2013, M.T. Farrugia 2013).

D. Caruana Lia (forthcoming) has observed, recorded and transcribed kindergarten lessons with children aged 4 in two different schools. The data on language use that emerges from her lesson transcriptions is very interesting, and concurs with previous findings. For example, in one of the story-telling activities, there is constant reference to explicit metalinguistic awareness activities, as in, 'X'ngħidulha bil-Malti?' (*what is this called in Maltese*), and 'X'number hu tnejn in English?' (*How do you say number 2 in English*). During a reading activity the book is in Maltese but rather than simply reading it out aloud the teacher discusses the pictures with the children. This means that they sometimes identify objects in the pictures using English, like 'tomatoes', 'pumpkin' and 'treat'; and sometimes in Maltese, like 'pala' (*spade*) and 'gallinar' (*hen coop*). Many a time, when the children give the word in English the teacher asks explicity for the equivalent word in Maltese 'Black in English. Bil-Malti x'ngħidulu black?' (*What is black in Maltese*?); or simply repeats the word or phrase in Maltese. 'kanna tal-ilma in English jgħidulha water spout' (*in English is called water spout*). This happens at other moments during the day like in the morning when the teacher says 'good Morning in English u bonġu bil-Malti hux veru?' and 'Ejja tlaqna, hurry up'. More significant is when during the teaching of the alphabet the teacher asks for a student's name that starts with the 'sound 'ġ' in English and another one with 'j' in English'. The letter 'ġ' in Maltese sounds like the first letter of George and the 'j' as the first letter of Yanika. So the teacher emphasizes how the names sound in English by referring to alphabet letters in Maltese.

During an activity which involves the practice of numbers, and includes a number song in English, all the numbers are uttered in English (D. Caruana Lia, forthcoming). The following is an excerpt from the conversation that follows the song:

		Translation
Teacher	**Dak x'**number **hu**? (*pointing to different numbers on the board*)	*What number is that?*
Girl	Five, seven, six.	
Teacher	**Brava**	*Good girl.*
Girl	Four	
Teacher	**Għoddhom**.	*Count them.*
Girl	One, two, three, four.	
Teacher	**Dan x**'number **hu**? (*pointing to different numbers on the board*)	*What number is this?*
Girl	Five, four, three, six.	
Teacher	Very good! **Tini** six.	*Very good! Count to six.*
Girl	One, two, three, four, five, six.	
Teacher	Very good. **Ċapċpulha**. (*The children clap their hands*)	*Very good. Give her a hand.*

The use of Maltese and English when referring to numbers was researched by M. Cucciardi (1990). He found that Maltese people refer to numbers in English when telling age, class at school, bus numbers, bus fares, and lotto numbers.The same group of respondents used Maltese when giving the time and telling the number of family members. When referringto the cost of objects there was a tendency to use English when mentioning cents and Maltese when referring to pounds (Cucciardi's study was conducted prior to the introduction of the Euro). When giving the date or the date of birth, there often was a mixed language construction as in: 'it-tmienja ta' Jannar, nineteen seventy-four' (8 January 1974).

As a concluding remark on the use of Maltese and English at kindergarten level, it must be affirmed that teachers often draw the children's attention to whether they are speaking one or the other language, often ask for the equivalent word in the other language, and when giving instructions or explaining something they repeat in both languages: 'Close your eyes. Għalquhom sew. Kulħadd għajnejh magħluqin sew. So I want you to close your eyes. Close your eyes' (*Close your eyes properly. Everyone close their eyes tight*), and as in 'Twaħħal, sticky, hux vera twaħħal? (*It is sticky, isn't itsticky?*).

4. Bilingualism in public play areas

T**.** Scerri (2015) carried out extensive data collection in public play areas and gardens across the islands of Malta and Gozo.This researcher (T. Scerri 2015) spent about thirty hours observing a random sample of children and noting their linguistic interaction. Several of her findings are noteworthy of mention, such as the fact that in Malta's island of Gozo the parents or adult carers are much more likely to be involved in the child's play: 81% of conversations in Gozo involved an adult, while 45% of conversations in Malta involved an adult. However, both in Malta and Gozo, whenever an adult was involved it was largely to give instructions and directions to the children. Indeed, in only one conversation held between a mother and her son did the mother ask questions about colours instead of instructing him to do something using the imperative form. Another important finding is that while in Malta the languages used are Standard Maltese and English, all the conversations recorded in Gozo consist of dialectal Maltese and English.

(For detailed reviews of dialects in Malta and Gozo see M. Azzopardi-Alexander 2011, A. Borg 2011, A. Camilleri Grima 2009).

T. Scerri's (2015) analysis is largely qualitative, but she also produced word counts in order to quantify the use of Maltese and English. Out of a total of 5,024 words, 2,713 (54%) are in Maltese and 2,311 (46%) are in English. This is rather similar to a word count based on a set of lesson transcriptions noted in another study (A. Camilleri 1995), which included 48% Maltese words and 52% English ones. T. Scerri (2015) gives a breakdown of her word count by locality in Malta and Gozo. It transpires that in Gozo 63% of words are uttered in Maltese as opposed to 37% in English. In Malta, there are four localities (Naxxar, President's Garden in Attard, Sliema, Ta' Qali) with a significantly higher percentage of English words as opposed to three localities (Birzebbuga, Rabat, Qormi) where Maltese predominates.

T. Scerri (2015) found that it is not unusual for children to play together for some time without actually talking to each other. Furthermore, she noticed that when children talk during play their utterances tend to be very brief. In order to delve deeper into this issue I conducted an MLU (mean length of utterance) analysis of the play area transcripts in order to check whether there were obvious differences in the length of the children's utterances when they spoke in Maltese and in English. I found that the MLU of utterances in Maltese is 2.8, in English it is 3.6, and in utterances containing elements from both languages it is 4.4. This could be rather surprising at first, but upon further linguistic examination it comesto light that a semantic meaning in Maltese which is expressed in single word items, in English it requires two words or more. Consider the following examples, which are expressions with equivalent meaning, found in the data:

Maltese	**English**
inżel	climb down
ejja	let's go
attent	watch out
lesta	I'm free

Furthermore, it is important to note that mixed language utterances amount to only 14% of the total number of utterances in T. Scerri's (2015) data, since 51% of utterances were in Maltese and 35% were in English. In the mixed utterances, 8% contain only one word in the other language, and among these Maltese tags in English utterances predominate, as in: 'It's rolling ok, *hux*?' (*isn't it*?). When whole phrases in each language are used in one utterance, as in: '*Pa nista'* I get down?' (*Dad, can I get down*?), such utterances would have a larger MLU. And more significantly, inter-sentential switching is much more frequent. Consider the following example from T. Scerri's (2015) transcript in which Boy A opens the conversation by asking a question in Maltese to which Boy B replies in English. When Girl A joins the conversaion she first usedEnglish and then immediately switched to Maltese. Girl B joins the interaction by first speaking in Maltese and then switching to English. Indeed, such intersentential switching is much more typical than mixed sentences.

	Actual conversation	***Translation***
Boy A	(*after a short period of silent play*)	
	X'għamiltu l-iskola?	*What did you do at school?*
Boy B	Insects, ants, birds, parrots	
Boy A	**Le, jien minn hawn** (*referring to the direction of play*)	*No, I'm going this way.*
Girl A	Are you going**?**	
	Jien minn hawn.	*I'm going this way.*
Girl B	**Ara x'għamel**!	*See what he did !*
	There's a big dinosaur.	
Boy A	I've had enough.	
Girl A	**Ejja nerġgħu nitilgħu**.	*Come let's go up again!*

5. Conclusion

Young children in Malta are exposed to two languages and probably other ones as well, through the media, in books, and their environment. At school, especially, there is a constant reference and awareness raising to which language is being used, such that if something is expressed in English the teacher would request the children to find the equivalent in Maltese and vice-versa. In fact, this is a fundamental characteristic of bilingualism in Malta, i.e. there is a constant and obvious individual and social consciousness of whether communication is being carried out in English or Maltese.

In A. Camilleri Grima (2001) I examined the relationship between language use in the Maltese bilingual classroom on the one hand, and in the societal context within which the classroom is embedded, on the other.I concluded that the classroom is a microcosm of Maltese society because the discursive and literacy events taking place inside it are a reflection of societal values and identities. In turn, they shape and elaborate the linguistic repertoire of Maltese bilinguals. The data presented in this chapter corroborates the previous findings because, for example, the reading of books and the use of internet sites by children is much more extensively done in English than in Maltese, while spoken discourse by parents, kindergarten teachers and young children is largely conducted in Maltese, The overall picture that emerges is one of balanced bilingualism across social domains.

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Working with Bilingual Children – Remarks on the Methodology of Recording and Transcribing Children's Speech

Abstract:
The analysis constitutes a part of a larger research project concerning the expression of spatial relations and movement in Polish-French and Polish-English bilingual children's speech (focusing especially on the signs of interference or code-mixing). Since 2004, when Poland entered the European Union, the number of mixed couples, and therefore the number of bilingual children living in Poland, has increased significantly. However, the research concerning this group of young bilinguals is up to this point almost non-existent. The focus of the study are the methodological aspects of gathering research material among Polish-English and Polish-French bilingual children aged from 4 to 7 living in Poland. Its aim will be to describe and answer the methodological problems arising while working with this group of bilingual children. The aspects described in the paper will be: 1) the speech data collection, especially the process and criteria of the speakers' selection and conducting the recordings with small children; 2) transcribing English, French and Polish children's speech into the CHAT format.

Introduction

The opening of borders after joining by Poland the European Union in 2004 undoubtedly widened the mobility possibilities for the Polish people and it increased the number of foreigners coming to work and live in Poland. We cannot call Poland a multicultural land, but we do observe more and more couples of mixed nationality and language, and more bilingual children in the playgrounds, pre-schools and schools. A linguistically mixed family in Poland most often involves a Polish mother and a foreign father.

The phenomenon of child bilingualism related to the Polish territory is relatively new and so far has been rarely researched. We can list a few publications about Polish bilinguals, most of which concern Poles (children or adults) living abroad and the Polish language being the heritage language (e.g. R. Laskowski 2009, M. Mróz 2011, M. Błasiak 2011, U. Paprocka-Piotrowska, G. Komur-Thilloy 2012). The publications about the language of bilinguals living in Poland are scarce, too. Only a master's thesis prepared at the Jagellonian University in Kraków (K. Košťalova 2010) can be mentioned in this regard.

Our research project focuses on Polish-English and Polish-French bilingual children living in Poland and as such it will hopefully become a step towards filling this gap. The aim of the project is to describe and analyse how bilingual children talk about space and movement. The research has, as a starting point, the work of M. Hickmann

(2012), who investigated the field among monolingual English, French and German speaking children, coming to the conclusion that the development of syntactical structures concerning space and movement depends on the one hand on the child's age and, on the other hand, on the language the child speaks. We are interested in how the same type of structures function in the speech of bilingual children. The objective of our project is to compare how children with English and French as the second language acquired simultaneously describe spatial relations and movement. We will be looking for the similarities and differences in this specific language behaviour in two groups of bilingual children, the variable being the type of the language Alpha. This approach would make the research cross-sectional in design.

The present paper is an introductory part of the project and it focuses on some methodological aspects of working with bilingual children: the search for and selection of the participants, data collection (audio recordings) and data transcription. The last point seems to be of particular importance, as the development of transcripts, the question of what is transcribed and how, has so far received little attention in research literature, as C. Davidson (2010: 115–116) points out.

1. Search for and selection of participants

1.1. The definition of bilingualism

Before beginning to look for participants for the study, first it had to be decided what the term *bilingual* means in the context of the present research. The term has already acquired many definitions, some of them vague or mutually contradictory and taking under consideration different aspects of the phenomenon. As C. Hoffmann (1991: 31) remarks, "bilingualism is a relative concept" and there is no definition that would be "equally acceptable, or useful, for everybody approaching the subject". Therefore, determining the meaning of the term *bilingual child* for the use of the project was crucial. Bilingualism is considered in a narrow sense of the term. A bilingual child will be a child who acquires two languages simultaneously, from birth, in a natural context and manner, and who can communicate in those two languages on a daily basis with a similar level of competence. Their bilingualism would then be natural, early, simultaneous and is hoped, relatively balanced. Having adopted Jürgen Meisel's term *Bilingual First Language Acquisition,* we are treating both languages as simultaneously acquired. Hence, we did not want to treat them as *first* and *second* or *mother tongue* and *foreign language*. To make the distinction between them, we follow the terminology by A. de Houwer (2009: 2) – language A (Polish, in the case of this study) and the Alpha language (English or French).

1.2. Criteria for selection

Having adopted this approach to the term, we were able to list the selection criteria for the participants. The children who would take part in the research have to:

- be a member of a Polish-British or Polish-French family with a Polish mother and a British/French father;
- be born in Poland or have moved to Poland in the first 6 months of their life;
- have had regular input in both languages from birth;

- present no speech delay or dysfunction;
- be, at the time of the recording, between 4 and 7 years of age.

The lower limit is drawn at 4 years old, based on the fact that at the time children are capable of constructing autonomous utterances, without an adult person's help (U. Paprocka-Piotrowska/ G. Komur-Thilloy 2012: 133). Also the ability to talk about space and localisation becomes more „sophisticated", children are able to describe the objects they see using locating vocabulary. The upper limit of 7 years is set because it is at this age that children begin their education at school (although this is now in the process of changing to 6) and all start to read and write in Polish, which makes the position of this language even stronger.

1.3. The search for candidates

To find the participants, we first asked amongst our family and friends and in this way a few bilingual children in our city were found. We also posted a question on the internet forum for young mothers that we have been a member of, and thereby found another few families from other cities in Poland. Occasionally we came across a bilingual family by coincidence, in which case we came forward and briefly explained what the project is about, what the recordings were like and asked the parents if they would be willing to participate.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to include in the project all of the children identified. One factor which made us remove some of the names from the list was the fact that not all of the children met the criteria. Some were bilingual, but both parents were Polish, the father, a teacher of English who has decided to speak to them in English. Other problems resulted from the parent's attitude towards their children's bilingualism. In some other cases the foreign father spoke Polish well and did not insist on speaking to his children in his own language and, with time, the whole family switched to communication in Polish. In one case, the father of a 5-year-old girl said that he was beginning then to teach her and to speak to her in the Alpha language. Those children came from mixed families but were not in fact bilingual, their knowledge of language Alpha was basic and mostly passive (they understood it but were reluctant to speak).

The other problem was the lack of willingness of the parents. Some seemed genuinely interested, but our communication ended with a questionnaire they filled in. Some families said openly that they do not have time for the cooperation or that the school is too tiring for the child as it is, so they do not want to give them extra work. Some families did not want the researcher to come into their home, saying that it is their private territory. Since all the conversations were to be recorded in children's homes where they feel the most comfortable, this parental attitude made it impossible to work with their children. Some of the researcher's e-mails, after a first optimistic phone call or a chance initial meeting, were left unanswered.

2. Data collection

The first stage of data collection was a questionnaire filled in by the parents. The document contains 50 questions about the child's personal data, language strategies used by the parents, their attitude to bilingualism, the child's contact with both languages, sources of input and the child's way of using both languages. The information was

always collected before the meeting with the child. Before the recordings, the parents also signed a consent form, based on the one used by E. Lanza (2004).

The data are audio recordings collected with a digital recorder. We want to investigate the way children talk about a specific subject, therefore we decided that carrying out the recordings in a spontaneous conversation with the children would be too risky. Spending long hours recording every child, we would have to wait for a long time for the structures concerning space and movement to naturally occur in the conversation. We had to turn to a different type of source of bilingual data – elicited information in an experimental setting. Given that we were working with young children, who in most cases did not know the researcher at all, the term *experimental setting* should be understood in a relatively loose way. One of the main concerns was that the children feel as much at ease as possible. That is why all the recordings were carried out in the children's homes, at their convenience, with their parents present in the neighbouring room.

The recorded conversation is based on a description of two sets of pictures. There are 26 pictures to talk about the spatial relations and 27 to talk about the motion events. Following M. Hickmann (2012: 28), we distinguish *voluntary motion*, in which the person or the animal moves in a certain way and on a certain trajectory, and *caused motion*, in which a person or an animal makes an object move on a trajectory and in a certain way. The total number of situations to be described by the child is 67. The child answers to two types of questions: "where is he/she?" and "what is he/she doing"? The work with the two sets of pictures is interspersed with some playtime of the child's choice (colouring, board games, jigsaw puzzles, etc.)

The researcher meets the children twice, once to talk about the pictures in French or English and the second time to talk about them in Polish. Given that the latter is the stronger language, the researcher first wants the child to believe that she knows no Polish. The parents present the researcher to the child as a French or English speaker and she does not say anything in Polish during the first meeting and recording. This of course can work only if the child has not met the researcher before, which is not always the case. For children who do know her, the researcher usually tells them that she has a special switch, which makes her speak only the Alpha language (a magic click of the fingers or pulling her ear). So far all of the children were willing to play the game and have cooperated by speaking only in the required language.

The children do not know what type of behaviour we are looking for, they are just told to look at the pictures and answer the questions or describe a part of the picture. Sometimes instead of answering the question in a descriptive way, they just use gestures and show something in the picture ("where is he"? "here"). In such a case they are usually told to describe it to a stuffed toy whose back is turned and who cannot see the picture, or the researcher explains that someone listening to the recording will have to draw the same picture and that is why they have to say where exactly the person is.

The duration of the recordings varies from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes, depending on the child's willingness to cooperate, their fluency in the given language and on the length of the playtime between the two sets of pictures.

The problem we encountered concerns too long gaps between the recordings in the Alpha language and in language A. Both cannot be done on the same day – we do not

want to overstrain the children and, on the other hand, we want them to forget the pictures before they see them again. The gap between the two meetings should be at least a day or two, up to two weeks. Unfortunately keeping to this schedule has not always been possible, because of different factors, such as: the child's sickness, family travel or child's (or parents') tight every day timetable. Therefore, a few of the recordings had to be repeated.

3. Data transcription

The transcriptions are made in the CLAN program, a useful and rich tool for transcribing and analysing bilingual data, requiring formatting in CHAT Transcription Format (B. MacWhinney 2014).

3.1. Utterances

One of the basic units of speech for transcription in CHAT is the utterance (the smaller ones being the morpheme and the word). As E. Lanza (2004: 123-124) points out, the term *utterance* can be understood as "a stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is a silence" and it "should have a single intonation contour and single breath group". M.T. Turell and M.G. Moyer (2010: 201) notice however that „there is no fixed way to define where an utterance begins or ends. It is open to the researcher to suggest the criteria to be used in order to define such a unit with respect to their data", the criteria could be syntactic or intonational.

Without questioning the definitions above, we would like to point out however that a semantic criterion also seems to be operational in the matter of splitting the transcribed speech into utterances. When a fragment of speech contained a longer or shorter pause, but it expressed the same thought, it seemed more suitable to transcribe it as one single utterance, with the pause marked within, with (.), (..) or (…) symbols, depending on the pause's length (see example 1).

Example 1
*JAD: it's a sledge.
*ADM: and we've got sledge (.) but you know this, with a staring [: steering] wheel.
*JAD: &uuu it's a funny sledge, you can steer it.
*JAD: okay and now tell me what is this boy doing (.) you see, the boy with this blue hat?
*ADM: going down.

On the other hand, since a question mark always ends an utterance, each question needed to be transcribed as a separate utterance, even if they both related to the same subject (see example 2).

Example 2
*JAD: and where is Lola here?
*ALX: in her house.
*JAD: &mmhm.
*ALX: which wooks [: looks] alike a twee [: tree] (..) trunk.

*JAD: &oh it does, you are right it does look like [/] like a tree trunk.
*JAD: but where is she exactly in the house?
*JAD: <why can> [//] we can see her, why can we see her?
*ALX: she's (..) we can see her from a window.

3.2. File constituents

Each CLAN transcription file written in the CHAT format has three main constituents: the file headers, the main tier and the dependent tier.

3.2.1. File headers

A) Initial headers
CHAT has 7 initial headers of which 6 are obligatory in each CHAT file. They are the first visible elements of the file, the headers before them being hidden.
The headers: @Begin; @Languages (using languages codes from the international ISO 639-3 standard); @Participants (in that line the three-letter speaker ID for all the actors of the recording are introduced); @ID (for each participant) and @Media (used to identify the media linked to the transcript) are placed at the beginning of the file (see example 3). The @End header finishes the file and is placed at the end. (B. MacWhinney 2014: 25-30)

Example 3
@Begin
@Languages: fr, pol
@Participants: MIE Mieszko Target_Child, JAD Jadwiga Investigator, LOA Lohann Father, EWA Ewa Mother
@ID: pol, fr|change_corpus_later|MIE|4;8.|male|||Target_Child|preschool||
@ID: pol, fr|change_corpus_later|JAD||female|||Investigator|||
@ID: fr, pol|change_corpus_later|LOA||male|||Father|||
@ID: pol|change_corpus_later|EWA||female|||Mother|||
@Media: Mieszko_fr, audio, unlinked

The @Options header was not used in our transcripts since suspending any checking rules of the program was not needed.

3.2.2. Constant headers

The constant headers follow the obligatory initial headers. Their choice depends on the needs of the transcriber, they describe general facts about the file and are all optional (B. MacWhinney 2014: 30-32). The constant headers chosen for the transcripts are: @Location ; @Time duration ; @Transcription (see example 4).

Example 4
@Location: Kraków, Poland
@Time Duration: 17:50-18:40
@Transcription: partial

3.2.3. Changeable headers

The changeable headers, which can occur at the beginning or in the main body of the file, contain information that is prone to change during the transcription. They appear in the body of the file when that change takes place. Their list is long and includes headers like @Acitivities, @Comment, @New Episode, @New Language, @Page, etc. (B. MacWhinney 2014: 32-25)

Example 5
@Date: 05-MAR-2014
@Situation: investigator talks to the target child in the living room, the rest of the family is present: his mother, father and baby brother. The boy does not know the investigator who speaks to him only in French from the beginning so he does not know that she knows Polish as well. This part of the transcript is the first recording that day, it concerns movement and lasts up to 18 minutes and 60 seconds.

3.2.4. The main tier

The main tier is composed of utterances by the actors of the recording. Each utterance finishes with a full stop, a question mark or an exclamation mark. It is possible to code directly in the main tier the non-standard forms and pronunciation, the paralinguistic material as well as code-switches and errors made by the speaker.

A) Paralinguistic and non-linguistic material
Children's speech is filled with various paralinguistic behaviour. The speakers, young and adult alike, trail-off and do not finish their sentences, they make sounds such as: coughs, laughs, sneezes, gasps or add communicators such as “mmhm” or “uhmm”. Sometimes their words are accompanied or replaced by gestures. The CHAT format gives a possibility to transcribe this material in the main line of the transcript in a way so the CLAN program can treat those fragments as paralinguistic material and not as separate words. The following examples show how to code some of the paralinguistic behaviour:

- Trailing-off and communicators (example 6).

Example 6
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: and this man here?
*JAD: he's also holding a bag, he bought something +...
*ALX: and he's coming out of a baby-shop.
*JAD: &mmhm.

- Events like laughs or gasps used instead of words, in this case, the paralinguistic behaviour must represent a single utterance (examples 7 and 8).

Example 7
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*ALX: I hate that because mummy has always too much of that stuff.
*JAD: &=laughs.

*JAD: and you don't like that?
*ALX: no, she spends always most of the day before she has the babies is buying it.

Example 8
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; NIC – Nicole, Target Child (7;4)
*JAD: and the children here (.) where are they sitting?
*NIC: &hmmm under the table.
*NIC: &=gasps.
*NIC: no, on the table.

- Paralinguistic events used while speaking – since the CLAN program automatically applies the code to the word directly preceding it, if a series of words is said in a specific way (for example, whispered), the whole passage has to be put in angle brackets (see example 9).

Example 9
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*ALX: <how do they call this bear, because I forgot>[=! whispering].
*JAD: Winnie [=! whispering].
*ALX: and they're taking Winnie out of a hole.

- Non-linguistic behaviour – like in the case of paralinguistic events, if used instead of words, it forms a separate utterance. Example 10 shows a way of coding a head movement meaning "no".

Example 10
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ADM – Adam, Target Child (4;2)
*JAD: okay (.) and now tell me where is (.) her (.) you know what her name is, you remember?
*ADM: &=head:no.
*JAD: no?
*JAD: Lotta.

B) Non-standard forms
The non-standard forms in children's speech might be of morphological or phonetical nature. They might also be a sign of interference between the two languages spoken by the child. Some forms however are a result of a widely used pronunciation which does not correspond with the written form of the word. The CHAT manual gives a list of spellings for this spoken versions of often used words like *yeah* for *yes*, *gimme* instead of *give me*, etc. This spelling has to be completed by the standard form of the written word put in brackets and following the non-standard version (see example 11).

Example 11
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: and here?
*JAD: I know you don't like that story ,, do you?
*ALX: yeah [: yes].

The same procedure is used when the speaker mispronounces a word or uses an incorrect form. It is possible to write the incorrect form in standard spelling, if feasible (example 12) or to use the phonological coding (example 13).

Example 12
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: and the fox, what is the fox doing?
*ALX: the fox <was walking> [//] is walking over a stone and his sleeping bag falled [: fell] into a puggle [: puddle].

Example 13
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; MIE – Mieszko, Target Child (4;8)
*JAD: les enfants ici, tu vois, ils boivent, ils mangent et où ils sont?
*MIE: à la maison ils mãz [: mangent].

If the non-standard form can be related to the particular child, it is possible to code it as a child-invented form, marked by the @c which follows it directly and an explanation is added in the comment tier (see example 14).

Example 14
ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*ALX: no, he buyght@c I think some baby stuff.
%com: the form *buyght*, phonetically/bajt/, is a mixture of *buy* and *bought*

Another type of non-standard form of a word is the unfinished word. In order to let the CLAN program count the unfinished words altogether with the finished ones, the unpronounced ending is put in brackets (see example 15).

Example 15
ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*ALX: becau(se).
*ALX: I hate that because mummy has always too much of that stuff.

C) Discourse repetitions and retracing
The speakers often repeat their words, or whole sentences without changing them. If the repetition concerns a single word, the symbol [/] should follow it. If it concerns the whole sentence, the latter should be put in angle brackets (B. MacWhinney 2014: 73), see example 16.

Example 16
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: so what is he doing?
*ALX: he's picking up <a box> [/] a box, he's picking up a box or a kind of (.)a heavy &um +...
*JAD: it's a box, I think we can say it's a box.

When the speaker repeats the words to change them or to correct the sentence, but sticks to the same idea, the retracing symbol [//] is used (B. MacWhinney 2014: 74), see example 17.

Example 17
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: and the fox, what is the fox doing?
*ALX: the fox <was walking> [//] is walking over a stone and his sleeping bag falled [: fell] into a puggle [: puddle].

D) Code-switching
Working with bilingual children's recorded material often gives the researcher examples of a code-switch. For each file, the main language of the recording is given as the first one in the @Languages header. The second one is the other language spoken by the child, but it is not the language of the conversation. In the collected material, the code-switching seems to appear mostly from the Alpha language to the language A (the stronger of the two), when the child does not remember, or know the right word. The switch is marked in the transcription with a pre-code. In example 18, the conversation is in French and the researcher is not using Polish. Not remembering how to say "street" in French, the Target Child switches to Polish, which is marked by [- pol] preceding the utterance.

Example 18
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; HEL – Helena, Target Child (4;8)
*JAD: tu vois ici?
*HEL: grenouille!
*JAD: oui, où elle est la grenouille?
*JAD: qu' est ce qu' elle fait, où elle est?
*JAD: ça c' est quoi?
*HEL: [- pol] ulicia [: ulica].
*JAD: oui, c' est la rue.
*HEL: la rue.

E) Unidentifiable material
Because of the surrounding noises, overlapping speech or sometimes because of the child's volume of speech, some of the material turns out to be impossible to identify. Those fragments are marked in the transcription by the "xxx" code (see example 19). Although, in some cases it is possible to at least take a guess of what the child is saying, this "best guess" can be given in the comment tier or coded with a question mark at the end of the utterance (B. MacWhinney 2014: 71–72), see examples 20a and 20b.

Example 19
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; HEL – Helena, Target Child (4;8)
*JAD: &ah oui, t' as fini ici (.) et tu peux me dire où elles sont?
*HEL: xxx xxx [=! whispers].
*JAD: Helena.
*HEL: quoi?

*JAD: tu peux me dire où elles sont?
*HEL: je sais pas (.) &ah sur la neige.

Example 20a
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ADM – Adam, Target Child (4;2)
*JAD: and this girl here, what is she doing?
*ADM: xxx xxx on the road.
%com: probably "riding bicycle"

Example 20b
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1)
*JAD: i tutaj mamy jeszcze, gdzie jest dziewczynka?
*ALX: na ściesce [: ścieżce] po drodze do domu [?] a mama jest z tyłu.

3.2.5. Dependent tiers

The dependent tiers contain information about the utterance above such as: codes, comments, events, and descriptions of interest to the researcher. They make the transcript more readable as keeping all the extra information coded in the main line would make the file "heavier" and more difficult to read. They can be used on the transcribing level or on the coding level (B. MacWhinney 2014: 78–79). There is a long list of standard dependent tiers from which we are advised to choose when creating a transcript file in CLAN, it is also possible to create one's own codes. The examples show as follows:

- Paralinguistic Tier (paralinguistic material can be coded in both main and dependent tiers, depending on the transcriber's decision and on the clarity of the main tier).

Example 21
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; MIE – Mieszko, Target Child (4;8)
*MIE: &o regar [: regarde].
*JAD: &mmhm.
*JAD: il est sur l' arbre, il les regarde, maintenant il vient les aider.
*MIE: 0.
%par: laughs
*JAD: ça c' est rigolo ,, oui?

- Action Tier

Example 22
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; MIE – Mieszko, Target Child (4;8)
*JAD: il court, et avec le caillou, qu' est ce qu' il fait, avec la pierre?
*MIE: comme ça.
%act: Mieszko jumps
*JAD: tu sais comment [/] comment on le dit en français?
*MIE: non.
*JAD: il saute.
*MIE: il saute?

- Addressee Tier, used when the child talks to a different person than the researcher.

Example 23
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ALX – Alex, Target Child (6;1) ; ADM – Adam, Brother (4;2)
*JAD: so now I'm gonna [: going to] work with &uh Alex.
*ALX: <could you> [/] could you come out of the room?
%add: ADM
*ADM: [- pol] mogę się tylko psytulić [: przytulić]?

- Comment Tier, used for general purposes and can contain different types of researcher's comments (i.e. a child's behaviour, an attitude, a transcriber's interpretation of child's words, information about the accent).

Example 24
JAD – Jadwiga, Researcher ; ADM – Adam, Brother (4;2)
*JAD: where is this boy?
*ADM: outside!
%com: Adam is getting annoyed

Example 25
DAW – Dawid, Target Child (6;4)
*DAW: je faité [: fait] ça.
%com: „fait" or „fait tout"

The problems and doubts arising during the transcription phase were mostly related to the „baby pronunciation" that some of the children still had. Those aspects of children's speech were treated as other examples of non-standard pronunciation. The signs of children's bilingualism (i.e. the accent) were commented on in the dependent tier line. The comment line was also used to explain other non-standard forms appearing in the recordings, were they errors made in one of the languages (because of insufficient level yet) or being signs of interference from one language to the other. A problem which appeared only when transcribing recordings in French were the homophone forms of the verbs, when the infinitive, the past participle (*participe passé*) and the *imparfait* past tense forms had the same or very similar pronunciation. It was not always obvious which one of those forms the child was using. The alternative spelling and comments were added in the comment tier line. In example 26 the pronunciation was rendered and the correct form (which should be used in this context, although pronounced differently) was given in brackets, and in example 27 the form in the brackets was chosen because in other cases of the phonological form *seve* it was always followed by the infinitive. We believe the latter to be the changed form of the modal verb *vouloir* (*il veut*)

Example 26
MIE – Mieszko, Target Child (4;8)
*MIE: &mmhm (.) il rule [: roule] à vélo.
%com: /rule/ (rouler/ roulé/ roulais) - here t

Example 27
MIE – Mieszko, Target Child (4;8)
*MIE: non, &seve &yr c' est un garçon, mais &seve zãtre [: entrer] là.
%com: [zãtre] (entrer, entré, entrais)

5. Conclusion

Conducting any research involving bilingual children poses many challenges at the methodological level, both at the stage of data collection and data transcription.

(1) Data collection challenges
The first difficulty we were faced with was establishing the criteria for the selection of candidates, which is linked to the understanding of the term bilingualism itself (in our research treated in the narrow sense of the term). The next step was finding the right candidates, which was not an easy task, given the fact that not all of the presumably bilingual children met the criteria. Also, not all of the families wanted to cooperate, and those who wanted did not always have the time for it.

Also, children's bilingualism, even within a single group of participants having met the established criteria, turned out to be very diverse. Depending on the type, source and load of input in the Alpha language, the level of proficiency in French or English was uneven, even among children of the same age. It meant that more flexibility was called for – to increase the child's motivation or to put the young speaker on the right track as for the required answers to the researcher's questions.
(2) Data transcription challenges
The transcription itself, thanks to the CHAT format, is very operational. The format, paired with the CLAN program gives possibilities for different types of speech data processing – simple ones and those with big amounts of extra information coded. It also lets the researcher choose what information he wants to include, transcribe and code, according to the needs of the given research, which makes it a universal tool. It also allows to upload the data into the CHILDES Internet Database and make it useable for other researchers in child speech and bilingualism.

Encountered difficulties, especially those relevant to data collection, show the importance of the studies about children's bilingualism – some parents' knowledge about the phenomenon is full of prejudice and misinformation, they are sometimes afraid of affecting their child's speech development or just not thinking that bilingualism is worth fighting for. We dare to hope that the conducted research will contribute to filling the gap in existing studies in the field of Polish bilingualism.

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An Action-Oriented Approach to Language Corpora in Foreign Language Teaching

Abstract:
Since the advent of communicative approach which focuses primarily on real-life communication acts, presenting new vocabulary and grammar structures within a given context or theme, language teaching has undergone a pattern shift. The methodology has acquired more interactive and sociocultural dimension involving an active attitude of learners towards their own learning process. It has developed into the action-oriented approach which views learners as social agents: members of society who have to accomplish (not only) linguistic tasks in a wider social context. According to CEFR (2001) language teaching/learning should embrace both linguistic activities and socio-cultural, pragmatic aspects of interpersonal communication where language is seen as a means to achieve non-linguistic goals. This approach implies more intensive involvement of learners who become conscious of their own needs and internal abilities, they learn by doing, by interacting with other learners (Vygotsky's theory) and by exploring independently the sociocultural reality of a foreign language. In order to achieve such didactic goals, course syllabuses and materials need to be organized on the basis of authentic texts which reveal patterns of actual language within a sociocultural context. Language corpora can be a significant source of a real use of language, providing learners with linguistic, sociocultural and pragmatic data that allow them to analyze lexical and grammatical structures that occur in given real-life situations. Therefore, they can constitute ideal materials for designing didactic activities which can increase the motivation of learners as well. The presentation will attempt to show some action-oriented didactic solutions concerning the use of language corpora in designing teaching/learning activities conducive to more effective language acquisition.

Introduction

Since the advent of communicative approach which focuses primarily on real-life communication acts, on presenting new vocabulary and grammar structures within a given context or theme, language teaching has undergone a pattern shift. The methodology has acquired more interactive and sociocultural dimension entailing an active attitude of learners towards their own learning process. Nevertheless, the communicative approach has not met certain didactic expectations, because of superficial treating of grammar issues and presenting given communicative situations in similar contexts (M. Swan 1985, J. Richards/ T. Rogers 1986). There has been little learners' involvement in their own learning process and not enough learners' cognitive awareness. Recently, foreign language teaching has turned towards more active and interactive patterns which require from learners an independent way of learning based on clear individual objectives to be achieved. The learners have become responsible for their results, constructing their

knowledge by themselves. Also the role of the teacher has changed, they have become the facilitators of the learning process who do not transfer the knowledge, but support learners to go through consecutive stages in acquiring a target language.

Another important factor which has affected a pattern shift in foreign language teaching is the fast development of mass media, and mostly of the Internet which is one of the most important media of communication. It supports learners both in searching for given information and in observing the real use of language, to the extent that the medium allows. The internet sources offer an unlimited number of linguistic text samples which represent varied discourse styles. Learners have an opportunity to communicate with other learners or native speakers or to observe pragmatic and sociocultural features of communication process, and consequently to acquire the language in an active way (P. Szerszeń 2010: 91–95). Since language corpora became available online, they have begun to play an important role in foreign language teaching because they may be used in order to compose such didactic activities which allow for the observation of real language uses and the development of linguistic, pragmatic and sociocultural competences.

On the other hand, we can notice among teachers the "long-felt dissatisfaction" (B. Kumaravadivelu 2001) with the application of any elaborated didactic method, understood as a way of organizing principles and rules for second or foreign language teaching. Kumaravadivelu describes this situation as an era of post-method pedagogies. According to scholars such as B. Kumaravadivelu (2001), K. Drożdział-Szelest, (2013), R. Titone (1968), and H.G. Widdowson (2004) too much attention has been paid to finding the best method and for many years it has not been possible to identify the best teaching method or approach which could be effective in every educational context. The quest for searching the best method became very strong in the second half of the 20th century, when a number of contrastive studies on the efficacy of traditional and modern pedagogical proposals was carried out by different academic centers. Their results do not answer the question which method is superior over the others.

The success of teaching depends on various factors, i.e. a teacher's attitude, learners' individual characteristics, goals to achieve, time devoted to learning, motivation, etc. There is no one effective method that can deliver positive results in all circumstances. Currently, high expectations concerning the notion of method have been supplanted by the new post-method approach involving the connection of certain functional elements derived from different methods in the line with learners' needs and goals. The notion of approach seems to address current language teaching issues better than the notion of method. It refers to a wider context of teaching philosophy, describing a holistic concept of teaching/learning processes, the role of learner and teacher, cultural backgrounds, etc. In contrast, the method is understood as the implementation of a given approach (P. Balboni 2012: 6).

The notion of action-oriented approach described in this paper embraces all the didactic solutions connected with active learning which requires from learners: involvement in the learning process, collaboration with other learners or speakers, tasks which are not too easy and are at an appropriate level of difficulty, while the teacher plays the role of facilitator in the learning process (E. Piccardo 2010).

Accordingly, the selection of didactic materials and teacher's aids should fulfill these requirements. Using one course book does not suit the actual conditions of the learning/teaching process. In the era of the Internet and rapid sociocultural changes, teachers should avail themselves of a variety of materials and resources which represent a real life language use. But, instead of composing all tasks and activities on their own, they should assign a certain part of work to learners, making them responsible for their own learning process. Learners can both carry out the research on language use and accomplish different tasks which require their active attitude as well as personal involvement in the learning process. Language corpora seem to be an appropriate tool, because they offer real data, varied discourse styles and sociocultural knowledge. The introduction of corpora in a foreign language classroom develops pragmatic competences by showing the context of use of given structures or expressions, it may also enhance the motivation of the students who have an opportunity to work with interesting texts.

This paper attempts to provide certain theoretical and practical tools utilized for applying language corpora in foreign language teaching in line with the action-oriented approach. At the beginning the definition of the approach will be explained, then possible ways of using language corpora in the classroom will be examined. Some examples of such activities are going to be presented, too.

1. Action-oriented approach: definitions

According to CEFR (2001) the action-oriented approach "views users and learners of a language primarily as 'social agents', i.e. members of society who have tasks (not exclusively language-related) to complete in a given set of circumstances, in a specific environment and within a particular field of action. While acts of speech occur within language activities, these activities form a part of a wider social context, which alone is able to give them their full meaning" (CEFR 2001: 9). Language action is seen as language tasks accomplished by learners in a given situational context. A learner is supposed to use the target language in order to achieve specific objectives within a given group of (native) speakers. An appropriate use of speech acts involves the sociocultural and pragmatic knowledge. Being engaged in language activities, learners draw on the competences at their disposal and on strategies which seem most appropriate for accomplishing tasks.

A strategy is understood as "any organized, purposeful and regulated line of action chosen by an individual to carry out a task which he or she sets for himself or herself or with which he or she is confronted" (CEFR 2001: 10). A task refers to "any purposeful action considered by an individual as necessary in order to achieve a given result in the context of a problem to be solved, an obligation to fulfill or an objective to be achieved".

Therefore, the language learning/teaching process should aim at developing not only learners' communicative competence but also action strategies that can be undertaken in any kind of circumstances. Learners have to be aware of the necessity to observe the sociocultural context of the target language. All linguistic structures, vocabulary, grammar issues must be presented in appropriate and authentic situations which show their pragmatic value. Learners gain new communicative skills not only by observing, but by interacting with other learners, the teacher or other (native) speakers in diversified situations (external context) (P.M. Lightbown/ N. Spada 2006: 43–44). According to the

action-oriented approach, the interaction represents one of the most important factors in foreign/second language teaching. Learners acquire new elements by placing them within prior knowledge and competences. New elements must be related to the others. On the other hand, it is important to accompany language learning by learning strategies so that students could apply an adequate strategy to solve a problem, to receive or produce texts, to express given speech acts or to achieve any communicative objective (A. D. Cohen/ S. J. Weaver/ Tao-Yuan Li 1996). Certain strategies and purposeful action can be activated when learners' prior knowledge and competences seem not to be enough to accomplish a task. The ability of choosing the right strategy is crucial in dealing with new situational circumstances. The undertaken action involves drawing on particular competences at learners' disposal; searching and processing new and prior data appropriately for carrying out particular tasks (R. Oxford 1990). To sum up, we may talk about the action-oriented approach when language materials are developed on the basis of authentic situations. The learners are to carry out the tasks which require their personal involvement and creative thinking and the real interaction occurs (meaningful communication) (E. Piccardo 2010: 20–35).

2. Assumptions about learning

Generally speaking, the action-oriented approach places language learning within the social context, in which language users carry out communicative tasks by employing given strategies and speech acts. This assumption derives from Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory of cognitive and language development, which in turn arises only in social interaction. The learning process occurs when an individual has an opportunity to interact with an interlocutor within the zone of proximal development (ZPD), especially when the interlocutor represents a higher level of linguistic competences and consequently helps individuals understand and produce texts. Vygotsky's theory can be compared to the interaction hypothesis which involves the mutual support of interlocutors who modify the interaction by making language comprehensible by working together in order to achieve determined goals (P.M. Lightbown/ N. Spada 2006: 43–47). However, Vygotsky emphasized the central role of action in the cognitive development claiming that mental processes undergo a transformation connected with the internalization of social mechanisms. The learner can enhance his or her competences with the help of an expert who explains and facilitates understanding and performing texts in a target language (I. Janowska 2011: 100). The sociocultural theory views producing the language and thinking as two interwoven processes.

2.1 Active learning

Except for sociocultural aspects, the action-oriented approach also draws on active learning pedagogies conceived by the American educationalist and philosopher at the beginning of the 20th century – John Dewey (J. Dewey 1938, P. Balboni 2012: 164). In his view the learning process occurs when learners adopt an active attitude and they begin to learn by doing in relation to the principle: "tell me, show me, let me do it by myself". In order to acquire new skills and knowledge learners have to be engaged in activities that require personal involvement, critical reflection upon subject matters and usually collaboration with other learners or language users (M. Żylińska 2013: 38–39, M. Spitzer

2007: 21). Learning becomes a constructive process in which individuals participate with awareness and in an active way. A linguistic output plays a more significant role in the learning process than a linguistic input (M. Swain 2011). They are mentally and physically involved in varied activities designed by the teacher which implies gathering or processing information, thinking, problem solving, carrying out different projects, peer learning, handling concepts, etc. Learners are not passive recipients of the teacher's action, but they construct meaning, create something new. Active learning should embrace regular assessment of learners' knowledge and competences as well as purposeful recognition and integration of new elements with what the learners already know or use. The learning process might be compared to a jigsaw puzzle which we solve by beginning with a single piece to which we add other pieces. The problem occurs when the teacher does the whole work.

2.2 Interactive learning

According to theoretical assumptions, the action-oriented approach assumes that the learning process occurs mostly in a social context. Therefore, it should involve meaningful communication, i.e. an interaction between learners or other speakers in different contexts. One of the most important means that meets that need is collaborative learning "defined as an umbrella term for a variety of educational approaches involving joint intellectual efforts of students and teachers together" (B. Smith/ J. MacGregor 1992). It converges with the interaction hypothesis posited by researchers such as M. Long (1983) and T. Pica (1994). A long affirmed, modified (or simplified) interaction is the mechanism which allows learners to understand a linguistic input. The more frequently learners interact with other speakers, the better they understand the communication process in a target language (N. Spada/ P. Lightbown 2006: 43–47).

Educational settings should give learners an opportunity to work in an interactive way: in groups of two or more so that they could carry out different tasks together. It does not mean that individual work is not effective, but the best way of teaching/learning is based on balancing these two options. Collaborative learning also represents learner-centered approach, in which the teacher adopts the role of the facilitator who designs activities, shows information sources and explains difficult matters when learners negotiate and build their own knowledge and skills. Collaborative activities include exploration and application of course materials, negotiating meaning, discussions, searching for solutions of different problems, carrying out different projects or tasks, working in groups or mutual support. Learners can also avail themselves of the social media to communicate outside the classroom, exchanging materials, information and discussing their problems and difficulties.

2.3 Involvement

As has already been emphasized, the action-oriented approach requires mostly an active and involved attitude of students in their own learning process. Mental involvement is a very important condition for acquiring new knowledge and skills. Recent studies in the field of neuroscience suggest that memorizing processes need concentration, active thinking and practical application of new data (M. Spitzer 2007: 59–61). Individual self-

reliant learning constitutes an important factor affecting the achievement of given learning goals. Undertaking any kind of action requires thinking, choosing the right strategies and engaging knowledge and competences at one's disposal. An involved attitude is connected with doing, thinking and being active. In these circumstances long lasting memorization can occur. According to P. Bogaards (1994: 91–94), the deeper the processing level is, the better we memorize new information. Accordingly, traces in the memory become more solid and permanent if the new data is processed in a purposeful and attentive way. Research shows that the difficulty level has a great influence on the quality of memory traces as well: more difficult tasks lead to better memorization then the easier ones. No teacher is capable of transferring his or her knowledge to learners, who are invited to build their knowledge by themselves.

On the other hand involvement also embraces social relations and interaction with other learners or speakers. Positive learning emotions experienced within social relationships enhance motivation and willingness to learn. It is recommended that learners participate in learning communities in order to consolidate mutual connections and learning achievements.

2.4 Revising

According to research on learning mechanisms skills develop very slowly, step by step (M. Spitzer 2002: 59). Learning occurs through exercise and long practice. So, if we really intend to acquire a target language, we need to practise the language as often as possible by using it in varied situational contexts. Course materials, once discussed and analyzed by students, should be revised at a fixed frequency in order to support learners' acquisition. Revising constitutes one of the crucial conditions for effective learning. It always involves connecting what is already known with new elements, which in turn will be reapplied in relation to subsequent elements. Due to this fact, learners have an opportunity to construct new meanings on the basis of their prior knowledge and skills.

3. Language corpora in foreign language teaching

Language corpora offer teachers an opportunity to create course materials based on real language. Nowadays, publishing course books needs time and the language is changing so fast as never before. In order to familiarize learners with certain sociocultural, pragmatic or lexical and grammatical issues, teachers may use examples extracted from spoken or written language corpora.

Corpus linguistics and second language teaching have begun to interweave since the early 1990s when researchers noticed many benefits deriving from applying language corpora to pedagogical objectives. We can cite scholars such as: B. Biber, G. Aston, S. Hunston, S. Granger who pointed out a great number of ways in which frequency or register information enriches teaching materials and syllabi. In their view using language corpora may revolutionize the methodology of second/foreign language teaching. It covers all pedagogical areas such as: curriculum design, materials development, teaching approaches and teacher training. Recently, researchers have also become interested in second/foreign language corpora collected from learners in order to identify and analyze learner difficulties, which can be used to improve course materials focused on the most problematic issues.

Taking into account the possibilities of application of corpus linguistics to pedagogical purposes, the following principal domains can be distinguished:

1) language description – corpus findings allow for revealing real language patterns as well as the frequency data concerning words, collocations or tendencies of certain words to occur together;
2) materials development;
3) corpus analysis in classroom settings: language corpora can be used to design different tasks and activities facilitating language learning. Teachers may invite learners to carry out their own research and to verify the credibility of some structures. There are also more advanced methods such as: calculating statistical data, tagging, parsing, or annotating corpora;
4) learner corpora – display the process of language acquisition, the interlanguage and the effectiveness of teaching methodology.

3.1 Language description

In general, language corpora provide different types of data on the real use of collocations, phrasal verbs and other features. They illustrate both the semantic prosody, which means a word connotation determined by its surrounding context and the concept of preferred phraseologies, i.e. the meaning is rather attributed to the entire phrase not to individual words (S. Hunston 2002). These two phenomena seem to be very useful in language teaching, especially in foreign language settings when learners have no direct contact with the target language. Researchers point out that phraseology plays a significant role in language pedagogies.

On the other hand, corpus-based teaching offer an opportunity to analyze grammatical patterns used in given registers or situational contexts. Language corpora constitute formidable data sources concerning specific language genres and certain features that can be explored individually. Using advanced software, researchers (1) identify keywords in domain specific corpora, (2) establish features relevant to given registers, (3) investigate colligation, which is the tendency of certain lexical items to appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of text.

3.2 Materials development

Language corpora offer different data and real use language samples that can be applied to develop course materials and teacher-made handouts. Teachers can design activities in order to increase the motivation of learners, to encourage them to work in an independent or collaborative way and to show real language uses. A corpus-based curriculum includes vocabulary frequency lists and statistically relevant information. As far as spoken language is concerned, corpora provide samples of real speeches, dialogues or other genres which allow students to observe the appearance of discursive markers, pragmatic and sociocultural features. The observation should be followed by learners' active learning which involves applying the analyzed linguistic elements in activities such as role-playing, filling gaps, tagging, searching for new data, describing or categorizing new items, etc. Corpus-based handouts might constitute an important information source and practically speaking, their preparation requires very little teachers' workload (once in a

while they only need to stamp concordance lines or the results of keyword search). Besides the observation, learners are invited to discuss revealed linguistic elements to negotiate their meaning, describe them and finally reapply them in new contexts. Language corpora offer teachers a variety of activities to be carried out inside or outside the classroom. They should not be afraid of including them into teaching programmes. Their application seems reasonable in case of language for specific purposes or translation courses at advanced proficiency levels. However, corpora can also be introduced into courses for beginners, it is only a matter of adequate materials selection (C.M. Keck 2004: 89–92).

Another significant advantage offered by corpus-based teaching concerns grammatical matters. On the basis of real examples learners have an opportunity to understand grammar patterns, parse sentences and tag given elements. Although, researchers such as B. Biber et al. (1999), S. Hunston (2002) point out the difficulty that results from the existence of competing approaches to language description within corpus linguistics. Therefore, the decision as to which approach to choose for a given course must be taken individually by a teacher.

3.3 Corpus analysis in classroom settings

Researchers highlight another important aspect of corpus-based teaching, active and involved learning which embraces two possible methods: (1) teacher directed data-driven and (2) student-led discovery learning. Both of them attempt to develop learners' autonomy over teacher's authority (G. Aston 2001, L. Burnard/ T. McEnery 2000).

The first approach which posits a leading role of a teacher, introduced by T. Johns (1991), engages learners in the analysis of materials arranged by the teacher in order to draw their attention to certain features. Learners' task is to reveal and understand given structures or expressions and then to reuse them in other contexts. Such activities may be based on concordance lines which show the research results of selected words or phrases applied to design different activities. The application of concordance lines develops learners' bottom-up processing skills. Another example of teacher directed handouts is collecting parallel corpora which include texts in the target language and their translation in the first or another language. It allows learners to observe how given elements can be realized in two different languages. In the case of learners coming from different language backgrounds, parallel corpora offer an opportunity to observe different ways of expressing one meaning.

Student-led discovery learning implies more active attitude of learners who become authors of their learning process. A teacher is not responsible for preparing materials any more, but it is the learners who generate them by themselves. Autonomous discovery learning invites them to carry out their own research on given features by using different corpora that might be indicated by the teacher. This approach mostly enhances the motivation, because learners have a possibility of making discoveries and exploring language data in search of relevant information. The Italian researcher D. Zorzi (2001) provides a very interesting example of students' investigation concerning the use of discourse markers in Italian. Additionally, students could gain the pragmatic knowledge about the relation between the contexts in which these elements appear and their meaning. Zorzi carried out her study on the basis of LIP (Corpus of Italian Spoken Language).

Discovery learning also embraces collecting corpora by learners who are asked to search and select texts on a given theme. This activity may constitute a part of the whole project that involves not only developing a corpus, but also interpreting data and making generalizations about the language use.

In conclusion, it has to be emphasized that effective discovery learning requires expertise and involvement from both teachers and learners in selecting, using or developing language corpora. Taking into account the credibility of corpus-based teaching, two important issues have to be pointed out: generalizability and representativeness of language corpora. The first notion refers to possible generalization of revealed features to the language as a whole system, the second one implies that a corpus should include an appropriate number of text samples belonging to a given domain of use (C.M. Keck 2004: 95).

3.4 Learner corpora

For the last three decades corpus linguistics and second/foreign language teaching have interwoven, but the creation of learner corpora have enabled researchers to carry out relevant interlanguage studies whose findings demonstrate the development of acquisition process over time (S. Granger, J. Hung/ S. Petch-Tyson 2002). Learner corpora consist of (1) collections gathered in authentic contexts: classroom activities, (2) continuous stretches of discourse (not isolated sentences or words), (3) compilations gathered using strict design criteria, (4) compilations for a specific SLA or FLT purpose. Linguistic data revealed in learner corpora have been implemented to describe the interlanguage, develop teaching materials and activities/tasks and, above all, train future teachers (S. Granger et al. 2002). Recently, interlanguage studies have focused both on contrastive analyses between the learner's language and the native speaker's language and comparisons made between learners of the target language deriving from different cultural backgrounds. Findings show how learners use or overuse particular linguistic elements or how they deviate from native speaker's productions, which helps to indicate areas of possible first language (L1) transfer or interference. Researchers emphasize the necessity of investigation on the magnitude of differences in order to identify the most problematic linguistic issues for given groups of learners. Additionally, the analysis of learners' typical errors allows for better materials development and curriculum design adapted for learners' needs. Applying learner corpora in the classroom is also recommended so that students could analyze and compare their interlanguage with native speakers' data. This type of activity promotes learning autonomy and independence, because students have an opportunity to reflect on their production and on frequently occurring mistakes. The awareness of their own limits and deviations from native speakers' patterns is a necessary condition of progress. Researchers also focus on differences in the target language productions among learners coming from distinct cultural backgrounds.

4. Action-oriented approach to corpus linguistics in FLT

The action-oriented approach assumes that the learning process implies (1) interaction (between learners, learners and their teacher, learners and other speakers), (2) learners' involved and their active attitude, (3) collaboration (4) critical thinking (5) deep cognitive processing including organizing and integrating new elements with the known ones, (6) frequent revising. Most of all, it attempts to enhance sociocultural and pragmatic

competences as well as learning and action strategies in order to promote learners' autonomy and their independent thinking.

The interface between corpus linguistics and foreign language teaching addresses the requirements of the action-oriented approach. On one hand, language corpora provide teachers with formidable real language data that might be analyzed in the classroom, on the other hand they invite learners to carry out their own research projects on given features. They promote discovery learning by inviting learners to search on their own for certain grammatical patterns, collocations, lexical items, etc. This part of the paper will provide some practical examples of the use of corpora in a foreign language classroom.

4.1 Learning vocabulary and collocations

In competitive groups students are asked to indicate the top 3 object nouns used with given verbs, then they may write down sentences with these collocations which will be checked against the corpus and text samples. The winner is the group which has chosen the most popular nouns.

1) *Indicate the top 3 nouns used with the verb TO RAISE + …, then write down sentences with these collocations. Check your solutions against the corpus.*
   ISSUES/ POWER/ AWARENESS/ CHILDREN/ GLASSES/ MONEY/ ARM/ STANDARDS/ HANDS/ OBJECTION/ FUNDS/ INCOME
2) *Choose the most frequent adjectives used with the noun RAISE: A [adj.] RAISE.*
   SUITABLE/ ADDITIONAL/ SLIGHT/ HIGH/ YEARLY/ SPECIAL/ EXTRA

Another collaborative task involves searching for collocations with nouns or verbs, then checking the results against concordance lines. The first group looks for adjectives used with the noun JOB. The second group has to establish which verbs are usually used with this noun. In order to complete the task, the students have to identify appropriate parts of speech in frequency lists. They compile the lists with the top ten words

Afterwards, the students give them to the teacher. A representative of each group says two numbers, the teacher reads two words and the student has 3 minutes to create a sentence containing these elements. If s/he is not able to do it, their team loses a point. This kind of activity allows students to learn not single words but entire language chunks[1].

4.2 Learning pragmatics

According to G. Kasper (2002: 340) learners may acquire pragmatic competences in two ways: the first one represents a planned pedagogical action, the second one involves exposure to input without any purposeful instruction. Language corpora address both types of classroom learning because, on one hand, they offer interesting and motivating input, on the other hand they constitute formidable sources for designing activities aimed at developing pragmatic skills. The Italian linguist, D. Zorzi has proposed an activity focusing on the meaning of Italian discourse markers in given contexts (2001). She used

[1] More examples of such activities are presented on the website: https://www.etprofessional.com/5_ways_to_use_the_corpora_for_classroom_activities_84418.aspx

one of the most important collections of texts of spoken Italian: LIP (Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato) for her study, which consists of many text samples including conversations at home, work, school, telephone conversations, legislative assemblies, cultural discussions and others.

Spoken language corpora constitute a perfect means to enhance pragmatic and sociocultural competences. They offer real language text samples whose analysis allows learners to observe the meaning of elements within a certain linguistic environment.

The tasks that may be designed in different and interesting ways. D. Zorzi invites students to observe and investigate the meaning of discourse markers within a given situational context or the realization of certain speech acts on the basis of concordance lines, which in turn may be used as a preparatory phase of guided analysis before starting less-controlled exercises. The teacher may assign each group the analysis of different markers so that they could work in a collaborative way and then present or discuss together the results of research. They are asked to formulate a hypothesis about the meaning of discourse markers in given communicative circumstances or to indicate their pragmatic function. In addition, students can work on chosen speech acts in order to observe their structure and the context of use. Acquiring pragmatic competences is one of the most important objectives in foreign language curriculum (G. Kasper/ K. R. Rose 2002). As a summary task devoted to developing fluency, the teacher may remove certain markers from the text asking students to fill in the gaps with possible elements and then discuss semantic differences between them.

Teachers may collect their own corpora or may assign this task to students determining a particular domain or a text type in order to meet particular learners' needs. In the case of translation courses it is recommended to compile parallel corpora that include the target language text samples and their translations in the first or other languages. This type of task allows learners to observe how specific linguistic features are realized in different languages.

5. Conclusion

The target language corpus-based teaching provides many benefits for learners and teachers. The use of language corpora seems to meet the requirements of action-oriented approach allowing learners both to observe the real communication contexts and carry out their own research which obviously supports memorizing new data. In addition, it enhances curriculum design by enriching course materials with words, collocations or other real language examples. It also offers a great number of tasks and activities which develop the independence and autonomy of learners in line with the action-oriented approach.

But first of all, corpus-based teaching develops sociocultural and pragmatic competences throughout the presentation of register variations, realization of speech acts, the use of discourse markers and collocations. Learners have an opportunity to explore language data, i.e. the frequency of given words or features, their statistical significance and grammatical structures in use. They may collect parallel corpora that include texts and their translation in other languages, e.g. translations of phrases displayed in concordance lines into the first language in order to see the differences in realization of given features between two languages.

Accordingly, learner corpora allow us:

1) to identify learners' difficulties;
2) to adjust course materials to learners' proficiency level;
3) to establish the acquisition level, the pace of acquisition process over time, current needs and gaps that should still be filled.
4) to carry out the contrastive analysis between different groups of learners;
5) to prepare tests and evaluation tasks.

Language corpora constitute a very important means of improving teaching materials. Currently, as one perfect teaching method suitable for every educational context cannot been applied the crucial issue is to teach learners how to learn in an effective way to show them strategies and resources which may help them to enhance communicative competences by themselves.

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Establishing a Bilingual Home: Parents' Perspective on the Effectiveness of the Adopted Communication Strategies

Abstract:
This paper examines strategies and ways of communication adopted by bilingual families who have been raising their offspring with more than one language. We analyse the results of a survey carried out in 32 families, looking at the strategies of communication adopted, parents' assessment of their effectiveness, and whether the respondents would have changed or improved anything if they had been given a "second chance". The results showed that the most frequently implemented method was the one parent-one language strategy, whose usefulness the majority assessed very positively. Other interesting conclusions concerning bi- and multilingual upbringing are also discussed.

Introduction

It is generally believed that children acquire languages with ease, especially in favourable conditions (P. Lightbown 2008), and young learners (up to around age 7) proceed differently in their acquisition of the second language from older ones (*cf.* e.g. E.M. Hatch 1978, A. Wehren/ R. DeLisi/ M. Arnold 1981, G.-Q. Liu 1991, G. Cook 2000, M. Nicholas/ P. Lightbown 2008). One of the ways in which children can become bi-/multilingual is being born in a bi-/multilingual family. An increasing number of people choose to spend their life with a person of a different nationality, who very often also speaks a different mother tongue. A child brought up in such an environment is exposed to two or more languages from the very beginning, and thus acquires the necessary input in a natural way.

There are numerous ways of communicating in a family which may contribute to the child's success in acquiring multiple languages. Since parents constitute a source of both linguistic and cultural input for their children, it is imperative that they adopt well thought-out strategies of communication. However, which strategies are the most favourable for children in the process of bilingual upbringing? What actions should be taken by parents to let their children develop linguistic competences in both/more languages? These are the issues that will be tackled in this paper.

We first provide some general background information on the most prevalent topics in child bilingualism, namely the developmental effects of early bilingualism on the growing person and the course of the linguistic development of bilingual children,

dispel some widespread myths and misconceptions surrounding the notions of bilingualism and bilingual education, and enumerate the most common types of strategies that parents may adopt in raising their children bilingually.

Finally, we present the results of a questionnaire conducted among parents raising their children bilingually. Its aim was to find out what strategies parents usually adopt, how they assess the usefulness of these strategies, and whether they would have changed or improved anything if they had been given a "second chance". The conclusions not only make it possible to establish which strategy is perceived by parents as the most effective, but also to determine what may be the key to successfully raising bilingual children.

1. Definition of bilingualism

The most basic definition describes bilingualism as "the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers." A bilingual is characterised as "a person who knows and uses two languages" (but not "two monolinguals in one person", a view that used to be formerly popular; C. Baker 2011: 9).[1] Although some may think that being bi-/multilingual involves "perfect" knowledge of both languages, most linguists nowadays tilt towards less rigorous expectations (especially given differential, probabilistic success even in native bilinguals, as opposed to guaranteed, categorical success in all-healthy-monolinguals; L. Ortega 2014). D. Crystal points out that "people who have perfect fluency in two languages do exist, but they are an exception, not a rule" (1987: 362). F. Grosjean stresses the importance of frequency, defining bilinguals as "those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (2010: 22).

In the case of childhood bilingualism the question arises when exactly the acquisition starts. Some think that it only begins at birth, when it becomes possible for the baby to listen to others. Contrary to this common belief, language acquisition commences already at the foetal stage, as the preborn child begins to respond to sound around the 19th-20th week of gestational age, and after birth the infant is immediately able to differentiate the mother's voice from others and to discriminate sounds (C. Baker 2011: 95).

As far as early linguistic competencies are concerned, infants who are raised bilingually and monolingually do not respond to the language in the same manner (L. Bosch/ N. Sebastián Gallés 1997). Not only are four-month-olds capable of recognising the familiar language, but also respond differently according to the language spoken to them, which is reflected in the latencies of the responses (*op. cit.*:63). During the babbling stage (around 10-12 months) a child being raised in a bilingual environment tends to babble in her/his stronger language, but still shows the ability to distinguish both languages (B. Maneva/ F. Genesee 2002). Two-year-olds and even younger children are proficient enough to adjust the language to the situation or person and capable of switching between them fluently (C. Baker 2011: 96). However, it is not possible to precisely pinpoint the age of separation of languages, as this varies considerably and depends on many factors, such as linguistic input, patterns

[1] "Bilingualism" and "Bilingual" entries in J. C. Richards, J. Platt/ H. Platt (1992: 35*f.*, 238*f.*).

of interaction – not only within the family, but also outside – the child's self-awareness, personality, general competencies, and ability to adjust (*ibid.*). The choice of language may also be affected by sociolinguistic factors – the norms, values and beliefs of a given community (*op. cit.*: 97).

2. The benefits of bilingualism

For many parents who are wondering whether they should raise their children bilingually, the arguments for and against are of great importance in making the decision. Bilingual children differ considerably from their monolingual peers (A. De Houwer 2009, V.C.M. Gathercole/ E.M. Thomas 2009, E. Bialystok et al. 2010), and there are some skills where it is the latter who win out (M. Paradowski 2011: 341). For instance, bilingual children score lower in vocabulary tests in either language (D.K. Oller et al. 2003, L.C. Lin/ C.J. Johnson 2005), although this vocabulary deficit only concerns home and not school words and the difference level is at approximately 10% (E. Bialystok et al. 2010). Their lexical access (e.g. in picture naming tasks) is slower (albeit by only around 40ms in their L_1 and 80-100ms in L_2; I. Ivanova/ A. Costa 2008), vocabulary recall slightly worse, and they experience the 'tip-of-the-tongue' phenomenon more frequently than persons speaking one language (T.H. Gollan/ N. Silverberg 2001, T.H. Gollan/ L.-A.R. Acenas 2004: 260). Finally, bilingual children are later to develop some syntactic structures (E. Nicoladis 2006). All these phenomena are to be expected given the necessarily relatively smaller input in each language and the necessity to resolve lexical conflicts and inhibit the competing language (M. Paradowski/ A. Bator/ M. Michałowska, 2016). In terms of the vocabulary and grammatical score, the children normally manage to catch up with their peers, while the delay in lexical access is negligible in everyday situations.

For a long time bi- and multilingualism and bilingual education were considered disadvantageous (*cf.* K. Hakuta/ R.M. Diaz 1985, C. Baker 1988, J. Cummins 2000, U. Jessner 2006, 2008). People believed that learning more than one language from birth would be detrimental to both linguistic and cognitive development (U. Jessner 2008: 15) and consequently lead to poorer results at school. The prejudice goes back to studies of bilingual children that had been carried out between the 1890s and 1950s and suggested a 'language handicap' or linguistic 'confusion' (J. Diamond 2010: 332) affecting children's intellectual development and resulting in poor academic performance (S.S. Laurie 1890, I. Epstein 1905, D.J. Saer 1922, M.E. Smith 1931, V.T. Graham 1925, S.L. Wang 1926, M. Rigg 1928, H.T. Manuel/ C.E. Wright 1929, J.G. Yoshioka 1929, R. Pintner 1932, E.M. Barke 1933, S. Arsenian 1937, A.J. Mitchell 1937, E.M. Barke/ D.E. Parry-Williams 1938, W.R. Jones/ W.A. Stewart 1951, N.T. Darcy 1953, U. Weinreich 1953, W.R. Jones 1959, J.E. Kittel 1959, B.M. Levingston 1959, J.V. Jensen 1962, J. Macnamara 1967, cf. K. Hakuta/ R.M. Diaz 1985). However, these studies suffered from numerous grave methodological problems (M. Paradowski 2011: 332*f*): i) focusing on immigrants or inhabitants of economically underdeveloped rural regions (such as Welsh bilinguals in Great Britain, immigrants in the United States, or Francophones in Canada), while their monolingual peers were typically raised in families of relatively higher SES, ii) phrasing the tests in the participants' less-fluent second language, iii) using monolingual standards as measures, iv) inclusion

of culture-bound items in the tests, and v) a political bias, as the aim of many of the studies was to bolster the respective governments' anglicisation policies towards immigrants and minorities (C. Baker 1988, J.V. Edwards 2004). Little wonder therefore that incipient research ignoring all the pertinent socioeconomic factors was only corroborating the prevalent pernicious stereotypes considering users of two or more languages as linguistically or even intellectually inferior 'second-class' citizens. It was only with E. Peal and W. E. Lambert's rigorous landmark (1962) study carried out on Canadian schoolchildren that this negative outlook on bilinguals' mental abilities was reversed and bilinguals' advantage on measures of both verbal and nonverbal intelligence began to be widely recognised and researched. Since then, studies have been consistently showing that, despite the few aforementioned handicaps as well as some common myths and misconceptions (*cf.* M. Paradowski/ A. Bator/ M. Michałowska 2016), there are numerous benefits which a child may gain from being bilingual, and that bilinguals outperform monolinguals on a range of verbal and non-verbal tasks (*cf.* e.g. C.E. Moran/ K. Hakuta 1995, D.W. Robinson 1998, G.R. Tucker 1998, M. Paradowski 2011, Z. Wodniecka/ A. Haman 2013). Everyday use of two or more languages has a very beneficial impact on the individual, which does not concern exclusively linguistic knowledge. Bi- and multilingualism can have many long-lasting personal, social (L. Arnberg 1987, E. Bialystok/ L. Senman 2004), cognitive, academic, professional, and financial (P. Gándara 2015) benefits.

Bi- and multilinguals display numerous advantages that enhance the quality of their everyday lives. It has been proven that they are better listeners and boast more acute memories and augmented abilities to categorise and parcel up meanings. They are also characterised by superior cognitive flexibility and reinforced problem-solving capacities due to the ability to look at the issue from a broader perspective (e.g. E. Bialystok/ D. Shapero 2005), which also influences their perception of the world. They obtain better results in Theory of Mind tests, measuring the ability to take on another person's perspective. Multilinguals, who are particularly open-minded, are more aware and understanding of different cultures. Hence, it is less likely that a multilingual would manifest any form of intolerance, for example racism or xenophobia. Additionally, they benefit from all the practical advantages that result from using more than one language. Not only does the ability to use numerous languages permit interactions that would otherwise never be possible, but also enables the realisation of many career paths unavailable for monolinguals.

Being multilingual considerably affects all of the known languages. The mother tongue benefits significantly – bi- and multilinguals are more proficient and efficient communicators in their first language. They are also better able to separate meaning from form and able to apply some linguistic skills that are out of reach of a monolingual: transferring, borrowing and code-switching.

Bi- and multilinguals are also more proficient *learners* of other foreign languages (J. Cenoz 2003). They acquire languages faster and, what is more, obtain better results in oral and written tests. This advantage can have different sources. First and foremost, they are capable of developing a higher level of metalinguistic awareness (J. Cummins 2000, E. Bialystok 2001, U. Jessner 2006, K. King/ A. Mackey 2007, A. Ewert 2008, C. Baker 2011); namely, they are more aware of the ways in which the language

works. Additionally, as they already know more than one language, they can establish connections between words, sounds and structures (especially when the languages concerned resemble each other). Finally, as already mentioned above, bi- and multilinguals communicate more efficiently in their first language, which is also helpful in the acquisition of another foreign language (J. Cenoz 2003).

Due to the frequent switching between their languages and having to inhibit the irrelevant language in cases of lexical conflict, bi- and multilinguals constantly and unconsciously practise executive functioning – the ability to focus attention on the right action at the given moment. They are thus faster in tasks requiring cognitive control (processes responsible for inhibition, goal maintenance, task switching, response selection, and conflict monitoring; (*cf.* e.g. E. Bialystok et al. 2004, E. Bialystok/ M.M. Martin 2004, E. Bialystok/ D. Shapero 2005), better able to detect conflicting information, more resilient to distractions, better at ignoring irrelevant information and focussing only on what is pertinent to a particular task (A. Costa/ M. Hernández/ N. Sebastián-Gallés 2008).

Cognitive control engages the prefrontal cortex, whose ontogenetic development is slow, and which is vulnerable to ageing processes. Unsurprisingly therefore, regular use of more than one language being a constant practice for the brain, if maintained throughout the lifespan it has been shown to bring long-term health benefits for adults and the elderly (e.g. E. Bialystok et al. 2004, Z. Wodniecka et al. 2010, S. Moreno et al. 2010, L. Tao et al. 2011, A. Marzecová et al. 2013), sustaining cognitive functioning and delaying the onset of symptoms of dementia. Recent studies (E. Bialystok/ F.I. Craik/ M. Freedman 2007, A. Alladi et al. 2014) reveal that bilinguals typically display the first symptoms of Alzheimer's disease over four years later than their monolingual counterparts, and that they are more than twice as likely to retain normal cognitive functions after an ischemic stroke, compared with patients who only speak one language (A. Alladi et al. 2015).

3. Early development of bilingualism

3.1 Environment

The process of language acquisition begins before birth (C. Baker 2011: 95) and lasts the whole life. It is possible to commence the acquisition of more than one language at any time, but a crucial role in this process is played by the environment. As F. Grosjean highlighted, in order to maintain the individual's linguistic abilities, it is necessary to sustain constant contact with the language, both receptively via exposure and productively via opportunities for active use (2010: 22, M. Paradowski, C.-C. Chen/ A. Cierpich/ Ł. Jonak 2012).

Children are exposed to languages wherever they are – not only at home, but also in the street, nursery, elementary school or wider community, which are called "micro" environments (C. Baker 2011:93). Hence the acquisition of languages is always accompanied by the important social and political context, which includes community, country and culture (*ibid.*). Depending on the situation, a person has to face different expectations and pressures, more or less intensified. The process of education is strongly influenced by issues such as the "micro" environment as well as class affiliation and status of the majority or minority languages (*ibid.*).

The environment may serve as an aid for parents, since they can use the opportunities it provides and adjust them to their needs. They can decide to take responsibility and introduce more than one language already in the household, before formal schooling, or they can delay the beginning of the process and let the child learn the new language from peers in the street or at school.

The perfect opportunity to establish a bilingual household is a situation in which the partners have different nationalities and mother tongues. Nevertheless, the dream to raise a bilingual child is also attainable for parents who do not use two languages on a daily basis. If it is possible to expose a child to two or more languages, all parents are capable of succeeding as long as a big dose of motivation and determination is involved (B.Z. Pearson 2008:123).

While it is generally believed that children acquire languages quickly and with ease, especially when the process begins at a very early age, sometimes even a natural bilingual environment might not suffice. Also, comprehension does not go together with production. One of the most crucial factors determining the languages the child will speak is the parental language input patterns (A. De Houwer 2007).

A. De Houwer (2007) tried to find out why not all children exposed to two languages from a very young age are capable of actively using them. Her data was collected in Flanders, a region of Belgium where Dutch is the official and majority language, but which is known for high ethnic variety and the presence of many immigrants, and whose history also shows the importance of French in the area. The outcomes revealed that parents' active use of the minority language at home does not necessarily result in the children actively using it.

Two patterns turned out to be the most successful in transmitting the minority language: both parents using only the minority language, or one speaking only the minority language and the other using both (thus, the use of the majority language by one of the parents does not threaten the transmission of the minority language, if the latter is still used by both parents). The least successful patterns are where one parent spoke the majority language and the other used both languages, and when both parents spoke both languages – over one quarter of these cases failed to transmit the minority language. Interestingly enough, A. De Houwer's findings showed that the formerly praised *one parent – one language* method is "neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition" in transmitting the minority language (2007: 420).

One more important factor may be the "principle of maximal engagement with the minority language" introduced by M. Yamamoto (2001: 128), which claims that the more dedicated the child is to the minority language, the greater her/his chances of actively using it. This may explain the existence of families where the child fails to use the minority language at home despite the provided input.

3.2 Types of childhood bilingualism

Some children begin the acquisition of languages almost immediately and become bilingual quickly; in other cases the beginning of the process is delayed. Childhood bilingualism can thus be divided into two types, *simultaneous* and *sequential* (C. Baker 2011:94). The former, also referred to as *infant bilingualism*, *bilingual acquisition,* and *bilingual first language acquisition* (*ibid.*), can occur for example when the parents

apply the *one parent – one language* strategy, namely one parent uses one language while communicating with the child, and the other parent another language. Hence, the child is supposed to acquire the languages simultaneously and show a similar proficiency in both. *Sequential bilingualism* may occur when the child starts to attend nursery or primary school where a different language than his or her mother tongue is spoken.

4. The questionnaire

In this section we present the results of a questionnaire conducted among 32 families raising their children bilingually.

4.1 Methodology

(1) Purpose
The aim of the questionnaire was to find out what strategies parents usually adopt to raise their children bilingually, how they assess the usefulness of these strategies, and whether they would change or improve anything if they were given a "second chance". Another rationale behind the questionnaire was to establish what measures parents usually implement to enhance their children's language development and what they perceive as the key to success in raising children bilingually.

(2) Measuring instrument
The questionnaire was available online in two parallel language versions: English and Polish. It consisted of four parts altogether including 18 predominantly open-ended questions. The first two parts of the questionnaire were partially based on a survey used by A. Dorn de Samudio (2006) in her research on the discourse strategies implemented by English-Spanish bilingual families. The remaining two sections consisted of exclusively open-ended questions so as to let the parents fully refer to the issues associated with child bilingualism.

(3) The families
The questionnaire was completed by either the mother or the father from 32 bilingual families. In all the families both parents had different native languages. In 24 families (75%) the language of one of the parents was the dominant language of the community, whereas in the remaining 25% of the families the dominant language was different from either of the parents' languages.

It is important to note that in 30 families (94%) both parents had higher education. This fact was reflected in the types of their professions. Not only did 20% of them hold senior positions such as that of a chief executive officer, marketing director or manager; they were also doing jobs which enjoy universal recognition, e.g. scientist, engineer or university professor (34%).

The bilingual families that completed the questionnaire come from all corners of the world. The majority (59%) live in Europe: Czech Republic (4), Great Britain (3), Poland (2), Switzerland (2), Italy (2), Belgium (1), Denmark (1), Germany (1), Lithuania (1), France (1), and Spain (1). 9 families come from the USA and 2 from Canada. The remaining two families come from Taiwan and Israel.

It is also important to note that the majority of the families (51%) live in cities which have a resident population above 100,000, whereas only 4 families (13%) come from towns with a population of up to 10,000.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 The role of parents in children's language development

In the initial stage of the child's language development, parents constitute the main source of linguistic input. The respondents were asked to determine how many hours they spend with their child/ren in their languages on a daily basis in the activities such as playing, reading, meals, watching TV, films, etc., and outdoor activities. In-between the parents, there were in most cases strong correlations between the amounts of time spent on the particular activity types, with the exception of watching television (with a very weak value of .1888).

It is interesting to note that the amount of time that each parent devoted to the child determined to some extent the child's competences in either of the languages. The correspondence between the amount of time that the children spent with each parent and the dominant language was especially noticeable in the case of very small children (of up to 6 years of age). In the majority of the families in which the father's native language was the community language, whereas the mother was the minority language speaking parent, the children felt more comfortable using the language spoken by the mother, with whom they were spending more time. In the case of older children (above 6 years of age), the correspondence between the amount of time spent with each parent and the dominance of one language over another was less distinctive. This may have resulted from the fact that the children had more contact with the outside environment, for example by attending kindergarten or having more contact with the majority language-speaking peers.

The amount of time that each parent spends with the child in particular activities is not the only factor influencing the children's language development. What also plays an essential role is the language in which the parents communicate with each other. This was another issue that the questionnaire referred to. The respondents were asked to rate their linguistic skills in their spouse's language and *vice versa*. In the majority of the families (62%) both parents had some degree of competences in each other's language. In nine families (28%) the respondents described their own and their spouse's skills as advanced, whereas in 34% of the families one parent's level of competences was advanced and the other's intermediate. In 11 families (29%) only one parent had some degree of competences in her/his spouse's language.

The choice of the languages in which the parents spoke to each other to a large extent influenced communication in the whole family. More than half of the parents noted that the way they communicated was closely associated with the implemented strategy of raising the children bilingually. There were two things that all these families had in common. Firstly, in all of these families the language of one of the parents was also the language of the community. Secondly, all the dominant language-speaking parents had a high degree of proficiency in the minority language. What differentiated some of these families from others was the adopted strategy of communication. In the case of four families both parents decided to speak exclusively the minority language

to the children. In the remaining families, the parents spoke to each other in the minority language, but to the children in their native languages. Communicating with each other in the minority language worked to the children's advantage, as it increased their exposure to the minority language and helped balance the dominating influence of the language of the community.

4.2.2 Strategies of communication in the family

There are several strategies available to parents wishing to raise their children with more than one language (M. Paradowski/ A. Bator/ M. Michałowska 2016). The most frequently encountered are: one parent-one language, minority language at home, initial one-language strategy, time and place, mixed, and other methods. These partly overlap with R. Kemppainen, S.E. Ferrin, C J. Ward and J.M. Hite's (2004) taxonomy of parental language and culture orientation: mother tongue-centric, bicultural, multicultural, and majority language-centric.

In the majority of the families (91%) the parents followed one particular strategy of communication to raise their children bilingually: 25 families (78%) implemented the one parent-one language approach, whereas in the remaining 4 families (13%) both parents spoke only the minority language to their children. Three families had adopted no strategy. A possible reason for such enormous popularity of the OPOL method was given by one of the respondents: the woman emphasized that adopting the one parent-one language approach was the most natural choice for her and her husband, as communicating in their own native languages enabled them to establish a close emotional relationship with their children.

When discussing any type of strategy, the issue of consistency arises. In the case of the one parent-one language approach, 36% of the respondents claimed that they were always consistent with the language choice when talking to their child/ren. Some gave very definite answers such as "yes, [the language choice] never changes", "we are always consistent with OPOL", or "strict OPOL". It is interesting to note that sometimes the matter of being consistent depended on the parent. For example, in a French-Dutch family living in Switzerland the mother (French) claimed that she did not have any problems with speaking exclusively in her language to her five-year-old daughter Selena; however, her husband (Dutch) had difficulties in remaining consistent since the very beginning. A possible reason may have been the fact that the family lived in a French-speaking community in which he was the only speaker of Dutch. Another example of father's inconsistency with the language choice could be observed in a Polish-Dutch family. Even though the mother always used Polish when communicating with her daughter, the father (Dutch) had problems with using only his native language and would occasionally switch to English, which was his and his wife's common language. This inconsistency was not approved by the daughter, who insisted on him speaking to her exclusively in Dutch. To some parents consistency in language choice was important to such an extent that they wanted to maintain it even in the presence of people who did not speak the languages used in the family. In a Spanish-Dutch family, for example, the parents explained to their English-speaking friends the language strategy adopted in their family so as to feel comfortable when

communicating with their children in their own languages and avoid alienating the other interlocutors.

Not all the parents claimed to be entirely consistent with the language choice when talking to their children. Out of the 25 families who adopted the one parent-one language strategy, the majority of the respondents (56%) admitted to switching languages depending on the circumstances or people present. For example, in an English-German bilingual family living in the United States, the parents were "very consistent 95% of the time, but flexible, depending on the situation." They usually talked to their children in their native languages (the mother – in English, the father – in German), but every time non-speakers were present, they would switch to the language that everyone understood. In some families the way the parents communicated with their kids depended on the activity. For example, in a Polish-Spanish family living in Spain the mother (Polish) would switch to Spanish only when helping her seven-year-old daughter with homework. In all the other cases she tried to remain as consistent as possible and address her daughter exclusively in her native language.

Another factor which influenced parents' consistency with the language choice was the children's age. In a Polish-Chinese family living in Taiwan, the mother and father attached special significance to communicating with their children only in their native languages – Polish and Chinese respectively – when the kids were younger. As soon as Zosia (16) and Jan (11) became fluent in both languages, the parents adopted a less restrictive approach towards the language choice. When all members of the family participated in a conversation, the languages were used interchangeably. There were even situations in which the children "forgot themselves" and started conversing in Polish despite the father being present. In such cases the mother would ask them to switch to English or Chinese so as not to exclude him from the conversation.

Figure 1. Are you and your spouse always consistent with the language choice when talking to your child/ren?

In two families the parents admitted to not being very consistent in the language choice when talking to their children. Due to the fact that these were the families in which the language of one of the parents was the dominant language of the community, maintaining consistency was especially difficult for the minority language speaking parent. This difficulty was pointed out by one of the respondents, who said: "It is definitely an effort to keep speaking your mother tongue when you are surrounded by the other language".

Another strategy that was adopted by 13% of all the families consisted in speaking to children exclusively the minority language. It was adopted only by those families in which the language of one of the parents was also the dominant language of the community. The main reason why the parents had decided to implement it was to balance the dominating influence of the majority language from the outside environment. In an English-Czech family living in the Czech Republic, for example, the parents consciously decided to expose their one-year-old son at the early stages exclusively to English. According to the minority language-speaking father, the boy would be surrounded by opportunities to hear and learn Czech as he was growing up, in pre-school and from his mother's family. As far as consistency with the language choice is concerned, in only one family did the parents admit to communicating with the child *exclusively* in the minority language. This family, in which the mother and the father were native speakers of Dutch and English respectively, lived in the United States. For that reason the language to which their child was exposed at home was Dutch. This example shows how determined parents can be in raising their children bilingually: in order to expose the child to the minority language as much as possible, the mother translated all the books to Dutch, which the father then read to the child. In the other three families, the parents' attitude towards consistency was not so strict. It turned out that especially the dominant language-speaking parents had problems with remaining consistent in communicating with the children only in the minority language. Very frequently the parents switched to their native languages when they wanted to include someone in the conversation or when discussing certain topics.

Out of the 32 families, three admitted to not adopting any strategy. In these families both languages were used freely, depending on the situation or participants. The lack of a specific strategy can be illustrated with the statement of one of the respondents: "We use whatever is at hand, depending on the language of the wider community and resources; we also rely on the wider family". In one of the families, the mother, a native speaker of Polish, emphasized that the one parent-one language strategy would not work in her family because the children knew that she can speak German.

4.2.3 Additional aids enhancing children's language development

Success in establishing a bilingual home depends to a large extent on whether the parents create sufficient opportunities for their children to use the minority language, and in what ways they are doing this. Many additional aids can significantly improve the child's competences in the less-used languages. In the majority of the families surveyed the parents relied heavily on additional support to enhance their children's bilingualism. 85% claimed to support the children's language development by using additional means both inside and outside the home. In only five families no extra aids in fostering bilingualism were used. Figure 2 illustrates in what way the parents tried to increase their children's exposure to the less-used language:

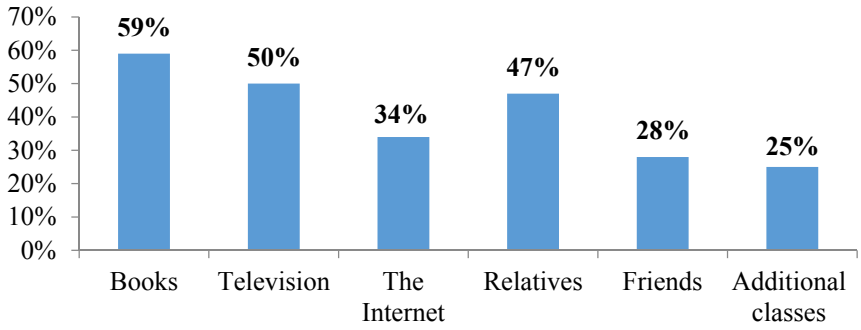

Figure 2. What do you do to support your child/ren's language skills in the less-used language?

As far as the aids used inside the home are concerned, as the best way to let their children have more contact with the minority language the majority of the parents (59 per cent) perceived reading books. One of the mothers stated that reading aloud to her son significantly improved his competences in English. Not only did the boy's vocabulary increase in this language, but it also became more sophisticated than his vocabulary in Czech, the dominant language. What might have contributed to the imbalance in vocabulary between the two languages was the fact that English was the only language in which the boy was being read to; the father (Czech) was suffering from dyslexia and found reading aloud very challenging.

What the respondents also perceived as an important factor enhancing their children's competences in the minority language was the use of multimedia, among which television and the Internet were the most frequently mentioned. 50% of the parents commented that watching films, cartoons or other TV programs considerably influenced their children's linguistic development. According to one of the minority language-speaking parents (Dutch), the variety of TV programs available on the market constituted for his son an "extremely valuable source of linguistic knowledge," as it enabled him to become acquainted with different styles occurring in speech. Another medium that was also perceived as a valuable aid in fostering bilingualism was the Internet. In 11 families (34%) the parents exposed the children to short films or songs in the minority language that were available on Internet websites such as *YouTube*. One of the respondents even provided a link to an Italian website[2] which promotes combining motor education with music when exposing the child to the language.

When trying to increase their children's contact with the minority language, the parents rely not only on additional aids such as books, television or the Internet, but also on human interaction. In 15 families (47%), the parents attached special importance to creating opportunities for their children to have contact with minority language-speaking relatives, either via computer programs such as *Skype*, or by visiting the members of the family in the minority-language country. For example, in the Polish-Spanish bilingual family living in Spain, the parents travel to Poland at least twice a year to enable their children more direct contact with Polish. Apart from visiting relatives, 28% of the respondents expressed the importance of providing the

[2] http://www.chiacchiere-in-musica.it

children with as many opportunities as possible to socialize with minority language-speaking peers. Out of the nine families who attached special significance to this way of enhancing bilingualism, four listed organizing special meetings with other families during which the children could improve their competences in the less-used language.

What the respondents also regarded as a useful way of supporting their children's bilingualism was additional classes in the weaker language. In eight families (25%) the parents decided to enrol their kids for instance in a Sunday school where the children were given an opportunity to practice their skills in the less-used language. In one of these families, the English-Czech bilingual family living in the Czech Republic, the children were not only attending additional classes in English, but they were also given extra lessons in this language at home by their mother. In another family, the parents mentioned additionally increasing their son's contact with the less-used language (Slovak) by sending him to a summer camp to Slovakia every year.

Only one family, apart from combining all the above-mentioned aids of enhancing the child's bilingualism, attached special significance to the role of the minority country's customs in supporting the child's language development. The mother (Polish) stated: *I avoid speaking in the community language to the children. They have been attending Sunday school since they were 4 and 3. We organize meetings with other families whose minority language is Polish. We travel to Poland at least twice a year and encourage friends to visit us. I read, sing and talk to my children and encourage them to communicate with our Polish family. We watch cartoons and films in Polish, visit Polish websites for children. We also follow Polish customs and cook Polish food. (mother, Polish)*

In five families (15%) the parents did not use any additional aids of enhancing their children's language development in the less-used language. Two respondents stated that there was no need for additional support as the children were equally exposed to both languages.

4.2.4 Parents' conclusions and assessment of the adopted strategy

In the questionnaire the parents were given an opportunity to reflect on the strategy of communication that they had been following. They were asked to assess the usefulness of the implemented method, as well as to consider whether they would change or improve anything in the bilingual upbringing of their children if they were given a "second chance".

As far as the one parent – one language strategy is concerned, out of the 25 families who followed this method the majority (88%) emphasized its usefulness by providing such answers as "so far excellent", "very useful", or "very effective". For example, in the Spanish-Dutch family living in the United States, the mother (Spanish) claimed that thanks to the OPOL approach her two daughters had become fluent in both Spanish and Dutch, and were praised by their teachers for the level of expertise that they had acquired in both languages. Another parent, the mother of 5-year-old Selena, stated that her daughter, thanks to being exposed to two languages (French and Spanish), did not have any problems with shifting from one language to another whenever the family went to the Netherlands, Spain or France to visit the relatives.

However, not all the parents clearly assessed the usefulness of the OPOL strategy. In three families the parents were not sure how to evaluate the method as their children were too young to give a clear answer (1), or mentioned problems they encountered (2). For example, one of the minority language-speaking parents, a native speaker of Serbo-Croatian, pointed out how uncomfortable and awkward she felt every time she addressed her children in her native language in public. Another respondent (Polish) living in Spain paid attention to the difficulty of remaining consistent all the time, especially when the minority language is not accepted by others. It is interesting to note that these less enthusiastic opinions about the one parent-one language strategy were expressed only in families in which the language of one of the parents was also the language of the community. In cases where both parents had different native languages neither of which was the language spoken by the community, only positive views about the OPOL approach were expressed.

Speaking exclusively the minority language to the child was also positively evaluated by the majority of the respondents. Only in one family did the parents find it difficult to assess the usefulness of this method as their child was "too young to draw any conclusions."

The parents were also asked to consider whether the implemented method did not lead to any negative or unwanted consequences. As far as the one parent-one language strategy is concerned, there were only three families in which the parents clearly referred to the side-effects of the approach: the child's limited vocabulary in either language as well as her/his reluctance to speak one of the languages. In 88% of the remaining families who had adopted the one parent-one language approach, the parents did not observe any negative or unwanted consequences. The positive opinion about the adopted strategy of communication was also held by those parents who decided to communicate with their children only in the minority language, who unanimously stated that the method worked to their children's advantage.

Another issue the parents were asked to reflect on was whether they would change or improve anything in the bilingual upbringing of their children if they were given a "second chance". More than half of the respondents (55%) were fully satisfied with the way they raised their children with two languages and would not introduce any changes. However, in comparison to the high percentage of the parents who positively assessed the usefulness of the adopted strategy and who did not observe any negative consequences of the implemented method, 86% and 90% respectively, there were still quite a lot of families in which the parents would have improved the way they established a bilingual home.

As far as the one parent-one language strategy is concerned, out of the 25 families who adopted this strategy of communication almost half of the respondents (48%) clearly expressed that they would change the way they raised their children with two languages. Most emphasized that had they been given a "second chance", they would definitely have exposed their children more to the minority language. For example, one mother (Polish) stated that she would have done more reading so as to expand her children's vocabulary in English. In another family, living in France, the father (English) assured that he would have tried to encourage his wife (French) to speak the minority language to their child. Apart from increasing the child's exposure to the

minority language, some parents stated that they would have tried to be more consistent. In one of the four families in which both parents spoke the minority language to the child, a respondent stated that instead of establishing a bilingual home, he would have exposed their children to more languages.

4.2.5 The key to successfully raising bilingual children

The respondents were also asked what they perceive as the source of success in raising their children with two languages, and what they would advise other parents who want to establish a bilingual home. Out of the 29 families who adopted a particular strategy of communication, the majority (72%) as the key to success regarded consistency. Another frequently mentioned factor was motivation (52%). In the case of three families in which no strategies were adopted, the parents paid attention to the importance of providing the children with as many opportunities as possible to practise speaking both languages.

As other relevant factors contributing to success the majority (52%) of the parents who implemented the one parent – one language strategy regarded early exposure to both languages. One respondent stated that the parents constitute the main source of input for their children, therefore they should pay close attention to the way they speak. In ten families (40%) who followed the OPOL approach, the parents also recommended using additional aids enhancing the less-used language such as books (5), contact with the family and friends (3), television (1), and additional exposure to the weaker language outside the home, e.g. at school (1).

However, these are not the only pieces of advice with regard to raising children bilingually. One of the respondents highly recommended reading the latest books devoted to bilingualism, as he believes that the more parents know about this issue, the greater chance they have to achieve success. According to this parent's opinion, having theoretical knowledge about bilingualism and the process of bilingual upbringing helps the parents rationally assess the views held by some "professionals" who claim that the second language should be acquired only after the first has been relatively well established.

In one of the families, a Polish-Lithuanian bilingual family, the parents emphasized the importance of correcting linguistic errors in both languages. According to the mother (Polish), by doing so the child's sensitivity to what is different from the norm in both languages increases, as a result of which the child is less likely to make linguistic errors himself or herself. Another Polish mother, however, believed that concentrating exclusively on the language is not enough. The parents also have to expose their child to everything that stands "behind" the language, namely to the culture, literature and history.

Some of the parents emphasized how numerous benefits the child may gain from being bilingual. They described bilingualism as a "free gift" and "the best legacy" that the parents may give to their children to make them "true global citizens". Here are some of the statements in which the parents encouraged establishing a bilingual home:

> It's a "free gift" we were giving them; you never know what situations life can bring where their language skills could become valuable. (mother, French)

> It is great to offer this skill! Kids in Europe are speaking 5 to 7 languages. The world needs more than one language! The more the better! The future is for those who are prepared. (mother, Spanish)
> Multilingualism is the future. It is the best legacy we can leave our children. It will set them up to be true global citizens. (mother, Dutch)

Some parents did not provide any piece of advice in the belief that there is no one "best" way to establish a bilingual home. This is what one mother (Icelandic) paid attention to: she stated that "different things work for different families", as in each family the parents have different goals and expectations.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to find out what strategies parents usually adopt to raise their children with two languages, how they assess the usefulness of the adopted strategy, and whether there is something they would have changed or improved if they had been given a "second chance". Another goal was to establish what measures parents usually adopt to enhance their children's language development and what they perceive as the key to success in raising a bilingual child.

The results showed that not only did the child's competences in either language depend on the amount of time each parent spent with him or her in particular activities, but also on the language in which the mother and the father communicated with each other. The importance should be added here of both mother and father working as a team to facilitate their children's bilingual language development (R. Chumak-Horbatsch 2008).

Another factor that plays an essential role in establishing bilingualism is the strategy of communication adopted by the parents. The majority of the respondents (91%) followed one particular strategy of communication, either the one parent-one language strategy (78%), or a method in which both parents spoke the minority language to the child (13%). In the case of only three families was no strategy adopted. The answers provided by the respondents also showed to what extent the parents were consistent with the language choice when talking to their children. In the case of the OPOL approach over half of the respondents admitted to having problems with remaining consistent. The parents were switching languages depending on the people present and other circumstances. Those parents who decided to communicate with their children only in the minority language also encountered several problems with remaining consistent. Especially the dominant language-speaking parents would find it difficult and frequently switch to their native language.

However, adopting a particular strategy of communication alone seems to be insufficient to raise a child with two languages. 85% of the respondents emphasize the importance of using additional aids enhancing bilingualism. The majority heavily rely on books (59%) and multimedia, among which television is the most popular. They also attach special significance to human interaction, namely to maintaining contact with relatives and creating as many opportunities for the children as possible to meet with peers speaking the less-used language.

The majority of the respondents emphasized the usefulness of the implemented method. Less enthusiastic opinions about the OPOL approach were expressed only in

those families in which the language of one of the parents was also the language of the community. 90% of the respondents did not observe any negative or unwanted consequences. Only in families in which each parent spoke her/his native language to the child did the respondents mention some side-effects, such as the child's limited vocabulary in either language or her/his reluctance to speak one of the languages. Even though the great majority of the respondents perceived the adopted method as very useful and did not observe any negative consequences, in almost 50% of the families the parents did express their willingness to introduce some changes. Most of the families who would improve their way of establishing bilingualism had adopted the OPOL approach. Had they been given a "second chance", many of them would have exposed their children more to the minority language.

As the key to success in raising a bilingual child, the most frequently mentioned factors were consistency in the choice of language when communicating with the child as well as motivation and creating for the children as many opportunities as possible to actively use both languages. It is important to note that more than half of the parents who had adopted the one parent-one language approach believed that the earlier the child is exposed to both languages the higher her/his chances of becoming bilingual.

There is no one "best" way of establishing a bilingual home. Every family is different and has different expectations towards bilingualism. This is what the results of the questionnaire showed: each family presented a different approach towards raising the child with two languages, and had different ideas of what contributes to success in establishing a bilingual home. However, there is one thing that all the parents had in common. What motivated them to raise their children with two languages was their children's success in the future.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

The aim of this questionnaire is to find out what strategies parents usually adopt to raise their children bilingually, how they assess the usefulness of these strategies and whether they would change or improve anything if they were given a "second chance". The questionnaire is anonymous and all replies will be used exclusively for scientific purposes. I would be very grateful if you would answer a few questions concerning the bilingual upbringing of your child/children. Thank you.

General information about the family

The person who answers the questions: □ mother □ father

1. What is your:
   a. Native language? _____
   b. Occupation? _____
   c. Educational Level? □ higher □ secondary □ elementary
2. What is your spouse's:
   a. Native language? _____
   b. Occupation? _____
   c. Educational Level? □ higher □ secondary □ elementary
3. Which country do you live in?

   _____

   Size of your current city/town/village (population):

   _____
4. Which languages do you speak in your family?
   MOTHER: _____
   FATHER: _____

5. How would you rate your language skills in your spouse's language?
   □ beginner □ intermediate □ advanced/ fluent
6. How would you rate your spouse's language skills in your language?
   □ beginner □ intermediate □ advanced/ fluent
7. In which language(s) do you and your spouse communicate? Does this change depending on the situation or certain people present? If so, please describe.

Information about children

8. Please list the given name, age (years and months), birth date, country of birth and gender of your child/children. Also indicate the age at which your child/children started to be consistently exposed to both languages.

	Name	Age (years/ months)	Country of Birth	Gender (M or F)	Age of consistent exposure to both languages

First child					
Second child					
Third child					

9. Roughly how many hours do you and your spouse spend with your child/children in your languages on a daily basis in the following activities?

	Playing	Reading	Meals	Watching TV, films, etc.	Outdoor activities
you					
your spouse					

10. How would you assess your child's/children's competences in both languages? Which language dominates?
11. Besides you and your spouse, are there any other influential adults in your child's life who contribute to his/her development of both languages (e.g. grandma, nanny)? If so, please describe who it is, what they do together and how much time your child/children spend(s) with these individuals?

Strategies and ways of communication

12. Which strategy of communication have you adopted (e.g. one parent – one language)?
13. Are you and your spouse always consistent with the language choice when talking to your child/children? Does this change depending on the situation or certain people present?
14. What do you do to support your child's/children's language skills in the less-used language?

Reflecting on the adopted strategies

15. How do you assess the usefulness of the strategy that you adopted in raising your child/children bilingually?
16. Did you observe any negative/unwanted consequences of the adopted strategy?
17. Is there anything you would improve or change in the bilingual upbringing of your child if you were given a "second chance"?
18. What do you think is the key to successfully raising bilingual children? What advice would you give to other parents who want to raise their child/children bilingually?

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A Statistical Analysis of the State of Foreign Language Learning in the EU

Abstract:
The aim of the paper is to discuss the present situation of foreign language learning in Europe on the basis of conducted statistical analysis. The multitude of languages taught at various educational levels with the predominant role of English as the most widely instructed *lingua* has been depicted. Consequently, it has been ascertained that although the EU seems homogeneous and consistent in its language policy, there is, for example, a huge discrepancy in the number of languages offered at various levels of education across the European countries, not to mention the age at which students begin their linguistic education. The role of CLIL has also been demonstrated as the provision encouraging the use of curricula aimed at promoting the right interpersonal skills, cultural sensitivity, communication and language abilities – all in demand in today's reality.

Introduction

Not everyone might be aware of the fact that D. Crystal (2010, 2012) has written passionately about the need to appreciate and understand the world's linguistic heritage. This should be perceived as a crucial value defining the citizens of the European Union member states where more than 500 million people come from diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. All languages are equal from a linguistic point of view and it is wrong to judge the superiority of one against another. But when it comes to spending time and money as well as making effort in the learning of languages, practical factors inevitably come into play. All of us want to be able to invest in those languages where our endeavours and resources are going to prove most effective for the particular needs.

There is no denying the importance of English as a common means of communication across the world, or its strength as the first foreign language of choice for most non-Anglophone countries, but D. Graddol (2006) in his analysis of global language trends, issued a timely warning against complacency regarding the predominance of English worldwide. He predicted that the competitive advantage of English would soon yield. Besides, the research conducted at the level of the European Commission showed that the benefits of competence in more than one language should not be limited to English. A wide range of languages are needed for a learner to be fully able to exploit the benefits of a single culture and keep improving the links between the nations worldwide. Even when others have a high level of proficiency in English, this does not mean that their languages can be ignored. In order to develop relations between countries and individuals based on mutual respect and trust, there is a need for an

understanding of the social, political, and technical systems of a state as well as the innumerable aspects of daily life that are important to that nation's identity and culture.

Obviously, people learn languages for more than purely instrumental purposes, but learners do want to be able to use the languages they have learned. It is important, therefore, to attempt to address the difficult question of which languages are likely to provide the best outcomes, and to identify criteria by which we may be able to judge the potential value of one over another in terms of mutual prosperity and security. The public debate about which languages are important to learn is often dominated by the particular interests of an individual person and too often lacks a solid and balanced information base. In shaping policy and priorities it is also important to balance cultural, intellectual, individual and societal factors. Current needs and the demands of the present must also be considered alongside changing global patterns of cultural exchange, and what this might mean for languages required in the future.

1. The languages of the EU

The language pattern of most European countries is intricately complex with a multitude of languages spoken. Most languages are spoken across entire countries, or they may have a regional basis within them. It is also common for states to share languages with their neighbours from across the border, thus reflecting their shared history. Europe's multilingual nature may be approached from different angles – one of which is, unquestionably, the official recognition of languages by European, national or regional authorities (P. Romanowski 2007: 37).

Presently there are 24 official languages recognized in the EU with numerous regional languages, minority languages and languages spoken by migrant populations. While in most countries one language is usually recognized as a state language, four countries (Ireland, Cyprus, Malta and Finland) extend the status of state language to two languages spoken within their borders. Interestingly enough in Luxembourg, there are three state languages. Belgium, similarly, has three official languages, which are not recognized as administrative languages across the whole territory of the country, but only used in delimited linguistic areas.

In 1958, the legislation specified German, French, Italian and Dutch as the official and working languages of the European Union's predecessor, the European Community. There have always been fewer official languages than EU member states, as some of them share common languages, e.g. in Belgium where the official languages are Dutch, French and German, while in Cyprus the majority of the population speaks Greek. Since Croatia's accession to the EU in 2014, there are 24 official languages officially acknowledged. In addition, there are indigenous regional, minority languages (such as Catalan, Galician and Basque in Spain, or Welsh and Scottish Gaelic in the United Kingdom), and languages that have been brought into the EU by migrant populations, notably Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, Hindi and Chinese. The existence of languages spoken by immigrant populations, comprising large numbers of people in some European countries, invariably contributes to European linguistic diversity and completes the linguistic picture.

Over a half of all European countries officially emphasize the existence of regional or minority languages within their borders for legal or administrative purposes. In Spain,

for example, Catalan, Valencian, Basque and Galician are official languages – or joint official languages with Spanish – in their corresponding autonomous communities. Additionally, regional languages, such as Catalan and Welsh, have gained the status of semi-official languages and the official use of such languages can be authorized in accordance with an administrative arrangement concluded between the Council and the requesting EU member state (F. Grin 2003).

The number of officially recognized regional or minority languages varies from one country to another. While in some countries, these languages are limited to only one or two, elsewhere (e.g. Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Croatia) their number is much higher. For instance, in Romania and Slovakia, a minority language is officially recognized and can be used for legal and public administrative purposes in any administrative unit where the minority population accounts for at least 20% of the total number of inhabitants. In Poland, where Polish is the official language, there are 16 other languages, which have gained the status of minority languages (e.g. Kashubian, German, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Slovak, Czech, etc.).

Finally, according to S. May (2011) another part of the language picture in Europe is the existence of non-territorial languages, i.e. languages used by certain groups of people within the state, but which cannot be identified with a particular area thereof. Romany is a typical example of a non-territorial language. Eight countries – the Czech Republic, Austria, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden and Croatia – currently grant the official status to this language.

2. The standing of foreign languages in school curricula

When diagnosing Europe in terms of the starting age for learning a foreign language one might quickly notice that pupils are generally between 6 and 9 years old and it should be underlined that the discrepancy is the result of earlier applied language policies prevailing in particular countries. In Belgium children are even younger as they are taught a foreign language in pre-primary education from the age of three. The tendency to offer this provision from an earlier age is evident in many countries, which have implemented reforms or pilot projects to bring forward the teaching of foreign languages. Between 2005 and 2010, the percentage of pupils enrolled in primary education not learning a foreign language dropped from 32% to 21%.

While foreign languages became steadily entrenched as compulsory subjects in the primary curriculum, the time allocated to them, as a proportion of the total taught time, still does not exceed 10%. Surprisingly enough, in a number of countries, this percentage is even lower, less than 5%. However, Belgium (14%), Luxembourg (40%), Malta (15%) and Croatia (11%) are placed in an exceptional situation.

In the majority of European countries, learning two foreign languages for at least one year during compulsory education is an obligation for all pupils and it starts when learners are between 10 and 15 years old in most countries. As might be expected, as the second language is introduced later, students will have received significantly less instruction in this subject than in their first language by the time they finish compulsory education.

In most countries, the curriculum starts to diversify in secondary education. Pupils are invited to select options or to choose between educational pathways that offer

different opportunities for foreign language learning. In Luxembourg, Iceland and Liechtenstein, students taking some educational pathways must learn up to four languages, which is the highest number of languages observed across Europe.

On average, in 2012, 61% of students enrolled in lower secondary education in Europe were learning two or more foreign languages, which is an increase of 14 percentage points compared to 2006. On the other hand, in upper secondary education, there is a significant difference between the percentage of students learning two or more foreign languages in general education (59%) and in vocational education (39%).

In all countries, except for Denmark, Greece, Iceland and Turkey, some schools give students the opportunity to learn non-language subjects in two different languages (the so-called CLIL provision). For instance, non-language subjects can be taught through a state language and a foreign language, or they can be taught through a state language and a regional/minority language. However, the schools offering this kind of provision are still small in numbers, except for Belgium, Luxembourg and Malta where all of them operate on a 'CLIL' basis (A. Llinares/ T. Morton/ R. Whittaker 2012).

3. The range of languages offered and taught

A. J. Liddicoat and K. Muller (2002) rightly assign the leading role to English as a foreign language in the European system of education, for it is a mandatory foreign language in 14 countries or regions within countries. It is by far the most taught foreign language in nearly all countries at all educational levels. Trends since 2004 show an increase in the percentage of pupils learning English at all educational levels, and particularly at primary level. In 2009, on average 73% of pupils enrolled in primary education in the EU were learning English. In lower secondary and general upper secondary education, the percentage was higher than 90%. In upper secondary vocational education, it reached 75%.

German and French are the second most widely taught foreign languages in most EU countries. A very interesting dependency might be observed. German is particularly popular in several central and eastern European countries while French is mainly taught in the countries of southern Europe. Spanish occupies the position of the third most widely taught foreign language in a significant number of countries, especially at upper secondary level. The same can be said about Italian, but in a smaller number of countries. Russian is the second most widely taught foreign language in Latvia and Lithuania where large communities of Russian speakers have always lived as well as in Bulgaria in lower secondary education.

It is not surprising that in 2009 the percentage of pupils learning foreign languages other than English, French, Spanish, German or Russian was below 5% in most countries. The countries with the highest percentages of students learning a language other than the main five were those where the alternative language was a mandatory language, such as: Swedish or Finnish in Finland and Danish in Iceland.

Needless to say that according to the official guidelines, regional and minority languages can be learnt in a significant number of countries, even in those where such languages are not granted any official status, such as in France. Several regional and minority languages are also used as languages of instruction alongside the state language

in 20 countries. Latin and ancient Greek are offered in the upper secondary curriculum of general education in about half of all the European countries.

4. Foreign language learning in primary education

As P. Doye and A. Hurrell (1997) assume the necessity of teaching at least one foreign language in primary education is so obvious that there remains hardly any doubt about its justification. The liberating value of stepping outside one's own culture and language has long been recognized in educational philosophy and the competence to communicate in more than one language has become an accepted postulate of modern educational theory. Therefore all national education systems in Europe provide the opportunity for their citizens to acquire at least a basic communicative competence in languages other than their own and the process begins as early as in primary school.

At the same moment it has become obvious for quite some time that it is English which needs to be provided to young citizens of the EU, hence nowadays nearly all the pupils learn English. Indeed, learning English is mandatory in several countries within secondary education institutions, and so a number of EU member states have close to 100% of pupils learning this language already at the level of primary education. Nearly all primary school pupils in Malta, Cyprus, Austria, Spain and Italy learnt English in 2014, which was also the case in Liechtenstein, Norway and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. More than nine out of every ten primary school children learnt English in Poland, France and Croatia. The relative importance of English as a foreign language may be further magnified because pupils tend to receive more instruction in their first foreign language than they do for any subsequent languages they study.

Most citizens of eastern European countries, which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007, experienced being taught Russian as a compulsory subject in the past. This situation changed rapidly at the beginning of 1990s after the fall of communism and in most of these countries a marked increase in the proportion of pupils learning English has been observed. By 2014 it often exceeded 50% of all pupils. In Romania, Estonia, Latvia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Slovakia the figure was even higher – between 69% and 82% in 2014, rising to more than 90% in Poland.

Luxembourg is also of particular interest as insofar there have been three official languages taught there, with most pupils receiving instruction in Luxembourgish, German and French in primary education. It might seem odd for English to be only introduced at the secondary level though. A similar situation is observed in Belgium, with the focus on learning French or Dutch in primary schools (depending on the community and/or region), rather than English.

Apart from Luxembourg, the only other EU member state where more than a quarter of primary school children learnt French as a foreign language was the United Kingdom (over 70% in 2012). German is the main foreign language taught to all primary school children in Luxembourg, while around one fifth of primary school children was taught German in 2014 in Hungary and Croatia.

4.1 Compulsory learning of the first foreign language in primary education

The introduction and implementation of a foreign language in primary education differs from one country to the other. The social, economic and educational background of a country determines to a considerable extent "why" and "how" a foreign language is

introduced in primary schools. In most countries, the starting age of the first foreign language as a compulsory subject ranges between 6 and 9. In Belgium, all pupils begin learning a foreign language as early as 3 years old in pre-primary education. In Spain, in a similar manner, foreign language education is programmed for the second cycle of pre-primary education in most autonomous communities and it involves 3-year-olds. At the other end of the scale stands the United Kingdom (England, Wales and Northern Ireland) where all students start learning a foreign language as a compulsory subject at the age of 11, which is at the level of secondary education.

Schools in Estonia, Finland and Sweden have some freedom to determine the grade in which the first foreign language is introduced as a compulsory subject. Central education authorities define an age bracket for the introduction of foreign languages: between 7 and 9 in Estonia and Finland, and between 7 and 10 in Sweden.

It is also interesting to note that some EU countries are currently introducing reforms to lower the starting age for the compulsory learning of the first foreign language. In Cyprus, since September 2011, all pupils have had to learn English as a compulsory subject from the age of 6. However, in some schools, children are obliged to learn English at the age of 5, and this requirement will be extended onto all schools by September 2016. In Germany, the requirement to learn one foreign language as a compulsory subject is being implemented in all schools for pupils aged between 8 and 10. In Slovakia, in 2009, schools intended to introduce the compulsory teaching of a foreign language from the age of 8. However, in 2011, this reform was yet not implemented for all the children aged 9. In addition to these three countries, Latvia introduced a reform in 2013 whereby the first foreign language became compulsory from the age of 7.

Ireland and the United Kingdom (Scotland) are the only countries where foreign language learning is not compulsory. In Ireland, all students learn Irish and English, neither of which are obviously viewed as foreign languages. In the United Kingdom (Scotland) where there is no statutory curriculum, schools have a duty to offer a foreign language, but students are under no obligation to learn one.

4.2 Reforms in compulsory foreign language education in the EU member states

When reading the reports regarding the reforms in compulsory language education, one is struck by the fact that there seems to be a unanimously positive attitude to teaching foreign languages to early learners, and a remarkable agreement on the extension of time devoted to such instruction. Over the last two decades, Europe has witnessed an increase in the duration of compulsory foreign language teaching. This increase has been exclusively achieved by lowering the age at which foreign language instruction begins. As a result, indeed, all students in general education have had to study a foreign language until the end of upper secondary level, except for Malta and the United Kingdom. In 2010 Italy initiated a reform with the aim of making foreign language learning compulsory for all the students until the end of secondary level of education.

It is only the United Kingdom (England, Wales and Northern Ireland) where the education authorities have reduced the number of years of compulsory foreign language learning for all students. When legislation introducing compulsory curricula was passed in England and Wales (1988) and Northern Ireland (1989), compulsory language

learning was specified for all 11- to 16-year-olds. Subsequent changes in 1995 (Wales), 2004 (England) and 2007 (Northern Ireland) increased flexibility in the curriculum for 14- to 16-year-olds allowing them to choose whether to study languages or other non-language subjects.

It seems interesting to note that between 1994 and 2011, only nine countries did not lower the starting age for compulsory learning of a foreign language by all students. However, in two of these (i.e. Luxembourg and Malta) all students have had to learn a foreign language from the very first year of primary education since 1994. In Finland and Sweden schools enjoy some flexibility in determining the year in which students start learning a foreign language as a compulsory subject. The most far-reaching changes occurred in Belgium and Liechtenstein. In Belgium the legislation adopted in 2004 made pre-primary play activities in a foreign language compulsory and more formal language learning from the first year of primary education – both features of early education that had previously been optional but practised in the majority of schools for several decades.

In 2007 seven countries introduced reforms to lower the age of compulsory foreign language learning. The changes are particularly significant in Cyprus and Poland.

5. Foreign language learning in secondary education

Secondary education in some of the European school systems makes it obligatory for the learners to take two or more foreign languages. The trend to learn more than one foreign language is definitely growing in Europe and so is the range of languages offered in the European systems of education. In upper secondary general education, it is noteworthy that some 94% of all EU students were studying English as a foreign language in 2014, compared with less than one quarter (23%) studying French, while less than one fifth were studying Spanish (19%) or German (18%). Between 2009 and 2014, the proportion of students studying English was stable, while the proportions referring to studying French and German fell 3.0 and 4.2 percentage points respectively.

Just over a half (51%) of upper secondary general education students in the EU studied two or more languages in 2014, 1.0 percentage point less than in 2009. Luxembourg stood out as the EU member state with the highest proportion (100 %) of upper secondary general education students learning two or more languages, although figures of 98% or even higher were recorded in Finland, Romania, Slovakia and France. This indicator includes all foreign languages, not just German, English and French. By far the lowest numbers of secondary education students learning two or more languages, all below 10%, were recorded in Portugal, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Greece.

Between 2009 and 2014 France observed a large increase, from 91% to 98%, in the proportion of upper secondary general education students learning two or more languages. Only five other EU member states reported an increase between 2009 and 2014. The largest decreases, by more than 10 percentage points, during the same period were reported for Denmark, Malta and Sweden,. Norway reported an even larger fall, from 100% in 2009 to 35% in 2014.

5.1 Compulsory learning of two or three foreign languages

In the majority of countries, it is compulsory for all students involved in general education to learn two foreign languages at some point during their schooling. The age

at which students are obliged to start learning a second foreign language varies quite significantly between the countries, ranging from 10 to 15 years of age. Luxembourg, in this respect, stands out as all students learn a second foreign language from the age of 7. In Estonia, as is the case with the first foreign language, central education authorities require schools to introduce this teaching within a defined age range (10–12 years old).

In several countries, the learning of a second foreign language as a compulsory subject starts three years after the beginning of the first compulsory language, or even earlier. This is notably the case of Luxembourg and Iceland where students begin to do their second language one year after they started learning the first one.

Reforms have already taken place in quite a few countries. In Slovenia the requirement for all students aged 12 to 15 to learn a second foreign language was in the process of being introduced in schools in 2011. However, following the decision taken in November 2011, this reform was put on hold. In Slovakia all students attending general education should learn two foreign languages between 11 and 19 years of age. This requirement, however, is still being implemented in classes for students aged 13 and 14.

Luxembourg and Iceland are the only countries where all students in general education have to study three languages. However, it may appear awkward that the duration of learning greatly differs across Europe: it is, for instance, five years (between 14 and 19 years old) in Luxembourg and one year in Iceland (between 17 and 18 years old). In some countries students following some educational pathways or in some types of school must study additional foreign languages and, sometimes, from an earlier age. Furthermore, in some countries the autonomy enjoyed by schools enables them to introduce more foreign languages into the curricula.

5.2 Learning foreign languages in educational pathways

From the start of secondary education, some education systems offer different educational pathways for students, either within the same school or in different types of school. It is worth noting that in a few countries where only one foreign language is compulsory for all students, those on particular educational pathways are required to study additional languages. This is notably the case of the Netherlands, Austria (up to three languages) and in Germany, Croatia and Turkey (two languages).

Luxembourg, Liechtenstein and Iceland are the only countries where some students have to study up to four foreign languages. This learning lasts for four years in Luxembourg and Liechtenstein and three years in Iceland.

5.3 Learning additional languages as optional subjects

According to EACEA's Report *Key data on teaching languages in schools in Europe* (2012), in addition to the common core, which is composed of those subjects that are compulsory to all students, the curriculum at the secondary level of education usually covers optional subjects. Among these, schools always schedule a second foreign language for at least one of the years of the second cycle. In about half of all European countries schools are required to offer at least one foreign language as an optional subject to all students, who decide whether to take it or not. In the United Kingdom (Wales) all students aged 14 to 16 have been offered a choice of a wide range of study options in the

school curriculum from September 2012. The learning of a foreign language is included within one of the five specified areas of learning that must be available to all students and therefore be included in the local curriculum.

Schools in Cyprus and Malta are required to provide an exceptionally large number of languages. In Cyprus the five languages given as core curriculum options are in addition to the two languages that all students must study. In Malta the same situation occurs to students aged between 13 and 16. In addition to the two compulsory foreign languages all schools are compelled to offer five other languages as options. After the age of 16 foreign language learning is no longer compulsory.

It is imperative to highlight that among the countries where only one foreign language is compulsory, there are some that require schools to offer at least a second optional language. This is notably the case of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Spain, Sweden and Croatia. In Spain all schools have to offer a foreign language as an option to all students from the age of 12. In some autonomous communities (Aragon, the Canary Islands, Galicia, Madrid and Murcia) the second foreign language is compulsory for students. In most countries the provision of foreign languages as core curriculum options starts at secondary level. Four countries (Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom (Scotland) and Croatia) are the exceptions to the rule. In Portugal, since 2009, all schools have been obliged to offer English to pupils aged 6 to 10. In Sweden, as is the case with the compulsory foreign language, schools enjoy a great deal of autonomy in deciding when to start offering optional foreign languages. In the United Kingdom (Scotland), students do not have to learn a foreign language, but schools are expected to offer one as an option to all students aged 10 to 18.

6. Language teaching according to the CLIL provision

P. Mehisto, D. Marsh and M.J. Frigols (2014) are the proponents of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). This is a competence-based teaching approach that is gaining ground in European education systems. It has been strongly advocated for almost twenty years and as a result, in fact, in nearly all European countries certain schools yet offer this form of provision according to which non-language subjects are taught either through two different languages or through a single language which is 'foreign' according to the curriculum. Only Denmark, Greece, Iceland and Turkey do not provide this kind of teaching in their curricula.

Although it exists in nearly all countries at primary and general secondary levels, CLIL is not widespread across European education systems. The observation is drawn from the national information, which does not allow for strict comparisons to be made between countries, nonetheless it is still useful as it gives some indication about how extensive this provision is. Belgium, Luxembourg and Malta are the only countries in which CLIL functions in all schools throughout all the levels of education. In three countries CLIL was also provided only in schools operating within pilot projects. In Belgium, the project, which was supposed to run from 2007 until 2010, was eventually extended to 2012 in nine secondary schools. The objective was to scientifically study the challenges posed by CLIL. In Cyprus, CLIL was provided in schools for several years under a pilot programme but, since September 2011, it has become the feature of mainstream. In Portugal, the SELF project *(Secções Europeias de Língua Francesa)*,

which involves 23 schools at secondary level, provides teaching in non-language subjects through the medium of French.

Since 2010 in Italy, all students in the last year of upper secondary education have been under the obligation to learn one non-language subject through a foreign language. The learners on the 'language' pathway study according to the CLIL provision from the age of 16. At the age of 17 students are taught a second non-language subject through the medium of a second foreign language from the three languages they are already learning. Similar practices are quite widespread in Austria where, at secondary level, units of non-language subjects of variable size are taught through a foreign language. In addition Austrian education authorities have chosen to use the CLIL approach to teach the first foreign language to all students aged 6 to 8. As a result students have one integrated lesson per week during which the curriculum subjects are taught in the foreign language. Similar practices for English teaching also exist in Liechtenstein for students of the same age. In addition, since 2011, one upper secondary school has been offering the CLIL provision to students taking the language pathway.

It needs to be emphasized as well that where two languages are used as languages of instruction in the context of CLIL, the status of these languages varies. The combinations of languages used in CLIL depends very much on the linguistic heritage of each country, particularly when there is more than one state language and/or one or more regional/minority languages, with or without the official status.

Twenty European countries offer the CLIL provision where non-language subjects are taught through a regional/minority language as well as through the state language (or one of the state languages in countries as applicable). In Hungary, for example, some schools teach non-language subjects in Hungarian and others in Slovak. In addition all these countries, except Slovenia and the United Kingdom (Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland), have other patterns of language use.

Twenty-five countries/regions offer the CLIL provision where non-language subjects are taught through a language regarded as 'foreign' by the curriculum as well as through the state language. This group also encompasses the provision of education where all non-language subjects are taught in a foreign language. Other language combinations (e.g. a regional or minority language and a state language) also exist in all these countries, except for Bulgaria, Germany, Portugal, United Kingdom (England), Liechtenstein and Croatia. In Croatia, however, some schools provide education where all non-language subjects are taught in a regional or minority language. Nevertheless, these schools are not regarded as offering CLIL.

A close examination of foreign languages used as languages of instruction reveals that English, French and German as well as Spanish and Italian are the most widespread target languages. These languages are also the most taught foreign languages in schools across Europe. In all six countries with more than one state language, some schools offer the CLIL provision where two official languages of the state are used to teach the non-language subjects of the curriculum. In Belgium, Luxembourg and Malta, this type of programme exists in all schools. In Luxembourg, two of the three state languages (German and French), are employed as languages of instruction in addition to Luxembourgish – German in primary and lower secondary education and French in lower and upper secondary education. In four countries (Spain, Latvia, the Netherlands

and Austria), some schools offer the CLIL provision in which three languages are used to teach non-language subjects. The languages used are the state language, a language designated as foreign in the curriculum and a regional or minority language. This is a very infrequent arrangement and it relates only to the most common situations involving tuition in two languages.

7. Language learning and teaching context

Foreign languages are essential to guarantee that European citizens can move, work and learn freely throughout Europe. J.M. Vez (2009) also posits that learning a foreign language is essential to ensure that a particular language does not pose a barrier in social life. For several decades it has been mandatory for most European children to learn at least one foreign language during their compulsory education. In 2002 the Barcelona European Council recommended that at least two foreign languages should be taught to all pupils from a very early age. This recommendation has been implemented to varying degrees, usually for compulsory secondary education, either by making it mandatory to teach a second language or ensuring that pupils have the possibility to study a second foreign language as part of their curriculum.

In September 2008 the European Commission adopted a Communication titled 'Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment' (COM(2008) 566 final), which was followed in November 2008 by a Council Resolution on a European Strategy for Multilingualism (2008/C 320/01). Both acts addressed languages in a wider context of social cohesion and prosperity and focused on actions to encourage and assist citizens in acquiring language skills. The Resolution invited the EU member states and the European Commission to:

1. promote multilingualism with a view to strengthening social cohesion, intercultural dialogue and European construction;
2. strengthen lifelong language learning;
3. promote multilingualism as a factor in the European economy's competitiveness and people's mobility and employability;
4. promote linguistic diversity and intercultural dialogue by increasing assistance for translation, in order to encourage the circulation of works and the dissemination of ideas and knowledge in Europe and across the world;
5. promote the EU languages across the world.

The European Commission cooperates closely with UNESCO and the OECD to collect and analyze data on language teaching across Europe. On this basis, sound language competence indicators and standards are developed for Europe as a whole.

8. Teaching guidelines and practices in relation to foreign languages

Curricula in numerous countries recommend that teachers should put more emphasis on oral skills (i.e. listening and speaking) when they start teaching foreign languages to younger pupils. At the end of compulsory education, though, the four communication skills have equal standing in nearly all curricula.

In the majority of European countries, official guidelines for language teaching establish the minimum levels of attainment for the first and second foreign languages. These levels correspond to the six proficiency levels defined by the Common European

Framework of Reference for Languages published by the Council of Europe in 2001. Accordingly at the end of compulsory general education, official guidelines in most countries set the minimum level between A2 and B1 for the first foreign language and between A1 and B1 for the second.

Public authorities in most countries have maximum class size norms which apply to foreign language classes. In a few countries these norms are specifically defined with regards to foreign language classes. They vary quite substantially between countries, ranging from 33 pupils in the United Kingdom (Scotland) to 17 in Slovakia. According to students tested in the European Survey on Language Competences (ESLC), most of them study foreign languages in classes below the maximum class size norm.

In most of the countries or regions within countries participating in the ESLC, information and communications technology (ICT) is not regularly used during language lessons in the opinion of students. The situation, however, varies quite substantially between countries: in the Netherlands 31% of students say they regularly use computer programmes, while in Belgium they report 4% only.

Nowadays, there is a lot of evidence suggesting that the more foreign language input pupils receive, the greater their proficiency will be. One way to increase pupils' exposure to foreign languages is to make sure that the target language is used during language lessons by both teachers and pupils. However, in nearly all countries participating in the ESLC and according to students' opinions, teachers do not 'usually' utilize the target language in the classroom, although they still use it on some or frequent occasions. Teachers and students' use of the target language in the classroom is particularly crucial when the language in question is not English, as students in most countries participating in the ESLC reported that they only came into contact with foreign languages other than English through the media less frequently than 'a few times a year'. As expected, students' exposure to English is greater in all participating countries.

As can be seen motivation is a key factor in successful learning. Pupils' perception of the usefulness of the languages they learn can clearly contribute to increasing their motivation. In 15 participating countries, on average, the percentage of students who consider it useful to learn English for their future education or work is higher than the percentage of those who consider English useful in their personal life. These percentages drop quite significantly for other languages.

Organizing field trips or excursions related to foreign language education can also be a way to stimulate students' interest in learning foreign languages. On average, only 28% of students in the 15 participating countries say that they have participated in such activities in the last three years. The highest percentages are found in Belgium and the Netherlands (38%) and the lowest in Sweden (13%).

9. Conclusion

According to *Eurostat News Release* (2015) 17.7 million primary school pupils (or 82% of all the pupils at this level) in the European Union were studying at least one foreign language, including 1 million (5%) studying two foreign languages or more in 2014. At primary level, English was by far the most popular language, studied by 16.7 million pupils. The dominance of English is confirmed at the lower secondary level (pupils aged around 11-15 depending on the national educational system) with 17.1 million pupils in the EU learning English as a foreign language (96% of all the pupils at this level). French (4.9 million or 27%) came second, followed by German (2.9 million or 16%), Spanish

(2.1 million or 12%), Russian (0.5 million or 3%) and Italian (0.2 million or 1.5%).

On the basis of conducted analysis it might be still tempting to advocate a broader choice of languages in the European systems of education, including less-widely used languages and the languages of neighbouring states, which could be offered, where possible and appropriate, in language teaching curricula.

As shown in the present paper, while general language programmes adopted at primary and secondary levels of education help develop essential communication skills, methodologies such as CLIL can be particularly effective in, e.g. enhancing the mobility and employability of workers.

Lastly, everyone is aware of the fact that a good command of foreign languages is a key competence essential to make one's way in the modern world. This is the path Europe has pursued for a long time as multilingualism is a part of its heritage. Thanks to linguistically diversified Europe its citizens have a chance to become more open and respectful of cultural and linguistic otherness.

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The Learning of and in Sami in the Norwegian School Education

Abstract:
In the minority policy of Norway there was a nationalistic period (approx. 1860-1950) when learning and teaching in and of Sami, the use of Sami were strictly prohibited. The measures of this assimilative policy caused that only a small part of the Sami population has proficiency in Sami. After the Second World War the minority (language) policy of Norway changed, and the Sami undertook their ethnic-linguistic identity. In this process the international ideological tendencies played an important role. In 1989 the Sami Law came into force in Norway and it also provided linguistic rights to the North, Lule and South Sami. In addition, the law on the primary and secondary education regulates the Sami education in Norway. On the basis of the research conducted in Tromsø in 2009-2010 and a Norwegian survey (Samisk Språkundersøkelse. NF-rapport nr. 7/2012) the aim is to present the possibilities and goals of learning in and of Sami in the school education in Norway nowadays. It will be possible to observe as well how these support the bilingualism among the Sami children.

Introduction

The Sami live in large numbers in Northern Norway, Northern Sweden, Northern Finland and Russia.According to an UN-Report of 2011 the total number of the Sami can be estimated at between 70,000 and 100,000; between 40,000-60,000 of them reside in Norway, 15,000-20,000 in Sweden, 9,000 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia.

Determining the exact number is very difficult, because census data concerning the ethnic descent is not available, only estimations can be considered, on the basis of residence/living area, proficiency of Sami and/or the Sami electoral register.

It is certain that the greatest proportion of the Sami live in Norway, although they form a relative majority only in a few settlements (Kautokeino 85-90%, Karasjok approx. 80%, Nesseby approx. 72% and Tana approx. 54%).

The Sami were never culturally unified and they did not regard themselves as unified, only the surrounding Scandinavian peoples regarded them unified. They can be classified according to their language, and to the geographical area of their residence.

1. The Sami languages and the Sami people in Norway

Sami exists in many varieties, which compose a continuum and between some of them there are great differences. Therefore the Finno-Ugric literature speaks about Sami languages (E. Helander 1995, I. Seurujärvi-Kari/ S. Pedersen/ V. Hirvonen 1997, P. Sammallahti 1998, H.F. Marten 2004). The Sami languages belong to the Uralic

languages, which form the Baltic-Finnic-Sami main branch of the language family (M. Korhonen 1988: 264).

Today, six Sami varieties have their own written language and orthography: Inari Sami, North Sami, Kildin Sami, Lule Sami, South Sami and Skolt Sami (M. Svonni 1998: 25, J.M. Kuhmunen 2005: 1).

Taking into account the number of speakers, it is North Sami which is spoken mainly (approx. 30,000 speakers) followed by Lule Sami (approx. 2,000 speakers). The other Sami languages have less than 1,000 speakers – e.g. South Sami, which has approx. only 500 speakers. For this reason the UNESCO Red Book on Endangered Languages (and the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger) regards North Sami as definitely endangered, and the Lule and South Sami related to Norway as seriously endangered.

2. The nationalistic period of the Norwegian Sami policy

Until 19th century the countries on whose territory the Sami lived, did not develop any specific policies concerning themselves. The Sami were allowed to follow their own way of life and could roam the Northern territories (J. M. Kuhmunen 2005, M. Schönfeldt 2007: 36, J. Robbins 2011: 57).

In the middle of the 19th century, however, the whole situation took a different turn in the form of dealing with ethnic-linguistic minorities. It was the period of nationalistic romanticism: the period of revival of national feelings and ideas. Norwegian nationalism intensified and it led to a hostile atmosphere towards the Sami and other ethnic minorities in the country. This attitude also manifested itself in the policy concerning minorities.

1848 brought particularly negative changes for the Sami. The Norwegianization started, with as its main aim the assimilation of the Sami into the mainstream community. In the interests of this aim many different measures were taken: such as the foundation of the so-called Finnefondet (Finnish Funds) in 1851 (H. Minde 2005: 11), the establishment of special kindergartens and boarding schools, the withdrawal of bilingual textbooks, and the replacement of Sami teachers by Norwegian teachers in order for the Sami children to learn Norwegian as early and successfully as possible (S. Lund 2003: 16–27).

In addition, a new teaching programme, instructions and law about the public schools were introduced, which stated that the main language of instruction should be Norwegian. Hence, Sami and other minority languages could only be used as a supporting language to help with explanations at school (M. Jávorszky 1991: 36, O.M. Hætta 2002: 58). Indeed, the use of Sami was strictly prohibited, not only during lessons, but during break time, too. Norwegian teachers were made to settle down in the Sami areas, and pupils were motivated to learn Norwegian as fast and effectively as possible.

The state forcibly infringed into the life of its ethnic minorities, using education as an instrument. Aside education, other instruments were also used in the settling of Norwegians and others. The encroachment of the field of education however, was the most agressive and efficient.

3. Results of this policy – the knowledge of Sami among the Sami population

One of the results of this unconcealed and aggressive assimilating policy is that the number of Sami able to read and write in their mother tongue is nowadays considerably low. According to a survey conducted in 2000, 42% of the respondents could read in Sami quite well or very well, while only 27% could write well in Sami; 21% can understand and speak Sami, but they cannot read it nor write it (SEG 2000: 19, 22).

4. Changes in the Sami policy of Norway

After the Second World War the Norwegian state changed its minority policy and gave up with Norwegianization (Ø. Stenersen/ I. Libæk 2003: 163). The attitude towards each other, and towards each other's language and culture headed in a positive direction. In the establishment of the welfare state all citizens were regarded as equal, even so, the Sami do realize that in addition to the preservation and development of their mother tongue, the knowledge of Norwegian is indispensable, too (I. Bjørklund 2003: 9). In this process, the international ideological tendencies and the increasingly stronger movement of the indigenous people from the 1960s played an important role. In the 1970s, the Sami undertook the preservation and development of their ethnic and linguistic identity – they began to appreciate their ethnic affiliation, culture and language (G. Minnerup/ P. Solberg 2011: 8–9).

From the middle of the 20th century many more small as well as big, important as well as less meaningful groups and organizations were founded (Ø. Stenersen/ I. Libæk 2003: 163–165). A unified Sami organization however, could only first be formed in 1980s. The culmination of this process was the passing of the Sami Act in 1987 that permitted and supported the establishment of the Sami Parliament in 1989 (Ø. Stenersen/ I. Libæk 2003: 164).

5. Effects of the changes for Sami education

With the change in the nationalistic character of the Norwegian minority (language) policy, the nationalistic language sociology was replaced by vernacularism, which supports the minority languages and motivates the revitalization of the language (I. Lanstyák 2009: 32). This process was typical of the Sami teaching at school as well as of the Sami language courses for adults who could not write and read in Sami. Therefore the writing and publishing of books in Sami became supported by the Norwegian Cultural Board.

At the moment Norway makes efforts to stimulate the use of Sami in ever increasing areas of life, as in the public administration and the use of the internet.

6. Laws related to Sami education

The Sami Act (1987) has as its main aim the creation of a legal framework which will enable the Sami group in Norway to retain and develop its language, culture and communal life.The Act determines that everybody has a right to the learning of Sami – in specific, the Act on primary and secondary schools, which regulates the education of, and in, Sami. Chapter 6 includes the provisions related to Sami education in primary and secondary education. The Act accepts the North, Lule and South Sami languages and

refers to them. Most of its provisions cover only the so-called administrative area for the Sami language[1]. Its main rule states that every child of primary school age has the right to learn Sami and to be educated in Sami, in the administrative area for the Sami language – irrespective of the number of pupils. Outside of the above mentioned area other rules apply, e.g. in one settlement there should be at least ten people who intend to learn Sami, or in Sami for the teaching to be allowed. In the case that less than six people stay in a group, teaching can no longer be provided. In situations when the school cannot provide this education with its own teaching staff, other alternatives can be chosen. Certain settlements have the possibility of finding solutions in the following educational situations: they can decide about the teaching in Sami in one or more schools in the settlement, and they can prescribe that every primary school learner has to participate in the learning of Sami.

The Sami have the right to learn Sami in upper secondary education, too. If the required teachers are not available in the school, the ministry can determine the possibilities and the forms of education. The ministry and the municipality can decide whether certain upper secondary schools should offer the teaching of, or in Sami, and of special Sami subjects.

Prescriptions related to the curriculum about the Sami education, in the primary and secondary schools, in consideration to departmental rules, come from the Sami Parliament.

7. The conditions of Sami education

In 1959, with the modification of the Law for State Schools, education in Sami became possible. First, however, the right conditions for its teaching had to be created, therefore Sami education could be launched until later, in 1964 (S. Lund 2003: 36). The first Sami grammar school class was set up two years later in 1969 in Karasjok (S. Lund 2003: 46).

For a long time after the legitimation of Sami education, many difficulties were encountered – there were no prepared curriculums, adequate textbooks, and above all qualified teachers.

Although the attitude of the Norwegian state towards the Sami had changed, during the first decades after the introduction of Sami education, the curriculums had either a complete lack, or only a limited presence of Sami contents.

The first curriculum in which the Sami language and content appeared was Mønsterplanen from 1974 (M74). In spite the fact that the teaching in Sami was legitimate, Norwegian remained the main language in the Sami education. New to the curriculum was the plan to feature Norwegian as a foreign language.

The curriculum for primary schools in 1987 (M87) contained the subject of Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language and Norwegian as a second language for Sami children. It was the first curriculum which differentiated between pupils who have Sami, or another minority language as a first language. Bilingualisation of children appeared to be the aim in the document.

[1] At the moment 9 municipalties: Karasjok, Kautokeino, Nesseby, Porsanger, Tana, Kåfjord, Lavangen (all North Sami), Snåsa (South Sami), Tysfjord (Lule Sami). It can be enlarged.

With the reform of 1997 two parrallel curriculums were produced: L97 and L97 Samisk for Sami education. The latter applied to every pupil inside the Sami administrative area. According to this curriculum, pupils have the possibility to choose between Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language, Sami language and culture, Norwegian as a first language (and Finnish as a second language) and Norwegian as a first language.[2]

With the reform in 2006, a new national core curriculum was introduced instead of L97: the Kunnskapsløftet (meaning: *increase of knowledge*). It contains a special, parrallel document for Sami education (Kunnskapsløftet Samisk) that includes education inside the Sami administrative area as well as Sami education in Norway, outside this area.

The Sami curriculum has been worked out for several subjects and for the subjects not included in Sami the national core curriculum is valid. The Sami curriculum can be found in the following subjects: christianity, religion and life style, food and health, music, nature, society, duodji (Sami handicraft), Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language, religion and ethics, geography, history, reindeerkeeping and Norwegian for students who have Sami as a first language.

In general, under the curriculum, every pupil/student has to get to know the Sami history, culture, and way of life. Naturally, in other settlements and regions, these Sami contents are included in many different ways in the everyday life and education of the community. In settlements which are part of the Sami administrative area, all pupils follow the Sami curriculum and they may choose Sami as the language of education, or alternatively Norwegian with the learning of Sami. Outside this area, children may be educated in Sami individually. Linguistically, the curricula for Sami as a first or as a second language are particularly important because these subjects, together with the subject of Norwegian, can contribute to the development of bilingualism, or functional bilingualism in the children.

In 1988, the Sami College (Samisk høgskole) was established in Kautokeino. A year later it began to offer the course of Sami Teacher Training. Since it is situated in the North Sami area, the language of instruction is North Sami. The college has a Centre for Sami Education (Senter for Samisk i opplæringa), its aim is the development of the proficiency in Sami among the Sami population with the use of teaching and research. The institution offers, among others, kindergarten teacher and school teacher training, general Sami teacher training, special courses in Norwegian for educators teaching minorities, courses on bilingual children and courses in language practice and culture in different Sami languages.

The University of Nordland in Bodøoffers teacher training for Lule Sami. It has courses in pre-school teacher education, primary school teacher education, lower secondary teacher education and senior teacher education as well as a module in cultural knowledge with the focus on the Lule Sami area.

Within the area of teachertraining in Norway, it is the University College in Nord-Trøndelag that is responsible for the South Sami language and culture. It offers training for futurekindergarten teachers, primary and lower secondary school teachers and

[2] see skuvla.info/skolehist/magga-n.htm

courses in the South Sami language and culture which can also be followed as online courses.

The lack of coursebooks in Sami or with the Sami content has recently started to diminish and several such coursebooks are today in circulation.[3] All three Sami languages are present on the palette however, as North Sami possesses the biggest number of speakers and educational institutions it also has the biggest number of materials on offer. The printed materials are supplemented with an increasing number of digital resources.[4] These make the work of teachers and pupils/students easier as well as present several options in cases when a Sami teacher cannot be provided to teach their specialisation in the required location.

8. A description of survey conducted in Norway (2009-2010) and of the Norwegian research on Sami (2012)

The core of conducted research consists of a survey with a questionnaire. The main aim of it was to study the attitude of the North Sami group in Norway towards the present-day minority language policy and to see to what degree they use, or can use, the linguistic rights provided by the state. In addition to the questionnaire other data acquisition methods were used, such as observation during visits to educational institutions, interviews and informal conversations.

I carried out my research in Tromsø and its surroundings in Northern Norway, in 2009 and 2010. Tromsø is the County Town of Troms County. It lies adjacent to Finnmark County, which composes the central Sami area (North Sami).

The North Sami group was the focus of my research. During the sampling for the questionnaire people between 18 and 65 years of age and from the active-age groups were chosen, but I did not preclude elderly Sami. Altogether, 126 people participated in the survey.

The selection of the first respondents was done through contacts from two kindergartens, from the school and from the university. With the snowball method more and more people were added to the research sample. The participating institutions were two kindergartens, the Gimle barnehage and the Prestvannet barnehage, a primary school, the Prestvannet skole and the University of Tromsø with its Centre for Sami Studies.

In the last 10-15 years much research has been conducted in Norway with as the central issue the knowledge and the use of Sami. One of these, and the most recent one is the *Samisk språkundersøkelse 2012*, a Norwegian survey about the Sami language situation. It deals with the proportion of Sami people who know Sami with the degree of their knowledge, the use of Sami and their participation in the Sami education. The three main Sami groups in Norway took part in the survey: the North Sami, Lule Sami and South Sami. Among other methods a quantitative survey with a questionnaire was used, which was answered by 2,000 respondents.

[3] their list can be viewed on http://www.statped.no
[4] http://e-skuvla.no

9. Research resuts

Since the study in my survey looked at the complex linguistic situation of the Sami in Tromsø and its surroundings such as language skills, use of language, identity, attitude towards the Sami language and this paper is aimed at the learning in, and of, Sami in the school education in Norway, only the relevant issues will be dealt with.

On the basis of my research in Tromsø in 2009-2010 and the Norwegian surveys from 2000 and 2012 the importance of learning in and of, Sami during school education; the assessment for Sami as well as the utilization of these possibilities were highlighted.

9.1. Competences in Sami –the place and method of learning Sami by the respondents

More than 62% of the respondents learnt Sami in the family context. The appropriate family background makes this possible for them since roughly, in an equal proportion of the respondents, both parents are of Sami descent. Additionally, nearly 15% of the respondents stated they had learnt the language with their family and at kindergarten and/or at school. In addition to learning Sami within the family context, 15% followed a course to develop a higher degree of fluency. There were no respondents who had acquired their knowledge of Sami exclusively in educational institutions.

If we look at the competences of the respondents we can easilt notice that the most striking deficiences appear in the writing skills in Sami. These outcomes are the obvious consequences of the method of language acquisition, or language learning. This means that the language competences of most of the respondents previously obtained in the family context, from the parents, are above all based on oral communication. Accordingly, the oral language competences are dominant. Learning of, and proficiency in writing in Sami seems more typical among those who have participated in the teaching of or in, Sami, in addition to learning within the family context, on courses and in educational institutions. In the case of elderly people, the use and learning of writing in Sami, is not a characteristic feature. This is most probably because before 1970s common North Sami orthography did not exist.

The Sami knowledge that the informants do have also constitutes an essential issue in the Sami language research of 2012. The respondents were asked about their language skills, their use of Sami and the education they and their children completed. As regards the knowledge of Sami almost 45% of the respondents can speak it fluently, very well or well, but only 32% can write in Sami very well or well.

The respondents between 18 and 59 years of age provided the following information about the form in which they learned Sami in educational institutions:

Age	language education	kindergarten	primary school	lower secondary school	upper secondary school
18-29	1. language	32%	28%	28%	23%
	2. language	9%	33%	29%	30%
30-39	1. language	15%	15%	17%	11%
	2. language	4%	31%	26%	28%

40-49	1. language	3%	7%	7%	3%
	2. language	5%	19%	20%	19%
50-59	1. language	0	2%	3%	5%
	2. language	2%	7%	13%	15%

Table 1. Participating in Sami education by age (Språkundersøkelse 2012: 173)

In all the three educational levels, less than a third of the respondents had Sami as a first language. In the last two age groups, the number of people who learned Sami as a first language at all educational levels, is very low (0-7%).

In the higher educational levels this proportion decreased in the age groups of 18-29, and 30-39. In the case of older generations, the number of participants in the learning of Sami as a first language increased, from kindergarten to upper secondary school.

In regards to the children of the respondents, 47% do not receive Sami education in any form, 66% of them are educated at thekindergarten. The three most frequent arguments for it are: the lack of offer, the lack of qualified teachers and the opinion that there is no help with the homework.

Most children have Sami (as a second language or as the language of instruction or as a first language) in primary and lower secondary schools (65% and 62% respectively). The proportion of those who have it as a first language and of those who have it as a second language is approximately the same (about 30%). Also, in upper secondary school, the number of students that have Sami as a first language and of those learning the language as second language is nearly equal.

A very important piece of information was that only 20% of the involved parents said that their child/children has/have education inSami. This means that very few Sami children receive education in Sami and can use the language in different topics, situations and areas – all these factors do not help the children to become functionally bilingual.

9.2 Information regarding the children of the respondents

With the questions regarding the children of the respondents information about their knowledge in Sami and the way and place of language learning, as well as the language-use customs of the families was successfully collected.

The age group at primary school is dominant (more than 41%), 25% are younger than 5, 8% are older than 50, 6% are students in upper secondary school and only 4 % are between 40 and 50, and 2% between 26 and 30.

There were efforts to map the oral knowledge in Sami of the children. The results are as follows: a vast majority of the children (nearly 67%)in the opinion of their parents speaks Sami well, about 20% speak it to a certain degree and under 14% do not speak it at all. These results are absolutely in accordance with the results concerning the language competences of their parents.

Since almost all of the participants of the said survey speak Sami, it is by all means necessary to take into consideration a comprehensive Norwegian survey in order to form a more complete notion of the language skills of the younger generation and thereby of more real present and future prospects of retention of the Sami language.

Regarding the children of the respondents 47% of them have not received Sami instruction at all. Only 25% of the children take part in the learning of Sami as a second language and 28% of Sami as a first language or receive education in Sami.

	no Sami education	little Sami education/ Sami as a second language	education in Sami/ Sami as a first language
kindergarten	66%	10%	24%
primary school	35%	35%	30%
lower secondary school	38%	30%	32%
upper secondary school	43%	30%	27%
altogether	47%	25%	28%

Table 2.Participation in Sami education of the children of the respondents (Språkundersøkelse 2012: 174)

An essential stipulation for the survival of the language is its appropriate acquisition and developing complex language competence by the younger generations. In this – because a considerable part of the Sami population has no or few competences in Sami, an overriding important role falls on the educational institutions – first of all on the kindergartens, the primary and the lower secondary schools.

9.3 Willingness for Sami education and motivation for it

All of my interviewees and conversation partners – teachers, parents, and students, named kindergarten and school as the most important present-day factors in the retention of the Sami language. This is due to the fact that these institutions are able to provide the right environment for the acquisition of the language to children of numerous families,which have no knowledge of Sami with the exception of the Sami administrative area where people have competences in Sami in greater numbers and therefor families play the most important role in the language learning and acquisition.

According to the results of research and observation the tendency for an increasing number of people – in the case when parents or grandparents do not speak the language anymoreand are beginning to learn Sami – is not only apparent in Tromsø but also in the wider region.

10. Conclusion

Most respondents hold the view that kindergarten and school education in Sami is very important. In addition, however, the use of Sami outside these institutions is seen as very crucial, too.

The resources for the use of Sami invaried locations (kindergartens, schools with education in Sami, offices, shops with Sami speaking staff) are significantly different as it is mainly in the settlements inside the Sami administrative area that more opportunities exist for Sami education (learning in Sami, Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language) as well as for the use of language in everyday situations. The available

opportunities outside this area are limited and Tromsø can be seen as an example of this phenomenon. Only one Sami kindergarten functions in town and no Sami school. Besides there is only one Sami class in a school and Sami teaching solely in certain schools. The children typically do not have the possibility to continue with education in Sami after kindergarten and even more so after primary school.

As a consequence of these deficiencies many children with the Sami background do not or cannot choose education in Sami. A noticeable tendency is that the children at school prefer to learn Sami as a second language rather than as a first language, which strengthens the position of Norwegian and hinders the development of bilingualism of the younger generations rendering the revitalization of the Sami languages more difficult. All these factors affect mostly the Lule and South Sami.

Within the span of a few decades the attitude to and the practice of Sami education has changed considerably. However, as we can see there are many measures to be taken in the near future both on the part of the state and on the part of the Sami communities in order to reach the aims drawn up in the interests of the Sami languages.

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The Success of Non-Native Bilingualism in Poland

Abstract:
Non-Native Bilingualism (NNB) is a condition where parents share the same native language living in the community where their native language is predominantly used and the child is always addressed by either parent or both in a language which is not their native language. The study of NNB was inspired by parents who had decided to practise NNB despite the critical warnings from some researchers. The question about NNB is not whether it exists, works or is worth trying or not, but why and how NNB families deal with non-native language learning at home, as well as what factors may influence the child's upbringing in NNB. To understand the project and NNB, the holistic thinking style is presented with the emphasis on the numerous factors involved in the process of the Non-Native Child's upbringing. The role of the social factor and history of the society that influence the notion of success are discussed in the article.

Introduction

These days, nobody denies the existence of Non-Native Bilingualism (henceforth NNB). This approach of language education has its place in the literature. Suzanne Romaine (1995: 184, 198–203), following Harding and Riley (1986: 47-8), distinguished among five principal types of early childhood bilingualism. One of them is Non-Native Bilingualism defined as a phenomenon where parents always address their child in a language which is not their native language in an environment where their native language is used as the community's dominant language. The concept of Non-Native Bilingualism is described in the books by G. Saunders (1982, 1988), S. Döpke (1992), M.I. Jimenez (2011), thesis by B. Ziętara (2012), D. Krakowian (2001), A. Michalak (2009) as well as numerous articles and blogs (the list of blogs has been provided in References). The research on this phenomenon considering qualitative and quantitative data is being conducted within the NNBproject.eu (S. Szramek-Karcz 2014a).

Non-Native Bilingualism (NNB) arouses controversy, as its underlying assumption is that a parent does not speak his/her native language to the child. The NNB stems neither from the wish to assimilate with the environment as early as possible (as is the case of immigration), nor from the low status of L1 (as in the case of subtractive bilingualism), but is a conscious decision to speak to a child in a foreign language (parents' L2) in a natural way. NNB is defined in the literature as one of the ways to become bilingual. M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013: 79–80) discriminates between three possible types of bilingual upbringing in a family: linguistically mixed families (international couples), immigrant families and the families (NNB families as referred

to in our studies) where: "The child acquires the language that is not native to either of the parents. Moreover, it is not the language of a community within which the family lives. In this case, one or both parents deliberately choose a language different from their native language to communicate with the child. Another variant of this case is when a non-parent staying at the child's home (e.g. a nanny) speaks a different language to the child. [*author's translation*]" (M. Olpińska-Szkiełko 2013: 81). Parents understand the significance of natural language learning and more and more of them decide to speak a foreign language to their children. At present, both negative and positive opinions on NNB elucidate the need for the research, analysis and balanced judgements.

The article is organized as follows: first the methodological assumptions are presented with the holistic point of view and the need of understanding the NNB phenomenon in the social context. Next, due to the importance of social factor in applying NNB, the Polish part of the project is presented with the description of the ethnic diversity in Poland. The historical background enables us to understand the attitudes which are crucial for the success of NNB. The issue of the concept of success will constitute the third part of the article. The analysis shows the importance of the social factor in the NNB research and it is devoted to the specific linguistic and social environments for practising NNB.

1. The holistic thinking style

Selected aspects of NNB are handled in detail (S. Szramek-Karcz/ D. Tomaszewski/ K. Kuros-Kowalska 2015), whereas NNB as such is treated holistically. This holistic thinking style (E. Aronson/ D.T. Wilson/ R.M. Akert 2010) focuses on the relationships between objects and is common in the cultural sphere of East Asia. Typical NNB research methods (S. Szramek-Karcz 2014a) include: interviews, questionnaires, naturalistic observations, participant observations, linguistic competence measurements, speech-therapy research on children as well as attitudinal analyses. The main task of the present project is to create a trustworthy list of contributing factors in NNB based on qualitative and quantitative analyses interpreted thoroughly. Ignoring the NNB environment leads to numerous erroneous conclusions (as pointed out by the opponents of NNB) drawn hastily as a consequence of having taken into consideration a too narrow sample and limiting the range of relevant factors.

The research project covers families successfully implementing NNB and those that no longer do it, or even consider it as a mistake. The project's aim to neither to advise for NNB nor against it. Its objective is to describe the phenomenon of NNB and work out a list of contributing and limiting factors in order to help families to make a conscious decision, to apply the NNB in the right successful way (the meaning of success is analysed hereinafter).The NNB research is family-oriented (J. Brzeziński 2006) where the good state of being constitutes the main interest. The support for NNB families is manifested by organizing workshops for parents and meetings for children. The process of data collection does not disturb the everyday life of the family and protect the relation in the family which make the project a longitudinal study.

The research on NNB started with a ten-month naturalistic observation (October 1999 – June 2000) of a 6-year-old boy, whose parents were Austrian living in Austria. The child's mother talked to him in French, which the father did not speak. In 2004, a

participant observation of a girl was conducted and then in 2008 another one which involved a boy, both being raised by non-native French-speaking mother. In 2011–2012, meetings with the NNB families from all over Poland were held. Most parents, who were asked about other people bringing up their children in NNB, answered positively. Thus the circle of families taking part in the project was extended substantially to 48 families. With the help of Aleksandra Lazar, the administrator of a Facebook group devoted to raising bi-/multilingual children (July 2015) called 'Dwujęzyczność dziecięca' consisting of more than 4,000 members, the project developed on the international scale.

Considering the multitude of factors involved in NNB one must be very careful in data interpreting, in order not to spread the myths about the harmfulness of speaking to a child in a non-native language. In superficially analysed case studies of NNB families, the opponents of NNB make, among others, the *fundamental attribution error*. The term, belonging to the realm of social psychology, stands for the tendency to overestimate the influence of internal factors on human behaviour and underestimates the importance of situational factors. Thus, a significant role in NNB research is played by attitudes (S. Szramek-Karcz/ M. Wolny *in preparation*), sociology (S. Szramek-Karcz, 2015d), an individual's family situation (S. Szramek-Karcz 2015e – a new case study *in preparation*). As NNB is a sociological phenomenon, the name had to be chosen in a thoughtful manner.

In English the NNB is referred to as 'elective bilingualism', 'artificial bilingualism', 'cultivated bilingualism', 'intentional bilingualism', or as adopted in our research, non-native bilingualism. The "non-native" is an unmarked label (as opposed to inherently negative 'artificial bilingualism' or positive 'elective bilingualism') and, what is more, it does not favour the parent as the only entity bringing up the child in that way, as the role can be fulfilled by a guardian, grandparent or a nanny; see the above-mentioned definition by M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013: 81). It is the person responsible for a child that decides on their upbringing, using particular educational methods and speaking (or not) a non-native language to the child. It is worth mentioning that parents who started implementing NNB in Poland several years ago were fiercely criticized. Nowadays the situation seems to be less difficult for families starting NNB as it is gaining on popularity. It is to be strongly emphasized that making a particular decision is the parents' private matter and should not be evaluated without respect for the parents' choice, because the NNB history of research seems to follow the same path as research devoted to bilingualism used in the past: from total criticism to total delight.

The opponents of NNB raise the argument that it is not bilingualism because the parents are not 'real' native speakers and the created situation is artificial. However, the 'bilingualism' part in the adopted name of Non-Native Bilingualism is justified as the research in question defines bilingualism – a regular use of two or more languages or dialects (F. Grosjean, 2008: 119). A child who lives in Poland in a NNB family is addressed in a language different from Polish every day, thus it is considered bilingual in the NNB project. The degree of mastering a language, its active or passive usage are discussed elsewhere (S. Szramek-Karcz, *A Non-Native Bilingual Family in Poland*, a case study describing the NNB family with four grown up children, in preparation).

The name of this type of language education, that is, "Non-Native Parenting", even if very true and accurate, could not be adopted as NNB as it is also practised by nannies

or other guardians (M. Olpińska-Szkiełko 2013: 81), grandfathers or uncles (B. Krakowian 2000). One ought to remember that neither a nanny, nor parents, mentioned in the above definition are native speakers of the language they address the child, unless it is a native support, as in Ellen and Chris's family (B. Pearson 2007) where a Spanish nanny was hired to offer some input of Spanish in the NNB family. The holistic thinking style allows us to consider the NNB phenomenon with other members of the family involved as the source of L2 as Non-Native Speakers. As "no man is an island", the social aspects must be the first ones to be taken into consideration, especially the language configuration in the nearest society.

2. Polish ethnic diversity

In accordance with what has been stated, it is essential that the first part of the research in question be conducted in Poland, a country in Central Europe with the area of 312,685 square km, the home of 38.23 million inhabitants, including 37,530,000 Polish citizens. The only difference between NNB families from all over the world (the list of blogs in References) is their cultural and social background (the example of Romania in S. Szramek-Karcz 2015d). This aspect turns out to be crucial in taking up and continuing NNB.

Polish ethnic diversity is the first characteristic feature of Polish NNB families as compared with the aforementioned NNB families from other countries. The ethnic diversity of the Polish society sounds like an oxymoron considering the data showing simply incredible, in the world of today, ethnic homogeneity of Poland. Nationalities or ethnic groups other than Poles amount to about 1-3%, whereas foreigners, i.e. people without the Polish citizenship, 0.2% (MSW 2009, in A. Giza./ M. Sikorska 2012: 50). These rough figures follow the fact that „Non-Polish national identity is declared by 444,600 (1.2 %) Polish citizens. Moreover 2.0 % citizens did not declare any national identity." (M. Moskal 2004: 5).

T. Wicherkiewicz (2006: 657) points out that „During the 2002 official population census, 36,895,241 Polish citizens declared Polish nationality (98.31%), and 37,294, 690 declared Polish as their home language (99.37%), including 36,802,514 Polish monolinguals (98.06%)". This situation can explain the stir, which NNB families cause in the playground, when it is revealed that the parents do not speak Polish to their children. As related by NNB parents, the frequently asked questions then are: "Do you come from England/France/Germany? Your husband/wife isn't a Pole, is she/he? Why do you address your child in a foreign language?" NNB parents point out the fact that when the asking person is informed about NNB, the dialogue tends to change into a monologue – the person who asked questions is telling a story about his/her language learning: the time of its start, its duration, its efficiency. All NNB families have experienced such reactions and consider them typical of newly-met strangers in Poland. The problem is that we do not know how many families are practising NNB in Poland as 48 NNB families studied in the project constitute only a fraction of all parents that apply NNB in Poland.

It is to be emphasized that the present Polish monolingualism came to the fore in recent history. However, before the Second World War, Poland was a multilingual and multicultural country where Poles comprised only 64-69% of all the inhabitants

(N. Davies 1996). In 1939, Nazi Germany by attacking Poland, began the Second World War that until May 1945 had claimed 55 million lives including 6 million Poles. The situation in Poland changed after the leaders of the USA, the USSR and the UK had made some decisions at three subsequent conferences: in Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) and Potsdam (1945). In the absence of other countries, several changes in Europe were made, among others those in the shape of Poland: eastern Poland was awarded to Russia in exchange for Recovered Territories, formerly German. Those post-war decisions played a part in the division of Europe into two hostile armed camps divided by the symbolic Iron Curtain. At that time Poland got within the scope of communist influence which is seen in the NNB research by the choice of the language and the L2 acquisition strategy adopted.

The present-day, Polish attitude towards Russian is the outcome, among others, of those political decisions. As soon as the communist period in Poland ended, Russian was immediately replaced with Western languages (English, French and German) at schools. Any shortages in teaching staff were alleviated by means of newly-created three-year teacher training colleges. Research into NNB confirms the difficult situation of Russian: namely, the Polish parent who knows both English and Russian either chooses English to communicate with the child, or teaches the child Russian at home, while selecting another language in the playground. Parents teach their children Russian at home in order to spare them rejection, hostile reaction from peers.

As far as multilingualism is concerned, the families participating at NNBproject.eu do not need to keep the rule "speak always and everywhere the one particular language you have preselected". On the contrary, it is the parents themselves that decide whether they withdraw temporarily from the OPOL rule and switch to the majority language. Research has not demonstrated the fact that parents switching languages may have any harmful influence on the child, whereas forcing the child to answer in L2 can result in both rejecting the language and deteriorating the parental bond. Both acquisition and learning a language should be based on good (intrinsic) motivation (S. Szramek-Karcz 2015c, 2015f). The stand taken by the project researchers is that any decision concerning pursuing, abandoning or following a particular strategy should be left to parents, while describing only those aspects that are worth paying attention to, in order to render bilingualism additive.

The inhabited region reflects the layout of choosing L2 by NNB families in Poland. In the present sample, most German-Polish NNB families (not to be confused with the German minority) live in Opole and Silesian Voivodeships. M. Moskal (2004) writes: "Germans inhabit mainly the Opole province (70.1%) and Upper Silesia (20.1%); however in the case of Silesians the situation is reversed because 85.8% of people who declared Silesian identity reside in the Silesian province and the rest of the population (14%) is concentrated in the Opole province". However, it does not entail a more favourable environment's reaction to NNB. One should remember the politics after The Second World War (1933–1945). In Recovered Territories (see the history facts quoted above) the authorities of the Polish People's Republic adopted the policy of Polonization. As a result German was forbidden, the names of towns and surnames were changed in order to sound Polish. During the recent meeting of NNB families using German the issue of unpleasant and difficult situations they are faced with when heard speaking German to their children was raised.

However, unfavourable reactions from the environment are not limited to German or Russian. Polish linguistic homogeneity results in, among others, not always positive reactions to the parent speaking a foreign language to the child, if the parent is not a native speaker of a language but pretends to be a foreigner. NNB parents write in surveys and say in interviews that they are sometimes treated as if they wanted to show off their language skills or to backbite those present, keep secrets, using the code of another language. Each of the studied families has met at least once with a xenophobic reaction expressed by means of the sentence: "In Poland speak as Poles do," "I wonder what you are talking about" (uttered in an ironic tone). The homogeneity of Poles can result in lower tolerance of otherness. The data on immigrants' assimilation and the double-quick attrition of their mother tongue as early as in the first generation show that Poles hardly accept what is other, unknown or new (A. Giza/ M. Sikorska 2012: 54). So immigrants' quick linguistic assimilation can be associated with the familiar process of Polonization when adopting Polish resulted in raising one's prestige, social status, etc.

In Poland, not only the linguistic situation has changed (from multilingual into dominated in 98% by Polish speakers), but also the concept of success, whose semantic evolution was analysed in detail by E. Grzeszczyk (2003). The question "how to be successful in NNB" is a tricky one as the concept of success has got two main meanings and still many negative connotations and interpretations analysed below.

3. The concept of success

In Poland, the understanding of success, as shown with the ethnic and linguistic situation, must be seen as a process with historical background. Following the change of political system (the fall of communism in 1989), *doing nothing* went out of fashion: "Media started to promote aggressively the new role model – a successful person, active, dynamic and resourceful, concentrated chiefly on a career and receiving an income that allows them to live to a decent standard: to have a house, a car, go on holidays overseas, buy in trendy shops" (E. Grzeszczyk 2003: 9). The word has changed its sense from socialist propaganda for society's sake into individual success associated with career and money. However, a part of Polish population still considers success as connected with egoism, rejection of moral values in order to gain short-term financial benefits (E. Grzeszczyk 2003: 9). Most of E. Grzeszczyk's respondents classify themselves as the followers of moderate success understood as "earning a living, decent standard of life and children's education, albeit without any extravagance" (2003: 290). Indeed, upbringing one's children in NNB is sometimes seen as extravagance.

This extravagance is observed in the answers collected from the parents. They perceive speaking to their child in public places as an example of difficulties in applying NNB, because it makes them open to criticism and attracts attention. Words from the interview (S. Szramek-Karcz 2014b) for the Polish Press Agency that the most important thing for a child is to be understood, accepted and safe and if speaking to the child in [a language] in public exposes it to ridicule, we can do it more discreetly, were given a warm welcome. Bilingualism should be the source of joy for the parent, as only then the parent's enthusiasm and positive attitude towards L2 will be passed on to the child. In this respect, the *tall poppy syndrome* known from the Australian culture and described, among others, by R. Dębski (2009: 27) is to be observed in Poland. *Collins Dictionary*

defines the expression as Australian and rather informal, a tendency to disparage any person who has achieved great prominence or wealth: *chop down anyone who does better than the mediocre*[1]. The NNB parents are often seen like a kind of tall poppy.

The suspicious approach to success in Poland (L. Lewicka 2005) is evidenced not only by the titles of publications on ethical standards, such as the collected papers edited by Rev. J. Mariański, S. Zięba (2008) entitled „Godność czy Sukces. Kulturowe dylematy współczesności" ['Dignity or Success. Contemporary Cultural Dilemmas'], which presupposes that the terms in question are opposite, but also in the guidebook for the large audience. The title of the book *Nice Girls Never Get the Corner Office* by Lois P. Frankel (2014, 2005) was translated into Polish as „Grzeczne dziewczynki nie awansują" ['Good (not naughty) Girls Are not Promoted']. This suggests that a woman should be a kind of a 'naughty girl' in order to achieve success, in contrast with the contents of the book which is about unconscious mistakes women make that sabotage their careers. Additionally, the cover in the Polish version features a high heel that crushes a man's shoe. The Polish publisher, to sell the book, indicates the aggressive, unrestrained method of moving up the career ladder. The 'promotion,' as it appears in the title, is a symbol of professional success in Poland. We can see the success in a negative context.

What is still underestimated in the Polish society is the motivation for achievements, the strive for better and better fulfilment of one's responsibilities (no matter if it concerns tidying, writing a book, managing a company), the boost of one's skills and strengths, noticing still new requirements and creating them (K. Skarżyńska 2005: 69). At the same time, research (D. McClelland 1967, K. Varga 1977, D. Doliński 1995, T. Tyszka 1997, D. Landes 2003) confirms the interdependence between the intensity of motivation for achievements in a given culture and its economic growth. As K. Skarżyńska (2005) notices, in Poland 'success' is more appreciated if it was achieved easily, e.g. winning one million zlotys in a lottery is considered a greater success than earning it. Fosterling (2001) demonstrates that the value of success depends on the awareness of its causes. That is why NNB children can hear people underestimating their knowledge of language: 'The father can speak the language, so he taught it to the child, nothing special in it'. Good motivation (no expectation of recognition by others) is one of the factors in correct NNB practices (S. Szramek-Karcz 2015f).

The attitude towards the English word *success* is reflected in its translation into Polish counterparts: *powodzenie* 'achievement,' i.e. in 'Her success is due to hard work and determination.'(*cel został osiągnięty*), and *sukces* 'good result' in 'His first film was a great success' (*dobry wynik, popularność*)[2].

Likewise, the definition in a Polish dictionary distinguishes two senses[3]:
1. *«pomyślny wynik jakiegoś przedsięwzięcia, osiągnięcie zamierzonego celu»* 'a successful result of an undertaking, the achievement of an intended goal'
2. *«zdobycie sławy, majątku, wysokiej pozycji itp.»* 'gaining fame, wealth, a high status, etc.'

[1] http: //www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/tall-poppy-syndrome
[2] http: //dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-polish/success
[3] http: //sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/sukces;2576536

The first definition refers to setting goals and reaching them by individuals, whereas the second one is associated with success understood as a social phenomenon. Gaining fame, wealth and a high status did not mean success in all of the societies and in all the epochs (E. Grzeszczyk 2003).

With the NNB research, we want to contribute to the evolution of the word 'success' in Poland and we apply the first sense of that word. The parents are satisfied when they achieve the aims that they have set themselves, or when the result exceeds their expectations. Reasonable expectations are a prerequisite for parents' satisfaction, which in turn translates into children's satisfaction. Therefore, by *success* we mean 'a successful result of an undertaking, the achievement of an intended goal'. The success of NNB means its best course. The best course, in turn, stands for such a way of implementing NNB that is satisfactory for a child and their parents, holds the family together, has a positive effect on the family members.

4. Conclusion

The Non-Native Biligualism is one possible way for a child who can understand and speak two or more languages or dialects to become bilingual (F. Grosjean 2008: 119). The article is a part of the NNB project. In 5,153 words, we barely scratch the surface of the Success and Non-Native Bilingualism in Poland. The most important factors influencing the NNB were presented and the topic related issues will be continued in further publications.

The holistic thinking style was underlined as the analysis of other factors lead to the harmful and very judgmental opinions about NNB. In the NNB research, one should avoid definitive judgments, as it concerns an extremely delicate matter of family, its life, relationships, communication, etc. The holistic frame leads us to the social factor, especially the linguistic reality the family is living in, the attitudes of the society members, people's every day reaction. Parents are told to stop speaking a non-native language to their child. The aim of the research is to elaborate a list of factors that make NNB a great family adventure.

The sociological aspect is one of the most important issues while choosing the language and practising NNB. The picture of the ethnic diversity in Poland and the history of migrations enable us to understand people's reactions to Poles who live in Poland and speak a foreign language to their child. Fortunately, as shown earlier, in the Polish society the attitudes to NNB change as well as the meaning of success.

The concept of success has involves a sociological aspect and cannot be studied without a society where it is used. The evolution of the word meaning is slowly approaching the concept of the motivation of achievements where self-determination plays a major role. Realistic goals, atmosphere and good motivation are the key to success understood as the achievement of an intended goal.

The research has demonstrated so far that NNB is not influenced by such factors as child's temperament or gender, parent's temperament or gender, their political preferences, religious beliefs or researchers' opinions. In fact, a lot of families decided to take up NNB in spite of researchers' unfavorable opinions because they had met another NNB family or considered the issue of language acquisition according to common sense. The parents' expectations and children's language level are a matter we are going to discuss next.

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Blogs of NNB families

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Cognitive Correlates of Bilingualism

Abstract:
This article explores the extent to which two factors commonly said to influence the effectiveness with which learners acquiring a second language to a near-native level (thus achieving *bilingualism*) can also affect the learner's cognitive development. These factors are age and socio-cultural attitude. Beginning with an investigation of academic theories on correlations between bilingualism and cognitive faculties, the main focus of this article will be on the interpretation of studies involving bilingual subjects and modern arguments agreeing or contesting theories in this field which still suffers from an undeniable scarcity of practical data.

Introduction

In 1962, E. Peal and W.E. Lambert introduced the concept of 'balanced bilinguals', which significantly shifted the prevailing views on bilingualism (E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 1962). Before their seminal article, bilingualism had been regarded as potentially deleterious to cognitive development, and had been associated with reduced performance in various cognitive tasks. However E. Peal and W.E. Lambert noticed that early studies had not matched bilingual and monolingual participants along several key dimensions, such as gender, age, socio-economic status, second-language proficiency, and urban-rural contexts. Noting the lack of academic rigor in previous studies E. Peal and W. E. Lambert found that when researching these external factors, bilingual participants significantly outperformed monolinguals on measures of verbal and nonverbal intelligence.

Since then, a body of evidence has accumulated in support of the assertion that bilingualism is associated with certain cognitive benefits. Despite this, however, there still remain certain pertinent questions relating to external factors that might play a role in the above-mentioned cognitive benefits. This article will thus begin with a brief review of certain cognitive benefits that have manifested themselves, noting in particular studies addressing executive control and metacognitive awareness. It will subsequently address a contentious point, which has been the extent to which metalinguistic awareness is increased in bilinguals. Recognising the importance of certain external factors such as age and socialization, this article will then address some of the factors that seem to confound studies looking at bilingualism.

1. Bilingualism and executive control

Over the last few decades, there has been considerable evidence that bilinguals enjoy a greater degree of executive control over their monolingual peers. Explanations have generally suggested that bilinguals have increased executive control as a result of having to control their attention through selecting the target language. Effectively, research has claimed that the capacity to inhibit linguistic intrusions from another language has developed the bilinguals' general control mechanism, often reflected by a better performance on tasks involving conflicting information. Not all studies, however, reach the same conclusion, which raised doubt as to whether the results could be said to be significant.

J.B. Morton and S.N. Harper (2007) have argued that inconclusive studies on increased executive control in bilinguals were the outcome of mismatched participants from varying income brackets. Following this assertion, a recent study sought to determine whether comparing low socio-economic status (SES) groups would provide similar results, or whether a lower, as opposed to a higher SES, would result in differentiated cognitive outcomes in bilinguals and monolinguals in their general control mechanism. The study used a sample of 40 bilingual children and 40 monolingual children from low SES and subjected both participant groups to selective attention and interference suppression tests. In support of current evidence, the study found that low SES bilingual participants performed better in executive control tests than the monolingual control group.

In a separate study, E. Bialystok et al. (2007) sought to determine the effects of lifelong bilingualism on maintaining cognitive functioning and delaying the onset of dementia in old age. The hypothesis suggested that bilingualism increases a person's 'cognitive reserves' (i.e. the brain's ability to cope with increasing damage and still function) through 'sustained complex mental activity' (E. Bialystok et al. 2007: 459). Indeed, as bilingualism has shown to increase attention control in children and adults, the authors argue it will also contribute to a higher cognitive reserve and protect older adults from cognitive decline in dementia. Similar studies, which have sought to determine the impact of bilingualism on incidence of dementia, such as M. J. Valenzuela, and P. Sachdev (2006), strongly support the assertion that bilingualism engages the brain in a complex mental activity, such as a person's executive control mechanisms.

Another area, which has associated a positive connection between bilingualism and cognitive benefits, has been metacognitive awareness. Metacognitive awareness refers to an individual's ability to acknowledge one's own cognitive strategies in language-processing, or 'an awareness of one's own learning strategies and the mental activities required to self-regulate the learning process (O. Adescope et al. 2010). In a study designed to investigate metacognitive awareness, monolingual and multilingual preschoolers were exposed to two movie clips to explore the reactions to an exolingual situation of communication. The preschoolers were between the ages of 4 and 6. The experimental design had an interlocutor engaged in a conversation with the preschooler after the movie clip in a different language to observe the children's reception of information. The results of the study confirmed the hypothesis that bilingual and multilingual children would outperform monolinguals in their inclination to continue

communication with the actor instead of giving up exchange. Effectively, bilingual preschoolers utilized their awareness of existing language structures and adapted these to the exolingual communication. While understanding was limited, the amount of time spent trying to understand the communication suggests that these children are more aware of certain linguistic structures and concepts.

In a separate study, S. Ransdell et al. (2008) investigated metacognitive awareness in college students from a range of language experience backgrounds. The experimental design compared metacognitive awareness in college students as measured by self-reported ratings of reading, writing, speaking and listening skills. Monolingual, bilingual and multilingual students from America, Estonia and France read for comprehension and remembered sentence final words in a reading task in their own language. The results showed that multilingual and bilingual students had better metacognitive awareness of their language skills in working memory and reading than their monolingual peers, who have the same native language level. Similarly, C. Kemp (2007) explored the use of grammar learning strategies in 144 monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals. The hypothesis was very much consistent with the previous two studies and posited that multilinguals have enhanced grammar-learning strategies as a result of a better-developed metacognitive awareness. In other words, individuals who are able to speak multiple languages are better able to discern the ways in which they use the forms and structure of language. C. Kemp (2007) used a background language questionnaire which consisted of 40 grammar-learning strategies on a 5-point Likert scale, and questions on other grammar acquisition strategies. The findings of the study suggested that bilinguals and multilinguals used significantly more grammar learning strategies, and used these more frequently than monolinguals. Interestingly, the study also suggested that multilinguals used more of the 40 grammar learning strategies and each additional language learned increased the frequency of these strategies.

2. Bilingualism and metalinguistic awareness

In the area of metalinguistic awareness, however, there has been more contention as to whether bilinguals have an increased metalinguistic awareness, defined as the ability to understand the underlying meaning of language from its form and structure. Certain studies on metalinguistic awareness and bilingualism have suggested that the ability to hold two languages concurrently allows for a deeper understanding of how language works. This however, has not been ubiquitously proven, and indeed there have been a range of studies, which indicate that certain cognitive advantages of bilinguals may only manifest themselves as a product of a particular combination of languages, the age of the subjects, or the particular style of instruction. E. Bialystok et al. (2003), for example, conducted three studies examining the development of phonological awareness in bilingual and monolingual pre-school children. While the two first studies provided inconclusive results, the third study, which included both phoneme substitution tasks and a phoneme segmentation task, indicated that English-Spanish bilinguals performed better at the segmentation task than the English speaking monolinguals. However, a second bilingual group consisting of children speaking English and Chinese, proved to do worse at both tasks than the Anglo-Spanish and monolingual groups. Studies in the

past looking at metalinguistic awareness and bilingualism have generally indicated similar trends.

M. Bruck and F. Genesee (1995) compared English-speaking monolingual children with other Anglophone children attending French schools. The study was longitudinal and followed the children from kindergarten to first grade. Interestingly, while in kindergarten, the children in the French programs performed better on onset-rime segmentation tasks, the advantages disappeared in the first grade, replaced by an advantage in a syllable counting task. The results of the study suggested that while bilingual children seemed to have an advantage in kindergarten, the nature of the cognitive benefit, in this case metalinguistic awareness, may change over time due to several different factors such as type of language, age, and instruction. Indeed in M. Bruck and F. Genesee's study, it was hypothesized that the structure of French phonology, making syllables more salient than English phonology, was the reason for this manifest advantage in the first grade.

G. W. Yelland et al. (1993) also found that certain metalinguistic advantages which bilingual children indicated in kindergarten, disappeared in the first grade. In this study, children were asked to make judgments of the sound structure of words by determining whether simple pictures depicted a long-named object (polysyllabic) or a short-named object (monosyllabic). They found that while bilinguals outperformed monolinguals in kindergarten, the advantage disappeared at the end of grade one. Also similar to M. Bruck, and F. Genesee, however, was the constant advantage of bilinguals in word recognition tasks. However, ultimately this area remains contentious as studies do not all demonstrate a clear advantage for bilingual children in regards to metalinguistic awareness as a whole. Additionally, the studies seem to underline the importance of taking into consideration context-specific variations, such as age, which might influence the perceived benefits of bilingualism.

3. Bilingualism and creativity

Likewise, it has been generally argued that bilingualism in children has positive results on that child's creative and divergent thinking. This assertion has equally been met with skepticism, with several studies claiming varying views. Divergent and convergent thinking may be seen as inherently similar but are fundamentally different in the cognitive mechanisms, which are used in each process. Divergent thinking has been exemplified by J.P. Guilford's et al. (1967) alternate uses task in which participants were asked to come up with as many possible uses for a pen as possible. In contrast, M.T. Mednick's (1962) remote associates task presented participants with three concepts, and the participants had to find a word that linked all three.

Divergent thinking is theorized as benefitting from a cognitive control state that prioritizes a minimum of local competition and top-down bias. In other words, the individual must be able to switch from one concept to the other with little resistance. Conversely, convergent thinking benefits from a strong top-down bias and local competition, so that the thinking is restricted to funneling particular concepts through. Past studies have suggested that bilinguals have an increased advantage on divergent thinking tasks (L.A. Ricciardelli 1992). More recently, however, these findings have been increasingly questioned. B. Hommel (2011) in particular claims that age might

explain the apparent inconsistencies in the results. Indeed, a vast majority of studies looking at links between divergent thinking and bilingualism have used children as participants. The importance of this is underlined in the fact that both divergent and convergent studies have been shown to be mediated by the two major dopaminergic pathways in humans – the striatal and frontal pathway. These pathways are strongly affected by developmental factors and keep developing into early adulthood. Indeed, taking into account the wider literature on creativity, the variability noticed in individual creativity over a life span is congruent with the variability noticed in divergent and convergent thinking with bilingualism. The outcome of B. Hommel's (2011) study indicated that, as opposed to L.A. Ricciardelli's (1992), proficient bilinguals are stronger with convergent thinking because of the focused cognitive control state needed to manage two separate languages at once. While B. Hommel's study is congruent with most studies, which indicate that bilinguals outperform monolinguals in verbal fluency tests, it also goes against the expectation that bilingualism is associated with a greater degree of cognitive flexibility.

4. Age and socio-cultural attitude as external factors to bilingualism

Having noted discrepancies within various areas associating bilingualism and its cognitive correlates, two external factors in particular stand out: *age* and *socio-cultural attitude*. As aforementioned, socio-economic circumstances may heavily impact the extent to which bilinguals might exhibit advantages in cognitive processing. It also follows that socio-cultural attitudes towards bilingualism and the use of certain languages might impact results differently. These two factors are often heavily interconnected, and as such we will speak of age as both in and of itself important in assessing the cognitive correlates of bilingualism, but also as heavily dependent to the context of second language acquisition.

The last few decades have seen a considerable amount of work going into empirical research on the question of age and second language acquisition. While the neuro-cognitive development literature is highly useful in understanding how an individual becomes bilingual as a child and the impact it will have throughout their life, it is equally essential to uncover the outcome of becoming bilingual later in life. Indeed, while many bilingual children may have simply grown up in bilingual households, a vast number of individuals will have learned a second language at various other times, which in turn might affect the level of cognitive processing. In many cases, the age of acquisition (AoA) is understood as the age at which learners are immersed in the second language (L2) context, while the age of exposure (AoE) refers to situations in which the learner is exposed to the L2 language (such as a formal schooling environment, visits to an L2 country, contact with L2 native speakers, etc.).

In a survey of the data on the relationship between AoA and cognitive processing, D. Birdsong (2006) presents three differing paradigms, which suggest different outcomes based on critical periods of maturation. These periods effectively evidence studies which have indicated that at a certain age, SLA produces the best cognitive outcomes. The first of three observed effects of maturation shows a direct decline ceasing at a point of articulation coinciding with the end of maturation. The second suggests that the period leading up to maturation is where success is guaranteed and after

which outcomes of SLA decline throughout old age. The third possibility, posited by J.S Johnson and E.L. Newport (1989), compounds the two first theories in what begins as an upper ceiling during which SLA is guaranteed success, and which declines until maturation is achieved, at which time the rate of success flat-lines and no further age effects are seen. The downward slope, according to this theory, begins before puberty. However, instead of finding the flat-lining after maturation, J.S. Johnson and E.L. Newport found random dispersion points indicating that the flattening feature of the age function is not present in the data. K. Hakuta and E. Bialystok (1994) later found a significant correlation using J. S. Johnson and E. L. Newport's data when putting the maturation period after 20 years. However, instead of finding a flat-line, they found a declining negative correlation of AoA for the late arriving group.

Thus, the conceptualisation of a 'critical period' in which SLA produces the best cognitive outcome remains contentious. While there is a general acceptance that there is a certain age at which the benefits of cognitive processing in SLA begin to decline, there have been wildly varying proposals suggesting when this 'peak learning time' will finish, varying from just after birth to late adolescence. A series of proposals by E.H. Lenneberg et al. 1967, M.H. Long 1990, S. Pinker 1994, T. Scovel 2000 and H.M. Seliger 1978 have posited that changes occur around puberty, however, there are divergences regarding whether these changes signal a critical period in the non-conventional sense (when the declines in performance begin), or in the conventional sense (when performance decline ceases). On the whole, it appears that little evidence from cognitive, brain volume or dopaminergic literature gives credence to this maturational account – even if the literature does indicate a general decline in cognitive performance over time (D. Birdsong, 2006). As a result, certain theorists have underscored the importance of taking into account the socio-cultural context of SLA as an important external factor, which plays a critical role in determining the cognitive correlates of bilingualism.

In particular in socio-cultural studies and bilingualism, the notion of the 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD) has substantially impacted theorists in developmental psychology, education and applied linguistics. The most known definition of ZPD is often referenced to L.S. Vygotsky (1978:86) and is:

> […] the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers […]

As well as being generally important for education policy, ZPD is a crucial factor to be taken into account when determining the outcome of bilingualisation with regards to benefits in cognitive processing. Indeed, according to L.S. Vygotsky, learning is a process in which the learner acquires certain higher level cultural tools (i.e. language, literacy, numeracy, etc.) in order to navigate one's reality, which is embedded in a complex network of social symbols and artifacts. It follows then that each social environment will afford varying outcomes in terms of an individual's performance in SLA. ZPD has thus been spearheaded by various theoretical schools using elements of socio-cultural theory in order to both shape learning styles which might optimize a learning environment, but also as a means to explain certain inconsistencies which, for socio-cultural theorists, might be explained by the varying ways in which individuals are socialized into SLA. According to J.P. Lantolf and S.L. Thorne (2006), the three

elements, which are of crucial concern in the process of acquiring a second language, may be summarized as 'mediation and regulation', internalisation and ZPD. Mediation and regulation summarises the view that all human activity does not directly relate with the world, but rather their cognitive activities are mediated through symbolic artifacts. Internalisation, on the other hand, is the mechanism by which 'interpersonal and person–environment interaction both forms and transforms one's internal mental functions, as well as the role of imitation in learning and development' (J.P. Lantolf/ S.L. Thorne, 2006). Taking these three concepts, we begin to understand the importance one must associate, when analyzing the cognitive correlates of bilingualism, to the context and person-specific factors, which input directly into potential cognitive benefits of that person.

In particular, the effect of social interaction has been seen in the positive outcomes of increased motivation. In other words, the degree to which an individual exhibits increased performance has been argued to be attributable to a motivational drive, which may become salient through the socialization process. Following from this assertion, P. Cooper and D. McIntyre (1996) logically deduced that an effective learning environment with highly motivated students necessitates strong interpersonal interactions. These circumstances may thus make forms of interaction desirable, which in turn facilitates increased benefits in problem-solving capacities. Taken in this light, one might also deduce that certain forms of bilingualism might suffer from reduced performance scores as a result of situations in which interpersonal factors are deleterious to that individual's motivation. One can, for example, take the differing scores mentioned previously in this article, relating to the indication that English-Chinese participants performed less well than the English-Spanish bilinguals and monolinguals on several verbal intelligence tests. Using the sociocultural theory, one can primarily perceive this result as one that is rooted in the manner in which those particular learners acquired the second language, and whether their motivational drives were affected by the social circumstances, above any other eternal factor.

5. Conclusion

To summarise, the fields of education psychology, neuro-cognitive sciences and applied linguistics have seen a multitude of studies, which have comfortably drawn significant correlations between bilingualism and increased cognitive performance. However, these benefits do not manifest themselves in a ubiquitous manner. Indeed, while a vast amount of literature has suggested that an individual's general control mechanism, cognitive resources, and metacognitive awareness may be increased as a result of bilingualism, there are also areas which have provided routinely inconsistent results. Metalinguistic awareness, for example, is said to show positive correlations between bilingualism and phonetic awareness, but it has failed to provide evidence that these benefits carry on past the first grade. As a result, the question of age has remained an issue of great contention. In an attempt to provide a holistic theory of age-related critical periods of learning, theorists have posited models in which critical periods are followed by a decline and a flat-line in bilingualism's cognitive benefits over time. These too, however, have been difficult to prove. Thus, the answer could be found in an in-depth look at the specific socio-cultural factors, which are involved, in the learning process of an individual. The

socio-cultural theory, at its core, indicates that individuals navigate their reality through higher-level cultural tools. These tools, which include language, are mediated and internalized through a complex process of socialization- and as such may produce very different results depending on the individual's context-dependent circumstances. Thus, it is possible to conclude that, while certain cognitive benefits arising from bilingualism may appear with less regard for context circumstance, the range of cognitive benefits that may result as a product of SLA may also be an important outcome of a combination of elements including age and socio-cultural factors.

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Bilingualism and Language Policy as Key Factors for TESOL

Abstract:
This article examines bilingualism and its levels in terms of the extent of both languages' use. The levels and various definitions of bilingualism are considered as important points of teaching strategy adoption. Special attention is given to the functional classification of bilingualism and its importance for L2 (the second language) teaching. Teaching methods and techniques are analyzed, namely the direct and bilingual methods which are regarded to be the crucial decision making factors for the modern second or foreign language teacher. The degree of positive impact on language acquisition created by the exclusive use of the TL (target language) in a language classroom, students and teachers' motivation as well as teaching/learning effectiveness in direct and bilingual teaching approaches are also investigated. Language policy and language planning are examined as well, since they are regarded to be crucial factors influencing language situation in a particular country and setting priorities in language education.

Introduction

The modern world and growth in tourism, international cooperation in all spheres of life all require a constant search for improved language teaching and learning methods which is of paramount importance for Ukraine striving for political and economic independence, whose desired competitiveness in the world economy demands rapid growth in the level of education in general and professional higher education in particular, education for adults, increase and updating of in-service training, post-graduate education, etc.

The present work will examine bilingualism and multilingualism in its two dimensions, that is, in the context of educational experiences and life skills adopted by bilinguals or multilinguals. Nevertheless, all dimensions of such sociolinguistic phenomena are interdependent and prove to be intermingled mostly without notice of the language learners or users. Still those factors are of significant importance for teaching foreign languages in terms of selecting and combining teaching strategies as those best suitable for bilinguals (or multilinguals).

Bilingualism and multilingualism can also be considered to some extent as the target of education. This has been stated by the EU and the Council of Europe and it regards language competence or awareness in at least two foreign languages to be highly advisable for all the citizens of the EU, since language competence is regarded as one of

the basic skills that all EU citizens need to acquire in order to improve their educational and employment opportunities within the European learning society, in particular by making use of the right to freedom of movement of persons. Within the framework of education and vocational training policy, therefore, the EU's objective is for every citizen to master two languages in addition to his or her mother tongue. In order to achieve this objective, children are to be taught two foreign languages at school from an early age (COM /2008/ 0566: 4).

1. Language policy and education within the framework of European integration

Bilingualism is also accompanied by the EU policy connected with the national identity, meaning that the EU members aspire to be united by the knowledge of foreign languages and by means of proper knowledge of other language and culture ensure preserving their national identity. The above mentioned statement proves to be mostly an advantage due to the wider perspective language learners (or users) and teachers can take in the process of language teaching and acquisition which provide acquiring not only greater language competence but also extensive life skills and experience, more opportunities for receiving and processing information from a more diverse number of sources.

In general, in Ukraine there is a strong tendency to increasing the level of foreign language mastery both in secondary and higher education, which can be mostly explained by the development of international relations in the direction of the European integration. The process of integration and language policy are significantly influenced by the European principles in the given sphere.

The Council of Europe has analyzed the significance of communication and interaction for social cohesion among member States in its White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue and this has informed the vision of and policies for 'Plurilingual and Intercultural Education' as presented in the 'Platform of Resources and References for Plurilingual and Intercultural Education' (White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue 2008: 29).

2. Language planning

Speaking of the language policy it is necessary to discuss language planning which always takes place both on official and non-official levels. Language planning is a series of measures taken to influence the function, structure, or acquisition of languages within a community. Planning or improving effective communication can also lead to other social changes such as language shift or assimilation, thereby providing another motivation to plan the structure, function and acquisition of languages (J. Cobarrubias 1983: 17).

Language planning and language policy are closely interrelated since language planning comprises various types of planning, such as prestige planning, standardization planning, acquisition or educational planning and others; and also proper treatment of multilingualism in education and other life spheres. Language planning is mostly regarded to be the domain of governmental organizations, nevertheless it can be greatly influenced by non-governmental organizations as well as by individuals and their communicative activities. Thus, it is necessary to ensure proper language policy and planning for the best benefit to citizens and their country in the modern language situation where bilingualism and multilingualism play a major role as those representing modern society values, such as claimed by the European Union.

For this purpose, the article aims at thorough examination of bilingualism. However, first of all the authors intend to provide definitions of bilingualism and its levels which gives more opportunity for understanding the nature of the given phenomenon.

3. Definition of bilingualism and principles of classification

Bilingualism is usually defined as the use of two languages by an individual though the level of language awareness and the extent of its use may vary considerably between separate individuals. The term bilingualism is closely related to the term bilingual which describes a person who uses more than one language in different spheres of life.

There are many ways to provide classification for bilingualism or define its levels. According to B. Klein (2014: 1) one of the tendencies is to classify bilingualism according to the age of an individual:

1. Early Bilinguals further subdivided into:
   - Simultaneous Bilinguals where both languages are acquired simultaneously;
   - Sequential Bilinguals where the second language (L2) was acquired after the first one (L1);
   - Late bilinguals
2. There is also a classification according to skills though there are no clearly defined levels:
   - Passive bilingual where a person is a native speaker in one language and is capable of understanding but not speaking another language.
   - Dominant Bilingual where a person is more proficient in one or two languages (in most cases native-like).
   - Balanced Bilingual where a person is more or less equally proficient in both languages, but will not necessarily pass for a native speaker in both languages.
   - Equilingual where a person uses both languages fluently however not necessarily with native-like proficiency

There are also other ways to define types or levels of bilingualism (e.g. by spheres of language use or by separate language skills in which bilinguals perform with higher, lower proficiency or sometimes even have no skills).

4. Language status

The acceptance of integration by European citizens depends to a large extent on their ability and willingness to participate in a European public discourse. Here, proficiency in English as a possible and reliable interlingual mediator and the equality of people's linguistic identities are interdependent factors which both originate in the history of modern Europe. "Consideration must therefore be given to ways of finding the necessary balance in order to manage the potential conflicts between the equal status of languages and the need to differentiate between them" (N.Y. Todorova 2006: 5).

That is why equal prestige should be given to both the mother tongue or L1 and L2 (or a foreign language) not only in official documents, but first of all, in interpersonal relations and all spheres of life as well as in language classrooms.

5. Teaching methodology

Bilingualism and methods of TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language) or TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages) are closely interrelated and should be certainly considered in their complex since bilingualism can be a factor influencing the language learner (or user) as well as the teacher, who, if not a natural (or early) bilingual, becomes a bilingual in their professional sphere and has to make decisions on the ways to teach a language (E. Macaro 2001: 538). Here we will consider the use of the mother tongue or L1 in the foreign language classroom. In methodology there are also different ways to classify teaching methods of teaching English as a foreign language. The most general classification can be presented by three mainstream methods:

- Grammar-translation method
- Direct method
- Bilingual method

Attention is also given to the communicative approach which faces a certain criticism in the present methodology.

6. Monolingual versus bilingual methods of teaching foreign languages

For decades, language teachers were instructed to use the TL exclusively in the foreign language classroom. The theory and practice of foreign language teaching and learning were focused on the major task of maximum language exposure or immersion, regarded as basic principles required for successful language acquisition. This certainly brought considerable results and was claimed to be as unanimously right, which was justified by its similarity to the natural way children learn their mother tongue, immigrants learn a foreign language in, for instance, English speaking countries within a short period of time of their stay in foreign countries where they are exclusively exposed to a foreign language. Until recently this method (monolingual or direct) was regarded as a must for successful and qualified teachers and using their native language or students' native language as a language of instruction, if not completely eliminated, was to be avoided to a maximum with the only exception made for lower levels of study where L1 instruction has been tolerated (C.J. Dodson 1967/1972: 1).

Nevertheless, practice gives us numerous examples of situations when to avoid using the mother tongue (or L1) is, if not quite impossible, then next to impossible. The question has arisen many times and constantly arises in, for instance EFL classrooms, when the situation requires thorough translation, giving equivalents in L1, drawing comparisons between L1 and L2 (or FL) to make sure students possess proper understanding of foreign vocabulary and grammar. Even teaching pronunciation often requires the use of L1 to ensure best results (J. Cummins/ K. Brown/ D. Sayers 2007: 235).

That is why there has been a number of critical publications on the direct or monolingual method since great attention is paid to the learner's environment and the ways students acquire language skills. Opponents of the direct method claim that language learners in the language classroom cannot learn in a natural way or the way children learn their first language along with life skills and world comprehension because "prior knowledge is encoded in their L1". What we need to do as language

teachers is "teach for transfer" so as to take active control over the learning process through metacognitive strategies (J. Cummins/ K. Brown/ D. Sayers 2007: 231).

Viewing L1 as potentially valuable resources instead of a mere source of interference opens up a greater pedagogical space and hence may bear constructive implications for L2 instruction, especially in homogenous contexts where both teachers and learners share the same MT and TL (An E. He 2012, 2: 1). The bilingual method was introduced by C.J. Dodson (1967) as a counterpart of the audiovisual method with systematic use of L1 which was task based providing texts and dialogues were accompanied by pictures.

The tendency to use L1 in teaching an FL has brought up one more issue which is generally referred to as code-switching. Code-switching is a transfer from one language to another in the course of communication either intentionally or spontaneously. Often code-switching is resorted to because of the lack of competence in a foreign language but if to consider modern teaching methods, code-switching is already referred to as a tool for achieving more opportunities for language acquisition.

The concept of code-switching is most commonly used within the sociolinguistic field of studies and it is commonly used by bilingual speakers often to signal two different identities at once.

V.J. Cook (2001: 410) also mentions that although the use of the target language should be promoted, exclusive use of the target language limits the possibilities of language teaching, and the L1 should be considered and used as a helpful tool to help foreign language teachers create "authentic users of the TL".

Regarding switching languages or codes in the actual teaching of foreign languages, the L1 can and should be used as a resource in foreign language classrooms. V.J. Cook (2001: 415) argues that "teachers should resort to the L1 if it is apparent that using the target language would be inefficient and/ or problematic for the learner" and when "the cost of the TL is too great". Studies have shown that the most common reason for teachers switching codes has been to contrast the target language and the L1 to hinder any possible negative transfer (M. Turnbull/ K. Arnett 2002: 208).

With some planning it can be ensured that learners carry their insights from one language into another. This could – at least in the long run – be expanded to the level of awareness about the features of a generalized academic language use, with perceptions of differences and distinctions between subjects and disciplinary traditions accordingly (An E. He 2012: 1–2).

Nevertheless, best gains of previous theories have to be retained and developed but not completely rejected. One of them is communicative approach with its idea of social interaction which still has a central role in modern language teaching as well as learning extensively described by sociolinguistic theories. Many theories have shown positive outcomes of socially interacting with others when learning languages. Children learn their mother tongue by hearing people in their surroundings speak with each other, and to some extent to the infant, however with some deviations to their 'normal' language. This is the first step of language acquisition, which is when a person learns unconsciously, in difference to language learning which is conscious learning (P. Lightbown/ N. Spada 2006: 201, 203).

When one has mastered the basic skills of their language, they will continue to learn other skills e.g., conventions of conversations, writing, etc. This also applies to older

students learning a new language or expanding their knowledge of one they already know. When exposed to a language, e.g. spoken and/ or written, the students have to adapt to that particular situation and use the target language, even though the lack of proficiency is at a different level than what they encounter. (P. Lightbown/ N. Spada 2006: 208).

Communicative methodology stresses the English-only approach to presentation and practice that is such a prominent feature of the British EFL tradition. (Perhaps because this has made it possible for us to teach English all over the world without the disagreeable necessity of having to learn other languages?) This is a peculiar state of affairs. It is a matter of common experience that the mother tongue plays an important part in learning a foreign language. Students are always translating into and out of their own languages and teachers are always telling them not to. Interlanguages notoriously contain errors which are caused by interference from the mother tongue. It is not always realized that a large proportion of the correct features in an interlanguage may also contain a mother tongue element. In fact, if we did not keep making correspondences between foreign language items and mother tongue items, we would never learn foreign languages at all. "Imagine having to ask whether each new French car one saw was called 'voiture', instead of just deciding that the foreign word was used in much the same way as 'car' and acting accordingly" (M. Swan 1985: 3).

When we set out to learn a new language, we automatically assume (until we have evidence to the contrary) that meanings and structures are going to be broadly similar to those in our own language. The strategy does not always work, of course – that is why languages are difficult to learn – and it breaks down quite often with languages unrelated to our own. But on balance this kind of 'equivalence assumption' puts us ahead of the game; it makes possible for us to learn a new language without at the same time returning to infancy and learning to categorize the world all over again. If, then, the mother tongue is a central element in the process of learning a foreign language, why is it so conspicuously absent from the theory and methodology of the Communicative Approach? Why is so little attention paid, in this and other respects, to what learners already know? The Communicative Approach seems to have a two-stage approach to needs analysis: "1. find out what the learner needs to know; 2. teach it. A more valid model, in our view, would have four stages: 1. find out what the learner needs to know; 2. find out what he or she knows already; 3. subtract the second from the first; 4. teach the remainder" (M. Swan 1985: 4).

At the same time there is an important aspect of the bilingual method is the acknowledgement it gives to the importance and the validity of the student's L1 language and culture. Language learning is one of the most enriching experiences we can have as human beings. It isn't merely the substitution of one means of communication for another. The bilingual method ensures accessibility. Students beginning the daunting task of learning a new language can immediately find a level of familiarity, avoiding the terrors of that "deer in the headlights" stage of acquiring new skills (L. Calkins McCormick 1994: 239).

Though the bilingual method employs the students' native language, it is important to note that it is predominantly the teacher who makes use of L1. This distinguishes it from the grammar-translation method which relies more on rote learning and the

translation of texts. The bilingual method focuses more on using the language for oral communication. Students will not be using their native tongue much in the classroom.

As with the direct method, basic texts make use of picture strips to accompany the dialogue. The bilingual method makes use of the written form of the language from the start. This allows students to begin to see the shapes of words as they repeat them orally (E. Bialystok 2006: 3).

7. Bilingualism, multilingualism and the problem of national identity in the Ukrainian institutions of higher education

Special attention needs to be paid to the presence of bilingualism or not rarely multilingualism in the establishments of higher education in Ukraine. It has been observed for decades in Ukraine and other post-Soviet countries that higher education still retains a number of key principles inherited from the Soviet era where bilingualism was present in all the republics with the domination of the Russian language in the sphere of science and education as well as in most other spheres of professional activities, culture and arts.

In the past most students were faced with the fact of lectures read in Russian and textbooks available mostly in Russian. Consequently, the majority of people over thirty can be considered bilingual to a certain extent depending on their place of residence and especially the sphere of professional activity. Still all students who study a foreign language can be considered bilingual to a certain degree, at least, in academic or professional spheres. Though, the influence of the Russian language and culture as well as the Soviet ideology in the post-Soviet countries have been declining for decades, in Ukraine in particular, it still persists in some regions (for instance, Eastern, Central and Southern parts of the country) where Russian-speaking citizens are often a majority. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency to use Ukrainian, especially in public life due to the changing political situation in the country (V. Kulyk 2010: 81).

The tendency of more people using Ukrainian is here explained not rarely by a wish to show their own national identity and unite the country though the language situation is certainly not so unambiguous, which certainly demands much attention from the authorities. The above mentioned campaign for re-establishing the Ukrainian language as the language of state, education, science and culture has been pursued for years up since it has not been once used by political campaigners as the means of public opinion shifting in favour of either pro-Russian or pro-European political courses.

Though a number of negative assumptions towards the influence of bilingualism (multilingualism) on language acquisition exist in various fields of science, the authors support the idea of positive influence of bilingualism on the process of language acquisition though the fact of the necessity of certain approaches cannot be rejected.

About seventy students of the 1st and 2nd years of study at Lviv Ivan Franko National University and Lviv Life Safety University were observed for more than two years. About 20% of whom were of mixed language background, mostly because of mixed-language families or having moved for studying from Russian language dominated regions, can be regarded as functional bilinguals and even multilinguals since the fact they have studied English as a foreign language both at school and university not only in Ukraine. Some of them have experience as exchange students abroad in the USA and Austria.

During the period of observation most bilingual students showed good performance, though a number of former exchange students had some difficulties predominantly in grammar, probably due the difference in education systems or the environments they had lived in. Their vocabulary inadequacy was also present to a lower extent. Other students, who gained their education only in Ukraine, showed more or less even performance in English classrooms, some of them having more difficulties in translation from English into Ukrainian due to the different backgrounds. Also, the direct method (R.K.T Callan 2005), which demands the exclusive use of the TL, was applied to teaching of first year students. Nevertheless, with lower level students, occasional translation of vocabulary or even full sentences was necessary, some grammar rules also had to be explained partially in Ukrainian though most of the time the language of instruction was English and all tasks were also completed in English.

8. Conclusion

In the light of the above, the language policy and language planning are necessary to examine the suggestions for improved language policy. Consequently, some innovations and recommendations for language teaching techniques and approaches are to be suggested and hopefully introduced into a number of EFL (or TESOL) classrooms.

In conclusion it is necessary to point out that there cannot be a single use of separate methods in teaching foreign languages since the language in itself is a means of communication and is constantly adjusted to people's needs in various life spheres. That is why bilingualism as well as the bilingual method deserve proper attention from researchers, government officials, non-governmental organizations as well as language teachers and users in the common effort to bring the most advantage to language acquisition.

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Traces of English in Arabic Dialects

Abstract:
This paper analyses the impact of English language on Arabic dialects. The problem covers not only the current linguistic situation but also the past traces of English on colloquial Arabic and its results today. Regarding to continuous language progress there is a big lack of linguistic array and inferences. The discussed issues such as code-switching with Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF), loanwords or translation inconveniences are the main sociolinguistic aspects. The English language influence is analyzed according to the syntax, morphology and vocabulary accompanied by many different examples. In connection with the historical occurrences, the selected dialects of Iraq, Egypt and Yemen are described circumstantially. These countries adopted many cultural and linguistic features while being under the British protectorate. The complexity and instant progress of Arabic dialects faces many linguistic questions and problems, which are required to be solved.

Introduction

It is hard to comprehend and investigate completely all the linguistic rules concerning the dialects of Arabic. It is still undiscovered how many dialects actually exist in the Arab world. The main reason for such a situation is the instant progress of the language. Once we seize one of the relevant vernaculars, the new one already starts to exist. According to W. Labov (1966), the language is not static, but as dynamic as the society. However, the more we discover about dialects, the more we see the complexity of them. There are many factors, which can affect the dialect. Today the influence of foreign languages result in many linguistic novelties. The Arabic language usage is complex due to its division for literary language and dialects. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the ubiquitous for all educated speakers. It is the version of high standard language, used in literary works, newspapers, TV broadcasts and educational institutions. The dialects form many colloquial variants of the Arabic language and each dialect has its own guidelines. The criticism over the extensive use of foreign expressions in Arabic is increasing. Some years ago the problem occurred with the use of *`āmmiyya* – colloquial Arabic, which was used even in written literature. Today English as a global language exerts huge impact on Arabic.

The present status of English is the effect of the British colonial expansion at the beginning of the 19th century and the rise of economic power of the United States in 20th century. These circumstances made English a world language. However there are

many particular reasons, which can be the answer to a question: "Why is English the global language?" According to D. Crystal (1995: 106) there are several reasons for such a linguistic phenomenon. He considers the legacy of the British and American imperialism as the historical reason. The political reason is 'providing a neutral means of communication' among different ethnic groups. English is considered as a language of international business and trade as this is the economic reason. For practical and intellectual reasons English became a language of science, for example in academic conferences, business and in technological systems. English is also the leading language of popular music, satellite broadcasting and tourism. Such ubiquitous effects make other languages impossible to keep their values without the influence of English.

1. Present situation

After the colonization, Britain and France influenced the Arab world by the new systems of politics, education, economy or architecture. Concurrently foreign languages of the colonizers left its traces among Arab countries. Although after gaining independence, the Arab world started the process of Arabisation when Arabic played a significant role in the Arab identity. Today French and English are still widely adopted, particularly due to economic and touristic demands. However, especially in the Arab world these languages are associated with open-mindedness and create better visions for future work. This could be one of the reasons why more parents in Arab countries desire to teach their children foreign languages. Apparently English has much more of a global function than French. Although French and English are the languages of science and technology not only in Arab countries, computer manuals and systems are written in English. We can notice the growing attention for English than French, even in Tunisia (B. Spolsky 2004), which remained under the control of France for 75 years. Obviously such an attitude is caused more or less by the tourism business, which is also prevalent in Egypt, Morocco and the United Arab Emirates. It is worth mentioning the presence of the American army in Iraq in 2003-2011, which has also resulted in the English language perception among Iraqi residents.

Today the influence of English in Arab countries is omnipresent. In the mass media coverage or advertisements we can notice many examples of the English language usage. This leads to the process of negligence of grammatical and semantic principles of Arabic. During the conference "The Arab Child's Language in the Age of Globalisation", the ISESCO Secretary-General Abdel Aziz Al-Twigrii brought up the problem of 'language pollution' (A. Abdel-Moneim 2007). He stated that the language of the 'commercial world' corrupts Arabic, particularly among children. Today television advertisements broadcasted in English have a great impact, especially on children. These issues might be a significant problem in the nearest future. Furthermore, today young people make up the majority in the Arab world, which can lead to many language variations (R. Bassiouney 2009: 123). Moreover, the youth is usually amenable for the impact of new languages, especially English.

Arabic spoken in the United States or England by immigrants also undergoes language alterations. The majority of Arab immigrants were poor and illiterate,

seeking for better life. Due to the order of the day, children were encouraged to speak only English at home. This fact is comprehensible not only for children but adults too, in order to bring them better future in a foreign country. Such an assimilation of both Arabic and English resulted in many linguistic modifications, too. Sometimes the interference of both Arabic and English can result in the formation of new ethnic languages which can be understood only by some members of the community (A. Rouchdy 1992: 19). The significant influence and interference between English and Arabic is contained in the Arab-American literature. The literary works by Etel Adnan, Suheir Hammad and Diana Abu-Jaber present the efforts to mediate the ethnic Arab identity (S.D. Hasan/ M.J. Knopf-Newman 2006).

However Standard Arabic survived through colonization and influence of widespread English. The Arabic language is specific to its linguistic division for literary language and dialects. The status of literary Arabic (Standard Arabic) is extremely prestigious and perceived as the language of educated society. It is used officially in various aspects of life, such as religion, education and culture. For Muslims the Holy Quran is only valid in the language of its revelation, which is Standard Arabic. It is extremely entrenched and impossible to be spoiled by any other language, even by the influence of Arabic dialects. Any alteration of religious locutions and holy texts are highly improper. Therefore literary Arabic has a symbolic function of preserving the classical vocabulary and grammar as well as it is familiar for all educated native speakers.

The dominant issue is the national identity in the Arab world. By virtue of national identity, Standard Arabic has passed through many inconvenient stages during the centuries with inalterable status. Within the Arab world this virtue is extremely distinctive as the nation is often associated with language as a marker of its identity (Y. Suleiman 2003: 27).

2. Code-switching

Arabic dialects are liable to the influence of English due to economical, social and historical reasons. The regular occurrence of English words in Arabic vernaculars can be considered as the process of code-switching. It is either conscious or will-less switching of phrases or words between one language and another. According to N. Mazraani (1997: 8), there is a difference between two varieties: code-switching and code-mixing. She posits that language phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary are under the influence of code-switching whereas code-mixing occurs while mixing different variants in one utterance or even one word. However, the majority of linguists distinguish the term of code-switching only. There are many reasons for this linguistic process. One of them is language efficiency. This is how students from Saudi Arabia, living in the United States are mixing both Arabic and English:

1)	*`indina shortage kibīr*	'we have a big shortage'
2)	*they had a beautiful mubhara*	'they had a beautiful incense burner'
3)	*they used a big piece of towb-ilka`aba for decoration*	'they used a big piece of black dress of Kaba for decoration'

(S. Safi 1992: 75)

The language economy caused that longer expressions like '*incense burner'* in example (2) or *'black dress of the Kaba'* in (3) were substituted by the Arabic words. This word shifting can also be caused by the lack of English equivalents. It can also indicate emotional relations of a speaker with the mother language, in this case the Arabic language.

Code-switching depends on many factors, such as: social class, national identity or a certain subject. Educated speakers tend to shift to a more formal language when speaking about politics, religion or economy. According to U. Weinreich (1953: 73) mixing codes depends on such aspects as ambience, exemplary situation or linguistic occurrence. He gives an example of a teacher who shifts after the lesson from formal to a less formal language. There is also another reason which is the purpose of a talk. However switching codes is the sociolinguistic issue. J.J. Gumperz (1976) points out that code-switching creates solidarity. The speaker switches to another language to show solidarity with the interlocutor. According to C. Myers-Scotton (1993: 47), code- switching occurs when the imperfect bilingual cannot carry the conversation in one language. In Arab countries English is considered as a language of lettered and sometimes people switch in order to achieve a particular purpose. Such an example is presented by Y. Suleiman (2004: 9) describing his journey to Israel. He is of Palestinian origin, living in the United Kingdom. Because of holding a Palestinian passport the police and Israeli soldiers at checkpoints were expecting he would speak Arabic. In this situation he decided to talk only in English, although the soldier's questions were in Arabic. By this behaviour he did not allow the Arabic language to become in the privileged position for the Israeli soldiers. Moreover, the perfect level of English, gave him greater privileges and authority.

Another statement is presented by Abu Melhim (1991), who gives an example of Jordanians talking with each other. He posits that Arab speakers tend to change their mother tongue to English to emphasize or clarify an utterance (Abu Melhim 1991: 242). This reason for code-switching between Arabic and English seems to be the most common, especially among Arabs talking with non-Arabs. Although a non-Arab person might be a perfect speaker of Arabic, the Arab speaker switches from Arabic to English to make sure he has been understood or even to gain more respect from the non-Arab interlocutor.

Myers-Scotton presents the Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF model), which explains some semantic and syntactic features of code-switching (C. Myers-Scotton, 1996). She posits that two languages used in code-switching are not always used equally. The Matrix Language (ML) is treated as more dominant and the other language is the so-called Embedded Language (EL). By discussing the distinction of both mentioned units, she presents the Projection of the Complementizer (CP), which is a syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause (C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 11).

4)	*What kind of cheese cake? Keyf bi-ti`malīh?*	'What kind of cheese cake? How do you make it?'
5)	*Ḥaṭūlī brand new engine wa `imlūli rebuild lil transmission*	'They put(in) a brand new engine and rebuild the transmission for me.'

(Myers-Scotton 1996: 11)

Both examples above can be taken as intersentential (4) and intrasentential (5) code-switching. Intersentential code-switching occurs within monolingual CPs (4), but in intrasentential code-switching two languages participate in the same CP (5) (C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 11).

The feature of language islands is specific for code-switching. In example 6 the subject is the ML island. However *so quiet* in (6) and *every time* and *too boring* in (7) are EL islands.

6) *el bayt kān so quiet fīġyābu* 'The house was so quiet in his absence'
7) *law tiqabli nafs el wuğūh every time bitsīr too boring* 'If you meet the same faces every time, it becomes too boring.'

(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 15)

By creating the utterance with the use of code-switching, the speaker takes into account the linguistic abilities of his interlocutor. The speaker must also remember to convey the semantic, pragmatic and socio-pragmatic properties of his intentions (C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 22). However some 'pragmatic mismatches' can occur, which are lexemes semantically close, but different in sense.

8) *Lamma biyiğī wāhed ğadīd bin-gang`aleyh.* 'When someone new comes we gang (up) on him'

(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 24)

3. Grammatical relations

English as a global language has great impact on many other languages. Nevertheless, there is grammatical dissimilarity between English and Arabic due to the origins of both languages. The grammatical structures between Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages cannot be compared, especially the syntax. However, while using both languages in colloquial speech we can find interesting modifications and mixing of grammatical rules:

9) *at-temperature munḥafiḍa* 'the temperature is low'

(R. Bassiouney 2009: 36)

The word *temperature* (*daraǧa*) is feminine in Arabic and according to grammatical rules the adjective following the feminine noun must also be feminine. The above example shows that even while mixing the codes of different languages, the grammatical rules are still preserved. It is also worth mentioning that the Arabic article *'al-'* switches to *'at-'* according to the assimilation process, despite the fact that the noun is in English. The following examples show that English and Arabic share the concepts of definite and indefinite articles and the mix of languages correlates with assimilation rules:

(10) *yi`attir 'ala as-STRUCTURE wa l-FUNCTION mālt wal-LIVER* 'influences the structure and the function of the liver'
(11) *hāḍa huwa al-OVEN illi yusta'mil lita'qīm `al-beekarāt wal-piitardishāt* 'this is the oven which is used for sterilizing the beakers and the petri dishes'

(I.K. Sallo 1992: 122)

According to different variants of the Arabic dialects the definite article corresponding to English *'the'* is usually *''al'*, but it also has several allomorphs like /el/, /ill/, /al/. Sometimes the definite article *''al'* can precede nouns, agents, adverbs, verbal nouns and even generic nouns, e.g. *`al-FROG, `al-OPERATOR, `al-INSIDE, `al-POSSITIVE FEEDBACK, `al-LIFE, `al-WATER* (I.K. Sallo 1992: 122).

The other example shows the use of singular form of a noun after cardinal numbers from 11 to 99, according to Arabic grammar:

12) *n'āhud hamasta`aš rat* 'we will take 15 rats'
(Bassiouney 2009: 36)

In Arabic, there are regular and irregular plural forms, further divided to masculine and feminine forms. The intriguing feature is the regular plural of feminine nouns, which is the most common form among English loanwords:

*telephones – telephon**āt***
*garages – garag**āt***
*models – mūdel**āt***
*televisions-television**āt***
*computers- computer**āt***
*rings – ring**āt***
(I.K. Sallo 1992: 120)

In code-switching between Arabic and English the pronoun doubling can occur. When English is the EL, the Arabic topic pronoun is followed by the English pronoun (13). If Arabic is the EL and has a topic pronoun, it must be followed by the English pronoun before the verb (14).

13) *Ya`ni 'anā I was really lucky.* 'meaning me I was really lucky'
(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 26)
14) *I prefer warm weather, lākin anā I wouldn't move to Florida* 'I prefer warm weather, but I wouldn't move to Florida'.
(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 26)
15) *'inti you feel obliged tidfa`i 'an elkul* 'You feel obliged to pay for everybody'
16) *Hādi hiya muškilti anā I don't like it.* 'This is my problem. I don't like it'
(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 36)

Myers-Scotton posits that verbs and not pronouns determine whether pronoun doubling happens. However, there are also different parts of speech which are doubled within code-switching:

(17) *ḥatta to fix* 'in order to fix'
(18) *`ahadat ad-dawā 'an ṭariq `al-fam orally* 'she took the drug orally'
(I.K. Sallo 1992: 121)

Another problem is the verb itself. There are some cases of adding Arabic affixes to English verbs, e.g. in (15).

(19) *Kān `indī maw`id imbārih ma`a el doctor bas cancel-t-uh* 'I had an appointment yesterday with the doctor but I cancelled it.'
(C. Myers-Scotton 1996: 33)

The common issue in code-switching are the English loanwords, which seem to be mostly used among other languages. However, there are still many problems with using English loanwords in the Arab world, such as wrong pronunciation. The differences between Arabic and English phonetic systems result in many pronunciation mistakes. Usually there is a problem between the phonemes *b* and *p*. In Arabic phonetics there is no *p* phoneme, so it is usually replaced by *b* phoneme in such words as: *hosbital* (hospital) or *bolice* (police).

4. Regular loanwords

English loanwords nouns are adopted more often than verbs. K. Versteegh (2009: 187) posits that it is easier to borrow nouns than verbs. Nevertheless there are some denominal verbs used in Arabic colloquial speech, such as *talfana* 'to call by telephone' or *fakkasa* 'to fax' (Ibid: 189). There are also adopted verbs like *fanniš* 'to fire someone' from English verb 'to finish' (Ibid: 190). A very common example of the inveterate English locution in all Arabic dialects is doubling the English adjective 'same', or even other parts of speech, for example:

(20) *Yaman ǧanūbī seem seem Lubnān* 'South Yemen is the same as Lebanon'

(Y. Suleiman 2004: 35)

English inveterate loanwords are apparent in Modern Arabic or further in dialects. Usually there are nouns, related to contemporary technological vocabulary, such as *internet* or *tab*. However, we can find some food nouns, such as *ice cream* or *bizza (pizza)* or many English names of animals, adopted in Arabic:

(21)

ǧūrīlā	'gorilla'	*zarāfa*	'giraffe'
dilfīn	'dolphin'	*salmūn*	'salmon'
qanqar	'kangaroo'	*kū'ālā*	'koala'
qud	'cod'		

On the other hand, the example of the noun *ǧazāla 'gazelle'* points the inverse situation. The Jahili poetry from the pre-Islamic period mentions these animals in many poems and literary texts, so actually the word *ǧazāla* 'gazelle' has been adopted into English.

5. Translation problems

English-Arabic translators encounter many inconveniences regarding the inconsistent alterations between native Arabic nouns and Arabicised borrowings from English. The lack of terminologically appropriate equivalents in Arabicised forms is a frequent problem. However, many factors already mentioned before, such as western colonization or globalization rather lead to neglecting original Arabic expressions and put the English or Arabicised borrowings instead:

(22)

English	native Arabic	Arabicised borrowing
telephone	*hātif*	*tilifūn*
radio	*miḏyā`*	*rādyū*
camera	*`ālat taṣwīr*	*kāmīrā*
microscope	*miğhar*	*mikruskūb*
capsule	*biršāma*	*kabsūla*
toxins	*sumūm*	*tūksīnāt*
zinc	*ẖārṣīn*	*zink*

(M. A. Saraireh 1992: 80)

This problem is more common with the colloquial speech than writing or official speech. Usually the speaker shifts between different varieties of Arabic and Arabicised forms and they might switch to English forms as well. However, in official translation the choice between either Arabic or Arabicised forms is not flagrant enough.

Phrases and idioms are frequently translated literally from English to Arabic. Modern expressions related to science, economics, politics, war or sports are usually developed in English than in Modern Standard Arabic. The process of transforming English to Arabic is common in the media, especially daily newspapers. Both numerous vocabulary and grammatical or stylistic traits are the result of media translation. English affected Arabic in different ways, among which we can distinguish (s. Y. Bader 1992: 95):

- common use of the sentence word-order Subject-Verb-Complement, instead of the usual Arabic order Verb-Subject-Complement
- use of the compound adjectives like ‘afru- asyawi’, ‘Afro-Asian’ by analogy to English
- common use of the present tense to refer to the past or future events

However, the main influence is the use of loanwords, especially in such topics as politics, army, economy and science. Y. Bader (1992) collected the findings from three daily newspapers: Al-Rā`i, Ad-Dustour and Ṣawt Al-Sha`b and divided them into the following groups:

a) political and diplomatic

`as-sayyidatu `al-`ūlā	the First Lady
kalāmun muzdawağ	double talk
mā`idatu `al-mufāwaḍāt	table of negotiations
waraqatu ‘amal	working paper
risālatun maftūḥah	open letter
maẓallatun dawliyyah	international umbrella
ḥarbun bāridah	cold war
ğumhuriyyātu `al-mawz	banana republics
siyāsatu `al-’aṣā wal-ğazarah	policy of the stick and the carrot

b) military

`asliḥatun mutaqassiṭatu `al-madā	medium-range weapons
ḥarbun nafsiyyah	psychological war
ḥarbu šawāri’	street war
qunbulatun mawqūtah	time bomb

c) economic

sabaḥa fī `attarā`	swim in money
dahabun `aswad	black gold
`inhiyāru `aswāqi `al-māl	collapse of money markets
qafaza mu`ašširu faynānšal taymz	Financial Times indicator jumped
saqfu `al-`intāğ	production ceiling

d) scientific

`ālātun dakiyyah	smart machines
hayālun ‘ilmiyy	science fiction
sanatun ḍaw`iyya	light year
`al-`infiğāru `al-‘aẓīm	the big bang
fawq ṣawtiyy	ultra-sonic

e) miscellaneous domains

dumū'u `at-tamāsīḥ	crocodile tears
nāfiḍatun ‘alā `al-‘ālam	window on the world
nağmun sīnamā`iyy	movie star
ṣūratun ḥayyah	live picture
‘alā ṭabaqin min fiḍḍah	on a silver plate

(Y. Bader 1992: 96-99)

The other problem arises for the nouns with altered meanings, as for example *mawğa* 'wave'. This coinage is used to signify electromagnetic transmission. The awareness of the everyday meaning of this word should be taken into consideration, especially in translation. Sometimes the new technical meaning can be rejected or misunderstood.

Any language translation requires high awareness of many linguistic matters. A.T. Shunnaq (1992: 103) pointed the following explanation:

> The most disputatious issues in translation theory concern fidelity, translatability, and choice of words and linguistic structures when rendering from source language to target language, particularly in regard to the demands for lexical, syntactic, semantic, rhetorical, ideological and cultural ‘equivalence’.

This statement is prominent especially in regard to English-Arabic translations. For example, Arabic political discourses are highly emotive while English or generally Western performances would shun attitudes and emotions. Thereby, translators should pay attention mostly to the cultural divergence (Ibid).

6. Iraq, Egypt and Yemen

After years of Western protectorates, the Arab World has undertaken vast efforts to bring the Arabic language back to common use and overcome the terminological impasse. This has resulted in the formation of major Arabic institutions, e.g. Arabic Language Academies in Syria (1919), Egypt (1932), Iraq (1947), Jordan (1976) and Coordination Bureau for Arabicisation affiliated with the Arab League Education, Culture and Science Organisation (ALECSO) (Sh. A. Bahumaid 1992). Nevertheless, the influence of English, as a result of past or present actions will remain a part of Arab society.

1. Iraq

Comparing to Yemen or Egypt the colonization process in Iraq was not secular. The British protectorate in Iraq lasted from 1920 and ended officially by 1932. However, between 2003 and 2011 Iraq was occupied by Western forces, mainly by the United States and Great Britain. English became a medium of instruction and administration under British protectorate. After the independence English remained in public educational institutions. Today the leading language in schools and colleges is Arabic, however English is also used due to modern standards of education, publications and new technologies.

The research on the English language usage at the university level was done and provided by I.K. Sallo (1992). Its main conclusion was the process of code-switching between Arabic and English among Iraqi students and staff. The data provided by I.K. Sallo covered the following specializations at the Mosul University: Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine, Geology, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Food Industry and Soil Sciences. The data shows the proportion of English nouns used in speech. The highest percentage (97.44) was recorded among the students of Mechanical Engineering and the lowest percentage (34.43) was recorded among the students of Dentistry.

With the analysis of the data contexts the author presented several aspects such as phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntactic features regarding code-switching. Mostly the changes in phonology occurred by devoicing the voiced sounds and vice versa of /p/ and /b/: ‘microscope’ /mikroskoob/ and /b/ to /p/ in: ‘test-tube’ /test tjūp/. The other changes occurred within /k/ and /g/ in: ‘bank’ /bāng/ and /g/ to /k/ in: ‘plug’ /plak/. Interesting phonetic changes occurred between /t/ and /ṭ/ as in : ‘battery’ /baṭṭāriyya/ and for /v/ to /f/ as in ‘vitamin’ /fītāmīn/ (I.K. Sallo 1992: 119). In addition short vowels underwent lengthening: /a/ to /ā/ as in ‘carbon’ /kārboon/, /e/ to /ee/ ‘centre’ /seentar/ , ‘test’ /teest/ or ‘problem’ /prooblam/. The diphthong /ei/ switched into /ee/ as in ‘case’ /kees/ or ‘patient’ /peešant/. Sometimes two successive consonants underwent epenthetic separation by a vowel, as in ‘spring’ /sipring/ or ‘film’ /filim/ (I.K. Sallo 1992: 119).

The changes in morphology occurred more often with nouns, but few verbs were adapted from English, f.e. ‘cancel’ /kansal/, ‘check /chayyak/. The adjectives adapted from English nouns occurred with ‘an-nisba’ endings, with the gender abidance:

(23) *`ākū fadd ḫuṭūṭ kontooriyya* ‘there are contour lines’
(24) *taḥlīlāt minorooojliyya* ‘mineralogical analyses’

(Ibid)

In the utterances the Iraqi negation particle *’mū’* antedated English adjectives:

(25) *`iḏan mū NECESSARY titkawwan hāy al-`āṣira*
‘it is unnecessary for this bond to be formed’

The vocabulary was changed to English due to the content words, e.g. nouns, adjectives, adverbs and notional verbs[1] (ibid: 121).

(26) *`al-OVEN ‘ala 80°* ‘the temperature of the oven is 80°’
(27) *jadwal attyootooriyal* ‘the timetable of tutorials’
(28) *yakūn maw’id QUIZ al-‘aḍwīya‘* the quiz in Organic Chemistry will be’
(ibid)

Sometimes phrases, not only single words, underwent code-switching. This occurrence was more frequent among university staff members than students. The reason could be for example, a greater fluency in English:

(29) *yinfijir BECAUSE IT IS VERY HOT* ‘it explodes…’
(30) *nāḫuḏ `al-ināṯ IN EARLY MORNING* ‘we take the females…’
(31) *yijīna `al-marīḍ TO EXTRACT THE TOOTH* ‘the patient came…’
(ibid: 125)

Teachers also switched from English to Arabic to clarify, emphasize or summarize the topic:

(32) *CERTAIN DRUGS ba’ad il-`adwiya CAUSE EPILEPSY* ‘…certain drugs…’
(33) *aṣ-ṣuḫūr imam `an takūn rusūbiyya SEDIMENTARY, `aw mutaḥawwila METAMORPHIC, `aw nāriyya `ay IGNEOUS* ‘the rocks are either…or…or…’
(ibid: 126)

The common behavior among English language teachers is switching to Arabic while they get excited or angry with their students, f.e.: */lā tiṭḥarrak/* ‘be quiet’, */iṭla’ barra/* ‘get out’, */kāfī ḥakī/* ‘enough talking’, */lā titlafat yimna ysra/* ‘don’t look right or left’, */bāwa’ ‘ala warqtak/* ‘look at your own paper’. (Ibid: 128)

To conclude it should be stressed that the English impact on the Iraqi dialect is visible through mostly nouns and adjectives which were switched and adapted to the Arabic morphological rules. The students agreed that there are complex reasons for code-switching, such as:

- the difficulty of providing the exact Arabic equivalents for many words switching to English as a way to show off and impress others with being ‘educated’
- giving the impression of being fashionable and fluent in English by using such words as ‘okay’, ‘hello’, ‘see you’, ‘good luck’, ‘happy birthday’, ‘fantastic’, ‘perfect’ etc.

The above mentioned causes are common not only in the Iraqi dialect but all Arabic dialects. Although the data of the survey comes from 1992 it shows many recurrent linguistic behaviours and manners. After the American and British presence in 2003-2011 it is still possible to collect more information about the new influence on Arabic dialects.

[1] The data were collected from the notebooks of students, personal notes of the teachers or official notices.

2. Egypt

From 1882 to 1956 Egypt was officially under the British protectorate. The western influence on Egypt had arisen by opening the Suez Canal in 1869. This valuable zone was magnificent, especially for trade. However today Egypt is amenable for the impact of foreign languages, due to its touristic advantages.

Although Arabic is the official language in Egypt, the extensive use of English is present within the names of shops and companies or in everyday conversations (G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 462). He notices the existence of many English expressions which are common all over the world, i.e. *supermarket* or *cafeteria*. However, he argues about some Arabic names as "Alexandria Marketing Complex" being substituted with English: *Alēks mārketing kōmbleks,* written in Arabic. He posits that the original Arabic translation *Mugamma' `aswāq al-`iskandariyya* is much easier to pronounce for native speakers.

Rosenbaum also gives examples from literary texts. In the play *Sa'dūn al-magnūn,* the title hero Sa'dūn, who spent twenty five years in lunatic asylum walks the streets of Cairo. Sa'dūn is astonished at the signs he sees in the streets:

(34) Sa'dūn: What are all these foreign signs? What's this "Wimpy, McDonald's, Big Burger, Pizzeria, Supermarket, Shopping Center"?
Jihād: These are foreign words? I didn't know that. These are food shops.
(Ramlī, *Sa'dūn,* 106 / G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 463)

The Egyptian dialect has many loanwords from European languages, i.e. Italian or French, but mostly from English. Foreign vocabulary is divided into fields, for example, the majority of words connected to cars and car maintenance is French. Another field is football vocabulary which comes from English (G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 463). However some of the words today are not considered as loanwords, but became a part of the language.

Foreign expressions can be found in the Egyptian literature. The writers such as Ya'qub Ṣannū' (19th century) and Amīn Ṣidqī (beginning of 20th century) were mixing foreign languages in Arabic texts (Ibid: 464). Usually foreign words were written with Arabic characters, below the transcription will be use:

(35) *ḥayā sahla, `īzī, ferī `īzī* 'an easy life, easy, very easy'
(Ṣāwī, *Ḥafla,* 31/ G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 464)

(36) *ya Īnās, gūd lak* 'good luck ya Īnās'
(Ḥidāya, *Ṣārūx,* 90/ G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 464)

The endeavor of integrating English and Arabic written texts was undertaken by Yūsuf 'Awf in his play *Ḥanīn.* It is a story about Egyptian family, which came back to Egypt after living for many years in America. The members of a family are used to speaking English, so they are mixing it with Arabic. The writer puts some additional notes in English, besides the Arabic script, for example:

(37)

(Arabic script)	(Arabic footnote)	(English footnote)
Lēt `us hāfsūm rest hīr	*da'īnā n`āḫuḏ ar-rāḥa hunā*	'let us have some rest here'

('Awf, *Ḥanīn,* 42/ G. M. Rosenbaum 2002: 465)

The use of a foreign language among Egyptians usually indicates one's affinity to a higher class or society. English is, for example, used by those who aspire to belong to the upper class in the society. In the play *Ahlan yā bakawāt,* there is a dialogue between Burhān and his foreign maid, a non-Arabic speaker. Burhān is using English, because of his actual stay in the West and to communicate with the maid. Even the scenery of the act contains the elements of foreign influence such as: western furniture or the main hero wearing jeans. The entire dialogue is written in Arabic, but it is actually in English:

(38)
The maid: (Appears pushing a tea-trolley and calls softly) *Doktōr Burhān.* Doctor Burhān.
Burhān: (From inside, answering in English) *yēs Sūzānā.* Yes Suzāna.
The maid: *Yūr drink.* Your drink.
Burhān: *`ūkī…`āī `ām kāming.* Ok, I am coming. (He enters wearing jeans)
The maid: *`āīs `ūr sūdā?* Ice or soda?
Burhān: *nō ṯānk yū. Blīz kān yū `ōben ḏē kīr tīnz?* No, thank you. Please, can you open the curtains?
The maid: *sīrtinlī sīr.* Certainly, sir.

(L. Ramli 2007: 14)

When Nādir who speaks Arabic arrives, Burhān switches to colloquial Arabic, but still interspersed with English words: *hāw? `anā?* 'how? me?' , *Gāīz `entū lissa hunā bitaḍḥakū? Rīlī?* 'Do you really still laugh around here? Really?' (Ibid)

English expressions in the Egyptian prose indicate the actual use in official communication. Although there is a lot of criticism over the extended use of English, in fact it is a part of Egyptian linguistic culture. The given examples of Egyptian literary texts are only a reflection of the Western impact left after the years of the British protectorate. Currently the linguistic situation in Egypt is complex due to the tourism business, which is still in progress.

3. Yemen

English vocabulary is more or less present in every Arab country as a result of migration, language status, technology development or colonization process. Although several Arab countries were under the British protectorate, i.e. Kuwait, Egypt or Iraq, the colonization in Yemen lasted almost 130 years. This had influenced the dialect to the point that it actually adopted some English words:

(39)	*`usbuṭāl*	*'hospital'*	*kōb*	*'cup'*
	bōṣṭa	*' post'*	*bulīs*	*' police'*
	qalaṣ	*'glass'*	*darzan*	*'dozen'*
	ḥāfīs	*'office'*		

(cf. H. J. Feghali 1991)

Although Yemen never subjected to the absolute colonization, the British presence in Yemen had left a great impact on the dialect of Aden. From 1839 to 1967 the city of Aden, which is situated in the strategic point in south Yemen, around one hundred miles east from Bab el-Mandeb strait, was under the British colonial dependency. Nowadays the British heritage in Aden lasts with the prominent

architecture in the city center and mostly visible in the antique churches. However primarily the British presence in Aden left its linguistic impact.

7. Conclusion

The dialects of Arabic still remain undiscovered enough by virtue of the instant language progress and the spread of English expressions in all fields of human existence. The discussed problems such as code-switching or translation modifications are unfathomable and strictly connected with sociolinguistics. In addition the complexity of Arabic is leaving many questions and doubts for linguists, trying to investigate the clue of the Western impact on Arabic dialects. It is worth mentioning that the influence of English is not only the cause of the Western expansion in the Arab world, but also the migration process. Arab citizens in Europe or America also contributed to some linguistic changes. However the high conscience of the national identity and patriotism is the main virtue of Arab nationals.

In this article an attempt to analyze the problem of the English language usage in Arabic dialects was made. The cardinal issue for today is the code-switching process. The noteworthy fact is its occurrence within colloquial speech and literary writings as well. According to C. Myers-Scotton (1986) code-switching can be explained by the MLF model. Although there are several causes for this process, i.e. social reasons, clarifying the utterance or to show a higher status, the important fact to mention is that speakers are usually not aware of mixing or switching between the languages.

The matter of translation is another important issue. The problems for interpreters do not arise only with the inconvenience of Arabic equivalents, but because of the presence of a huge quantity of literally translation of idioms and phrases. The technological progress advances new vocabulary, which can be considered as enriching for Arabic. The contemporary world of smart phones, the internet and advertisements reflects the linguistic amendments. Today, we can perceive the constant impact of the Western culture and languages on the Middle East. On the other hand, the conservative Arabic grammarians reject the use of foreign expressions as they are convinced the language purity reflects language loyalty (I.K. Sallo 1992: 129).

The field of this research is complex and continuously in progress, however with the unceasing effort of linguists the Arabic dialects are becoming more investigated.

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Zarys modelu (rzeczywistej) komunikacji międzyludzkiej w odniesieniu do (rzeczywistych) języków ludzkich i (rzeczywistej) kultury ludzkiej

Abstract:
An outline of (real) inter-human communication model in relation to (real) human languages and (real) human culture
In the present article an answer to the question of how inter-human communication functions shall be proposed. A detailed research throughout the questions of language, culture and knowledge has been conducted in order to outline a model of inter-human communication that relates to the aforementioned language, culture and knowledge. The latter three have been perceived from the anthropocentric perspective which entails considering (real) human language(s) as well as knowledge(s) and culture(s) as very individual items thus making them individual phenomena of each and every human being. Therefore, it needs to be assumed that communication between two individuals shall be of a kind of two individual languages, cultures and pieces of knowledge. In the latter part of the article two models shall be proposed: a simplified one, and a detailed one, both of which outline and adhere to the anthropocentric perspective. As the names might suggest, the first of the models demonstrates only a narrow context whereas the detailed one takes a number of variables into account.

What can linguists learn about the human mind
by studying a language?
D. Sandra

Wstęp

Pytanie, które posłużyło za motto do tego tekstu, zostało zadane już w 1998 r. przez D. Sandra w artykule pt. "What linguists can and can't tell you about the human mind: A reply to Croft". Mogłoby się wydawać, że z jednej strony lingwistyka, w szczególności stosowana, nie zajmuje się tymi kwestiami. Mogłoby się także wydawać, iż jest to raczej sfera zainteresowań neurolingwistyki. Pisali na ten temat choćby G. Roth (1996, 2003); E. Linz (2002); J. E. Gorzelańczyk (2003). Do jednego z ciekawszych wniosków doszła z kolei J. Aitchison w swojej publikacji pt. *Ssak który mówi* (1991). Przeprowadziła ona badanie na małpach, które polegało na nauczeniu tego gatunku zwierząt pewnych znaków i sygnałów (przede wszystkim migania). Chciała mianowicie sprawdzić, czy „badani" wytworzą własny system komunikatów w oparciu o kod, którego zostały

nauczone. Jak wynika z obserwacji poczynionych przez D. Sandra, kreatywne wykorzystanie języka jest właściwe tylko człowiekowi.

Wracając, jednakże, do przedmiotowego pytania: czego językoznawcy mogą się dowiedzieć na temat umysłu/ mózgu ludzkiego badając język? Z jednej strony odpowiedź nasuwa się sama, z drugiej jednak, warto zdefiniować czym jest, i jak należy rozumieć język, a co za tym idzie, i kultura (jak wykażę poniżej, są to dwie rzeczy ze sobą nierozerwalnie związane). Na podstawie definicji tych dwóch pojęć, a także zarysu tego, czym jest wiedza, przedstawię dwa modele rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej – uproszczony i „rozszerzony".

1. (Rzeczywisty) język

Rozważania na temat języka, jego samego, jego istoty oraz, mówiąc wprost, czym właściwie jest, toczą się już od niepamiętnych czasów. Przypuszcza się z dużą dozą prawdopodobieństwa, iż pierwszą gramatykę funkcjonalną, czy też opisową, stworzył Panini żyjący na przełomie V i IV w. p.n.e. na terenie dzisiejszych Indii. W europejskiej starożytności prowadzono dyskusje na temat tego, czy językiem rządzą anomalie, czy też zachowuje się on w sposób logiczny. W toku historii, gdy granice się przesuwały (a właściwie w większości przypadków były przesuwane), królowie odchodzili i przychodzili, spory na temat język nieco przygasły, choć nie wygasły zupełnie.

Ponownym większym zainteresowaniem językoznawstwo zaczęło się cieszyć za sprawą niemieckiego filozofa, Wilhelma von Humboldta. Zgodnie z określeniem, którego użył F. Schlegel, zajmował się on językoznawstwem historyczno-porównawczym. Po nim nastąpiła era młodogramatyków, którzy, choć mieli swoje zasługi dla rozwoju światowego językoznawstwa, język pragnęli obserwować i badać jedynie z perspektywy nauk przyrodniczo-filozoficznych.

Prawdziwy rozwój w pojmowaniu języka, jego istoty i znaczenia ropoczął sie dopiero za sprawą strukturalizmu. To właśnie w tym czasie pojawia się twierdzenie o znakach językowych, trójpodział języka na language-langue-parole, dokonany przez Ferdinanda de Saussure'a. W tym samym czasie żyło wielu wybitnych lingwistów. Warto wymienić choćby Sapira, Trubeckiego i, nieco późniejszego, Jakobsona.

W tym miejscu wydaje mi się, iż należałoby skupić się na rodzimym językoznawcy, który tworzył w tym samym czasie co F. de Saussure, a na pewno znał jego prace na temat języka. Chodzi mianowicie o Jana Baudouin de Courtenay'a. Jako pierwszy zaczął postrzegać język jako coś indywidualnego, jako wrodzoną i przynależną tylko jednostce właściwość człowieka:

> Tak np. odróżniamy indywiduum w przeciwstawieniu do plemienia, do narodu; a więc z naszego stanowiska będziemy mieli język indywidualny i język plemienia albo narodu, rozwój indywidualno-językowy w różnicy od historii języka całego plemienia lub narodu (J.N. Baudouin de Courtenay 1974: 181).

Z kolei w jednej ze swoich późniejszych prac pisał: „Język istnieje tylko w mózgach indywidualnych, tylko w duszach, tylko w psychikach indywiduów, czyli osobników, składających się na daną społeczność językową (…)" (J.N. Baudouin de Courtenay 1974).

Baudouin de Courtenay niestety nie rozwijał później swojej tezy na temat języka, a co za tym idzie, została ona pominięta i/ lub zapomniana na długie dziesięciolecia. W tym czasie postrzegano język, jako formę abstrakcyjną, niejednokrotnie wprowadzając błędne myślenie na temat jego samego, a także i jego „reprezentacji". Częstokroć uważa się, iż język ludzki istnieje jakby samoistnie, w oderwaniu od człowieka, w pewnym sensie niezależnie od niego. Nie jest to jednak prawdą.

Języki ludzie, rzeczywiste języki ludzkie, istnieją de facto w mózgach i umysłach poszczególnych jednostek ludzkich (zob. F. Grucza 1996, 1997, 2002, S.Grucza 2010, 2012c). To właśnie te idiolekty są prymarnymi, konstytutywnymi postaciami rzeczywistych języków:

> Język ludzki jest czymś rzeczywiście istniejącym, ale czymś zatopionym tak bardzo głęboko w człowieku i czymś z nim tak mocno zespolonym, że nie sposób doń inaczej dotrzeć i inaczej go poznać, jak drogą rekonstrukcyjnej abstrakcji (F. Grucza 1993: 151).

Pamiętać należy również o tym, iż niejednokrotnie za język uznaje się jedynie jego wyobrażenie, tzn. sam model. Warto w tym miejscu odwołać się do koncepcji Chomsky'ego i jego idealnych mówców-słuchaczy. Twierdził on mianowicie, iż język należy postrzegać jako skończony i/ lub nieskończony zbiór zdań. Z kolei każde z nich ma postać skończoną i składa się z ograniczonej liczby elementów (zob. N. Chomsky 1962). Początkowo N. Chomsky traktował język jako byt istniejący niezależnie od człowieka. Dopiero w późniejszych latach zaczął wiązać zdolności komunikacyjne i językowe z poszczególnymi mówcami-słuchaczami, choć pierwotnie jedynie z ich idealną reprezentacją (idealnym mówcą-słuchaczem) (zob. N. Chomsky 1962, 1965, 1986, 1995, A. Derra 2007).

Zgodnie z innym poglądem na temat języka, jest on – język, w stanie przenosić znaczenie lub, co gorsza, nadawać je czemuś. Odwoływał się do tego choćby, wspomniany już, Wilhelm von Humboldt:

> (…) w każdym języku (…) tkwi charakterystyczny pogląd na świat. Tak jak pojedynczy dźwięk pośredniczy między przedmiotem a jednostką, tak cały język pośredniczy między człowiekiem a wewnętrznymi i zewnętrznymi uwarunkowaniami, które mają na niego wpływ (...), Przez ten sam akt, który pozwala człowiekowi wysnuć z siebie język, wprzęga się człowiek w język, a każdy język ·opasuje wokół narodu, do którego należy, krąg, z którego można wyjść o tyle tylko, o ile zarazem wkracza się w krąg innego języka (W. von Humboldt 1903-1936 t .7: 60).

Na ten temat wypowiada się również A. Wierzbicka, która już na wstępie do swojego artykułu „Uniwersalne pojęcia ludzkie i ich konfiguracje w różnych kulturach" stwierdza, co następuje:

> Język jest narzędziem do wyrażania znaczeń. Myślimy, czujemy, postrzegamy - dążymy do wyrażenia naszych myśli, uczuć i spostrzeżeń. Zazwyczaj - choć nie jest to reguła - wyrażamy je, ponieważ pragniemy dzielić je z innymi ludźmi. Język jest nam także potrzebny do wyrażenia naszych myśli - często do ich uporządkowania(…) (A.Wierzbicka1991: 1).

Warto także przytoczyć zdanie trzech innych lingwistów, którzy wypowiadali się na temat języka oraz tego, iż może przenosić on znaczenie. Najpierw, przyjrzyjmy się zdaniu, do pewnego stopnia, przeciwnemu temu A. Wierzbickiej:

> Język nie jest tylko odtwarzającym instrumentem używanym do wyrażania naszych myśli, raczej jest tym, co nadaje im kształt, jest programem i przewodnikiem w umysłowej działalności człowieka (…) (B. Whorf 1982: 213–214).

Z kolei J. Bartmiński wypowiada się na temat języka i tego, co jest w nim zawarte w następujący sposób:

> (…) To obraz "językowy" będący własnością wspólnotową (podkreślenie M. Możdżonek) jest najważniejszy, bo zawiera w sobie system wartości wynikający z doświadczeń historycznych całej wspólnoty językowej (…), W języku są zmagazynowane takie wytwory działań kulturowo-językowych od najprostszych formuł etykiety grzecznościowej (…), poprzez tzw. skrzydlate słowa, po całe wzorce wypowiedzi (gatunki mowy) przystosowane do okoliczności i dostosowane do intencji nadawcy (…) (J. Bartmiński 2007: 25).

Ostatnim z lingwistów, którego chciałbym w tym miejscu przytoczyć, podzielającym pogląd, iż język jest w stanie przenosić znaczenie, czy nawet kształtować rzeczywistość, jest E. Sapir. Pisze on mianowicie:

> Język to „przewodnik po rzeczywistości społecznej". (…) Istoty ludzkie nie żyją wyłącznie w świecie obiektywnym (…), ale w znacznym stopniu zdanie są na łaskę tego języka, który stał się środkiem porozumiewania w ich społeczeństwie. (…) Światy w których żyją różne społeczeństwa to światy odrębne, a nie po prostu ten sam świat, któremu przylepiono różne etykietki (E. Sapir 1978: 162).

Z jednej strony są to zdania, z którymi ciężko się nie zgodzić, z drugiej jednak, z tymi samymi opiniami po prostu nie sposób się jednoznacznie zgodzić. By lepiej pojąć na czym ten paradoks polega, przyjrzyjmy się temu, o czym mówią wymienieni autorzy. Każdy z nich odwołuje się do języka. W ich rozumieniu, jak można domniemywać, język posiada formę abstrakcyjną, by nie powiedzieć *idealną*, która jest zupełnie niezależna od człowieka, a jedyne punkty styczne między mówcą-słuchaczem i językiem są takie, że mówca-słuchacz posługuje się owym językiem, tak jakby korzystając z niego tylko w określonych sytuacjach. Mianowicie, tylko w sytuacjach komunikacyjnych.

Nim przejdziemy do funkcji jakie pełnią rzeczywiste języki ludzkie, poświęćmy jeszcze chwilę na rozróżnienie języka od jego idealnej reprezentacji. „Język i myśl rodzą się w umyśle (…) Ludzka wiedza i rozumienie nie pochodzą z indukcji. Raczej uaktywnione w wyniku odpowiedniego doświadczenia, wzrastają w umyśle w oparciu o biologiczną bazę (…)" (N. Chomsky 1986: 25). Jest to zdanie podzielane m.in. przez F. Gruczę (1997: 11), który uważa, że: „(…) języki ludzkie w ogóle nie istnieją na zewnątrz konkretnych ludzi".

Przyjmując takie założenie za prawdziwe, warto rozdzielić dwie istotne rzeczy – (rzeczywisty) język ludzki od jego (idealnego) modelu. W tej drugiej kwestii wypowiadają się przytoczeni powyżej Bartmiński, Humboldt, Sapir, Whorf i Wierzbicka. Język nie jest w stanie wyrażać znaczeń, pośredniczyć między człowiekiem, a zewnętrznymi uwarunkowaniami, nie jest także wyrażającym instrumentem do przekazywania myśli, nie zawiera on doświadczeń kulturowo-historycznych, ani nie jest przewodnikiem po rzeczywistości społecznej. Z jednej prostej przyczyny – nie może nimi być, gdyż wtedy musiałby istnieć niezależnie od człowieka. Szczególnie, że musiałby spełniać wszystkie przytoczone powyżej funkcje, a i pewnie wiele, wiele więcej.

Rzeczywisty język, jak pisze Chomsky, powstaje w mózgu człowieka i, jak dopowiada F. Grucza, jest jego konstytutywnym współczynnikiem. Oznacza to, mówiąc wprost, że o języku nie można mówić „tak ogólnie", gdyż „tak ogólny" język nie istnieje, ponieważ istnieć nie może. O języku należy zatem wypowiadać się tylko w odniesieniu do konkretnych jego użytkowników, mówców-słuchaczy.

Spośród wymienionych, najbliższym tej koncepcji był E. Sapir stwierdzając, iż „Światy w których żyją różne społeczeństwa to światy odrębne, a nie po prostu ten sam świat, któremu przylepiono różne etykietki" (E. Sapir 1978: 162). Należy zauważyć, że już samo to stwierdzenie dotyczyło przede wszystkim różnic pomiędzy społeczeństwami. W swoich późniejszych badaniach E. Sapir nie doprecyzował tej tezy, a co za tym idzie, nie doszedł do logicznej konkluzji:

> Tak, jak nie ma dwóch całkiem identycznych osób, tak nie ma też dwóch całkiem identycznych idiolektów. Jednocześnie nie ma też dwóch idiolektów całkiem różnych – każdy jest pod jakimś względem podobny do każdego innego, choć oczywiście pod różnymi względami i w różnej mierze (F. Grucza 2002: 40).

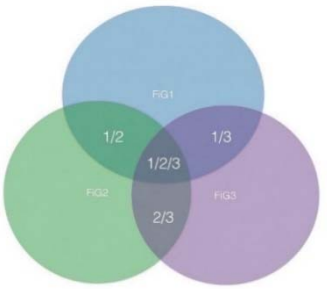
Skoro zatem język jest konstytutywną własnością każdego jego użytkownika oraz można go rozpatrywać jedynie w odniesieniu do konkretnego mówcy-słuchacza, to w jaki sposób należy rozumieć sformułowania takie jak „język polski" czy „język niemiecki". W ogromnym uproszczeniu można powiedzieć, że jest to język wszystkich Polaków, czy język wszystkich Niemców. Jednakże oznaczałoby to, iż każdy członek takiej społeczności albo posługiwałby się własnym idiolektem i sztucznie utworzonym *comunilektem* (wspólnym lektem, którego akwizycja odbywałaby się prawdopodobnie na poziomie edukacji szkolnej lub wcześniej), albo każdy członek wspomnianej społeczności posługiwałby się tym samym idiolektem, a co za tym idzie, wszyscy posiadaliby tę samą *idiokluturę*, *idiowiedzę*, itp.

Oba przedstawione powyżej scenariusze wydają się równie nieprawdopodobne. W pierwszym przypadku oznaczałoby to, iż od każdego człowieka należałoby oczekiwać znajomości przynajmniej dwóch lektów – idiolektu i communilektu, by móc się w ogóle komunikować i by mógł on stanowić o sobie. Z kolei w drugim przypadku, oznaczałoby to, że wszyscy członkowie danej społeczności posiadają dokładnie te same doświadczenia, zdolności do posługiwania się lektem, w pewnym sensie stanowiliby oni wtedy jeden organizm.

Biorąc powyższe pod uwagę, należy z całą stanowczością stwierdzić, iż jedynym sposobem mówienia o np. języku polskim, jest uznanie go za abstrakcyjny (idealny) wzorzec językowy, podobny do tego omawianego powyżej. Warto w tym miejscu poczynić jeszcze pewną uwagę. Jeśli potraktujemy nacjolekt, jako zbiór elementów wspólnych dla wszystkich mówców-słuchaczy posługujących się tymże, osiągniemy, zdawać by się mogło, efekt odwrotny do zamierzonego, gdyż musielibyśmy uznać ów nacjolekt za wyjątkowo słabo rozwinięty. Wszystkie elementy styczne znalazłyby się jedynie w „najuboższym" idiolekcie spośród wszystkich wziętych pod uwagę w danej grupie (zob. F. Grucza 2002).

Skoro zatem nie możemy uznać języka wspólnego dla danej społeczności (np. wspólnego dla wszystkich Francuzów, Anglików, Portugalczyków, itp.) za pewien rodzaj polilektu (dokładniej mówiąc za nacjolekt, jednakże nacjolekt jest pewną formą polilektu, tak jak we wzorze logicznym, że każdy nacjolekt jest polilektem, ale nie każdy

polilekt jest nacjolektem), to warto zastanowić się, czym w takim razie jest ów polilekt. Podsumowując, ustaliliśmy dotychczas, iż język rzeczywisty, w pewnym uproszczeniu, jest idiolektem każdej konkretnej osoby. Jeśli zaś uznamy to za prawdziwe, to nie pozostaje nam nic innego, jak stwierdzić, że polilekt to zarówno logiczna suma idiolektów, jak również ich logiczny przekrój (zob. F. Grucza 1993). Początkowo może wydawać się to nieuzasadnione, by wszystkie brane pod uwagę idiolekty rozpatrywać zarówno pod kątem ich sumy, jak i przekroju logicznego. Wystarczy uzupełnić powyższą informację o fakt, iż w przekroju logicznym brane są pod uwagę przede wszystkim fonemiki i gramatyki, zaś w sumie logicznej – leksyki (por. ibid.). Można to zilustrować w następujący sposób:



Schemat 1. Przekrój logiczny fonemik i gramatyk (FiG) możliwych polilektów składających się z do trzech idiolektów

Na przedstawionej powyżej grafice widać wyraźnie, iż w grupie fonemik i gramatyk nie da się jednoznacznie określić polilektu dla przedstawionej grupy trzech idiolektów. Część wspólną, a zarazem najmniejszy wspólny mianownik dla przedstawionego zbioru idiolektów stanowi pole oznaczone 1/ 2/ 3. Warto zwrócić uwagę na fakt, iż możemy również mówić o polilektach w przypadku już dwóch spośród tych trzech idiolektów. Są to pola oznaczone jako 1/ 2; 1/ 3; 2/ 3.

Sytuacja maluje się zgoła inaczej, kiedy mówimy o leksykach poszczególnych idiolektów. Przedstawić można to w następujący sposób:

Schemat 2. Suma logiczna leksyk trzech idiolektów

W przeciwieństwie do gramatyk i fonemik idiolektów 1, 2, 3 ich leksyki się ze sobą sumują. Należy tutaj oczywiście poczynić założenie, że są to mówcy-słuchacze posługujący się jednym, abstrakcyjnym modelem języka narodowego, np. językiem polskim.

Z przedstawionych powyżej uwag płynie prosty wniosek – każdy człowiek jest polilektalny, co nie znaczy, że jest wielojęzyczny. W innym kontekście, jednakże w podobnym tonie, wypowiadają się na ten temat H. Burger i B. Imhalsy: „(…) eine Sprache ist nich wirklich nur eine Sprache – es sind eine ganze Reihe von Sprachen, die sich zum Teil überlappen, zum Teil voneinander unterscheiden" (H. Burger/ B. Imhasly 1978: 14). Umiejętność posługiwania się np. językiem angielskim i językiem polskim (czyli bilingwizm) należy tutaj zdecydowanie odróżnić od tego, że każdy mówca-słuchacz posługuje się przynajmniej dwoma lektami. W dużej mierze będą się one różniły jedynie w warstwie leksykalnej, niekiedy również w warstwie fonemiczno-gramatycznej (domniemywać można, iż ta druga sytuacja jest rzadsza). Każdy posiada swój własny, indywidualny idiolekt, poza tym potrafi komunikować się z osobami zamieszkującymi to samo terytorium (np. dzielnicę), a zatem wykorzystuje do tego odpowiedni polilekt. Może on również znać lekt swojego miasta, województwa, swojej grupy rówieśniczej, swojego środowiska pracy (zob. F. Grucza 2002: 40). Możliwości w tym zakresie są nieskończone. Najważniejszy jednak wniosek z tego płynący, który pragnę tutaj szczególnie podkreślić, jest taki: każdy mówca-słuchacz jest polilektalny.

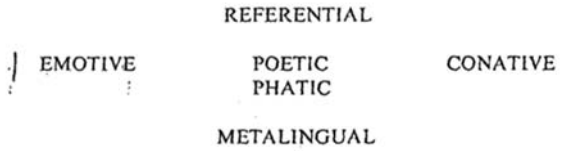
We wcześniejszej części niniejszego artykułu wspomniałem o funkcjach pełnionych przez język. Wyróżnia się trzyt radycyjne funkcje języka:

> The traditional model of language as elucidated especially by Bühler was confined to those three functions - emotive, conative and referential - and the three apexes of this model - the first person of the addresser, the second person of the addressee., and the „third person," properly someone or something spoken of (R. Jakobson1960: 355).

Jednak R. Jakobson wyróżnia jeszcze kolejne cechy: (a) kontaktu (bądź, jak podaje za Malinowskim, fatyczna), (b) metajęzykowa, (c) poetycka.

Jego zdaniem, funkcja ekspresywna (in. emotywna) polega na tym, iż komunikat przekazywany jest bezpośrednio do adresata i skupia się na tym, co nadawca pragnie przekazać. Kolejna funkcja, konatywna, skupia się na odbiorcy komunikatu. Często w najczystszej formie znajduje odzwierciedlenie w takich formach gramatycznych jak wołacz i tryb rozkazujący. Z kolei funkcja poznawcza (in. oznaczająca i/ lub denotatywna) skupia się przede wszystkim na kontekście w jakim został nadany i odebrany komunikat.

Funkcja fatyczna, bądź jak ją nazywa Jakobson – kontaktu, skupia się właśnie na tym – na podtrzymaniu rozmowy/ korespondencji. Twierdzi on także, że jest to jedyna funkcja językowa, którą człowiek posiada od swoich narodzin – niemowlęta są w stanie wysyłać i odbierać sygnały, nim te zaczną nabierać znaczenia. Funkcja metajęzykowa, podobnie do fatycznej, służy utrzymaniu kontaktu, jednakże w zupełnie innym sensie. O ile funkcja fatyczna wykorzystywana jest tylko do nawiązania i podtrzymania kontaktu, o tyle zadaniem funkcja metajęzykowej jest sprawdzenie, czy adresat i nadawca komunikują się w tym samym kodzie, czyt. czy się rozumieją. Z kolei ostatnia, funkcja poetycka, skupia się na samym przekazie nadawanego komunikatu oraz na samym komunikacie.



Schemat 3. (por. Jakobson R. 1960)

Wszystkie wyżej opisane funkcje, można w skrócie opisać jednym sformułowaniem – funkcja komunikacyjna. Nie mylił się R. Jakobson, pisząc o powyższych funkcjach, jednakże nie miał też w pełni racji. Język, jako taki, nie pełni funkcji komunikacyjnej, a pełnią ją stworzone i ukonstytuowane przez mówców-słuchaczy wyrażenia językowe. Rzeczywisty język (ergo idiolekt każdego użytkownika języka) pełni za to inne, zdaje się ważniejsze, funkcje:

Schemat 4. Funkcje rzeczywistego języka ludzkiego na podstawie F. Gruczy (2002)

„(…) Rzeczywiste języki ludzkie (konkretne idiolekty) istnieją też o tyle, o ile istnieją ich właściciele (…) nie są pod żadnym względem bytami autonomicznymi" (F. Grucza 2002: 44). Właśnie dzięki temu ich podstawową funkcją jest funkcja konstytutywna. Konkretny rzeczywisty język, tzn. idiolekt konkretnego mówcy-słuchacza, istnieje tak długo, jak długo „istnieje" człowiek, który się nim posługuje.

Specjalnie zaznaczono wzajemną relację między funkcją konstytutywną a identyfikacyjno-dystynktywną. Jeśli istnieje konkretny mówca-słuchacz, to poszukiwać on będzie osób podobnych sobie (funkcja identyfikacyjna), to znaczy takich, których idiolekty są zbieżne pod kątem leksyki, a także fonemiczno-gramatycznym. Pozwala ona również odróżnić osoby, które do tej grupy nie należą (funkcja dystynktywna).

Funkcja kognitywna, choć w powyższym schemacie znajduje się na uboczu, nie jest w owej relacji mniej istotna. Każdy mówca-słuchacz ma możliwość poprzez wykorzystanie swojego idiolektu, idiowiedzy i idiokultury, aby rozszerzać ich zakresy. Może on rozwijać swoją tożsamość, także, a może przede wszystkim, tożsamość językową (zob. F. Grucza 2002: 44–46).

2. (Rzeczywista) kultura i (rzeczywista) wiedza

Rozważania nad kulturą, a także nad wiedzą, należy przede wszystkim rozpocząć od stwierdzenia spraw oczywistych: słowo „kultura" jest wyrazem wieloznacznym i jego znaczenie należy wpierw uściślić. Podobnie ma się kwestia wiedzy, choć nie jest ona wyrazem wieloznacznym, a pojęciem o wielu konotacjach znaczeniowych.

Na samym początku wydaje się zasadnym by rozróżnić dwa pojęcia: „kultura" i „natura". By zrozumieć, czym jest „natura", należy najpierw odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czym jest „kultura".

Samo słowo swoją etymologię wywodzi od łacińskiego rzeczownika *cultura, -ae*, który z kolei pochodzi od czasownika *colere* oznaczającego pierwotnie *pielęgnować, uprawiać, obrabiać* (A.Brückner 1927). Warto zwrócić uwagę na fakt, iż po łacinie słowo *cultura* oznacza zarówno sam proces, jak i jego efekt (zob. S. Bonacchi 2009: 29). Prawdopodobnie również z tego powodu rozwinęło się w łacinie przenośne znaczenie tego słowa, które brzmi następująco: *upiększać, pielęgnować duchowo i rozwijać* (zob. G. Floros 2002). Do pierwotnego znaczenia kultury odwołuje się również S. Durring:

> The word 'culture' itself, with its historical sense of 'cultivation', has a residually naturalising force: it is as if the formation of collectivities and individuals were like the cultivation of a crop (S. During 2005: 211).

Później pojęcie kultury rozwijało się na wielu różnych płaszczyznach, aż osiągnęło swój wieloznaczny charakter:

a) Kultur als/ Erscheinungsform des Geistes/ (romantische bzw. idealisti- sche Schule, biomorphe Zyklentheorie, theologischer Ansatz);
b) Kultur als/ Mittel zur Bewältigung von Lebensaufgaben/ (postdarwinis- tische Theorien, kulturpsychologischer und psychoanalitischer Ansatz, kulturan- thropologischer Ansatz);
c) Kultur als/ Gesamtheit der tradierten Formen gesellschaftlichen Zusam- menlebens/ (Kultursemantik, Kulturgeschichte, Historismus);
d) Kultur als/ kollektive Programmierung des Geistes/ (organisationsanth- ropologischer Ansatz);
e) Kultur als/ (Zeichen)system/ (semiotischer Ansatz, kultursystemische Theorie);
f) Kultur als/ Wertesystem/ (axiologischer Ansatz, kulturpolitischer Ansatz); g) Kultur als/ Text bzw. Hypertext/ (kulturinterpretativer Ansatz);
g) Kultur als/ Regelwerk/ (generativistischer Ansatz) (S. Bonacchi 2009: 31).

W naukach zajmujących się kulturą, kulturoznawstwie, *cultural studies* itp., kulturę postrzega się niejednokrotnie inaczej. Tak, np. I. Ang, przedstawia następującą definicję tego pojęcia:

> "Culture" in cultural studies relates to the production and negotiation of meaning and value, and this is an ongoing, plural, often conflictive process taking place in all dimensions of social activity, be it at the workplace, in education, the media, in international relations, even in the hairdresser's salon. Culture is neither institutions nor texts nor behaviours, but the complex interactions between all of these (I. Ang 2005: 477).

Z kolei można ją także postrzegać w oddzieleniu od natury – jako tę część, którą człowiek sam sobie podporządkował. Podobnego zdania jest również S. During: „So nature is the outside of culture and society as that outside appears from inside, and in terms of, culture and society" (S.During 2005: 211). W skrócie można powiedzieć, że kultura jest wszystkim tym, co człowiek stworzył – zarówno wykorzystując do tego naturę, jak również dzięki niej. Kultura to także zdolności każdej jednostki, których nie otrzymała od natury (zob. S. Bonacchi 2010: 33).

Zdaniem S. Pinkera, kultura wyłania się z naszego stylu życia i objawia się w nim jako indywidualne odkrycia i doświadczenia jednostek, a także w formie ustanawiania zwyczajów i tradycji, celem zorganizowania pracy i rozwiązywania konfliktów (zob. S. Pinker 2002). Z kolei H. Markus i M. Hamedani postrzegają to zjawisko jako „(…) patterns of representations, actions and artifacts that are distributed and spread by social interactions" (H.Markus/ M.Hamedani 2007: 11).

Zgoła przeciwnego, choć nie rozbieżnego, zdania w kwestii kultury zdaje się być M. Hager. Twierdzi on mianowicie, iż kultura to:

> (…) a set of attitudes, behaviors, and symbols that a group of people have in common, and they are usually passed on from one generation to the next. Attitudes include beliefs (…) stereotypes, values, opinions, superstitions, and general knowledge. Behaviors incorporate many different traditions, norms, roles, practices, customs, habits, and fashions. Symbols represent things or ideas, and their meaning stems from the individuals who allot meaning to the symbols (M. Hager 2011: 3–4).

Wymienione powyżej teorie zdecydowanie wymagają pewnego doprecyzowania. Podobnie, jak w przypadku języka, tak i w przypadku kultury (również i wiedzy!) człowiek posiada odpowiednie narzędzia do wyrażania swoich emocji, pragnień, zamiarów, poglądów, dzielenia się swoją wiedzą, itp. Te narzędzia nazywać należy, ponownie, analogicznie do kwestii językowych, *znakami*. Wynika z tego zatem, że to, o czym pisali S. Pinker, H. Markus i M. Hamedani, a także S. During oraz M. Hager to *znaki kulturowe*. Nie można ani stereotypów, ani zachowań, ani tym bardziej wzajemnych relacji pomiędzy nimi i wieloma innymi dziedzinami nazywać kulturą, gdyż, co prawda należą one do dominium tejże i składają się na nią, lecz jej samej nie stanowią (zob. F. Grucza 2012a: 87). Chyba, że mówimy tutaj o potocznym lub uproszczonym rozumieniu pojęcia kultura.

Podobnie rzecz się ma z wiedzą człowieka. Nie istnieje ona ani w tekstach, ani w wyrażeniach, ani w słowach. Nie istnieje tam, ponieważ istnieć nie może. Gdyby istniała, oznaczałoby to, że to co ludzie wiedzą miałoby postać efemeryczną, ulotną, a co za tym idzie, jeśli *wiedza zawarta w produktach wiedzy* nie byłaby w jakiś sposób magazynowana, człowiek by ją tracił. Analogicznie do języka i kultury, to co potocznie określa się wiedzą zawartą w książkach, tekstach, czy wyrażeniach, jest de facto *znakiem wiedzy* (zob. F. Grucza 1997).

Nim przejdziemy do określenia, czym jest rzeczywista kultura i rzeczywista wiedza, pochylmy się jeszcze nad samymi *znakami kultury* i *znakami wiedzy*. Każdy człowiek wyposażony jest w odpowiednią aparaturę wewnątrz swojego mózgu, która umożliwia mu zarówno odbieranie *sygnałów kultury*, jak i *sygnałów wiedzy*. Te pierwsze należy rozumieć jako nadawane przez kogoś znaki, które przenoszą pewne znaczenie, np. uniesiona w górę ręka z otwartą dłonią może oznaczać albo sytuację zagrożenia albo pożegnanie. Dzięki wspomnianemu narzędziu, jeden z mówców-słuchaczy jest w stanie nadać sygnał o konkretnym znaczeniu, a drugi go odebrać i zrozumieć. Podobnie jest z wiedzą[1] – każdy człowiek może nadawać wiedzę, jak i ją odbierać. Zwróćmy jednak

[1] Wiedzę rozumieć tutaj będę zarówno jako nabytą w toku nauczania np. szkolnego, jak i taką wynikającą z doświadczeń jednostki.

uwagę, iż wyrażenie „przekazywać komuś swoją wiedzę", choć w swym zamyśle poprawne, mija się zupełnie z prawdą. Człowiek nie jest w stanie przekazać drugiemu człowiekowi swojej wiedzy, a jedynie jest w stanie ją nadać, a druga osoba może ją odebrać. Kwestia zrozumienia i interpretacji jest dla obecnych rozważań bez znaczenia (zob. F. Grucza 1993, 1997, 2012a, 2012b, S. Bonacchi 2009, 2012).

Odwołajmy się zatem jeszcze raz do języka. Wspomniałem już, iż rzeczywisty język istnieje, bo tak jedynie istnieć może, w konkretnych osobach i stanowi ich konstytutywną właściwość. Kultura i wiedza nie różnią się pod tym względem. Rzeczywista kultura została zinternalizowana przez każdego człowieka. Składają się na nią rzeczywiste właściwości poszczególnych osób, a także wzajemne relacje pomiędzy nimi (zob. S. Bonacchi 2009: 38). Z kolei F. Grucza w następujący sposób opisuje idiokulturę (kulturę każdego poszczególnego człowieka):

> Die Kultur eines Menschen macht eine bestimmte Teilmenge jener von ihm internalisierten Regeln und Mustern aus, die sein Verhalten, seine Aktivitäten bestimmten und/ oder die Ausführung dieser Aktivitäten möglich machen, ihn in die Lage versetzen, einerseits entsprechende „Dinge" – sowohl geistige als auch materielle, als auch entsprechende Äußerungen – hervorzubringen, und andererseits die auf ihn zukommende Umwelt (...) entsprechend zu erkennen, zu kategorisieren, zu interpretieren und (...) zu evaluieren, d.h. ihnen u.a. Sinn zu verleihen und ihren Sinn zu verstehen (F. Grucza 2000: 20).

Podobnie, jak w przypadku idiolektów, tak i w przypadku idiokultur istnieją kultury poszczególnych społeczności, czy grup. Kultura takiej grupy nazywa się, analogicznie, polikulturą. S. Bonacchi wyróżnia dwie możliwe interpretacje tego pojęcia:

- Włączające[2] (intersektiv) – stanowiące przekrój logiczny wszystkich idiokultur, które z kolei składają się na jedną bądź więcej polikultur.
- Sumarycznie wyłączające[3] (summarisch-extensiv) – to znaczy takie, w których poszczególne idiokultury wykluczają pozostałe idiokultury, a co za tym idzie polikultura powstaje na podstawie poszczególnego idiolektu. (zob. S. Bonacchi 2009: 40–41)

Logicznym zatem jest, że polikultura może, podług powyższego rozróżnienia, mieć charakter jedynie włączający. Podobnie jak w przekroju logicznym idiolektów składających się na polilekt/ -y, tak i w przypadku idiokultur składających się na polikulturę/ y, mamy do czynienia z sytuacją, kiedy w skład danej polikultury wchodzą wszystkie części wspólne obu lub więcej idiokultur. Można to zilustrować w sposób następujący:

Schemat4. Przekrój logiczny idiokultur (ik) stanowiących stosowne polikultury (pk)

[2] Nazwa polska – M.M.
[3] Nazwa polska– M.M.

3. (Rzeczywista) komunikacja międzyludzka

3.1 Czym jest komunikacja?

Już w pierwszym zdaniu należy zaznaczyć, iż człowiek komunikuje się z całym otoczeniem i całe otoczenie komunikuje się z nim. Nie ma tutaj znaczenia, czy są to inni ludzie, czy też „przyroda ożywiona" (jak zwierzęta, rośliny), czy „przyroda nieożywiona" (jak skały, kamienie, góry), czy przedmioty ruchome (jak np. samochody, telefony, lampy itp.), czy też przedmioty nieruchome (np. budynki). Należy to jednoznacznie podkreślić, iż człowiek zarówno w sposób językowy (werbalny), jak i para- i ekstrajęzykowy, a także kulturowy, para- i ekstrakulturowy, a również wiedzowy, para- i ekstrawiedzowy komunikuje się z całym otaczającym go w danej chwili światem i że ów otaczający go w danej chwili świat komunikuje się z nim (zob. F. Grucza 1992, 2012b: 337–341). Podobnego zdania jest S. Bahadir powołujący się na Göhringa i Watzlawicka: "This conviction reminds me of Watzlawick's assumption, to which Göhring (1998) refers, that we cannot communicate, i.e. that we communicate by just being and behaving (Watzlawick et al. 1967)" (S. Bahadır 2004: 808).

Niemniej, mimo poczynionej powyżej uwagi, nas interesować będzie przede wszystkim proces komunikacji zachodzący pomiędzy ludźmi – komunikacja międzyludzka.

Najprościej o komunikacji międzyludzkiej można powiedzieć, że oznacza ona tyle, co porozumieć się z kimś (zob. H.Burger/ B.Imhasly1978: 15). W uproszczeniu polega ona na tym, że nadawca nadaje sygnał (dźwiękowy, graficzny, niewerbalny, etc.), który występuje w formie znaku (tzn. fonem, bądź zbiór fonemów, a także grafem, bądź zbiór grafemów, itp. zastępują sygnał) do odbiorcy. Znak zawsze osadzony jest w konstytucji (tj. kontekście sytuacyjnym) oraz w kontekście społeczno-kulturowym (zob. B.Z. Kielar 1988: 10–11). „(…) Bedeutungen von einzelnen Zeichen (Wörtern) können nicht isoliert, sondern nur im Zusammenhang des gesamten Systems betrachtet werden." (N. Lenke/ H. Lutz/ M. Sprenger 1995: 31).

Możliwe przedstawienie tego zagadnienia znajdujemy u G. Chernova (1995: 224), który pisze: "Any act of communication may be schematically described in the following way: the Speaker produces a message for the benefit of the Listener (the Hearer or Recipient): S l > H 2".

Nie ulega żadnej wątpliwości, że tak przedstawiony proces komunikacji, choć w swoim założeniu słuszny, jest zdecydowanie niewystarczający, gdyż nie wyczerpuje wszystkich związanych z nią zagadnień. Warto nadmienić choćby proces, który zachodzi, nim w ogóle komunikat zostanie nadany. B.Z. Kielar (1988: 11) przedstawia go w pięciu fazach:

1. Plan komunikacyjny (nadawca planuje nadanie komunikatu),
2. Ideizacja, czyli tworzenie treści w umyśle nadawcy,
3. Rozwinięcie idei, czyli nadanie poszczególnym jej elementom wartości komunikacyjnej,
4. Wyrażenie idei, to znaczy nadawca dobiera odpowiednie wyrażenia i zaczyna tworzyć tekst,
5. Powstanie tekstu (komunikatu).

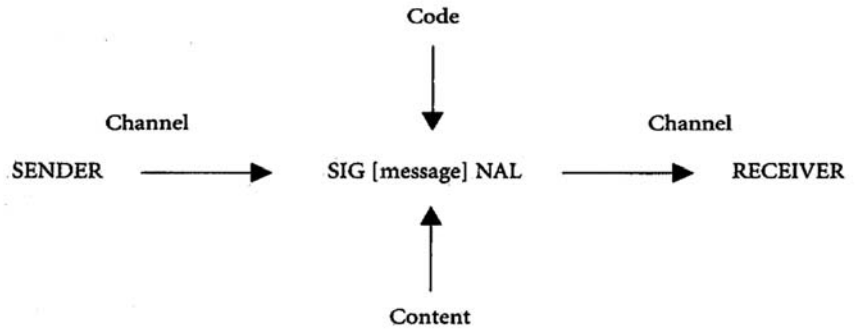
Pewne rozszerzenie koncepcji G. Chernova proponuje R. Jakobson. W swoim modelu komunikacji porusza on następujące kwestie: nadawca, adresat, komunikat, kontekst, kod oraz kontakt. Jako nadawcę rozumie, co jasne, tego który wysyła komunikat

do odbiorcy. Ów komunikat musi znajdować się we wspólnym dla nadawcy i odbiorcy kontekście oraz zostać nadany we wspólnym dla nich kodzie, by mogli się oni porozumieć. Ostatnim elementem komunikacyjnej układanki staje się kontakt, który jest fizyczną realizacją komunikatu i umożliwia jej uczestnikom pozostanie w kontakcie (zob. R.Jakobson 1960: 353).

Schemat 5. Schemat komunikacji wg. R. Jakobsona (1960: 353)

Ten schemat, przedstawiony przez R. Jakobsona, wydaje się być pełniejszy od tego przedstawionego wcześniej, jednakże należy zwrócić uwagę na jeden fakt – język jest przez niego traktowany jako byt zupełnie oddzielny od człowieka, jakby znajdował się po za nim, zarówno poza nadawcą, jak i poza odbiorcą.

Podobny model można odnaleźć u K. Sina, który z kolei przedstawia go za Bellem. Różnica polega na tym, iż Bell, przytoczony przez Sina, jasno precyzuje, iż chodzi mu o akt komunikacji monolingwalnej:



Schemat6. Model komunikacji monolingwalnej Bella (za. K. Sin. 2002: 33)

Powyżej przedstawiony proces można opisać w 9 punktach (zob. K. Sin 2002: 33):

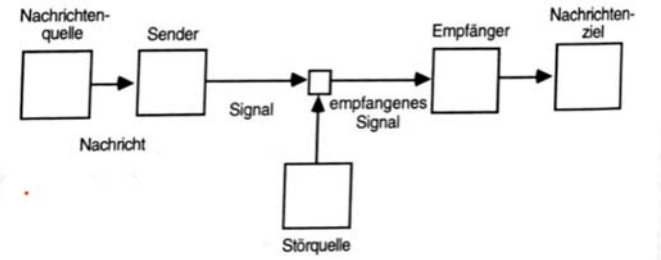
1. Wybór przez nadawcę komunikatu oraz odpowiedniego kodu,
2. Nadawca koduje komunikat,
3. Wybiera odpowiednie medium[4] komunikacji,
4. Nadawca nadaje sygnał zawierający komunikat,

[4] Poprzez „medium" rozumiem sposób w jaki zostanie nadany komunikat. Warto w tym miejscu poczynić także pewne rozróżnienie pojęciowe - komunikacja multimedialna (czyli taka, która wykorzystuje więcej niż jedno medium) nie jest tym samym, co komunikacja mass medialna (komunikacja przy wykorzystaniu tzw. środków masowego przekazu).

5. Odbiorca odbiera sygnał zawierający komunikat,
6. Odbiorca rozpoznaje kod,
7. Odbiorca dekoduje sygnał,
8. Odbiorca odbiera komunikat,
9. Odbiorca dokonuje procesów myślowych polegających na zrozumieniu komunikatu.

W powyższym schemacie oraz jego opisie należy wytknąć pewne nieścisłości. Choć początkowa faza jest zbieżna z tym, co pisała B.Z. Kielar, to w pierwszej kolejności brakuje wykazania kontekstu, w jakim poruszają się komunikujący się. Po drugie, brak jest, tak samo jak w poprzednich schematach, również bodźca komunikacyjnego. Po trzecie nie zostało tutaj wystarczająco jasno wyjaśnione, czy autor rozumie język, jak jego idealną, modelową reprezentację, czy też jako zinternalizowaną właściwością mówcy-słuchacza. Przypuszczać jedynie można, iż chodzi o ten pierwszy przypadek.

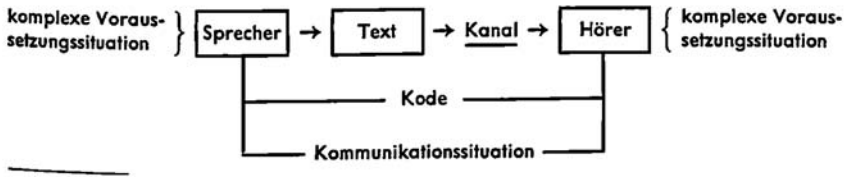
Kolejnym, a zarazem chronologicznie wcześniejszym, modelem komunikacji jest ten zaproponowany przez Shannona i Weavera, a przytoczony przez N. Lenke, H.-D. Lutza i M. Sprengera:



Schemat 7. Model komunikacji Shannon & Weaver 1949 r. (za N.Lenkeet al.1995: 18)

Przytoczony model jest z jednej strony słuszny, z drugiej strony wymaga pewnych uściśleń. Wartym uwagi jest to, iż Shannon i Weaver dostrzegli potrzebę zamieszczenia zewnętrznego źródła, bodźca komunikacyjnego, jednakże nie zauważyli, iż ów bodziec może również wywodzić się z samego nadawcy, może być w nim zinternalizowany. Podobnie to wygląda w przypadku zakłóceń komunikacji – mogą one występować zarówno wewnętrznie (wynikając np. z wady wymowy nadawcy), jak i zewnętrznie (np. szum uliczny).

Z kolei warto przyjrzeć się modelowi zaproponowanemu przez A. Folkersa i R. Feuerherma:



Schemat. 8. SchematkomunikacjiwgA. Folkersa i R. Feuerherma (za A.Folkers 1977: 15)

> Ein Sprecher, der zugleich Hörer sein kann, äußert einen Text in einer bestimmten Kommunikationssituation. Dieser Text wird über einen Kanal an den oder die Hörer übermittelt. Damit dieser Text als Träger von Informationen erkannt werden kann, ist es notwendig, dass Sprecher und Hörer über eine gemeinsame Technik der Informationsermittlung und Informationsvermittlung (über einen gemeinsamen Kode) verfügen. Beide stehen außerdem in einem Kontext komplexer Voraussetzungen, die Vorwissen, Bildung, sozio-ökonomische Lage, biographische Situation usw. umfassen (A. Folkers/ R. Feuerherm 1977: 15).

Zgodzić się z nimi należy niewątpliwie w kwestii wzajemności komunikacji – każdy jej uczestnik jest zarówno mówcą, jak i słuchaczem. Niejednokrotnie zdarza się, że wszyscy uczestnicy procesu komunikacji są jednocześnie mówcami i słuchaczami, choć nie można wtedy mówić o skutecznej, czy efektywnej komunikacji, gdyż nie zostaje spełniony jeden z jej warunków: „Efekt komunikacyjny polega na tym, że odbiorca w jakimś stopniu poznał treść myślową, jaką chciał zakomunikować nadawca. W dalszej zaś kolejności może zostać osiągnięty cel komunikacji w formie pożądanych sposobów zachowań u adresatów"(B.Z. Kielar 1988: 12).

A. Badan (1995: 89), powołując się na Spolsky'ego uznaje, iż efektywny proces komunikacji (choć międzykulturowej, ale uwagi przez nich poczynione z powodzeniem mogą odnosić się również do komunikacji międzyludzkiej) nie może mieć miejsca, jeśli zaistnieją następujące przesłanki:

1. Wspólna gramatyka i leksyka,
2. Wspólny system pragmatyczny,
3. Wspólny kontekst fizyczny,
4. Wspólna wiedza o świecie.

By komunikacja mogła zaistnieć, należy spełnić kilka warunków (H. Burger/ B. Imhasly 1978: 17, 19):

> (I) Das Verhalten des »Senders« muß intentional sein.
> (II) Das Verhalten muß an einen bestimmten Partner (»Adressat«) gerichtet sein.
> (III) Das Verhalten muß vom Adressaten wahrgenommen und interpretiert werden.
> (IV) Das Verhalten muß symbolisch sein.
> (VI)5Kommunikation is dann erfolgreich, wenn das intendierte Verhalten vom Adressaten richtig, d. h. der Intention des Senders gemäß, interpretiert wird.

Odnośnie punktu pierwszego, intencjonalność komunikacji oznacza, iż nadawca ma jakiś cel, powód, by wysyłać komunikat do odbiorcy. Może on być dowolny, ważnym jest fakt, iż takowy istnieje. Jest nim, nawet, podtrzymanie więzi, rozmowy, czy kontaktu z adresatem.

> Eine Handlung ist intentional, insofern sie als vom Handelnden zielgerichtet ausgeführt, erlebt oder legitimiert werden kann bzw. von einem Beobachter in dieser Weise analysiert wird; sie ist funktional, insofern sie in einem supraindividuellen Wirkungszusammenhang eine bestimmte Bedeutung (Funktion) besitzt (S.F. Sager 1981: 12).

Odnośnie punktu drugiego, w przypadku komunikacji międzyludzkiej nie istnieje inna możliwość, jak zwrócić się właśnie do innej osoby, tutaj adresata, choć jak wspo-

[5]Punkt piąty zostanie omówiony poniżej, gdyż nie należy on do warunków, jakie należy spełnić, by komunikacja mogła zaistnieć.

mniano na początku, człowiek komunikuje się z całym otoczeniem, w którym się w danej chwili znajduje, tak samo, jak to otoczenie komunikuje się z nim.

Odnośnie punktu trzeciego, by komunikacja mogła dojść do skutku – a zatem, jak to nazywa B. Z. Kielar, osiągnięty został efekt i cel komunikacyjny – nadawca musi nadać sygnał w takim kodzie, by odbiorca mógł go zrozumieć, zinternalizować i zinterpretować zgodnie z intencją nadawcy.

Odnośnie punktu czwartego, symboliczność komunikacji opiera się na znakach. „Zastępstwo to [sygnału na znak] opiera się na względnej równowartości tzn. wartość sygnału równa się wartości oznaczonego zjawiska [podkreślenie M.M.], na zasadzie umowy, czyli konwencji społecznej co do zastępstwa" (B.Z. Kielar 1988: 11). Uściślić tutaj należy, iż *oznaczone zjawisko* równie dobrze może być znakiem drogowym, co wypowiedzianym, czy napisanym słowem. Nie ma znaczenia jakim znakiem zostanie zastąpiony sygnał, o ile jest on zrozumiały dla wszystkich uczestników procesu komunikacji.

Odnośnie punktu szóstego należy zgodzić się z Burgerem i Imhalsy'm w tej kwestii. Na temat osiągnięcia efektu i celu komunikacyjnego wypowiadała się również B.Z. Kielar. Komunikacja może zostać uznana za efektywną, czy skuteczną, tylko w przypadku kiedy osiągnięty został zamiar komunikacyjny nadawcy, tzn. adresat z powodzeniem otrzymał sygnał w formie znaku, zdekodował go, zrozumiał, a następnie na niego odpowiednio zareagował.

„Wenn (…) keine Interaktion zwischen Partnern stattfindet, findet auch keine Kommunikation statt, selbst wenn das Verhalten intentional ist" (H. Burger/ B. Imhasly 1978: 18). Nie sposób zgodzić się z tym zdaniem, gdyż, jak wykazano powyżej, komunikacja zachodzi nawet w przypadku, kiedy sygnał w formie znaku zostanie nadany. W tym przypadku możemy mówić jedynie o nieosiągniętym efekcie i/ lub celu komunikacji (zob. F. Grucza 1992, 2012b, B.Z. Kielar 1988). H. Burger i B. Imhasly wyróżniają jeszcze sytuację, w której adresat nadaje sygnał w formie znaku, jednakże nie powoduje on werbalnej bądź niewerbalnej reakcji u adresata. Może on powodować reakcję u innego odbiorcy, który z jakiegoś powodu otrzymał, zrozumiał i wykonał zamiar komunikacyjny nadawcy. Taką sytuację określa się mianem fałszywej komunikacji[6] (zob. H. Burger/ B. Imhasly 1978: 19).

3.2.Model (rzeczywistej) komunikacji międzyludzkiej

Na wstępie dokonajmy podsumowania tego, o czym dotychczas była mowa. Inherentną, a jednocześnie zinternalizowaną właściwością konstytutywną każdego człowieka jest jego idiolekt. Język nie jest bytem samodzielnym, który można postrzegać w oddzieleniu od istoty ludzkiej. Samodzielne i, w pewnym sensie, oderwane od człowieka są jedynie idealne, modelowe postacie języka, takie jak np. język polski, rosyjski, czy niemiecki, które powstały na potrzeby usystematyzowania zasad gramatycznych, fonetycznych oraz leksyki, lecz same w sobie są tworami sztucznymi. Rzeczywistym językiem grupy ludzi, czy w tej grupie znajdują się dwie osoby, czy jest ich sto tysięcy, jest polilekt rozumiany jako przekrój logiczny gramatyk i fonemik wszystkich idiolektów składają-

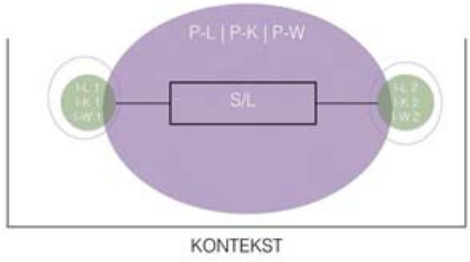
[6]Nazwa polska – M. M. Oryginał niemiecki mówi o „schiefer Kommunikation".

cych się na dany polilekt, a także suma logiczna leksyk wszystkich idiolektów składających się na dany polilekt. Polilekty możemy dzielić na etnolekty, socjolekty, profejolekty itp. Wynika z tego dobitnie, że każdy człowiek jest polilektalny – posiada swój własny, indywidualny idiolekt, a także w zależności od wieku, do pewnego stopnia również *aequolekt*+(od łac. aequus – równy; czyt. polilekt grupy rówieśniczej), *topolekt* (gr. τοπός – miejsce, czyt. polilekt osób mieszkających w tym samym miejscu), *profesjolekt* (czyt. polilekt grupy specjalistów) itp.

Oprócz swojego indywidualnego idiolektu, człowiek na tej samej zasadzie, na jakiej posiada język, jest również „posiadaczem" własnej kultury. Idiokultura jest, podobnie jak język, konstytutywną właściwością każdego człowieka. Rzeczywistą kulturą każdej grupy istot ludzkich, niezależnie od jej wielkości, jest polikultura, składająca się z sumy logicznej wszystkich idiokultur. Odróżnić natomiast należy kulturę od znaku kulturowego. Znakiem kulturowym nazywamy wszystkie produkty rzeczywistej kultury ludzkiej. Mogą to być zarówno obrazy, utwory muzyczne, jak i sposób zachowania przy stole, czy ubierania się stosownie do okazji.

Co więcej, każda istota ludzki posiada własną, zinternalizowaną wiedzę, która stanowi jego konstytutywną właściwość. Idiowiedza, bo o niej mowa, jest nabywana przez każdego mówcę-słuchacza poprzez doświadczenie (naturalna idiowiedza), naukę np. w szkole (nabyta idiowiedza), Człowiek posiada również idiowiedzę wrodzoną (genetyczną) oraz idiowiedzę praktyczną (aplikatywną), Z kolei wiedza wspólna danej grupie mówców-słuchaczy stanowi ich poliwiedzę. Poliwiedza to suma logiczna wszystkich rodzajów idiowiedzy składających się na daną poliwiedzę. Podobnie jak w przypadku kultury, należy tutaj odróżnić wiedzę, jako inherentną, zinternalizowaną właściwość konstytutywną każdego, pojedynczego człowieka od znaków wiedzy. Znakiem wiedzy nazwiemy wszystkie wytwory rzeczywistej wiedzy ludzkiej. Mogą to być np. informacje, poszczególne fakty czy fenomeny.

Dokonawszy tego krótkiego podsumowania, możemy teraz przejść do modelu rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej:



Schemat 9. Uproszczony model rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej (S/ L - sygnał lektalny, I-L – idiolekt, I-K – idiokultura, I-W – idiowiedza, P-L – polilekt, P-K – polikultura, P-W – poliwiedza)

Powyższy model przedstawia komunikację międzyludzką jedynie w bardzo podstawowym zakresie, dlatego też został nazwany uproszczonym.

Przerywane okręgi oznaczają bodźce komunikacyjne mówców-słuchaczy. Zwykle zakłada się, iż tylko nadawca posiada ów bodziec, jednakże prawda jest taka, iż zarówno mówca, jak i słuchacz oraz słuchacz, jak i mówca (gdyż każdy z uczestników procesu

komunikacji jest zarówno mówcą, jak i słuchaczem, choć zwykle nie jednocześnie) muszą posiadać odpowiednie bodźce komunikacyjne. Weźmy za przykład rozmowę dwojga znajomych – obojgu powinno zależeć na podtrzymaniu rozmowy, bądź na kontynuowaniu komunikacji. Jeśli choć jedno z nich tego nie uczyni, proces komunikacji międzyludzkiej, co prawda zajdzie, ale będzie niepełny, nieskończony.

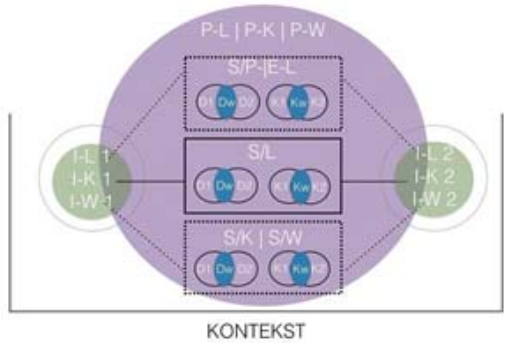
Zielone okręgi symbolizują mówców-słuchaczy. Jak przedstawiono powyżej, każdy z nich posiada swój indywidualny idiolekt, idiokulturę i idiowiedzę, które stanowią jegokonstytutywną właściwość. Uczestnik procesu komunikacji po lewej stronie otrzymał numer 1, zaś ten po prawej numer 2, celem rozróżnienia ich. Warto również zaznaczyć, że niezależnie od wszystkiego, od tego kim oni są i w jakim celu się komunikują, ich idiolekty/ idiokultury/ idiowiedze nie będą nigdy takie same.

Fioletowym okręgiem zaznaczono polilekt, polikulturę i poliwiedzę uczestników tego procesu komunikacji. Jak wykazano we wcześniejszych częściach niniejszego artykułu, porozumienie pomiędzy dwojgiem mówców-słuchaczy możliwe jest jedynie w momencie, kiedy ich indywidualne idiolekty, idiokultury i idiowiedze są ze sobą, przynajmniej w minimalnej części, zbieżne. Poza tym, polilekt, polikultura oraz poliwiedza, umożliwiają mówcom-słuchaczom wzajemne zrozumienie się ze względu na wykorzystywanie podobnych, bądź identycznych, wytworów idiolektalnych, idiokulturowych i idiowiedzowych.

W czarnym prostokącie, a także poprzez czarne linie, oznaczono sygnał lektalny. Jest on tym samym, co sygnał językowy, parajęzykowy i ekstrajęzykowy jednocześnie. Warto nadmienić, iż ów sygnał nadawany jest w formie znaku (fonemicznego, graficznego, niewerbalnego, itp.). Jeden z uczestników procesu komunikacji, uprzednio konstruując komunikat w taki sposób, jak to opisała B.Z. Kielar (1988), nadaje ów sygnał, zaś drugi go dekoduje, rozumie i odbiera. Następnie, co również zaznaczono przerywanymi liniami, dochodzi albo do osiągnięcia celu i efektu komunikacyjnego, albo nie, w zależności, od tego, czy proces komunikacji był kompletny, czy też nie.

Cała zaś komunikacja odbywa się w pewnym kontekście, w którym znajdują się mówcy-słuchacze. Może to być kontekst danej sytuacji (konstytucja), kontekst przeszły, o którym komunikują mówcy-słuchacze, a także kontekst społeczny i kulturowy. Sam kontekst nie ma znaczenia dla komunikacji, lecz istotnym jest, by oboje jej uczestników znajdowało się w nim jednocześnie i by oboje go rozumieli.

Powyższy model stanowi jedynie uproszczoną wersję komunikacji międzyludzkiej. Przyjrzyjmy się zatem rozszerzonej wersji powyższego modelu:



Schemat 10. Model rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej (S/ L – sygnał lektalny, S/ K – sygnał kultury, S/ W – sygnał wiedzy, S/ P-L – sygnał paralektalny, S/ E-L – sygnał ekstralektalny, D – denotat, K – konotat, Dw – denotat wspólny, Kw – konotat wspólny, I-L – idiolekt, I-K – idiokultura, I-W – idiowiedza, P-L – polilekt, P-K – polikultura, P-W – poliwiedza)

Większość elementów powyższego modelu jest taka sama, jak w przypadku jego uproszczonej wersji – bodźce komunikacyjne zaznaczono przerywanymi liniami, zielone okręgi odzwierciedlają mówców-słuchaczy, fioletowy okrąg pokazuje polilekt/ polikulturę/ poliwiedzę. Kontekst również nie uległ zmianie.

Warto zwrócić uwagę, iż w przeciwieństwie do powyższego, uproszczonego modelu, proces komunikacji stał się on zdecydowanie bardziej skomplikowany. Tym razem sygnał nadawany przez mówcę-słuchacza, a zarazem odbierany przez drugiego uczestnika tego procesu, został podzielony na trzy sygnały, które są odbierane-nadawane jednocześnie.

Mamy tutaj do czynienia z sygnałem lektalnym, jak powyżej, w którego skład wchodzą dodatkowo denotaty lekatalne oraz konopaty lektalne dla obojga mówców-słuchaczy. Mimo że, jak napisano powyżej, porozumienie między dwojgiem mówców słuchaczy możliwe jest jedynie w ramach wspólnego polilektu/ polikultury/ poliwiedzy, to należy wziąć pod uwagę, iż te samy sygnały w formie znakowej mogą stanowić różne denotaty oraz różne konotaty dla każdego z mówców-słuchaczy, a co za tym idzie, mimo wspólnego polilektu/ polikultury/ poliwiedzy, mogą prowadzić do nieporozumień. Dlatego efektywny sygnał lektalny to ten, w ramach którego mówcy-słuchacze posługują się wspólnymi denotatami lektalnymi oraz dekodują wszelkie konotaty lektalne. Do pewnego stopnia możemy tutaj mówić o idiodenotatach oraz idiokonotatach, a także o ich sumie logicznej, tworzącej polikonotaty i polidenotaty.

Oprócz sygnału lektalnego, mówca-słuchacz nadaje również sygnał paralektalny i ekstralektalny, który jest odbierany przez drugiego uczestnika komunikacji. Jeśli obydwoje uczestników procesu komunikacji wywodzą się z tego samego środowiska, jak w przypadku np. *topolektu*, to w tym momencie denotaty i konotaty ich para- i ekstralektalne nie powinny się znacząco różnić. By zobrazować tę sytuację lepiej, posłużmy się pewnym przykładem: jeśli jeden z mówców-słuchaczy przy powitaniu wyciągnie, zamiast otwartej dłoni skierowanej horyzontalnie w stronę drugiej osoby, zaciśniętą pięść skierowaną horyzontalnie (pot. zw. *żółwikiem*), a jednocześnie podniesie tembr głosu przy werbalizowaniu powitania, wtedy drugi mówca-słuchacz może odebrać oba zachowania para- i ekstralektalne jako familiarne i wyraz ekscytacji ze strony pierwszego z nich (zob. E. Neuland 2008).

Ostatnim elementem powyższego modelu jest sygnał kultury i sygnał wiedzy. Oba te sygnały, choć w swej naturze stanowią odrębne byty, zostały w powyższym schemacie potraktowane jako jeden rodzaj przekazu między dwojgiem mówców-słuchaczy, gdyż niejednokrotnie niezbędna jest wiedza, by dekodować sygnał kultury, jak również niejednokrotnie niezbędna jest kultura, by dekodować sygnał wiedzy. Możemy tutaj mówić o ich przeplataniu się (zob. F. Grucza 1992, 1997). Podobnie, jak w przypadku sygnałów lektalnych, para- i ekstralektalnych, również sygnały kultury i wiedzy mają swoje konotaty i denotaty. Tylko, jak zaproponowano powyżej, na podstawie ich wspólnych, polidenotatów i polikonotatów, możemy mówić o wzajemnym zrozumieniu na poziomie wiedzy i kultury obojga mówców-słuchaczy.

4. Podsumowanie

Jak wykazano w niniejszym artykule, każdy człowiek posiada własny idiolekt, własną idiokulturę, jak również własną idiowiedzę. Wszystkie one stanowią konstytutywne właściwości każdego mówcy-słuchacza i zostały przez niego zinternalizowane. Suma logiczna leksyk dwojga mówców słuchaczy, a także przekrój logiczny ich gramatyk oraz fonemik stanowią ich polilekt. Polilekty możemy dzielić ze względu na miejsce zamieszkania, pracę, szkołę oraz wiele innych kategorii. Najważniejsze jednak jest to, iż każdy człowiek jest polilektalny.

Zaproponowany model (uproszczony) stanowi o rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej jedynie w bardzo uproszczony i schematyczny sposób. Z kolei model rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej (dla rozróżnienia nazwany rozszerzonym), przedstawia skomplikowanie i ilość procesów zachodzących podczas komunikacji dwojga lub więcej mówców-słuchaczy.

W przedstawionym powyżej przypadku, w procesie rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej, bierze udział tylko dwoje mówców-słuchaczy. Model ów może zostać zastosowany także do komunikacji pomiędzy ich większą liczbą. Może on również, w odpowiednio zmodyfikowanej wersji, stanowić podstawę dla stworzenia modelu rzeczywistej komunikacji międzyludzkiej z wykorzystaniem tłumacza.

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Adriana Biedroń, *Cognitive-Affective Profile of Gifted Adult Foreign Language Learners*. Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku, 2012, 266 str.

Książka Adriany Biedroń Cognitive-affective profile of gifted adult foreign language learners [Kognitywno-afektywny profil ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionych dorosłych uczniów języka obcego] ukazała się na polskim rynku w 2012 roku nakładem Wydawnictwa Naukowego Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku. Publikacja stanowi podsumowanie dorobku autorki, który od lat koncentrował się na zagadnieniu uzdolnień językowych.

Problematyka tytułowa monografii wzbudza kontrowersje od późnych lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku, gdy zaproponowano testy służące pomiarowi tychże zdolności (Carroll, 1959). Badania prowadzone do tej pory koncentrowały się głównie na analizie różnych czynników, które mogą korelować ze zdolnościami językowymi (np. wiek, język rodzimy) oraz określeniu cech efektywnego treningu zdolności językowych. Autorka podjęła się w swojej pracy zbadania związków pomiędzy zdolnościami językowymi, a czynnikami poznawczymi i osobowościowymi. Warto zauważyć, że problematyka zdolności językowych nie była do tej pory przedmiotem tak dogłębnej analizy badawczej ze strony polskich językoznawców stosowanych i glottodydaktyków jak ta zaprezentowana przez autorkę w jej pracy.

Zainteresowanie autorki tematem uzdolnień językowych jest szczególnie na czasie. System edukacji w Polsce zaczyna powoli otwierać się na wspieranie talentów dzieci, w tym rozwijanie ich uzdolnień językowych. W szkołach pojawiają się możliwości uczenia się języka obcego z uwzględnieniem różnych poziomów języka oraz uczestniczenia w zajęciach pozalekcyjnych z języka obcego (np. festiwale talentów językowych). Nauczyciele języków obcych coraz częściej wykorzystują zasadę elastyczności metodycznej, często jednak nie wiedzą jak dostosować metody nauczania do potrzeb każdego ucznia, szczególnie tego ujawniającego zdolności językowe. Nadal brakuje w szkołach specjalistów przygotowanych w zakresie diagnostyki zdolności, coachingu i programów rozwijających zdolności językowe konkretnego ucznia, tak jak ma to miejsce w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Warto również zauważyć, że zainteresowanie tematem uzdolnień językowych wpisuje się w nurt europejskiej polityki językowej, która wspiera idee wielojęzyczności i uczenia się języków obcych.

Niniejszą pozycję książkową o charakterze teoretyczno-praktycznym należy uznać za wartościową dla szerokich grup odbiorców: nauczycieli języków obcych, którzy powinni umieć dostrzegać przejawy zdolności językowych dzieci, nauczycieli akademickich, którzy przygotowują przyszłych nauczycieli języków obcych do pracy w szkołach i diagnozowania uczniów uzdolnionych językowo, oraz decydentów mających wpływ na organizację procesu kształcenia językowego w szkołach, którzy miedzy innymi opracowują programy nauczania z uwzględnieniem ucznia ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionego. Wprawdzie monografia empirycznie jest osadzona w polskich realiach, została napisana w języku angielskim, co moim zdaniem ogranicza dostępność książki

tylko do czytelników posługujących się biegle tym językiem. Uważam, że warto dokonać tłumaczenia tej pozycji książkowej, tak żeby trafiła do nauczycieli różnych języków obcych oraz samych uczniów ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionych lub ich rodziców.

Autorka podzieliła książkę na sześć rozdziałów, z których pierwszych pięć omawia teoretyczne podstawy zagadnienia, ostatni natomiast stanowi raport z badania osób ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionych językowo. W rozdziale pierwszym autorka omawia podstawowe pojęcia dyscypliny, najważniejsze modele hierarchiczne i modele czynników równorzędnych inteligencji, metody pomiaru zdolności poznawczych, a także biologiczne i środowiskowe źródła różnic indywidualnych. Rozdział drugi stanowi przegląd wybranych zagadnień z badań nad zdolnościami językowymi w kontekście zmian i rozwoju w dyscyplinach językoznawstwa stosowanego i psychologii poznawczej. Szczególnej uwadze polecam ten rozdział, gdyż autorka omawia w nim badania nad zdolnościami językowymi, które były prowadzone do tej pory w Polsce. Rozdział trzeci koncentruje się na trzech poznawczych aspektach zdolności językowej: zdolnościach analitycznych, pamięciowych i procesach uwagi. Autorka wybrała tylko te trzy aspekty ze względu na największe zaawansowanie badań empirycznych w tych obszarach. Niniejszy rozdział pokazuje, w jaki sposób pamięć robocza wpływa na przyswajanie języka obcego. W rozdziale czwartym autorka skupiła się na najbardziej kontrowersyjnym aspekcie zdolności językowych, jakim są czynniki osobowościowe. Analizie zostały poddane takie cechy osobowościowe jak otwartość na doświadczenie, sumienność, ugodowość, ekstrawersję i neurotyzm, umiejscowienie kontroli, style radzenia sobie ze stresem, inteligencja emocjonalna, kreatywność, motywacja, autonomiczność, a także czynniki poznawczo-osobowościowe, czyli style uczenia się. Ostatni teoretyczny rozdział przedstawia kluczowy problem niniejszej monografii, czyli badania nad osobami ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionymi i utalentowanymi językowo. Autorka omawia w nim pojęcia zdolności poznawczej i talentu, jak również metody identyfikacji i selekcji osób ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionych. Rozdział kończy się przeglądem badań neurologicznych dotyczących funkcjonalnych i anatomicznych różnic w funkcjonowaniu mózgów osób na różnych poziomach zdolności językowych.

Szczególnej uwadze polecam rozdział szósty, stanowiący część empiryczną pracy. Autorka poddaje w nim analizie związki pomiędzy zdolnościami językowymi, a czynnikami poznawczymi i osobowościowymi. Niniejsza analiza jest przeprowadzana w dwóch grupach uczniów: ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionych i przeciętnie uzdolnionych. W tej części czytelnik nie tylko ma szansę przyglądnięcia się wnioskom ze statystycznej analizy danych, ale również jakościowej analizie opartej na studium przypadku, która nakreśla pełniejszy obraz badanej grupy. W tej części Czytelnik odnajdzie również model predykatorów zdolności językowych stworzony przez Autorkę oraz cenne wskazówki dla nauczycieli języków obcych, którzy na swojej drodze spotkają ucznia ponadprzeciętnie uzdolnionego.

Konkludując uważam, że opracowanie tematu zdolności językowych przez Adrianę Biedroń wnosi bardzo wiele istotnych treści w omawiane zagadnienie i powinno stanowić obowiązkową lekturę dla czynnych nauczycieli języków obcych. Niniejsza pozycja książkowa pozostawia nadzieję, że uczeń ponadprzeciętnie uzdolniony językowo zostanie w pełni doceniony w szkole, a władze resortu edukacji będą podejmowały dalsze kroki służące rozwijaniu jego uzdolnień.

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