

VYTAUTAS MAGNUS UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE

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**ACQUISITION OF ITALIAN AS A SECOND LANGUAGE:
THE SITUATION OF ADOPTION FROM LITHUANIA**

Summary of doctoral dissertation
Humanities, Philology (04 H)

Kaunas, 2013

The dissertation has been prepared at the Vytautas Magnus University in 2008 – 2013. The right for the joint doctoral studies was accorded to the Vytautas Magnus University and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language on July 15, 2003, according to the decree of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania No. 926.

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The dissertation will be defended before the Council of Philological Sciences of the Vytautas Magnus University and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language.

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The defence of the dissertation will be open to public. It is to be held at a public meeting of the Council of Philological Science of the Vytautas Magnus University and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language at 12 p.m. on June 21, 2013 at Vytautas Magnus University, Faculty of Humanities, room prof. M. Gimbutienės (211). Address: K. Donelaičio g. 52, LT-44248, Kaunas, Lietuva.

The summary of the doctoral dissertation was sent out on 20 May 2013.

The doctoral dissertation is available at Martynas Mažvydas National Library, Vytautas Magnus University Library in Kaunas and Institute of the Lithuanian Language Library in Vilnius.

VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO UNIVERSITETAS
LIETUVIŲ KALBOS INSTITUTAS

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**ITALŲ KAIP ANTROSIOS KALBOS ĮSISAVINIMAS:
ĮVAIKINIMO IŠ LIETUVOS SITUACIJA**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka
Humanitariniai mokslai, filologija (04 H)

Kaunas, 2013

Disertacija rengta 2008 – 2013 metais Vytauto Didžiojo universitete

Doktorantūros teisė suteikta Lietuvių kalbos institutui kartu su Vytauto Didžiojo universitetu 2003 m. liepos 15 d. Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybės nutarimu Nr. 926.

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Disertacija bus ginama viešame Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvių kalbos instituto Filologijos mokslo krypties tarybos posėdyje 2013 m. birželio 21 d. 12 val. Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto prof. M. Gimbutienės (211) auditorijoje. Adresas: K. Donelaičio g. 52, LT-44248, Kaunas, Lietuva.

Disertacijos santrauka išsiųsta 2012 m. gegužės mėn. 20 d.

Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Lietuvos nacionalinėje Martyno Mažvydo, Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvių kalbos instituto bibliotekose

INTRODUCTION

The object, novelty, and relevance of the research

Learning a language is one of the most important tasks in one's life because language is the main human tool for communication with others and it makes us a part of a society. The mother-tongue or the native language is the language learned by a child from his or her parents or caretakers and used in all situations in life. Usually it is the first language (L1) of a person not only in the sequential sense of acquisition, but also because it is the language a person is most fluent in and feels most comfortable about. There is a variety of reasons why people learn and use more than one language, and the language (or languages) acquired after childhood, or rather, when a person is already a native speaker of a language, is referred to as second language (L2). There are situations when the L2 might be used more than the L1 and therefore might become the dominant language of a person's linguistic repertoire. The **object** of this study is the acquisition of Italian as a second language by Lithuanian children who are adopted to Italian families and move to Italy.

The population of internationally adopted children is very specific and worth of academic interest. First of all, these children go through a rather abrupt language shift at the moment of adoption. The adoptive families do not know the language of the child and therefore the language of the immediate surrounding is the language of the family, whereas the mother-tongue of the child in most cases disappears from the child's horizon as soon as he or she leaves the country of origin. Second, the new language of the adoptive family is not only crucial for the everyday communication, but it is also socially important because it represents the beginning of a new life. Most of the adoptive children have never had a family and through that family they also get a chance to fully integrate into the new society. Therefore, the situation of international adoption is a perfect ground for a total immersion and high motivation to adapt in all aspects, also linguistically, eventually in most cases this means the children's L2 becoming their new L1. Third, according to the subsidiarity principle that is respected in various national and international laws and conventions, children can be adopted to other countries only after it has been made sure by the authorities that there is no possibility for the child to be taken care of in a family in the country of origin. This means that a certain amount of time passes before the adoption and even if the child is abandoned at birth by the biological parents, he or she will spend some time surrounded by the language of the country of origin. In many cases, however, in Lithuania and other east European countries, children are proposed for international adoption at an older age also due to the fact that they are not abandoned at birth but rather taken away further in life from the neglectful biological families. This is the reason why children who are internationally adopted usually already have an L1 at the time of adoption and therefore are faced with acquiring L2.

Even though international adoption has been a growing phenomenon worldwide during the past couple of decades, the research on the linguistic development of this population has started rather recently. There has been neurolinguistic and other evidence that the new acquired language replaces the once-known mother-tongue in grown-up adoptees (Pallier *et al.* 2003, Ventureyra *et al.* 2004, Hyltenstam *et al.* 2009). Some more recent research has studied children shortly and some time after the adoption with the scope to evaluate their language for therapeutic or pedagogical reasons (Glennen 2002, Glennen and Masters 2002, Glennen 2005, Glennen and Bright 2005, Glennen, Rosinsky-Grunhut and Tracy 2005, Glennen 2009, Geren *et al.* 2005, Snedeker *et al.* 2007, Snedeker *et al.* 2012, Shafto *et al.* under review, Gauthier and Genesee 2011). Some specific attention has been drawn to the language attrition phenomenon in the case of international adoption by Isurin (Isurin 2000, Isurin and McDonald 2001, Isurin 2005). Most studies have investigated children adopted at very young ages, toddlers and preschoolers, and were based on experiment-like evaluations. Nicoladis and Grabis (2002) have conducted a three-month longitudinal observation of a 1,5 year old Chinese girl adopted into an English speaking family and concluded that the girl showed a rapid acquisition of English and at the end of the observation her English vocabulary was low but within the range of normal for monolingual English speaking children, whereas her Chinese skills were lost. The area most investigated in all the research mentioned is vocabulary, and no longitudinal research has been done on the actual development of the second language in children that had solid knowledge of an L1 prior to adoption.

The **aim** of this dissertation is to analyze the linguistic development of Lithuanian children adopted to Italy focusing on the expression of action (and state) as one of the most important communicative tasks; to define the stages of acquisition of Italian as a second language, the speed with which the stages occur and the factors that influence it; to investigate the position of Lithuanian in the linguistic repertoire of the adopted children. To achieve these goals the following research tasks have been set:

- 1) To conduct a sociolinguistic survey of adoptive parents in order to learn about the speed of acquisition of Italian by the adopted children, the level of Italian reached, the characteristics or difficulties of acquisition, the adoptive parents' attitudes towards language and other sociolinguistic aspects and to summarize the results of the survey;
- 2) To observe and collect the spontaneous speech data of a selected child for a period of one year after adoption;
- 3) Observing the international standards of transcription, to transcribe the collected recordings and to annotate the transcriptions for the analysis software CHILDES;
- 4) To conduct a detailed analysis of the expression of action/state.

Research methods and data

Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been applied to gather data for this research. The sociolinguistic survey to the adopted parents represents the quantitative part. The survey aimed at collecting as much data as possible from families that have adopted children from Lithuania. A special questionnaire has been prepared and distributed via Italian adoption agencies that work in the territory of Lithuania in the field of international adoption. Responses from 74 families have been received providing information about 117 children adopted from Lithuania to Italy (and the Republic of San Marino).

The qualitative part of the research involved observing the linguistic behavior of children pre- and post-adoption, recording their spontaneous speech data and analyzing the development of their language. In total, there were four children (2 brothers and two single girls) whose linguistic behavior was observed for a year after their adoption. The linguistic data of one 11;5 year old girl was selected for the detailed analysis of expressing action/state. The observation of the girl began before her adoption, therefore still in Lithuania, and terminated 14 months after the arrival to Italy. 11,4 hours of recording of the girl's linguistic behavior are analyzed in this dissertation.

The two different methods of data collecting support one another and therefore it is possible to draw quite firm generalizations about the way the adopted children acquire the new language, the speed of the acquisition and the conditions that influence this process. The detailed linguistic analysis of the predicate expression reveals a gradual but very rapid acquisition of Italian, which is very well reflected in the responses of the adoptive parents.

Theses to be defended

- 1) The adopted children rapidly acquire the new language, their linguistic development does not cease after having reached a level sufficient for an effective communication, instead it continues to develop by getting closer to the structure of the target language which is reached after about a year in the new country.
- 2) The adopted children reach a very high level of linguistic quality, comparable to that of the native speakers, even though their acquisition is completely (or mostly) natural and not formal.
- 3) The expression of action/state in the linguistic development of the observed girl starts by using pragmatic principles and gradually passing to the grammatical ones whereas the grammar is acquired in a typical evolving sequence.
- 4) The second language acquisition of the older adopted children has some similarities with the children's mother-tongue acquisition (L1).

- 5) Age is not the major factor that permits the adopted children to quickly and successfully acquire the new language while the favorable linguistic environment in the situation of international adoption plays the most important role.
- 6) In a year the new language becomes completely or almost the only language of the adopted children, i.e. their new first language.

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Second language acquisition is a process of learning a language different from the mother-tongue in a natural environment, i.e. not in a classroom or from a textbook. Most linguistic theories are based on the assumption that the universal cognitive and linguistic principles are in act both in L1 and L2 acquisition. This, however, does not mean that the processes of L1 and L2 acquisition are identical, but the general pattern is somewhat similar and the research on L2 acquisition gives an opportunity to study the mechanisms of acquisition separating this process from cognitive (im)maturation.

There are different possible ways of looking at the language acquisition and the view adopted here is the functional or concept-oriented approach (Stutterheim and Klein 1987). This perspective considers the interlanguage of a learner not as a random mixture of errors but as a system which is not that of the L1 of the speaker, nor that of the target language but is comprised of certain rules that the learner has acquired from the environment of the target language (they are not necessarily exact) and makes use of them in order to fulfill the communicative needs. Naturally, the communicative needs of an infant learning his or her mother-tongue are rather limited when comparing to those of a second language learner. A spontaneous learner of a second language urgently needs to use the new language and being understood is of vital importance, therefore he or she employs all possible resources and cognitive abilities to get through the message without bothering whether the linguistic means used correspond to the system of the target language.

Due to the context of migration in Europe in the last decades of the past century, natural second language acquisition has been quite extensively studied in various grand-scale projects. One of those was the so-called ESF project that studied the acquisition of five different European languages by speakers of typologically closer and further languages (Perdue and Klein 1992, Perdue 1993 vol. I and II, Klein and Perdue 1992, 1997). A notion of a *basic variety* has been formulated in order to describe a stage of acquisition reached by all the learners. The basic variety is characterized by a rather limited set of principles (controller first, focus last) that learners use in order to communicate and it is a stage where no morphology can yet be found. Learners use a base form of a verb of the target language (e.g. love, go) to express the predicate, but all other information, such as tense, person, aspect, is conveyed by different means, i.e. not included in the verb even if required by the system of the target language. This basic variety is proved sufficient for communication and therefore the development of the

interlanguage might fossilize at this stage. The learner might continue to expand vocabulary and become more efficient at using the same principles, but not acquire any morphological elements that would bring his or her interlanguage closer to the system of the target language.

Before reaching the basic variety, a learner, having a rather limited vocabulary and no morphological notions, constructs utterances, observing only pragmatic principles. This pre-basic variety is characterized by the nominal utterance organization where it is not possible to distinguish between the parts of speech (noun, verb) and the success of communication is extremely dependent on the collaboration of the interlocutor and the immediate context. The most important characteristic of the basic variety is the appearance of a predicate in the utterance of the learner. As mentioned, there is no morphology at this stage and therefore the organization of utterances is non-finite but already based not only on the pragmatic, but also on the semantic-syntactic principles, and the utterances might as well be comprehensible also without the immediate context. The finite utterance organization is reached only in the post-basic variety when a learner has acquired, at least in part, the morphological system of the target language and is capable of constructing utterances according to the syntactic rules and therefore can speak without the necessity to refer to the immediate context for being understood.

Inspired by these findings, acquisition of other languages has been studied. Spontaneous acquisition of Italian has been extensively studied by the so-called Project of Pavia (see Giacalone Ramat 1990b, 1993, 2003c, 2007 for detailed description) that has found the same pattern with some particularities. Italian, being a highly flexible and transparent language, permits the learners to recognize the most salient forms in the input language and, therefore, the basic variety of Italian includes not only the base form of the verb, but a morphological opposition between the base form and the perfective form. The base form is usually expressed by the third person singular form of the verb, e.g. *mangia* “eat(s)”, or sometimes the infinitive, e.g. *mangiare* “to eat”, and the perfective form is expressed by the form of the past participle of the target language, i.e. *mangiato* “eaten”. The interlanguage of the Italian as a second language learner might fossilize at this stage.

In certain favorable conditions and positively influenced by a variety of factors, the interlanguage of a learner might develop further than the basic variety and the different levels reached by individual learners can be generally called the post-basic continuum, because the common feature is getting closer to the system of the target language. If the basic variety is generally very similar in all languages (naturally, the lexical expression differs but the principles employed are the same), the post-basic variety is already heading in the direction of the specific target language. This is also the stage where interference with the L1 of the speaker might occur.

The most important result of the Pavia project is the determination of the sequence of acquisition of Italian tenses and moods and it can be briefly stated as follows:

Present tense (and infinitive) > (auxiliary) past participle > imperfect > future > conditional > subjunctive

This sequence is implicational and it permits to determine the level reached by the learner in the sector of the verbal system. For example, if a learner autonomously uses the future tense in his or her interlanguage, it implicates that he or she also autonomously uses the present tense, the past participle – with or without auxiliary – and the imperfect tense. But at the same time it does not say anything about the capability of the learner to use the conditional and subjunctive moods (Giacalone Ramat 2003a: 23).

There is a great variety of factors external to the language itself that influence second language acquisition and they can generally be grouped into social and individual ones. The domination of one linguistic group over another, the size of these groups, various stereotypes, are social factors that can affect a learner. Psychological attitude toward learning a language can also be affected by such variables as culture shock, time that one estimates to spend in the environment of the language, readiness to adapt (ego-permeability, Schumann 1986). All this adds up to determine the motivation (or its absence) of a learner to acquire the new language and this factor is considered nearly the most important.

There are also many individual factors, such as self-esteem, extroversion, the level of anxiety, risk-taking, sensitivity to rejection, empathy, inhibition, the tolerance of ambiguity (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, Brown 2000). Age as a factor determining second language acquisition has been studied by many academics and even though the everyday experience would seem to support the hypothesis that “older is faster, but younger is better [in the long run]” (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, Singleton 1995), there does not seem to be any specific age when human acquisition capacity radically falls, but rather a gradual decline throughout life without ever actually reaching the “zero” capacity level. Researchers have come to a conclusion that other factors, such as exercise and psychological and social variables, etc., interconnect with the maturational constraints in the process of L2 acquisition.

Nevertheless, children seem to be more sensitive to morphological features of a language and together with the absence of fear of losing their social identity by acquiring a new language, in general achieve better results than adults. Given that second language acquisition takes place when a person already knows at least one language but there is some uncertainty when the first language acquisition actually ends (for example, the growth of lexicon continues throughout life), child second language acquisition can be studied from about the age of 4 (3-5) years old up to puberty. The general patterns observed in child second language acquisition are universally the same as those in adult learners, but children usually go through the same stages quicker and reach similar or better final results with seemingly less effort.

REVIEW OF ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Sociolinguistic survey

The 74 Italian families surveyed have adopted a total of 117 children from Lithuania within the age range at the time of adoption from 1,5 to 14,5 years old and the time after adoption varied from 5 months to 8 years (average: 3 years). These families have adopted from one (33 %) child to three (20 %) siblings. Given this data and bearing in mind the expected individual variation, it was surprising to be able to establish some rather strong tendencies from the responses. The data was analyzed grouping the children by age in most cases, with the first group including children up to 4,5 years, the second 5 – 6,5, the third from 7 till 8,5 years old and the last one comprising all those adopted at the age of 9 or older. The number of children in each group is quite similar.

The adoptive parents were asked to evaluate the level of Italian of their children by choosing from the given descriptions or writing their own. In general, the two younger groups of children got more “perfect” results than the second two, but a “very good” level of Italian was evident from the responses about the older children as well. There were only a couple of children who had more linguistic problems after a year in the country and those were mainly due to serious health problems or psychological factors. When investigating more closely the evaluation of children adopted at the age of 9 and older, it was discovered that even though some have not caught up with peers in the first year, most of them reach a very good level of Italian. Starting from the second year in the country there are those whose Italian is described as “perfect” and this number increases as they spend more time in the country.

The families were also asked to indicate the time frame in which the children started to be able to express what they want even with grammatical errors. The results suggest that quite many children were able to communicate in some way after less than a month after the adoption which means they found ways right away to be understood by the new parents. Another period that stands out for all age groups is a period of 3-4 months after the adoption. Again, the few children that had problems expressing themselves after half a year or longer in the country had more serious health problems. It was interesting to observe the inverted situation of the youngest group of children and the second one (5-6,5 years old). Contrary to what one might expect, the youngest children started speaking later than all other groups and especially those of 5-6,5 years old. This is most probably due to the fact that institutionalized children experience various developmental lags with linguistic expression being one of the most evident in the smallest children (i.e. they barely speak at all).

In Italy, children that start attending school without yet knowing Italian frequent the same regular classes together with Italian mother-tongue children and usually do not receive specific second language instruction. In some cases they might be assigned an assistant teacher or other help but that depends on individual schools and it is not a

wide-spread phenomenon. Therefore, the questionnaire included a question about explicit help to the child to acquire the language. According to the responses, nearly half of the adopted children (44,4 %) did not receive any explicit help for acquiring Italian. Those who did were mostly helped at home by learning Italian words or did homework together with the parents or other family members and only a small portion of children had a private teacher of Italian or/and an assistant teacher at school. Therefore, it can be concluded that the acquisition of Italian by the adopted children can be considered completely (or mostly) natural.

The survey also aimed at determining the position of Lithuanian in the adopted children's repertoire and included a question about expressive and comprehensive capabilities of the children in their mother-tongue. It has to be borne in mind that the adoptive parents do not know Lithuanian so their possibilities to check this capability of their children is very limited, but one of the multiple choice answers was "not known because there was no opportunity", so it is presumed that in case of absence of knowledge this option was chosen (but it constitutes only a small part of responses). Only the data of children who were adopted more than one year ago was considered for this aspect. The vast majority of adopted children does not either speak or understand Lithuanian. Some parents claim that their children say some Lithuanian words or "understand a little" but as it turned out from comments and direct observation, the words usually remembered by the children are those that were once learned and still sometimes repeated by the adoptive parents at home. Only a very small part or the oldest group of children seems to speak and understand Lithuanian. The number of siblings adopted together does not influence the maintenance of the mother-tongue for longer than half a year. The adoptive families have a positive attitude towards both Lithuania and its language, they speak about the country of the children's origin at home and sometimes even try to promote various activities to maintain at least a minimal bond, but such efforts in some cases are rejected by the children.

Finally, the questionnaire had an open question where the families were asked to express their opinion about the reasons for such rapid (or slow, if the case) acquisition of Italian by their children. Naturally, there were many different answers but the majority of the families indicated the desire of the child to integrate into the new environment and/or the family as the most important reason. Other reasons listed were the cleverness and skill of the child, start of school and even the wish of the children to forget the past.

Longitudinal observation

In order to be able to observe the linguistic behavior of adopted children and to gather their speech data, six families that had adopted a total of 11 children have been contacted. All of the families agreed in participating and the children's nonverbal cognitive abilities were evaluated using the Raven's colored matrix test. All the children were able to complete the test and the results were higher than could be anticipated

given that environmental factors (the living place of the child, the education of parents) are considered to be the most important for development of nonverbal cognitive abilities.

Only three families managed to go through with the data gathering required so the linguistic behavior of four children has been observed for a year after the adoption. The observation of the children and recording their spontaneous speech started before the adoption and during the stay of families together with the children in Lithuania. After their departure the families were asked to record the speech of their children in everyday situations. Last recordings and final observation was conducted when meeting with children a year later in their new surroundings.

One family has adopted two 7 and 8 year old brothers. These children had a regular knowledge of Lithuanian at the moment of adoption, they were quite talkative and frequently were enthusiastic when telling about their various experiences of the day and from the past. They both had started attending the first year of elementary school in Lithuania a couple of months before the adoption. These adoptive parents had made an effort to study some Lithuanian beforehand, so during their stay in Lithuania together with the children (that lasted two months) both children and parents had developed a sort of common mixed language using both Lithuanian and Italian words. The older brother seemed more conscious about the need to learn the new language and was frequently acting as “interpreter” between the adoptive parents and the younger brother. Soon after their arrival to Italy, the boys started showing signs of not wanting to speak Lithuanian anymore and they would use only Italian even when talking to each other if one of the parents was present in the room.

In Italy the boys started attending school with about half not native Italian students and the comments of both teachers and parents after one year were that they were doing remarkably better than the regular non-native children and their level of Italian was nearly equal to that of the mother-tongue peers except a slightly poorer vocabulary. The brothers did not receive any explicit teaching of Italian except for the help of the parents at home. There had been assigned an assisting teacher at school but after only a couple of meetings this help was interrupted as there was no need for such assistance. At the end of the longitudinal observation the boys’ Italian was perfect, they spoke with the accent of the local variety and were very much integrated with the peers both at school and in extra-curriculum activities. During the meeting with the researcher, besides the general positive attitude, they did not show any signs of understanding Lithuanian and even if remembering the typical Lithuanian things (e.g. black bread) they couldn’t find a Lithuanian word for them without the help of their mother or the researcher.

The second family adopted an 11,5 year old girl. This girl had been institutionalized since her birth and had been placed in different orphanages during her life. At the moment of adoption she had finished the fourth year of elementary school in Lithuania. Her knowledge of Lithuanian was complete and she was an extremely outgoing person (with some behavioral problems). Already when staying with her

adoptive parents in Lithuania (for a month) she demonstrated a huge effort to communicate with them using all different resources and acquiring many lexical items in Italian. In Italy she started attending school with younger classmates and even if that did not seem to cause psychological difficulty, the first year of integration at school was not very easy.

After one year in the new country, the dominant language of the girl was Italian and she was completely fluent in it with, according to the parents, some rare grammatical mistakes when talking in a hurry. During the meeting with her it was possible to observe the comfortable feeling of the girl with the new language and as the girl herself stated she did not have problems describing in another way an object of phenomenon if she did not know the exact term in order to inquire about it of the interlocutor. The girl showed a very positive attitude towards Lithuanian and was rather ashamed of not being able to speak it as well as she did before. She did understand most elementary speech in Lithuanian but had great difficulty recalling words herself and when trying to put them together in a sentence recurred to the rules of Italian. The pronunciation was also clearly affected by her new language.

The third family adopted a nearly five year old girl. This girl had spent all of her life in a small children's orphanage and could understand everything in the everyday Lithuanian speech but her expressive speech was limited to a rare few words. Her interaction with both children and adults consisted mainly of nodding, smiling, gestures, some sounds, a cry or just simple silence. After the adoption she spent some time at home with the mother and interacted with other children and adults on different weekly occasions, and after some months started attending kindergarten. The girl had quite notable pronunciation imprecision, which made her speech difficult to understand. Nevertheless, after a year of the new life, the girl was quite talkative and seemed to have acquired at least the basics of the Italian system. Her parents and other people close to her were able to understand almost everything in her speech. When meeting with the researcher the girl seemed surprised to hear Lithuanian and did not show any signs of familiarity with the vernacular.

Predicate development analysis

Expressing action or state is one of the most important tasks of communication. Predicate, expressed or intended, is the core of every utterance. Predicate is usually expressed by a verb and the verbal system tends to be one of the most complex parts of the system in a language. A second language learner has the need to express action or state right from the beginning of acquisition before he or she has the necessary linguistic means of the target language to do so. Therefore the learner seeks other resources and possible ways that are available due to cognitive abilities in order to express the desired intention.

For the detailed analysis of the development of predicate expression, the speech data of the adopted 11,5 year old girl was selected out of the recording of all children.

The audio material was transcribed and annotated for the automatic analysis. The data was then divided into ten observation periods about a month apart from each other. The first period comprises the last days when the girl was still in Lithuania with her new family and some days after arrival in Italy and the recordings of the last period took place 14 months after the adoption. 11,4 hours of recordings were used in this analysis and included conversations of the girl with one or (usually) both parents at a dinner table, where the family talks about various events of the day, the week, future plans, the girl's memories from the past and other everyday topics.

As it has already been mentioned, this girl is extremely outgoing and seeks communication in every way possible. Starting from the first period she employed a variety of ways to express the predicate when the morphological means available were inexistent and the lexical ones were still very limited. In many cases in the data of the first period the predicate was not expressed at all leaving the comprehension as a task to the interlocutor. In many cases the action or state was non-verbally demonstrated by the girl together with a verbal indication *così* "like this", sometimes followed by an invitation to look (*guarda* "look"). When possible the girl also imitated the action by reproducing a sound made by that action or simply recurring to onomatopoeia. Linguistic means widely applied in this first period of observation were fixed formulas, such as *non lo so* "I don't know", *capito* "understood", *come si dice* "how do you say" and similar. Autonomously used verb forms during this period were rather few and conveyed only the lexical meaning. Quite frequently the girl's utterances during this period were not completely comprehensible due to the impossibility to distinguish the role of words used.

The verbs used appear in one form only and do not contain any information other than the lexical meaning, whereas other aspects such as time or person, are conveyed with the help of time words (e.g. *ieri* "yesterday"), names or pronouns. The forms used correspond to the existing Italian direct mood present tense or infinitive forms. In the case of present tense forms, they were of all three singular persons, depending on the verb, for example *guarda* (3SG) for "look", *parlo* (1SG) for "speak" and *dormi* (2SG) for "sleep". Not infrequently during this period the girl repeated words of the parents and sometimes inserted them right into her own creative utterance. On the whole, the level of the girl's Italian at this stage can be described as belonging to the pre-basic variety.

Recordings from a month later after the first period of observation reveal a situation that is both similar and different to that of the previous one. The girl still actively uses non-verbal demonstration indicating it by *così* "like this", does not completely abandon expression of action or state in other ways (or no expression at all), and makes a great use of formulas, but her utterances are remarkably more comprehensible due to the appearance of the predicate in them. A form of verb is the main way to express predicate in this second period of observation. The form used conveys only the lexical meaning without the morphological details associated with that form in the target language. Present tense forms are the most frequently used as this

base form by the girl, although some infinitives are also registered. Choosing one form as the base form also seems to be determined by the frequency of that form in the input, for example *mangia* is not only the third singular person form of the verb “to eat”, but also a second singular of the imperative (“eat!”) and is a recurring part in the different forms and derivatives of the same verb, like *mangiare* “to eat”, *mangiato* “eaten”, *mangiava* “ate” etc.

The function of the infinitive forms used does not seem to be different from that of the present tense forms, i.e. infinitives are also used as base forms, or in some cases it can be assumed that a modal verb or another element governing the infinitive is omitted. The only other than the base form used in this period is the past participle, and the functions of this form seem to be associated with the perfective meaning it has in the target language. This means the appearance of the first morphological opposition in the interlanguage of the girl. There are not many oppositions of the same lexeme which would make this conclusion more solid, but the past participle forms used all had the function of a completed action in the past (except for some occurrences of the form *visto* “seen” that seem to be generic affirmations but this most likely could be due to the telic nature of this verb). Considered the evidence in the data, the level of the girl’s Italian at this stage, i.e. after only a month in Italy, can be described as the basic variety.

On the whole, even if the recordings available for this particular period are very limited, it is evident that the girl is starting to feel more comfortable using the lexical items already acquired and she uses them to ask about others, thus adding to her linguistic inventory. At this stage she is able to formulate more general utterances not restricted to the most immediate surroundings, to express her wishes, thoughts and ideas. Naturally she still counts a lot on the active participation of the interlocutor who she leans on for not only understanding but also helping with more precise expression.

This general description of the girl’s speech also applies to the data of the third period of observation. The verb forms used for expressing predicate are not different from the ones used previously. Although, when analyzing more closely, some rather remarkable changes can be noted. The predicate is most often expressed by an autonomously used verb form and even if quantitatively more lexemes have found their base form, the interlanguage of the girl starts to build up paradigms of the same verb. For example, if the notion of “knowing” (or “not knowing”) previously was expressed only by a formula (*non*) *lo so* regardless of the tense or person, in the data of the third period the forms of the other two persons of singular are also used (*sai* “you know” and *sa* “he/she knows”). This does not mean that the base form automatically seizes to function as such, but rather that other forms from the input come into the interlanguage and take over a part of the broad functions of the base form. In the data of the third period at least 15 mini-paradigms (paradigms constituted of at least 2 different forms of the same verb) are registered.

This subtle but greatly important change in quality leads to a completely different evaluation of the interlanguage of the girl starting from the third period of observation. It means the sensitivity to morphological differences in the target language

and the start of gradual incorporation of morphologically different forms with specific functions into the “system under construction” of the interlanguage that from this point is directed towards the target structure of Italian and can be described as post-basic variety. For the reasons mentioned, all of the girl’s speech data from and including the third period has been analyzed within the framework of Italian verb system, investigating separately the development of all moods and tenses and discussing the functions these forms have in the interlanguage and how these functions evolve.

Table 1 summarizes the development of expression of action and state. The items listed in each cell are arranged in order of importance, the ones in brackets are not widely attested in the data. Categories of the verb written in uppercase indicate that the form used by the girl with that specific function coincides with that form and its function in the target language. It can be noted that the base form used from the beginning of acquisition continues to coexist with the forms that even if formally similar, belong to the more conscious present tense or perfective forms. Perfective form is intended as both plain past participle and the compound past forming *passato prossimo*, i.e. past participle preceded by an auxiliary that carries the information about the person. The two forms do not really seem to be distinguished for quite some time, or better yet, the auxiliary is sometimes used and sometimes omitted in a free variation.

Another important thing to mention about the auxiliary is that even if it is often omitted, when it is used, the correct auxiliary is chosen, i.e. no overuse of the generally more frequent *avere* “to have”. Moreover, past participle agreement in number and/or gender is applied when the auxiliary *essere* “to be” is used and sometimes even in those cases when the auxiliary is omitted.

It can be noted that the third and fourth periods appear quite chaotic as both formerly acquired forms and forms more consciously used according to the rules of the target language coexist for some time together with other ways to express action or state that continue to be important for the time being. So this timeframe, after the 2nd and the 3rd month in Italy, is the moment when major changes occur and when the interlanguage starts gradually heading towards the structure of Italian.

Table 1. Expression of action / state in the interlanguage of the girl in all periods of observation according to time and aspectual values

PERIOD	PRESENT	PERFECTIVE (PAST)	IMPERFECTIVE PAST	FUTURE	NON-ACTUALITY/NON REALITY	VARIETY
I			base form; formula;	base form; formula;	base form; „cosi“	Pre-basic
II	base form;	formula; „cosi“ perfective form		base form; „cosi“		
III	PRESENT; base form; „cosi“	PERFECTIVE FORM; base form; „cosi“	base form; present; (IMPERFECT); „cosi“	present;	base form; „cosi“ (infinitive)	Basic
IV	PRESENT; „cosi“	past participle; PASSATO PROSSIMO; present; „cosi“	IMPERFECT; present; „cosi“	PRESENT; „cosi“	present; (IMPERFECT); (infinitive); „cosi“	
V				PRESENT	present; (CONDITIONAL); IMPERFECT	Post-basic
VI		past participle; PASSATO PROSSIMO		PRESENT; FUTURE	present; FUTURE; IMPERFECT; (CONDITIONAL)	
VII						
VIII	PRESENT	PASSATO PROSSIMO; (past participle)	IMPERFECT	PRESENT; FUTURE; (passato prossimo)	FUTURE; IMPERFECT; (CONDITIONAL)	
IX		PASSATO PROSSIMO; (past participle); narrative imperfect			FUTURE; CONDITIONAL; IMPERFECT; SUBJUNCTIVE; (passato prossimo)	
X						

The third morphologically different form to appear is the imperfect. It should be noted that the functions of this tense are only those “allowed” by the target language, that is to express imperfective past and, in some cases, non-reality. Other productive new forms appear only after about six months in the country (seventh period) and at this point the entrance of the future tense is very important as it is the last of the direct mood tenses to be acquired. Moreover, the acquisition of the future tense is rather late because in Italian the most frequent way to express future action is by using present tense forms. Future tense forms give a hint of uncertainty when comparing them to the present tense forms used in the future meaning. Therefore future tense forms are also used to express the non-reality.

Conditional mood, the forms of which were used by the girl nearly from the beginning, is formulaic expressions, specifically *vorrei per piacere* “~ I would kindly ask”, start to be used autonomously also only in the second half of the observation year, but rather sporadically until the last period. What might come as a surprise is that the most difficult and rare part of the Italian verb system, the subjunctive, is acquired by the girl in one year after arriving in the country. The girl does not use this complex form in all cases required by the traditional Italian grammars as the colloquial input offers more simple solutions, such as the use of imperfect, future or even the present tense instead, but the forms of various tenses of subjunctive are present in the girls speech and are used generally in an adequate manner.

The table does not include the imperative mood as its only function is the deontic one. A curious aspect of the development of the imperative forms is that they are one of the first forms to be used in the girl’s speech and, even if the distinction of the imperative and the present tense of the directive is not always easy or possible, are rather frequently used. But the use of these forms gradually decreases after the first half a year in the country. This can be associated with the girl’s initial great need to attract attention to herself as she needed it to be able to express another action by demonstrating it or the general tendency to “give orders” with the aim to be heard and understood. After the first half a year the girl has sufficient and more adequate ways to express actions and therefore does not require the frequent use of imperative forms.

The table also does not include, except for brief mention in the non-reality section, the infinitive. As mentioned above, at the early stages of acquisition the forms of the infinitive have been used with the function of the base form. Quite soon the functions of this form seem to partly specialize in expressing non-reality (though it is not the only or the main way of expressing this meaning). During the whole post-basic variety the forms of the infinitive are mainly used as dependent verbs in sentences, usually governed by modal verbs.

Some forms that were not frequent in the girl’s speech were not included in the table. Those forms are the gerund and the progressive periphrasis, complex compound future and past tenses, *futuro anteriore* and *trapassato prossimo*. Although not attested frequently, the data shows that these forms are acquired after one year of exposure to the language.

To sum up the development of predicate expression, it should be noted that at the very beginning of acquisition the predicate is often omitted or expressed by using formulas, non-verbal demonstrations. Very soon, only a month after the arrival in the country, forms of the verb start to be used as predicates and the utterance is being formed around it. Starting from 2-3 month of exposure the girl shows remarkable morphological sensitivity and her interlanguage gradually incorporates various morphologically different forms from the input, thus building a target-oriented verbal system. By the end of the first year of exposure to the L2, the construction of the whole Italian verbal system is complete and used fluently.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to analyze the linguistic development of Lithuanian children adopted to Italy with particular attention to the expression of action; to define the stages of acquisition of Italian as a second language, the speed with which the stages occur and the factors that influence it; to investigate the position of Lithuanian in the linguistic repertoire of the adopted children. The quantitative and qualitative studies permit to draw the following conclusions.

First, children adopted from Lithuania to Italy acquire the new language very quickly in a natural way, i.e. without formal second language instruction. This is concluded both from the results of the quantitative survey and the qualitative linguistic analysis. The majority of adopted children within the first 1-4 months reach a linguistic stage that permits an effective communication in all main life situations. The linguistic development of the children does not cease at this stage.

The sociolinguistic survey of the adoptive parents has shown that in a longer period of time even the older adopted children reach excellent results, i.e. their language corresponds to the structure of Italian and is close to the level of peers.

The longitudinal observation data has confirmed that within a year these children acquire not only the basic elements of the Italian language that are vital for communication, but also the peripheral ones that are optional and not obligatory in the language, but used in the input. This research has studied the expression of action/state that best shows the development of the acquisition as the predicate is the center of every utterance. It can be stated that within a short period of time the adopted girl acquired not only the main moods (the direct and the imperative) and tenses (present and past) of the verbal system, but also the forms that are morphologically sophisticated and are not of primary communicative importance (conditional and subjunctive moods), and complex constructions, such as progressive periphrasis, and other ways to express action/state, characteristic to the native speakers. These more complex forms are not spontaneously acquired by adults that have no formal instruction and it has to be born in mind that in Italy children do not receive Italian as L2 instruction at school.

Second, the longitudinal observation revealed that the linguistic development of the adopted children is unique but the linguistic sequence of acquisition is universal: the

communication starts following the pragmatic principles, then gradually passing on to the grammatical ones that are acquired in the order “from simple to more complex”.

When acquiring a new (second) language, the children observed in this research, as well as adults, do not have to relearn such principles of the organization of the world as time, space, cause-effect, etc., therefore, when communicating in the new language and not yet being able to express certain thought, they can invoke various verbal and non-verbal means, for instance, demonstrating an action, to refer to the past mentioning a place, describing an object of a phenomenon using associations, and similar. The acquisition of the second language of the children investigated takes place in a typical way for the L2. In the beginning of acquisition, pre-basic variety, forms of words are used only with their lexical meaning and do not have any morphological characteristics of that concrete form in a target language. Later, in the basic variety, the important event is the appearance of the predicate that is expressed by the base form of a verb. In time, when the interlanguage incorporates other morphological forms, the functions of the base form become more restricted. Only in optimal conditions for second language acquisition, that in this case is the situation of international adoption, the interlanguage of the adopted children reaches the post-basic variety that is characterized by a formation of a target-oriented system.

The universal Italian L2 sequence of the verb system acquisition is confirmed by the case study of the girl: present (imperative and infinitive) > (auxiliary) past participle > imperfect > future > conditional > subjunctive.

Despite these universal aspects, the research has discovered specific features of the linguistic acquisition of the adopted children that are characteristic to L1 acquisition. The case study observed a nearly teenage girl and her speech presented various acquisitional features that are characteristic to the acquisition of the native Italian. The major differences from the adult L2 in the interlanguage of the observed girl and the similarities to the L1 Italian acquisition are: 1) the vast use of imperative in the beginning of the acquisition and a later rather rapid decline of use of these forms; 2) the speed of acquisition of the imperfect and the functions of this tense used that are similar to those of the mother-tongue children; 3) the development of the auxiliary. From the beginning of the acquisition the girl has no difficulties in both choosing the right auxiliary (*essere* “to be” or *avere* “to have”) and the past participle agreement by number and/or gender. The past participle agreement occurs even in those cases when the auxiliary is omitted and then the agreement is with the object and not with the subject in exactly the same way as it is observed in the early mother-tongue acquisition.

Third, both adoptive parents’ survey and the longitudinal observation have shown that the age of adoption is not the most important factor neither for the speed nor the quality of acquisition. With regard to the general developmental problems that the institutionalized children face, the young adopted children frequently start communicating in the new language even later than the adopted older ones. The older ones, whose cognitive maturation is more advanced due to their age, construct the structure of the new language according to notions they already have about various

existing links in the reality (time, space, etc.). Many academics that have studied the age factor affirm that older children start speaking faster but younger ones reach better final results. The results of the research conducted partly confirm this affirmation because most of the older adopted children, according to their parents, have started using Italian rather quickly. The research has shown that not only the young, but also the older children learn Italian very well in a relatively short time. Naturally, the adopted older children take more time to reach the native peers and they might lag behind for some years (e.g. richness of vocabulary). According to the answers of adoptive parents to the questionnaire it can be seen that even after a relatively short time after the arrival in the country, the older adopted children do not diverge from the mother-tongue peers in accent (usually these children start speaking the regional dialect according to what part of Italy they live in), morphological system, and syntax, although the latter would require additional specific research. In those rare cases when a year after the adoption the language of the children, according to the parents, has not reached the level of their peers, serious health problems or psychological reasons, and not the age, are named as the most important “interfering” factors.

The detailed analysis of the development of the verb system has shown that the whole morphological verb system of the target language is acquired within a year.

Fourth, already after a year in the new country, not maintaining a special contact with the children’s native Lithuanian language, the new acquired Italian language becomes the only language even for the adopted school-aged children. The oldest adopted teenagers partly maintain the mother-tongue a little longer but that depends on the emotional and associational links with the country of origin. The survey has shown that the majority of children are not motivated to maintain their mother-tongue. When communicating only in Italian they can integrate quicker and more smoothly into their new environment and become a part of the family and community life. Even in those cases when the attitude towards the mother-tongue is not negative (the case of the girl studied), without special effort to keep up active Lithuanian, the mother-tongue goes through remarkable attrition during the first year in the new country, i.e. the difficulty to recall words, the utterances are formed according to the system of the new acquired language, notable Italian accent. The research established that the adoption of siblings together essentially does not have an effect neither on the acquisition of the new language nor on the maintenance of the mother-tongue: even groups of three siblings stop using the mother-tongue when talking to each other half a year after the adoption at the latest. That is confirmed by the longitudinal observation. Therefore Italian undoubtedly becomes the first and the main language of the children adopted from Lithuania to Italy.

The results of the research conducted permit to state that children adopted at various ages quickly and very successfully acquire the new language and become valid members of their new family and, with the support and encouragement from the family, completely integrate into the new linguistic community.

ĮVADAS

Tyrimo objektas, naujumas ir aktualumas

Kiekvienam žmogui svarbu išmokti kalbą, nes tik per kalbą bendraujama su kitais visuomenės nariais. Gimtoji kalba yra ta, kurią vaikas išmoksta iš savo tėvų ir vartoja visose gyvenimo situacijose, paprastai ji būna pirmoji asmens kalba (K1), t. y. ta kalba, kurią jis geriausiai moka ir jaučiasi patogiausiai ją vartodamas. Dėl įvairiausių priežasčių žmonės mokosi ir vartoja kitų kalbų ir ta kalba (arba kalbos), kurios išmokstamos ne vaikystėje, tiksliau, jau įsisavinus gimtąją kalbą, vadinamos antrosiomis kalbomis (K2). Kartais K2 gali tapti labiau vartojama ir net dominuojanti asmens kalba. Šio tyrimo **objektas** yra vaikų iš Lietuvos, įvaikintų italų šeimose, kalbos raida.

Vaikų, įvaikintų į užsienį, situacija yra labai specifine daugeliu, taip pat ir kalbiniu, požiūriu. Kadangi nacionaliniai ir tarptautiniai teisės aktai numato, kad pirmiausia vaikui stengiamasi surasti šeimą jo kilmės šalyje, o tam nepavykus, pereinama prie tarptautinio įvaikinimo procedūrų, tokie vaikai dažniausiai jau būna bent kiek paaugę, o dažnai ir mokyklinio amžiaus, todėl jau būna įsivinę gimtąją kalbą. Tarptautinio įvaikinimo atveju jie patiria labai staigų ir radikalų kalbinės aplinkos pasikeitimą. Naujoji, įgytosios šeimos ir aplinkos, kalba vaikams socialiai yra ypač svarbi, nes simbolizuoja naują gyvenimą. Dėl šių priežasčių naujoji kalba ilgainiui tampa pagrindine šių vaikų kalba.

Per pastaruosius porą dešimtmečių pastebimai didėjant įvaikinimų iš užsienio skaičiui visame pasaulyje pradėta domėtis ir įvaikintų vaikų kalba. Vis dėlto iki šiol daugiausia įvairiais standartizuotais testais yra tirtas įvaikintų vaikų žodynas, stebėta jau suaugusiųjų vaikystėje įvaikintų asmenų smegenų veikla, tačiau trūksta nuoseklių tyrimų apie tai, kaip vyksta įvaikintų vaikų naujosios kalbos raida. Šios disertacijos **tikslas** – ištirti iš Lietuvos į Italiją įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raidą po įvaikinimo, didžiausią dėmesį skiriant veiksmo raiškai, kaip vienai svarbiausių komunikacijos tikslų; nustatyti antrosios, italų, kalbos įsisavinimo etapus, spartą ir ją lemiančius veiksnius; išsiaiškinti lietuvių kalbos padėtį įvaikintų vaikų kalbiniame repertuare.

Darbo uždaviniai:

- 1) atlikti sociolingvistinę tėvių apklausą, siekiant išsiaiškinti į Italiją įvaikintų vaikų italų kalbos įsisavinimo spartą, pasiektą lygį, mokymosi ypatumus ar sunkumus, tėvių nuostatas apie kalbą ir kitus sociolingvistinius aspektus ir apibendrinti gautus apklausos rezultatus;
- 2) metus laiko stebėti ir rinkti tyrimui pasirinkto įvaikinto vaiko spontaniškas kalbos duomenis;
- 3) laikantis tarptautinių kalbos transkribavimo standartų, surinktus kalbos įrašus transkribuoti ir pokalbių transkripcijas užkoduoti kalbos analizės programai CHILDES;
- 4) atlikti išsamią veiksmo / būsenos raiškos raidos analizę.

Tyrimo metodai ir medžiaga

Tyrimo medžiaga buvo rinkta taikant tiek kiekybinius, tiek kokybinius metodus. Kiekybinę dalį sudaro sociolingvistinė apklausa tėvams. Šia tyrimo dalimi buvo siekta surinkti kaip įmanoma daugiau duomenų iš italų šeimų, kurios yra įvaikinusios iš Lietuvos. Buvo parengta speciali anketa, ji įvaikinusioms šeimoms išsiuntinėta per Italijos įvaikinimo organizacijas, veikiančias Lietuvoje. Gauti 74 šeimų atsakymai, iš kurių surinkta informacija apie 117 iš Lietuvos į Italiją įvaikintus vaikus.

Kokybinę tyrimo medžiagos rinkimo dalį sudarė įvaikinamų vaikų kalbinio elgesio prieš ir po įvaikinimo stebėjimas ir įrašinėjimas. Spontaniškas vaikų kalbėjimas buvo įrašinėjamas metus laiko nuo jų įvaikinimo. Surinkti iš viso keturių vaikų (2 brolių ir dviejų atskirai įvaikintų mergaičių) kalbos raidos duomenys. Vienos 11;5 amžiaus mergaitės kalbiniai duomenys atsirinkti detalai veiksmo / būsenos raiškos analizei. Disertacijos analizei transkribuota 11,4 valandų įrašų, kurie vėliau sukoduoti ir analizuoti.

Taikyti skirtingi metodai medžiagai rinkti vienas kitą papildo ir dėl to galima daryti gana tvirtus apibendrinimus apie tai, kaip įvaikinti vaikai įsisavina naują kalbą, apie įsisavinimo spartą ir sąlygas, kurios daro įtaką šiam procesui. Išsami predikato raiškos analizė atskleidžia laipsnišką, bet labai greitą italų kalbos įsisavinimą, kurį atspindi ir tėvų atsakymai.

Ginamieji teiginiai

- 1) Įvaikinti vaikai itin sparčiai įsisavina naują (K2) kalbą, jų kalbos raida nesustoja pasiekus efektyviai komunikacijai reikalingą lygmenį, o toliau plėtojasi artėjant prie tikslinei kalbai būdingos struktūros, kurią pasiekia per apytiksliai metus laiko naujoje šalyje.
- 2) Įvaikinti vaikai pasiekia labai aukštą, gimtakalbiams prilyginamą, tikslinės kalbos kokybės lygį nepaisant to, kad jų kalbos įsisavinimas yra vien tik (ar daugiausia) natūralus, o ne formalus.
- 3) Veiksmo raiškos raida įvaikintos mergaitės kalboje vyksta palaipsniui nuo pragmatinių principų pereinant prie gramatinių, o gramatika įsisavinama tipiškai, sudėtingėjančia seka.
- 4) Vyresnių įvaikintų vaikų antrosios kalbos įsisavinimas turi tam tikrų panašumų su mažų gimtakalbių (K1) vaikų raida.
- 5) Amžius nėra pagrindinis veiksnys, leidžiantis įvaikintiems vaikams greitai ir sėkmingai įsisavinti naują kalbą. Didžiausią įtaką turi tarptautinio įvaikinimo situacijoje palanki kalbinė aplinka.
- 6) Per metus naujoji kalba tampa visai ar beveik vienintelė įvaikintų vaikų kalba – naujoji pirmoji kalba.

IŠVADOS

Šiuo darbu siekta iširti iš Lietuvos į Italiją įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raidą, didžiausią dėmesį skiriant veiksmo raiškos analizei, nustatyti italų kalbos įsisavinimo etapus, spartą bei išsiaiškinti lietuvių kalbos padėtį įvaikintų vaikų kalbiniame repertuare. Atlikus kiekybinį ir kokybinį įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raidos tyrimą, galima daryti keletą apibendrinamųjų išvadų.

Pirma, iš Lietuvos į Italiją įvaikinti vaikai labai sparčiai įsisavina naująją kalbą natūralioje aplinkoje, t. y. be formalaus italų kaip antrosios kalbos mokymo. Tai rodo tiek kiekybinės apklausos rezultatai, tiek kokybinė kalbos raidos analizė. Didžioji dauguma įvaikintų vaikų per pirmuosius 1-4 mėnesius nuo atvykimo į naują šalį pasiekia tokią kalbos įsisavinimo stadiją, kuri leidžia jiems efektyviai bendrauti visose pagrindinėse gyvenimo situacijose. Pasiekus šį lygį įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raida nesustoja.

Sociolingvistinė įtėvių apklausa parodė, kad praėjus daugiau laiko net vyresni įvaikinti vaikai pasiekia puikių rezultatų, t. y. jų kalba atitinka italų kalbos struktūrą ir yra artima gimtakalbių bendraamžių kalbos lygiui.

Ilgalaikio stebėjimo duomenys patvirtino, kad per metus laiko įsisavinami ne tik pagrindiniai italų kalbos sistemos elementai, be kurių sunkiai įmanoma komunikuoti, bet ir šalutiniai, kurie kalboje yra tik pasirenkamieji, nebūtinai, bet vartojami aplinkos kalboje. Šiame tyrime buvo išsamiai nagrinėta veiksmo / būsenos raiška, kuri geriausiai parodo kalbos įsisavinimo raidą, kadangi predikatas yra centrinė kiekvieno pasakymo ašis. Galima teigti, kad per trumpą laiką įsisavinamos ne tik pagrindinės veiksmažodžio sistemos nuosakos (tiesioginė ar liepiamoji) ir laikai (esamasis ir būtasis), bet ir morfologiškai sudėtingesnės bei ne pirmo komunikacinio būtinumo formos (tariamoji ir konjunktyvo nuosakos), taip pat sudėtingesnės struktūros konstrukcijos, pavyzdžiui, progresinė perifrazė, bei kiti būdai veiksmui / būsenai reikšti, būdingi gimtakalbiams. Tokių sudėtingesnių formų spontaniškai, be formalaus mokymosi, italų K2 besimokantys suaugusieji visiškai neįsisavina. O (įvaikinti) vaikai Italijoje italų K2 formalaus mokymo institucijose iš viso nėra mokomi.

Antra, ilgalaikis stebėjimas atskleidė, kad įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raida vyksta unikaliu būdu, tačiau kalbinės raidos seka yra universali: pradedama komunikuoti remiantis pragmatiniais principais, vėliau palaipsniui pereinama prie gramatinių, kurie įsisavinami sudėtingėjančia tvarka.

Įsisavindami naująją (antrąją) kalbą šiame darbe stebėti vaikai, kaip ir suaugusieji, jau nebeturi iš naujo mokytis tokių pagrindinių pasaulio veikimo principų, kaip laikas, erdvė, priežastis-pasekmė ir pan., todėl komunikuodami naująją kalbą ir nemokėdami dar tinkamai tiksliai kalba išreikšti vienos ar kitos minties, gali pasitelkti įvairius verbalinius ir neverbalinius būdus, pavyzdžiui, pademonstruoti veiksmą, nurodyti į praeitį minėdami vietą, apibūdinti daiktą ar reiškinį pasitelkdami asociacijas ir pan. Tirtų įvaikintų vaikų antrosios kalbos įsisavinimas vyksta tipiška K2 būdinga raida. Kalbos įsisavinimo pradžioje, ikibazinėje atmainoje, pasirodančios žodžių formos

yra vartojamos tik leksine reikšme ir neturi jokių tikslinėje kalboje toms formoms būdingų morfologinių ypatybių. Vėliau, bazinėje atmainoje, svarbus yra predikato, kuris reiškiamas pamatine veiksmažodžio forma, pasirodymas. Ilgainiui tarpukalbėje atsirandant kitoms morfologinėms formoms, pamatinės formos funkcijos siaurėja. Tik esant geroms kalbos įsisavinimo sąlygoms (šiuo atveju – tai įvaikinimo situacija) įvaikintų vaikų tarpukalbė pasiekia pobazinę įsisavinimo atmainą, kurioje formuojasi prie tikslinės kalbos artėjanti sistema.

Universalią italų K2 veiksmažodžio sistemos įsisavinimo seką patvirtina tirtosios mergaitės atvejis: esamasis laikas (liepiamoji nuosaka ir bendratis) > (pagalbinis veiksmažodis) būtojo laiko dalyvis > imperfektas > būsimasis laikas > tariamoji nuosaka > konjunktyvo nuosaka.

Nepaisant šių universalijų, tyrimas parodė įvaikintų vaikų antrosios kalbos įsisavinimo raidoje esant specifinių ypatybių, būdingų vaikų K1 įsisavinimui. Atvejo tyrime stebėtos beveik paauglystės amžių pasiekusios mergaitės kalboje užfiksuota įvairių kalbos raidos požymių, būdingų gimtakalbių italų vaikų kalbai. Labiausiai nuo suaugusiųjų K2 mergaitės tarpukalbė skiriasi ir yra panaši į italų gimtakalbių kalbos raidą šiais aspektais: 1) Liepiamosios nuosakos vartojimo gausa įsisavinimo pradžioje ir vėlesniu ryškiau šių formų retėjimu. 2) Imperfekto laiko įsisavinimo sparta ir šio laiko vartojimo funkcijų panašumu į vaikų kalboje vartojamas funkcijas. 3) Pagalbinio veiksmažodžio raida. Nuo pat antrosios kalbos įsisavinimo pradžios nekyla pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimo (*essere* „būti“ ar *avere* „turėti“) ir būtojo laiko dalyvio derinimo skaičiumi ir gimine problemų. Būtojo laiko dalyvis imamas derinti skaičiumi ir / ar gimine net tais atvejais, kai pagalbinis veiksmažodis praleidžiamas ir tuomet derinamas ne su sakinio subjektu, o su objektu lygiai taip, kaip tai užfiksuojama gimtakalbių ankstyvojoje kalbos raidoje.

Trečia, tiek apklausa tėvams, tiek ilgalaikis stebėjimas parodė, kad amžius įvaikinimo metu nėra svarbiausias veiksnys nei naujosios kalbos įsisavinimo spartai, nei kokybei. Atsižvelgiant į įvairias dažnai pasitaikančias globos įstaigose gyvenančių vaikų bendrąsias raidos problemas, maži įvaikinami vaikai neretai pradeda naująją kalbą komunicuoti net vėliau už įvaikintus vyresnius vaikus. Vyresnieji, kurių kognityvinė branda yra labiau pažengusi dėl amžiaus, konstruoja naujosios kalbos struktūrą pagal jau turimą suvokimą apie įvairius tikrovėje egzistuojančius ryšius (laiko, erdvės ir pan.). Daugelis mokslininkų, tyrusių amžiaus veiksni, teigia, kad vyresni vaikai pradeda kalbėti greičiau, tačiau jaunesnieji pasiekia geresnių rezultatų. Atlikto tyrimo rezultatai iš dalies patvirtina šį teiginį, nes daugumas vyresniųjų vaikų, tėvų teigimu, gana greitai pradėjo vartoti italų kalbą. Tyrimas parodė, kad ne tik mažesnieji, bet ir vyresnieji vaikai labai gerai išmoksta italų kalbą per palyginti trumpą laiką. Žinoma, įvaikinti vyresni vaikai užtrunka ilgiau, kol pasiveja savo amžiaus gimtakalbius ir nuo jų kai kuriais aspektais gali atsilikti keletą ar daugiau metų (pvz., žodyno gausa). Pagal tėvių atsakymus į tyrimo anketos klausimus matyti, kad, net ir praėjus palyginti nedaug laiko nuo atvykimo į šalį, įvaikinti vaikai beveik nesiskiria nuo gimtakalbių bendraamžių akcentu (paprastai šie vaikai pradeda kalbėti regionine tarpe pagal tai, kurioje Italijos

dalyje gyvena), morfologine sistema, iš dalies ir sintakse, tačiau tam reikėtų papildomų specialių tyrimų. Tais retais atvejais, kai praėjus daugiau nei metams po įvaikinimo vaikų kalba nėra, tėvių nuomone, pasiekusi gimtakalbių bendraamžių lygio, kaip svarbiausi „trukdžiai“ įvardijami ne amžius, o rimtos sveikatos problemos ar psichologiniai motyvai.

Išsami veiksmažodžio sistemos raidos analizė parodė, kad per metus įsisavinama visa tikslinės kalbos veiksmažodžio morfologinė sistema.

Ketvirta, jau po pirmųjų metų naujoje šalyje, nepalaikant specialaus kontakto su vaikų gimtąja lietuvių kalba, naujoji įsisavintoji italų kalba tampa vienintelė kalba net įvaikintiems mokyklinio amžiaus vaikams. Vyriausieji įvaikinti paaugliai gimtąją kalbą iš dalies išlaiko šiek tiek ilgiau, tačiau tai priklauso nuo emocijų ir asociacijų su kilmės šalimi. Tyrimas parodė, kad didžioji dauguma vaikų nėra motyvuoti išlaikyti gimtąją kalbą. Bendraudami tik itališkai jie greičiau ir netrukdomi gali sutapti su naująja savo aplinka ir įsiliesti į šeimos ir bendruomenės gyvenimą. Net ir tais atvejais, kai nuostatos gimtosios kalbos atžvilgiu nėra neigiamos (stebėtos mergaitės atvejis), specialiai nesistengiant palaikyti aktyvią lietuvių kalbą, gimtoji kalba smarkiai apnyksta per pirmuosius metus naujoje šalyje, t. y. ima trūkti žodžių, pasakymai formuojami pagal naujosios įsisavintos kalbos sistemą, jaučiamas italų kalbos akcentas. Tyrimu nustatyta, kad brolių / seserų įvaikinimas kartu iš esmės nedaro įtakos nei naujosios kalbos įsisavinimui, nei gimtosios kalbos išlaikymui: net ir trijų brolių / seserų grupės vėliausiai po pusės metų nuo įvaikinimo, tėvų teigimu, kalbėdami tarpusavyje nebevartoja gimtosios kalbos. Tai patvirtina ir ilgalaikio stebėjimo duomenys. Taigi italų kalba tampa neabejotinai iš Lietuvos į Italiją įvaikintų vaikų pirmoji ir pagrindinė kalba.

Disertacijos rašymo metu surinkta ilgalaikio stebėjimo medžiaga ateityje leis atlikti papildomų stebėjimų, nagrinėti, kaip vyksta kitų kalbos reiškinių raida. Manoma, kad čia pateikta vieno atvejo veiksmo / būsenos raiškos analizė gerai ir tiksliai atspindi bendrąsias įvaikintų vaikų kalbos raidos tendencijas, nes ir sociolingvistinės apklausos rezultatai patvirtina atvejo tyrimo pastebėjimus. Būtų prasminga atlikti papildomą stebėjimą nuo įvaikinimo praėjus daugiau laiko, pvz., dvejiems, ketveriems ar daugiau metų, ir palyginti su to paties amžiaus gimtakalbių italų kalba. Norint detaliau ištirti bendrą iš Lietuvos įvaikintų vaikų kalbos situaciją, reikėtų remtis papildomais metodais, tokiais kaip tikslinės kalbos vertinimas standartizuotais kalbos testais, vaikų kalbos stebėjimas pusiau eksperimentinėse situacijose (pavyzdžiui, tam tikro konkretaus siužeto pagal paveikslėlius pasakojimas) ir pan.

Atlikto tyrimo rezultatai leidžia teigti, kad įvairaus amžiaus įvaikinti vaikai greitai ir labai sėkmingai įsisavina naująją kalbą ir tampa visaverčiais savo naujosios šeimos nariais, o su šeimos parama, skatinimu ir palaikymu visiškai įsilieja į naująją kalbinę bendruomenę.

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**ACQUISITION OF ITALIAN AS A SECOND LANGUAGE:
SITUATION OF ADOPTION FROM LITHUANIA**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

Išleido ir spausdino – Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla
(S. Daukanto g. 27, LT-44249 Kaunas)

Užsakymo Nr. K13-046. Tiražas 40 egz. 2013 05 17.
Nemokamai.