

Przemysław E. Gębal / Władysław T. Miodunka

Didactics of Polish as a Foreign and Second Language against the European Background



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Contents

Introduction	9
1. Can we talk about teaching Polish as a foreign and second language against a European background and why?	15
2. The history of teaching Polish as an example of the history of teaching a Slavic language as a foreign language	23
2.1. The traditions of historical research in the didactics of English, French and German as foreign languages	23
2.2. Five hundred years of teaching Polish as a foreign language	32
2.2.1. Jan Mączyński and his <i>Lexicon Latino-Polonicum</i>	33
2.2.2. Piotr Statorius-Stojeński and his first grammar of the Polish language against the European background	35
2.2.3. Later authors of grammars of the Polish language	38
2.3. The contribution of foreigners to the teaching and promotion of Polish language and culture as foreign	43
2.4. The development of teaching Polish as a foreign language	49
2.4.1. Dąbrowska's periodization of the five hundred years of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language	49
2.4.2. Teaching Polish from the early 16 th to the late 18 th century	50
2.4.3. Teaching Polish in the years 1795–1918	53
2.4.4. Teaching Polish in the years 1918–1939	55
2.5. History of teaching Polish against the background of the history of teaching European languages	57
2.5.1. Overview of the history of PFL teaching	57
2.5.2. Recognizing the distinctiveness of PFL teaching	59
2.5.3. Studies on the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language	60

3. Current issues in teaching Polish as a foreign language	65
3.1. Teaching Polish from 1952 to 1992	66
3.2. Methods of teaching Polish from 1993 to 2003	68
3.3. Methods of teaching Polish since 2004	71
3.3.1. The communicative approach and the action-oriented approach in teaching Polish as a foreign language	71
3.3.2. Publications on PFL teaching methodology	74
3.3.3. Textbooks for teaching Polish as a foreign language published between 2010 and 2020	76
3.3.4. The European standards in teaching Polish as a foreign language	79
4. Didactics of Polish abroad	87
4.1. Who learns Polish abroad and for what purpose?	87
4.1.1. Primary and secondary school learners of the Polish language abroad	88
4.1.2. Teaching Polish as a foreign language at universities around the world	92
4.1.3. Achievements of Polish Studies at Hankuk University in Seoul	95
4.1.4. Motivation of Polish language learners in different countries around the world	97
4.2. Who teaches Polish abroad and why?	100
4.2.1. Polish language teachers in Polish community schools abroad and Polish schools abroad	100
4.2.2. Polish language teachers employed in foreign universities	105
4.2.3. Training of teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language	106
4.3. The formation of PFL teaching theory	112
4.4. The multidimensional character of the didactics of the Polish language as a native, foreign, second or heritage language abroad	116
5. Language policy and promotion of (teaching) of Polish language abroad	119
5.1. General works on language policy	119
5.2. Language policy in Poland at the turn of the millennium	121
5.3. Poland's accession to the European Union in Polish language policy	123
5.4. The program and objectives for the promotion of the Polish language abroad according to Adam Pawłowski	129

5.5. State authorities or academic institutions – who is responsible for language policy in Poland?	133
5.6. Certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign language as a tool to promote its teaching and knowledge	134
5.6.1. Introduction of certification of the knowledge of Polish as a foreign language	134
5.6.2. Development of the certification system	135
5.6.3. The administration of certification exams in 2013	136
5.6.4. Polish language certification after 2015	137
5.6.5. The role of certification in promoting (and teaching) of the Polish language around the world	141
6. Polish as a second language and as a language of school education	143
6.1. Teaching Polish as a second language in Poland	144
6.1.1. Models of conducting second languages classes	146
6.1.2. Systemic and curricular solutions	149
6.1.3. Pedagogical and didactic concepts	153
6.1.4. Przemysław E. Gębał's model of didactics of Polish as a second language	154
6.1.4.1. Basic assumptions of the model	154
6.1.4.2. Components of the model	155
6.1.5. Towards inclusive education	158
6.2. Polish as the language of school education	163
6.2.1. The language of school education as a specialized variety of language	164
6.2.2. Key competencies and integrated subject and language teaching (CLIL)	166
7. Contemporary factors in teaching Polish as foreign and second languages	173
7.1. From behaviorism and cognitivism to constructivism: Contemporary theories of cognition and learning	175
7.2. Pedagogical pragmatism	177
7.3. Intercultural education	178
7.4. Didactics of multilingualism	180
7.5. Action-oriented didactics	182
7.6. Neuroeducational concepts	183
7.7. Reflectivity and autonomy in the learning process	184
7.8. Multimedia didactics (supported by information and communication technologies)	187

8. The achievements of European foreign language didactics in the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language	193
8.1. The Cracow school of comparative glottodidactics of Władysław T. Miodunka	195
8.1.1. Introducing European thought into the teaching of Polish as a foreign language	196
8.1.2. Glottodidactic comparativism	197
8.1.3. European language education standards as the basis for a new comparative approach	198
8.2. Action-oriented and task-based approach to learning and teaching Polish as a foreign language as seen by Iwona Janowska	199
8.3. From the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language to the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language. The concept of humanistic didactics of foreign languages by Przemysław E. Gębal	201
8.4. Didactics of Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages. Towards the didactics of European languages	205
Concluding remarks	207
Bibliography	211

Introduction

The first textbook on the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language based on contemporary European standards for language education, was published sixteen years ago. It is a highly significant work from the point of view of the development of the teaching of our language abroad, because it brings the first systematic exposition of teaching methods with regard to selected aspects of the Polish language system and the linguistic skills necessary for social communication with people speaking other languages and living in cultures other than Polish. It discusses teaching Polish in accordance with the principles of the communicative approach. The work in question is *ABC metodyki nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego* [The ABCs of Methodology of Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language] by Seretny and Lipińska (2005). The fact that it is referred to as the first textbook on this topic does not imply that there had been no earlier publications with similar titles. One should certainly mention *Metodyka nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego* [Methodology of Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language] edited by Lewandowski (1980), an anthology of articles the earliest of which appeared in 1966. It predominantly features studies by polonists from the University of Warsaw, who, with their hands-on experience in teaching Polish in Europe and elsewhere, were the first specialists in glottodidactics in the history of our language to consider teaching Polish to foreigners as a subject worthy of scientific reflection and research. Worth mentioning are such scholars as Bronisław Wieczorkiewicz, Stanisław Skorupka, Danuta Buttlerowa, Barbara Bartnicka, Janina Wójtowicz and Jan Lewandowski. This volume bears witness to the emerging awareness that those teaching Polish in Europe and throughout the world require aid and their skills need to be developed by making available new studies of the structure and didactics of Polish. This is evidenced by such publications as *Poradnik metodyczny dla nauczycieli polonijnych* [A Guide to Methodology for Polish Teachers Abroad] edited by Krakowiak and Mańdziuk (1980; 1986), *Vademecum lektora języka polskiego* [A Vademecum of the Polish Language Instructor] edited by Bartnicka, Kacprzak and Rohozińska (1992) and the volume *Język polski jako obcy: programy nauczania na tle badań współczesnej*

polszczyzny [Polish as a Foreign Language: Curricula in the Context of Contemporary Research on Polish], edited by Miodunka (1992). It is worth noting that each of these volumes was published at a different Polish academic center: the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University, respectively. At the University of Łódź, there was the Polish Language Study for Foreigners, known for its textbooks for foreign learners of Polish, and from 1987 onwards, the series *Kształcenie Polonistyczne Cudzoziemców* [Teaching of Polish Language and Culture to Foreigners], the only Polish journal in the 1980s devoted to the problems of teaching Polish as a foreign language. A summary of developments in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign language in the years 1950–1982 was brought by Lewandowski's (1985) *Nauczanie języka polskiego cudzoziemców w Polsce: monografia glottodydaktyczna* [Teaching Polish to Foreigners in Poland: A Glottodidactic Monograph].

Seretny and Lipińska's (2005) textbook appeared when the Faculty of Polish Studies at the Jagiellonian University was launching a two-year master's degree program in teaching Polish as a foreign language. At that time, it was apparent that its students should have access to textbooks on the didactics and methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language. Seretny and Lipińska's textbook was a response to this demand, as was the volume edited by them, *Z zagadnień dydaktyki języka polskiego jako obcego: praca zbiorowa* [On the Didactics of Polish as a Foreign Language: A Collective Work], published a year later.

In turn, some of the authors whose works were included in *Z zagadnień...* would later devote separate studies to selected topics covered therein. This work resulted in *Planowanie lekcji języka obcego: podręcznik i poradnik dla nauczycieli języków obcych* [Planning a Foreign Language Lesson: A Handbook and Guide for Teachers of Foreign Languages] published by Janowska (2010), and *Dydaktyka kultury polskiej w kształceniu językowym cudzoziemców: podejście porównawcze* [Didactics of Polish Culture in Language Education of Foreigners: A Comparative Approach], a handbook by Gębał (2010). As can be observed, subsequent years brought new studies and developments, changing the reality of teaching Polish as a foreign language. One such fateful event was the launch in 2004 of the process of certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign language, later recognized as a breakthrough innovation of a strategic nature in the field of teaching PFL. As it later turned out, the certification enforced, for instance, the teaching of language skills, the dominance of the communicative approach in PFL teaching, or the preparation of new PFL curricula. The latter were published under the title *Programy nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego. Poziomy A1–C2* [Curricula for Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language. Levels A1–C2] edited by Janowska, Lipińska, Rabiej, Seretny, and Turek (2011). The second, revised edition appeared in 2016.

In *Glottodydaktyka polonistyczna* [Polish Language Glottodidactics], Miodunka expressed the following opinion:

ABC metodyki was published ten years ago, at a time when the process of certification of the proficiency of Polish as a foreign language was just being established, and the teaching and testing of Polish was beginning to be viewed through the prism of the European standards; when the process of training teachers of Polish as a foreign language was being developed, when numerous scientific and didactic works were in progress. All these years later, we have amassed a lot of experience gained from the practice of teaching and testing Polish, we have more knowledge on this subject, outlined in numerous studies. There is no doubt that this new knowledge and new experiences might have influenced the shape of methodology: *The ABCs of Methodology* should have become a simple *Methodology* over the years, as there should have been a new edition of it – expanded and updated.

(Miodunka 2016: 68; translation ours)

This indicates that the whole development of Polish language glottodidactics has aroused expectations for a new handbook on the methodology and didactics of teaching PFL. However, a new updated version of this important publication has not appeared. 2021 saw the publication of *Dydaktyka języka polskiego jako nierodzimego: konteksty – dylematy – trendy* [Didactics of Polish as a Non-native Language: Contexts – Dilemmas – Trends], edited by Lipińska and Seretny, a collection of sixteen studies devoted to new and less typical linguistic phenomena and didactic solutions recently implemented in the teaching of Polish language, written by representatives of various Polish and foreign centers dealing with Polish language education. The term ‘non-native language’, hitherto absent in the literature on Polish, indicates that the volume includes considerations relating to all three contexts of contemporary teaching Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language to foreigners and people with migration experience. Also in 2021, a collection of papers edited by Biernacka and Janowska, was published, entitled *Kierunki badań w glottodydaktyce polonistycznej* [Research Directions in Polish Language Glottodidactics], bringing together fourteen texts authored by representatives of the young generation of Polish language didacticians and reporting research results in the field of learning and teaching Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language. Their work outlines the directions of further development of our research field.

The year 2020 saw the publication of a new academic textbook entitled *Dydaktyka i metodyka nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego i drugiego* [Didactics and Methodology of Teaching Polish as a Foreign and Second Language], written by Gębal and Miodunka. It is one of the volumes in a glottodidactic series published since 2018 that includes textbooks on teaching individual foreign languages taught in the Polish educational system, as well as a volume of general foreign language didactics by Gębal (2019). Gębal and Miodunka (2020) is the

first textbook of its kind, considering the processes of learning and teaching culture Polish and Polish as a foreign or second language from the viewpoint of the philosophy of modern European action-oriented approach, which, owing to Janowska (2011), has found its place in Polish language glottodidactics. Gębal and Miodunka's book confirms its forward-looking relevance and integrates contemporary Polish language teaching into the context of European foreign language didactics, providing it with a broad humanistic theoretical and conceptual dimension, referring to the assumptions of constructivism and the European standards of language education based on it, vocational training of future teachers and standards promoting European multilingualism and multiculturalism.

The current *Didactics of Polish as a Foreign and Second Language against the European Background* is a monographic study of the theoretical and methodological foundations of teaching contemporary Polish to foreigners and people with migration experience. The study refers directly to the presentation of didactic issues in Gębal and Miodunka (2020).

Didactics of Polish as a Foreign and Second Language against the European Background is part of the series *Interdisziplinäre Verortungen der Angewandten Linguistik (InterVAL)* published since 2021 by the German publishing house Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen. With its concept and the issues it addresses, it fits in with the interdisciplinary nature of the series, combining linguistic considerations (mainly of a psycholinguistic nature) with pedagogy and language didactics in their multicultural dimension. It is the first monographic study devoted to the theoretical issues of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language written in English and the first one to refer so extensively to the European context of teaching foreign languages and Polish.

Our study covers all the relevant issues related to various theoretical, research, curricular and organizational areas of contemporary learning and teaching of Polish as a foreign and second language in Europe and elsewhere. They constitute the foundation of Polish language education implemented in Polish and foreign academic centers.

Our study is addressed to all those who are interested in the teaching of Polish language in Poland and abroad, with particular emphasis on our language's European connections. It is intended for both scholars representing European scholarly thought on language education, and students of Slavic studies, including a growing number of those training to become teachers or instructors of Polish as a foreign language at foreign academic glottodidactic centers at all levels of instruction. We also address our book to professionally active Polish language teachers and specialists in the area of cultural diplomacy, dealing with the promotion of languages and cultures.

The study includes the presentation of key didactic issues reflecting the current state of Polish language glottodidactics and other academic fields that conceptually and empirically complement it providing glottodidactics with an interdisciplinary dimension. Each chapter presents different points of view, taking into account research results and curricular concepts under development at various centers of Polish language glottodidactics.

In preparing the monograph, the authors turned to scholars in Poland and abroad for feedback regarding the problems and achievements, failures and successes, as well as circumstances surrounding the work of foreign polonists. These data were used directly or indirectly in our work, but they were always very important to us, as they provided us with an insight into the realities of Polish studies abroad. Therefore, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to Prof. Estera Czoj of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul (South Korea), Prof. Zhao Gang of Beijing Foreign Studies University in Beijing (China), Prof. Tokimasa Sekiguchi of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan), Prof. Marcelo Paiva de Souza of the Federal University of Paraná in Curitiba (Brazil), Dr. Jolanta Tatała, president of the Congress of Polish Education in Chicago (USA), Prof. Maria Delaperrière of the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris (France), Prof. Olga Leshkova of Lomonosov University in Moscow (Russia), Prof. Anna Dąbrowska of the University of Wrocław, Prof. Iwona Janowska of Jagiellonian University, Dr. Karolina Kowalcze-Franiuk of Università degli Studi di Genova in Genoa (Italy), Dr. Pavlo Levchuk of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, Dr. Andrzej Ruszer of Beijing Foreign Studies University in Beijing (China).

The present volume is the work of two specialists in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign language and other foreign languages. Przemysław E. Gębał is the author of chapters 1, 6, 7 and 8, and Władysław T. Miodunka is the author of chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Their cooperation consisted in developing the concept of the entire work, discussing the changes to be made and the division of tasks, and – at the editing stage – revising the finished chapters, discussing them, exchanging opinions, advice and suggestions, as well as incorporating additional paragraphs into the text. It was the joint intention of both authors to present the sum total of the achievements of the booming Polish language glottodidactics and to highlight its most important outcomes and their European roots and foundations, not only contemporary, but also past – from the 16th century until today. We also took great care to give due credit to foreigners for their achievements in teaching Polish as a foreign language, and promoting Polish language and culture in Europe and elsewhere.

1. Can we talk about teaching Polish as a foreign and second language against a European background and why?

For the title of the current book to be properly understood, it is necessary to reflect on the development of the entire research field, the terminological solutions it proposes, and its relationship with the inquiries of specialists involved in the teaching of other foreign languages, not only in the Polish but also in a wider European context.

The term *didactics* is present in general European scientific circulation. In Polish usage, its scope is complemented by two other notions: *methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language*, and *Polish language glottodidactics*, directly referring to, respectively, the practical considerations of language education, and a holistic view of the issues that are of interest for us from the perspective of an increasingly autonomous academic field that combines educational contexts with psycholinguistic and psychopedagogical ones. The research field that encompasses the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the processes of acquiring, learning and teaching Polish as a foreign and second language is referred to precisely as *Polish language glottodidactics*.

The first author to provide a scholarly definition of this latter concept is Miodunka (2016), who writes that Polish language glottodidactics:

is a branch of the humanities that deals with the study of the process of teaching and learning Polish as a foreign and second language. The belief that the teaching and learning processes are interrelated and mutually determined should lead to an increase in the effectiveness of both processes as a result of the use of general glottodidactic knowledge.

(Miodunka 2016: 54; translation ours)

In common Polish parlance, Polish language glottodidactics also means the practice of teaching and learning Polish as a foreign language, a second language and a heritage language (language of origin), carried out in Poland and abroad on the basis of curricula and textbooks adopted at a given institution (Miodunka 2018a: 11). This use of the term is also common among foreign, European polonists and Slavists dealing with the Polish language. The terminological con-

struct under consideration is fully synonymous with the academic description of the didactics of other foreign languages taught in Poland. Alongside the didactics of individual languages, the terminological tradition of Polish glottodidactics is nurtured, divided into general glottodidactics, describing the broad context of language acquisition, learning and teaching without adopting a specific perspective of any one of them, and specific glottodidactics, with a focus on individual foreign languages. The Polish terminological classification, coinciding to some extent with the development of Italian *glottodidattica* (Balboni 1999), is usually interpreted as an original, local terminological tradition of the whole area of research activity of interest, recognized and acknowledged also in other European academic systems. In the German context, we find the following definition of glottodidactics:

Glottodidaktik (glottodidactics) a term coined in 1965 at the University of Poznań as the title of a scientific periodical initiated by L. Zabrocki, *Glottodidactica. An International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. It later became the designation of a new academic discipline. In practice, the focus of its interest is the professional training of foreign language teachers, its scientific practice is concerned with theories of language acquisition, language learning and teaching, as well as the development of teaching materials and language teaching methods. At present, glottodidactics is practiced at all Polish universities as a relatively independent research subject. In German-language publications, glottodidactics is usually treated as synonymous with foreign language didactics (Fremdsprachendidaktik).

(Barkowski and Krumm 2010: 105; translation ours)

Polish language glottodidactics is recognized today as one part of glottodidactics, which has been created and described since the 1960s. However, the history of this connection exposes a number of complexities and conditions, which, on the one hand, resulted from the development of Polish thought in the field of applied linguistics, and on the other, reflected the manner of scientific perception of teaching Polish as a foreign language in the circles of Polish academics.

The term *glottodidactics*, introduced in the local Polish academic reality, originally appeared alongside the term *applied linguistics* (Miodunka 2018a: 7). Although EJO draws attention to this fact, it outlines, however, two senses of the term that differ in scope:

Applied linguistics

In a broader sense – the study of the possibilities and ways of using the achievements of linguistics in various areas of life and in other disciplines of science. Applied linguistics primarily includes research on the effectiveness of foreign language teaching, research on linguistic correctness, work on improving codes for transmitting information in telecommunications, research on improving machine translation, translation theory, speech therapy, research on language policy and language culture [...]. Applied linguistics can boast particularly remarkable achievements in the rationalization and

modernization of the didactics of foreign languages and the mother tongue.

In a narrower sense, foreign language didactics, see Glottodidactics.

(EJO: 281; translation ours)

Language teaching occupies an important place in the research scopes of applied linguistics presented here. The synonymous treatment of foreign language didactics and glottodidactics with applied linguistics reflected at the same time their linear development, starting from strictly linguistic research, originally used to develop the theoretical basis for teaching methods, to increasingly taking into account pedagogical and psychological achievements in foreign language didactics and glottodidactics.

The first Polish academic centers developing the concept of applied linguistics were represented by Ludwik Zabrocki's team, active at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań since the 1950s, and the University of Warsaw's Institute of Applied Linguistics, headed by Zabrocki's student, Franciszek Gruzca, since 1972. Their research in applied linguistics focused on glottodidactics and translation studies (cf. Gruzca 2007). It was these scholars who, for years, established the way applied linguistics was approached in our country. From this milieu also came the first reflections on the place of teaching Polish as a foreign language as part of glottodidactics developed at the Warsaw institute, promoted by Gruzca as an autonomous research area. In reference to Gruzca's glottodidactic system published in 1978, Lewandowski (1979) wrote that within:

glottodidactics there were the methodologies of teaching individual foreign languages, including the methodology of teaching Polish to foreigners. To phrase it differently, it is possible to state that our research field is a subfield of glottodidactics, which opens up new prospects for its further academic development.

(Lewandowski 1979: 143; translation ours)

However, the aforementioned prospects for development, according to Lewandowski, were not to take place under the academic banner of Polish language glottodidactics, but as part of the methodology of teaching Polish to foreigners, which had been functioning for years. It is difficult to understand this terminological classification if one takes into account the fact that the emergence of the term *glottodidactics* coincided with two trends: the turbulent development of applied linguistics and research in on language acquisition and learning, as well as the aspiration to sever conceptual links with the notion of teaching methodology, which, at that time, was not associated with empirical studies, but only with the practice of teaching. However, the term 'Polish language glottodidactics' was not proposed by Lewandowski, although he considered the methodology of teaching Polish to foreigners as a subfield of general glottodidactics.

Yet, for a long time the teaching of Polish as a foreign language did not find its place within the developed Polish concept of glottodidactics.

As a result of European integration and following Poland's admission to the structures of the European Union more attention was paid to the development of teaching Polish as a foreign language. The opening of our country to the world also resulted in greater interest in the study of Polish abroad and thus accelerated the development of theoretical reflections on the acquisition and learning of our language. The increasingly powerful voice of the growing representation of the community of Polish-speaking glottodidacticians paved the way for the understanding, acceptance and widespread use of the term *Polish language glottodidactics*. As we have already mentioned, its first academic definition appeared in 2016 in Miodunka's volume under the same title (Miodunka 2016: 54).

The entanglement of Polish language glottodidactics in the processes of integration has caused it to develop and grow not only on the basis of its own research output, but also in relation to the European standards of language education, including didactic and methodological solutions for teaching such foreign languages as English, French, German, Spanish and Russian (cf. Miodunka 2016: 54). This fact formally confirms its position as one of the specific areas within Polish general glottodidactics, similar to the glottodidactics of the aforementioned languages. It is at the same time one specific area within European didactics of foreign languages, related to others through common theoretical concepts and curricular solutions, adopted in the spirit of the European language education standards.

Similar to general glottodidactics as well as the didactics of other European languages, the academic practice of Polish language glottodidactics is interdisciplinary in nature and combines in its theoretical inquiries and empirical projects discussions and methodological solutions from such fields as communication sciences, with particular emphasis on intercultural communication, theoretical and applied language studies, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, pragmalinguistics, social psychology, pedagogy (including intercultural pedagogy) and general didactics, as well as cognitive science (cf. *ibid.*: 54–55).

Taking into account the elements influencing the development of our research field, Miodunka distinguishes the following sub-disciplines within glottodidactics as a scientific discipline: 1. Polish language pedeutology (from Greek *paidutés* 'teacher'), with its focus on the teacher and the teaching profession; 2. acquisition of Polish as a foreign and second language; 3. Polish didactic linguistics; 4. methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language; 5. preparation and evaluation of glottodidactic materials; 6. computer-assisted teaching and learning of Polish as a foreign and second language; 7. the situation of Polish studies and teaching Polish as a foreign language in various countries and regions around the world; 8. language policy with respect to the promotion and teaching of Polish abroad; 9. the history of teaching Polish as a foreign and second lan-

guage; and 10. comparative glottodidactics (Miodunka 2016: 54–57; 2018a: 11–15).

The proposed division, largely identical to others related to the Polish concept of general glottodidactics and European didactics of foreign languages (Pfeiffer 2001, Gębal 2019), demonstrates the wide research scope of contemporary inquiries into language learning and language education. Notable in respect of the latter is also the diversity of its educational empirical contexts in the form of the aforementioned distinction between acquisition, learning and teaching of Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language (language of origin).

The term *Polish language glottodidactics* is treated by the authors of this study as an academic concept that encompasses numerous aspects related to the acquisition, learning and teaching of Polish. Each of these processes takes into account both the contexts of formal schooling and extracurricular education, as well as various individual cases of linguistic development, along with bilingual and multilingual perspectives and research on them.

Polish language glottodidactics is a term superior to the others. It encompasses two narrower research perspectives focusing on its academic and practical aspects and referred to respectively as **the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language** and **the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language** (see Diagram 1).

Polish language glottodidactics also covers a range of academic considerations that summarize the development of the entire research area, treated as a component of general glottodidactics and the inquiries carried out within its framework.

The discourse on the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language and the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language does not include discussions of a meta-reflexive nature on the functioning of the entire research field, a topic covered in works on Polish language glottodidactics. It also does not focus on the study and description of the psycho- and neurolinguistic determinants of the acquisition and learning of Polish, which is an area in which Polish language glottodidactics in a broader sense is making important progress.

Situating their considerations and proposed solutions in a specific educational context involving the teaching of Polish as a foreign and second language, their **didactics** constitutes an elaborate philosophical conception of education referring to the developed ideas and directions of formal language education in relation to the achievements of applied psychology (cf. Cuq 2003: 70), taking into account the contexts of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language. In its inquiries, the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language thus takes on a largely pedagogical character. It facilitates conceptual considerations and empirical inquiries springing from the achievements of contemporary social sci-

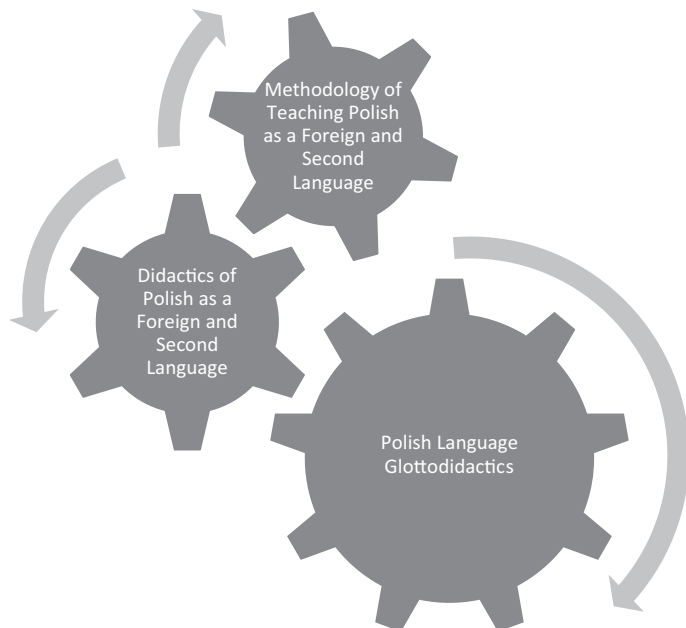


Diagram 1: Relationships between glottodidactics and the didactics and methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language

ences and humanities, which, having been developed in Poland as well, exist in the consciousness of glottodidacticians to an insignificant extent only. Although glottodidacticians are increasingly open to interdisciplinarity, they still often limit themselves to strictly linguistic concepts. An example of this trend was Gębal's concept of developing the didactics of Polish as a second language. Drawing on the achievements of other humanities and social sciences, Gębal proposed an original model for teaching Polish as a second language to learners with migration experience (cf. Gębal 2018a). Without taking into account pedagogical, psychological and sociological research, the creation of such a concept would not have been possible. Employing the achievements of other sciences, such as primarily intercultural pedagogy and psychology, provides an opportunity to develop, as part of the language education process, attitudes of openness to difference and diversity, which are socially important today, and are a determinant of intercultural competence striven for in language classes. The concepts of their development are also the subject of interest in the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language. After all, the task of contemporary teachers is to instill the ideas of tolerance, social integration and cooperation into students.

The didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language focuses primarily on the process of mastering a foreign language in a guided manner. It describes the social conditions for an institutionalized educational process, asking important questions – who learns Polish? in what educational context? with whom? what for? – and taking into consideration students’ needs and motivational factors. Addressing these issues at the same time supports the development of the entire linguistically underpinned space of teaching Polish as a foreign language (PFL), functioning under conditions similar to the academically stabilized areas in other systems, referred to as ELT (English Language Teaching), DaF (Deutsch als Fremdsprache), FLE (Français Langue Étrangère), ELE (Español como Lengua Extranjera), czy ILS (L’Italiano come Lingua Straniera) (cf. Gębal 2013: 37 and 2018:?)).

The didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language is, in relation to everyday teaching practice, a set of proposals and curricular solutions, attempting to provide answers to the question of what to teach and why. Thus, it takes into account the study of the linguistic, communicative and action-oriented needs of specific groups of learners, the resulting learning and teaching objectives and the learning content, along with its selection and progression.

The methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language focuses on the way in which language education is organized and implemented. It seeks answers to questions regarding the organization of classroom activities, the planning and preparation of teaching materials and the use of media, and attempts to related them to how didactics defines specific groups of learners, teachers, the material provided for implementation, as well as teaching goals and educational needs.

The methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language details the didactic concepts, adapting them to specific educational practice and answering the questions of how to teach, and how to learn the language effectively. The purpose of methodology of teaching is to develop specific teaching methods and techniques which put into practice the scientific achievements of glottodidactics and didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language (cf. Dakowska 2014, Jaroszewska 2014, Chłopek 2018: 12), including approaches to learning and teaching developed by didactics.

The Europeanness of Polish language glottodidactics is reflected primarily in its links with theories developed in the area of teaching other European languages in Poland, and nowadays, in its references to European standards of language education. Its path encompasses several hundred years of development of teaching practice and the specific research field that accompanies it, which also significantly influenced the development of the teaching of other foreign languages, providing a kind of reference point for them, closer to the European models of language education.

In terms of terminology, Polish specialists dealing with the processes of foreign language learning and teaching sought their own original term. Its emergence in the form of *glottodidactics* in the 1960s was another attempt to bring Europeaness to Polish philological debates in the form of a desire to treat language education research equally with other philological disciplines. The idea of glottodidactics separated the previously ongoing debates from the methodology of teaching individual languages, which was not considered an academic discipline, and heralded the entry of the entire academic field into the arena of empirical inquiry. Glottodidactics ushered in a new era of academic inquiry, conducted in an increasingly interdisciplinary manner, taking into account other fields of the humanities and social sciences. The same was true of the development of Western European didactics.

Another concept that emerged in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign language that of a terminological ordering of the terms used to describe it. Referring to the development of Polish glottodidactics, the term ‘Polish language glottodidactics’ was adopted, which in its academic identity was linked in two ways to European scientific thought in the field of learning and teaching foreign languages: through direct links with the teaching of other languages and the standards of European language education, and through links with Polish glottodidactics, the conceptual and methodological background of which was largely formed by the achievements of the didactics of Western languages, from which it drew and on the basis of which it developed.

The demonstration of these connections of Polish language glottodidactics with the didactics of other European languages is the primary goal of the following part of our publication. We will show them in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, in order to demonstrate the dynamics of these connections and the resulting benefits for the development of modern European language education.

In our opinion, it is possible and worthwhile to talk about the Europeaness of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language. We do so in order to make it clear how, despite various historical, social, cultural and mental entanglements in Central Europe, scientific thought has developed that is not fundamentally different in content and methodology from the didactics of other languages, more frequently taught and more popular in international communication.

2. The history of teaching Polish as an example of the history of teaching a Slavic language as a foreign language

2.1. The traditions of historical research in the didactics of English, French and German as foreign languages

The information that our book was to include a chapter presenting the 500-year history of the field was at first a surprise, and then a trigger for discussion. Numerous opponents of this idea took the position that the task of a textbook is to describe the current state of a given research field and show the possibilities for future development. Furthermore, they considered the reference to tradition unnecessary, because it was of no interest to specialists. They did not find very convincing the explanation that the inclusion of the history of PFL teaching was a new task, never undertaken before. However, when the Polish version was published as Gębal and Miodunka (2020), many of them admitted that they started reading it precisely from the historical part.

It needs to be said that foreign language didactics does not have a long history in Europe. For this reason, it is worthwhile, firstly, to show how and when this tradition was formed, what it looked like with reference to the major European languages, and what it looks like in the case of Polish.

It is usually assumed that the beginning of scholarly interest in the history of language teaching is marked by the publication of two important books in 1986. Larsen-Freeman (1986) focuses on eight methods and/or approaches to language teaching, such as the grammar-translation method, the direct method, the audio-oral method, The Silent Way, the community method, the Total Physical Response (TPR) method, and the communicative approach. As can be seen, the author analyzes traditional methods, used for a long time, alongside new ones, gaining wider popularity in Europe at the time, such as the communicative approach. She compares them using ten criteria, relating, for example, to the role of the language teacher, or the essence of student-teacher interaction.

Richards and Rodgers (1986), on the other hand, begins with a historical chapter, which briefly characterizes the grammar-translation method, the direct

method alongside the situational method and the natural approach. The authors analyze modern language teaching methods and approaches using a model consisting of three parts: *Approach*; *Method*; *Procedure*. The first refers to the understanding of the nature of language and the theory of teaching a foreign language. The second part deals with the goals, criteria and organization of teaching, as well as the role of language learners and their teachers, and teaching aids (teaching materials) in the broadest sense. The last part refers to teaching techniques, practices and behaviors adopted in classroom. The book closes with a chapter in which the authors compare and evaluate various language teaching methods and approaches

It can be said that these two works summarized foreign language teaching methods and approaches popular in the past and those used at the time of their publication, although this historical perspective is not emphasized in their titles. This makes them different from the publications on French and German language teaching that will be presented now, whose titles acknowledge their historical approach.

The first of these, Christian Puren's *Histoire des méthodologies de l'enseignement des langues* (1988), was published in the "Didactique des langues étrangères" series edited by a prominent specialist in the field, Robert Galisson, who in his introduction considered this publication a scholarly event for several reasons. First of all, he stressed that no researcher who had dealt with this problem before Puren had accumulated such rich material relating to foreign language teaching in France over such a long period of time. According to Galisson, Puren's work inaugurates a turn toward the study of the history of foreign language teaching methods, filling a great gap in foreign language didactics. The lack of historical studies in this field led to the belief among students that it was only during World War II that foreign language teaching began to be studied scientifically. Highlighting Puren's great diligence and his love of studying documents from the past, Galisson expressed his conviction that the published work constitutes its author's major achievement (masterpiece), deserving the highest attention (Galisson 1988: 9–12)

Histoire des méthodologies is structured in four parts. The first is devoted to the traditional methodology, first used in the teaching of ancient languages, Greek and Latin, and later adopted to the teaching of foreign languages. This methodology is usually referred to as grammar-translation, since the teaching of grammar and the translation of texts are its basic components, although it underwent various transformations from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Part One concludes with a presentation of the methodological evolution in language teaching in the 19th century. It begins with the changes introduced in this field as a result of the French Revolution in the 1790s, which were groundbreaking, although their impact on the practice of teaching was not huge. Puren associates

the great changes in foreign language didactics with the decree of Charles X of March 26, 1829, in which the teaching of languages was recognized alongside the sciences and technical disciplines as part of modern education (*moderne*) as opposed to classical education associated with the teaching of Greek and Latin, among others. The introduction of these changes in secondary education was gradual, beginning with optional teaching of a foreign language and leading up to compulsory teaching of two foreign languages from the year 1886 onwards (Puren 1988: 76–86).

The next section is devoted to direct methodology (*directe*), when, according to Puren, there was a break with traditional methodology in view of the new political and educational situation, as well as because of the findings of the new psychology and scientific phonetics, which teachers sought to apply in practice. Direct methodology was used in several varieties, among which the author distinguishes, for example, the direct method, the oral (*orale*) method, the active method, the intuitive method, and the imitative method. This methodology was used from the 1870s until the First World War. The war was a harsh social and political experience for France, which consequently changed the French people's outlook on many issues, including foreign language teaching. It was for this reason that after 1918 there was a search for new solutions offered by active methodology, which was, on the one hand, a continuation of the direct method, but liberated from certain rigors and open to eclectic use of the achievements of earlier, more traditional methodologies. The period of dominance of this methodology (from the 1920s to the 1960s) saw the development and evolution of foreign language teaching textbooks, whose authors chose different orientations, such as eclectic (traditional), practical, or cultural. These textbooks were increasingly accompanied by audiovisual aids, which foreshadowed future audiovisual methodology.

The last part of Puren's work is devoted to audiovisual methodology. The author begins by discussing the changes that took place in foreign language teaching in the United States during World War II. These changes led to the emergence of the audio-lingual (*audio-orale*) method, originally used to teach foreign languages to future American soldiers, and then adopted first by American and then also by European schools after the war. Moving on to discuss audiovisual methodology, Puren discusses the legacy of a number of varieties of direct methodology (*direct*), then turns his attention to new scientific currents, such as structuralism in linguistics and behaviorism in educational psychology. These new trends in linguistics and psychology were not transferred to language didactics indiscriminately, as evidenced by the structural-global approach, which originated as part of audiovisual methodology (abbreviated as SGAV), and was developed by a team of French linguists from Saint-Cloud, led by Paul Rivenc, and phoneticians from the Institute of Phonetics in Zagreb, led by Petar Gu-

berina. Discussing the development of audiovisual methodology in France, Rivenc recalls the initial inspiration by American achievements, but stated that in the final analysis, audiovisual methodology owed more to Ferdinand de Saussure, the Prague School, Charles Bailly and Emil Benveniste than to L. Bloomfield or B. F. Skinner (Puren 1988: 317–319), Part Four closes with an overview of the evolution of audiovisual methodology against the background of the evolution of foreign language didactics, in which the author discusses the selection and gradation of linguistic material, the description of the elements of language structure from utterance to discourse, the growing influence of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, the increasing importance of educational psychology, and finally the influence of general pedagogy. How much audiovisual methodology has changed, according to Puren, is evidenced by the fact that of its four basic principles, only the creation of a constant need for communication in the classroom retained its importance in the late 1980s.

In introducing Puren and his work, Galisson (1988) points out, among other things, his love of studying old documents. Reading *Histoire des méthodologies* forces us to refine this statement and emphasize the historical methodology consistently employed by Puren, as evidenced by the bibliography that concludes the work. In it we find an index of cited authors with the titles of their publications, an index of cited didactic studies, an index of laws and official government regulations from 1794 to 1978, and finally an index of concepts and terms (Puren 1988: 397–447). Both the contents of Puren's work and the indices at the end of it attest to Galisson's opinion that this is a landmark work; that we are dealing here with a carefully documented history of foreign language didactics in France which can serve as a model for other studies of this kind.

A few years after Puren's book, Claude Germain's *Evolution de l'enseignement des langues: 5000 ans d'histoire* (1993) appeared in the same series. The title itself emphasized that the author offered a new overview of the evolution of foreign language teaching, covering as many as 5,000 years from the beginnings in ancient Sumer, a country in Mesopotamia on the Persian Gulf, up until the second half of the 20th century. Already on this basis one may conclude that, unlike Puren (1988), Germain's book covers the history of language teaching around the world. This is confirmed by its structure. The publication consists of five parts, the first of which deals with the teaching of the Sumerian language to the Akkadians, who conquered the country, but learned its language due to the advanced civilization in that region. Part two deals with ancient Egypt and Greece, where an archaic version of each of the two languages was taught, unintelligible to users of their modern versions, which methodologically equated to teaching foreign languages. In the third part, covering the period from Roman antiquity to the Renaissance, the author focuses on teaching living languages, in particular the teaching of Greek to the Romans, who conquered Greece, but learned Greek because of their

high regard for the literature and culture created in that language, and then the teaching of Latin as a living language throughout the Roman Empire. The fourth part covers the period from the 16th to the 19th centuries, and its main focus is on traditional language teaching, that is, the grammar-translation method. This is preceded by methodological proposals from authors such as Michel de Montaigne and John Locke, as well as John Amos Comenius, to whom the author devotes an entire subsection, emphasizing the importance of *Didactica magna* (1638) and the graphic information contained in his drawings introduced into foreign language teaching (*Orbis sensualium pictus*; 1658). The section concludes with proposals for reform of language teaching, contained, for example, in the direct method. More than half of Germain's book is a presentation of foreign language teaching methods in the 20th century, called here *l'ère scientifique*, or the scientific era. Language teaching methods are assigned to directions in language teaching. Thus, the integrated direction consists of the audio-lingual method, the audio-visual method of SGAV and other integrated approaches. The linguistic direction consists of the situational method and the communicative approach. The psychological direction consists of the community method (Charles A. Curran), the Silent Way (Caleb Gattegno), the natural approach (Stephen D. Krashen, Tracy Terrell), the Total Physical Response method (James Asher), suggestopedia (Georgi Lozanov), and the approach focusing on understanding linguistic messages, which appeared in 1917 and was revived repeatedly until the 1980s. It consisted of moving the understanding of spoken text away from the speaking phase or understanding written text before producing it (Germain 1993: 283–297). In the introduction and Appendix C (p. 343) the principles of analysis of foreign language teaching methods and approaches are presented, referring to Renald Legendre's educational model. They include the concept of language (understanding the essence of language and culture), the concept of the learning process (the essence of the learning process and the role of the foreign language learner), the concept of teaching (the role of the teacher and the role of teaching materials), and the concept of pedagogical relations in terms of didactics, the learning process and the teaching process. The author attempted to apply these principles to the analysis of all the methods and approaches in foreign language teaching presented in the book under review.

It can be seen that Germain's book opens new horizons in the history of language teaching, which is further highlighted by the documents that he quotes, i. e. excerpts from important studies and significant publications for the history of teaching. To provide an example, we can learn from them what a day in a Sumerian school looked like (p. 28), and what a day in a Roman school looked like (p. 48), or what Comenius' recommendations on language teaching were (pp. 95–97). Comenius emphasized first and foremost the teaching of languages necessary for everyday life, thus mainly the mother tongue, and then the lan-

guages of neighboring countries needed to establish contacts with their inhabitants. Here he uses the example of Poles, who, in his opinion, should know German, along with Hungarian, Wallachian (valaque) and Turkish. This example shows how the political realities in Europe have changed since the 17th century, because among those languages only German remains a neighboring one nowadays. Only later did Comenius emphasize the necessity of learning Latin as a language for the reading of academic works and for staying in contact with other scholars. In addition, he recommended philosophers and medics to learn Greek and Arabic, and theologians to learn Greek and Hebrew (Germain 1993: 95–97). Among the documents and in the appendix, we find data showing the various stages of teaching French to foreigners in Canada, a fact worth noting since Claude Germain was a professor of linguistics at the University of Québec in Montreal.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Helmut Glück published *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit* (2002). This work deals with the teaching of German in Europe from the year 800 until 1700. The book consists of eight chapters with an introduction and concluding remarks. The specifics of teaching German are well demonstrated in the third chapter, where the author considers the status of German as a foreign language. In this chapter, the author discusses the differences between standard German and North German dialects and the Dutch language, devoting a separate section to the relationship between German and Yiddish from its origins until the 17th century. Another chapter is devoted to a discussion of the migration of peoples during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, and the earliest sources indicating that German was used for communication with speakers of other languages. Following up on his firm conviction that learning a foreign language depends on the need and motivation to use it, the author devotes chapter five to the social dimension of the motivation to learn German, presenting ten reasons, ranging from foreign trade to craftsmans' travels during their journeyman years, international student exchange, marriage with foreigners, foreign travel, peregrinations of academics to well-known foreign universities, travels to explore and experience the world abroad, and, finally, foreign migration, including people persecuted for their faith. To describe this last group, the author uses the phrase *das 'fahrende Volk'*, which refers to the tendency of the lower social classes to move frequently for food or out of a desire to experience something new and hitherto unfamiliar. In the sixth chapter, the author discusses countries where German was spoken and taught, including France, Italy, the Baltic States, Russia, the northern countries, the Netherlands, the British Isles, the Iberian Peninsula, the Czech lands and Poland. Of course, it should be remembered that their territories changed more or less over hundreds of years, while in the book under discussion they appear as examples of countries reached by the German population, their language and

culture (Glück 2002: 233–411). The next chapter of Glück's study is devoted to language textbooks, phrasebooks, glossaries and grammars. Here it is worth noting the *Vocabularius ex quo*, a 15th century Latin-German dictionary compiled by the Bechtermünz Brothers of Eltville on the Rhine. The original manuscript consisted of two parts, one from 1421 and the other from 1450, although the dictionary itself dates from the late 14th century. It was a widely copied alphabetical dictionary, very popular by the end of the 15th century in the areas inhabited by Germans, as it allowed them to understand the text of Scripture, written in Latin, as well as other texts in that language. The author also discusses Italian-German phrasebooks created in the 15th century in northern Italy, which contain elements of grammar, wordlists and texts. The advantage of these phrasebooks was that they allowed Germans to learn Italian and Italians to learn German. Similar Polish-German phrasebooks begin the tradition of teaching Polish as a foreign language in the 16th century. The chapter concludes with a discussion of comprehensive and concise grammars of German, dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. What seems very valuable in Glück's work is his attention to the types of motivations that cause people to learn German, as well as the geography of learning the language, covering all of Europe. His work gives Polish readers a lot of satisfaction, as they find in it a lot of elements they have become familiar with through the works of our historians, demographers, language historians, linguists, glottodidacticians or librarians, as we will see in the section devoted to the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language from the 16th century until today.

The history of foreign language teaching and the development of language didactics have also been the focus of the German researcher Anke Wegner, who is affiliated with the University of Trier. Among her most acclaimed studies are the monograph *100 Jahre Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Frankreich und England – eine vergleichende Studie von Methoden, Inhalten und Zielen*, published in 1999 in Munich, and a collective volume published in 2006, also in Munich, in cooperation with Sabine Doff, entitled *Fremdsprachendidaktik im 20. Jahrhundert. Zur Kontinuierung einer wissenschaftlicher Disziplin im Spannungsfeld von Theorie und Praxis*.

Wegner (1999), usually categorized as part of the growing trend of comparative foreign language didactics (*Vergleichende Fremdsprachendidaktik*), is a comprehensive summary showing, from a comparative viewpoint, the development of teaching of German as a foreign language in two European educational systems, French and English, throughout the 20th century.

The areas of detailed comparative studies can be seen in the teaching methods used (*Method(olog)ische Implikationen im Vergleich / Method(ologi)en und Ansätze im Vergleich*), the material taught as part of cultural education (*Landeskunde im Vergleich*), and the general systemic assumptions of language educa-

tion in France and England in the context of European solutions (*Ziele im Vergleich*). In each case, the analysis is presented in two parts demarcated by the moment when the groundbreaking assumptions of the communicative approach were introduced in language teaching in the early 1970s. The empirical material used in the study consists of curricula, didactic and methodological concepts developed and implemented in educational practice, relating directly or indirectly to new methods and approaches to language teaching developed in Europe and elsewhere, as well as textbooks and teaching materials used in schools and language courses, reflecting the reality of times gone by.

The results of the comparative historical analysis clearly show the specific character of teaching German, entangled in the traditions of French and English language education and reflect the manner and intensity of the bilateral relations of the two countries with Germany. In the overall balance of the studies carried out, the teaching of German in England is characterized throughout the 20th century by a stronger pragmatic orientation compared to the trends in France. The didactic-methodical discussions and attempts to implement them in schools, which were still going on at the beginning of the last century, in contrast to France, referred more strongly to the pragmatically oriented reform currents of the late 19th century and resulted in more rapid processes of modernization of German language teaching, moving away from grammar-translation methodology. The same was true of the communicative approach implemented since the 1970s:

Although it is also documented in England that an important role is assigned to the teaching of grammar, which is now undergoing a process of rehabilitation, it is clear that in this country, in contrast to the French *tradition intellectualiste et grammairienne*, forms of teaching oriented toward communication and interaction prevail.

(Wegner 1999: 326; translation ours)

Wegner's study should be summarized primarily as an empirical project that is important for the development of European research in the history of language teaching. Taking into account the assumptions of glottodidactic comparativism, it provides a very detailed insight into the progress of language education in two important European countries, whose languages are among the most widely taught in Europe, thus reflecting, as if through a lens, the development of European and world scientific thought in the field of foreign language didactics

The multi-author volume edited by Wegner and Doff (2006) represents a successful attempt at a constitution of language didactics in Germany as an autonomous research field, integrating the development of scientific thought on the learning and teaching of various foreign languages taught in Germany, including German as a foreign language. The studies collected in the volume materialize the challenges posed to the volume by demonstrating their three basic

premises, which at the same time organize the volume structurally. These are: extralinguistic factors and issues affecting the development of foreign language didactics, the genesis and development of the various areas that make up the pillars of foreign language didactics, and the new directions in the development of didactics bringing this research field into the 21st century.

Among the studies included in the first trend, special attention should be paid to Christ (2006), showing the directions of development of foreign language didactics in the 1920s, and Sauer (2006), summarizing older dissertations in the field of language learning and teaching.

In the section on the origins of the various subfields of foreign language didactics, we find, among others, Siebold's (2006) overview of the way in which the assumptions of the communicative approach were implemented in the GDR, Grimmer's (2006) account of the genesis of teaching German for specific purposes, and Hoffman (2006), which is one of the few studies devoted to the history of Slavic language teaching in Germany. Sketching the development of language didactics in the 21st century, the volume includes chapters on bilingual teaching by Wegner (2006), on the development of language teaching in early childhood education by Doyé (2006), and on the perspectives of didactics at the end of the 20th century by Klippel (2006).

The works dealing with the history of language teaching presented here can be divided into two categories. The first includes those that are concerned with teaching methods, and can be further divided into those dealing with traditional methods that have been used for many years, those devoted to methods that are popular today and those that focus on methods that are just beginning to gain a wider following (Larsen-Freeman, Richardson, and Rodgers). When the history of application of methods is linked to the history of the educational system in a given country, one may realize that each method proceeds through the same sequence of phases in the course of its use: from strict adherence to the theoretical assumptions at the beginning, to various modifications in the intermediate stages, to the preservation of the necessary minimum in the final phase (Puren, Wegner). Linking the history of foreign language teaching to the history of a country's education system draws attention to the important fact that the languages taught within a system are important markers of the value system that the system wants to promote: classical languages (Latin and Greek) were associated with the promotion of classical values, while the introduction of compulsory teaching of modern languages alongside science and technical subjects in France in 1829 meant drawing attention to the fact that foreign languages are to be used for communication and cooperation with other nations to develop joint scientific research and technical collaboration (Puren 1988).

The second category are works that focus on the history of teaching specific languages as foreign, and on the historical, economic and social conditions of

these processes (Wegner and Doff 2006 and Wegner 1999, among others). That this tradition is 5,000 year old is demonstrated by Germain (1993), who points out in the conclusion of his work that the various methods either integrate the current understanding of language with the process and conditions of learning, or focus on the understanding of the essence of language, or on the psychology of learning, or on the connection between the process and the conditions of learning. He also shows what language teaching was based on in ancient Sumer in Mesopotamia, later on in Egypt and Greece, in the Roman Empire, and finally in Europe from the Renaissance until the end of the 19th century.

Glück's (2002) work focuses on analyzing the teaching of German as a foreign language between 800 and 1700, introducing two new points of view: the motivation that prompted many representatives of other nations to learn German, and the geographical scope of this teaching, covering virtually all European countries.

Summing up, it can be seen that the authors cited here have proposed several models for dealing with the history of foreign language teaching. All of them have their strengths and weaknesses, but none can probably be considered universal. This is because dealing with the history of languages other than the ones discussed by those authors is likely to force a scholar to include additional factors.

A Slavic reader will note that the examples discussed here primarily refer to Romance and Germanic languages, while Slavic countries and languages appear only marginally (Hoffmann 2006). One prominent exception, of course, is the Czech scholar Comenius. His proposals regarding didactics, formulated in the first half of the 17th century, are widely appreciated, although most attention has been paid to them by Germain (1993: 85–96; 345–346). However, if one notices the fact that the majority of the European languages belong to three families – Romance, Germanic and Slavic – the absence of a Slavic perspective is striking. This is probably due to the fact that didacticians involved in the history of teaching Slavic languages as foreign languages have published few works on the subject, considering it not very important. We would like to break with this tradition and show first what we know about the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language from the beginning of the 16th century up until the year 2022, and in conclusion compare this history with the history of teaching other European languages as foreign.

2.2. Five hundred years of teaching Polish as a foreign language

The teaching of PFL as early as the beginning of the 16th century is a fact overlooked in many works on the history of the Polish language. We want to highlight this fact, thus extending the tradition of teaching of Polish as a foreign language

to five hundred years. This is very important in our opinion, in order to show that in the past the Polish language aroused lively interest among foreigners, who learned about the country, culture and language of the Vistula basin, and in this way participated in the European intellectual process of discovery of the languages of. initially, the Old World and, later on, the New World. It is also important that the teaching of Polish as a foreign language predates the teaching of it as a native language by more than two hundred years.

The teaching of the Polish language to foreigners began in the early years of the 16th century, as evidenced by textbooks preserved to this day, and referred to as phrasebooks, because they were largely collections of sample dialogues that could be useful e.g. when renting lodgings in an inn, ordering breakfast and dinner in a tavern, chatting over beer and a card game, asking about the prices of various goods, haggling over their price before purchase. These sample conversations could be accompanied by additional material such as greetings and farewells, proverbs, or lists of principal and ordinal numerals. The best preserved example of this type of work is *Polskie książeczki wielmi potrzebne ku uczeniu się polskiego, przy tym i po niemiecku wyłożone* [Polish Booklets, Much Needed for Learning Polish, with Additional Exposition in German] published in Cracow in 1539 in the printing house of Hieronymus Vietor, referred to by Polish linguists as *Polskie książeczki* (Lewicka-Kamińska 1972; Klimek 1978; Miodunka 2013a). *Polskie książeczki* became very popular, as evidenced by the fact that it was often reworked and reprinted under an altered title, such as in Königsberg in 1566 by Daubman and in 1595 by Osterberg under the title *Wokabularz rozmaitych y potrzebnych sentencyj polskim i niemieckim młodzieńcom na pożytek teras zebrany* [A Vocabulary of Various and Needful Sentences Collected for the Benefit of the Polish and German Youth]. Stanisław Estreicher, in the 23rd volume of his *Bibliografia Polska* [Polish Bibliography] series, enumerated as many as sixteen reprintings of the phrasebooks, the last of which appeared more than a century after the first edition, in 1641 – at Georg Bauman’s publishing house in Wrocław (Miodunka 2013: 241–242).

2.2.1. Jan Mączyński and his *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum*

Phrasebooks, known at the time as booklets, vocabularies, enchiridions, ‘donaty’ [from German *donat*], summaries, *gońce* ‘messengers’ or ‘little manuals’ (Dąbrowska 2016), were a basic aid in the process of teaching Polish to foreigners, but of course not the only one. Various types of dictionaries were also used, among which the *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum ex optimis Latinae linguae scriptoribus concinnatum* by J. Mączyński, published in Königsberg in 1564, stood out in the 16th century. This Latin-Polish dictionary of nearly 21,000 words enjoyed wide-

spread recognition in the 16th century. Klemensiewicz writes the following about Mączyński's lexicographical work:

The most outstanding work of Polish dictionaries of the 16th century, and at the same time the first great Polish dictionary, is Jan Mączyński's "Lexicon latinopolonicum". (...) Mączyński's dictionary surpasses the previous lexicographic output both in the richness of its material and in its diligence and modernity. (...) Mączyński takes care of the nativeness of the vocabulary. He recognized Latinisms in the spirit of his era. But he was attentive to loans from Czech, and was especially allergic to germanisms, which he sometimes made clear, for example, "sculptor – *sznicer* ['wood carver' – P.G. & W.M.], can be called *obraźnik* or *obraźny* [both meaning: 'the maker/seller of engravings' – P.G. & W.M.], because 'sznicer' is a German word not Polish."

(Klemensiewicz 1974: 353; translation ours)

Mączyński himself is also noteworthy, as he can be considered a representative of Polish intellectuals of the Renaissance era. A native of the Sieradz area, Jan Mączyński (c. 1520–1587) began his career at the court of the bishop of Poznań, and in 1543 he went to study abroad, first to Wittenberg, then to Strasbourg, where he was a student of the eminent philologist and lexicographer, Petrus Dasipodius. Finally, he went to Zurich, where he was a student of Conrad Gesner. Mączyński completed his Latin-Polish dictionary in Zurich in 1546. Upon his return to Poland in 1551, he worked under Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black. With the help of Prince Albrecht of Prussia, he published *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum ex optimis Latinae linguae scriptoribus concinnatum* in 1564. This Latin-Polish dictionary of nearly 21,000 words enjoyed widespread recognition in the 16th century (EJP: 198; see also Klemensiewicz 1974: 353–4). While studying under Gesner, Mączyński became personally acquainted with prominent professors teaching at the University of Zurich, including the German theologian, philologist and orientalist Theodore Buchmann, also known by his Hellenized name Bibliander, author of *De ratione communi omnium linguarum et litterarum commentarius* (1548). Bibliander was the first Renaissance scholar to include Slavic languages on an equal footing in his typology of the world's languages: Ukrainian and Belarusian together – *Rutenicus sermo*; Serbian and Bosnian – *Serviana et Bosnensis lingua*; Croatian – *Dalmatica lingua*; Polish – *Polonicus sermo*; *Sarmatica*, *Sclavonica*, *Polonica lingua*. There are no separate sections devoted to Russian and Czech; these two languages are instead only mentioned in the general paragraph of *Sclavonica lingua*. Bibliander gave special prominence to Polish in his work because his informant on Slavic languages was Mączyński (Zwoliński 1972: 341–344, cf. also Heinz 1978: 91–95; Miodunka 2018b).

Zwoliński (1972) recognized Gesner as a disciple, junior colleague and continuator of Bibliander's work, while both of them were the initiators of Slavic comparative studies. In his opinion, the year of publication of Bibliander's work (1548) was when the tradition of research in Slavic comparative studies began

(Zwoliński 1972). For our considerations, the presence of Slavic languages, with Polish at the forefront, in the consciousness of educated Europeans of the Renaissance period is of primary importance.

2.2.2. Piotr Statorius-Stojeński and his first grammar of the Polish language against the European background

In the history of European linguistics, the 16th century was a time when increasing numbers of descriptive grammars of the languages of the Old Continent were being published. As Heinz puts it:

From the moment that the artificial barriers erected in the interest of Latin over the national languages were definitively destroyed, a great, began the intensive inventory of the languages of first Europe, then the rest of the Old World and finally the New World. Beginning at the end of the 15th century, an avalanche of ever new studies of a grammatical and lexical nature of a more or less textbook-like, practical nature started rolling.

(Heinz 1978: 86; translation ours)

Heinz mentions, for example, the first grammars of such languages as Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, French, Breton, Welsh, English and German published in the 16th century. He also includes a grammar by Piotr Statorius-Stojeński and Mączyński's already-cited *Lexicon latino-polonicum* as well as grammars of Czech and Church Slavic, alongside Hungarian and Basque. Heinz points out that the methods successfully used for the description of dead languages, such as Greek and Latin, began to be applied in grammars of living languages as well, solving many detailed problems in the process, such as those related to determining the inventory of vowels and their graphic signs. It could be said that the methodology for describing languages has always been modeled on grammars of Latin, while the languages described changed (ibid.: 86).

When referring to a grammar by Statorius-Stojeński, Heinz meant the first grammar of the Polish language, entitled *Polonicae grammatices institutio, In eorum gratiam qui eius linguae elegantiam cito & facile addiscere cupiunt* (*Lecture on Polish grammar. For the use of those who want to learn the refinement of this speech quickly and easily*). It was published in Cracow in 1568 and had only one edition, which did not prevent it from exerting great influence on grammars written by later authors.

The composition of Statorius-Stojeński's grammar reflects, on the one hand, the tradition of teaching Latin in school, which originated in the work of Aelius Donatus, a Roman grammarian, and, on the other hand, to contemporary European Latin grammars. As a result, the work consisted of the following parts: *De*

literarum potestate (On the pronunciation of letters, pp. 7–21), *Nomen* (Nouns, pp. 22–93), *De pronomine* (On pronouns, pp. 93–103), *De verbo* (On verbs, pp. 103–152), *Participium* (Past participles, pp. 152–154), *Adverbium* (Adverbs, pp. 154–166), *Praepositio* (Prepositions, pp. 166–169), *Coniunctiones* (Conjunctions, pp. 170–173), *Interiectio* (Exclamations, p. 173). Statorius-Stojeński's grammar ends there, as signaled by the word *Finis* (end), but a syntactic section has been added on the blank side, containing constructions with nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc. (in Latin, respectively, *Nominum constructio*, *Pronominis syntaxis*, *Verborum syntaxis*, etc.). Based on this information alone it is already evident that the author devotes the most space to the inflected parts of speech, such as the noun (71 pp.) and the verb (49 pp.). In these elaborate chapters, the author discusses, without announcing it in the titles, the inflection of these parts of speech, i. e. the declension of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns and the conjugation of verbs (Kępińska 2014: 86–92, see also the detailed study of the Statorius-Stojeński grammar on the University of Warsaw website (Statorius 1568 [1980])).

Regina Jefimow of the University of Gdańsk is the author of the most accurate assessment of Statorius' grammar (Jefimow 1970). Her opinion is noteworthy because it comes from an author who very diligently studied all the grammars continuing the work of Statorius-Stojeński, published in Gdańsk until the end of the 17th century. Here is her assessment:

Pioneering work in describing and organizing the facts and phenomena of the Polish language, classifying and explaining them was done by Piotr Stojeński. He was the first to show that Polish is not a 'barbarian' language, but has a structure analogous to Latin and Romance languages, although different in many respects. He was the first to bring order to the multitude of seemingly unrelated facts, to the chaos of sounds, forms and phrases, to establish the principles of the 'folk' language, which Polish seemed to be to foreigners. In his work, Stojeński relied on the linguistic material from Mikołaj Rej's *Wizerunek* [Self-Image]..., and took Latin grammar as his structural scheme. (...) Grammarians from Gdańsk continued, supplemented and corrected Stojeński's work. (Jefimow 1970: 23; translation ours)

It is worth learning more about the author of the first grammar of the Polish language and the process of its polonization. The exact date of Petrus Statorius' birth is not known. Most authors writing about him state that he was born around 1530 in Tonneville, which is confirmed by one of his signatures, "Petrus Tonvillanus". It is known that in 1551 he studied in Lausanne under Mathurin Cordier, a famous educator at the College of Lausanne, who was the first to teach Latin and Greek in the students' native language. Circa 1555 he moved to Geneva, where he continued his studies at the Geneva Academy. There he met many Calvinists, including John Calvin himself. Already in Geneva, he was known as a fluent speaker of classical languages, as evidenced by the fact that next to his

entry in Conrad Gesner's *Liber amicorum* the owner of the book included the remark *polyglottus*. He was invited to Poland in 1556 on the initiative of Francis Lismanin, who wrote a letter to John Calvin on the matter on April 15, 1556. In the summer of that year Petrus Statorius Gallus arrived on foot in Cracow, and after a short stay here he settled in Pińczow, where he became a teacher and associate of the rector, Gregory Orszek, at a local Calvinist, later Arian, grammar school. Transferring his Swiss educational experience to Poland, he drafted *Gymnasii Pinczoviensis institutio*, the curriculum and rules of internal organization of the gymnasium, in 1558. In it, Statorius proposed the introduction of Polish as an auxiliary language in the course of teaching Latin, which corresponded to the latest trends in teaching classical languages in Western Europe. After Orszek left in 1560, Statorius took the position of rector of the Pińczow Gymnasium. It was in Pińczow that he began to learn the Polish language and made such rapid progress that as early as 1558 he was invited to contribute to a translation of the Bible into Polish, the work which he began a year later. The Bible was published in 1563 and is known as the *Brest Bible*.

It is known that Petrus Statorius Gallus polonized his name to Piotr Stojęński in 1564. From 1565 he resided in Cracow, where he took an active part in the religious, academic, and cultural life of the city. He had frequent contacts with foreigners living there, who encouraged him to write a grammar of the Polish language, given that he had learned the language exceptionally well. This is what Piotr Stojęński himself wrote about it in the introduction to his Polish grammar: “to the best of my ability, I have endeavored to put this language (...) succinctly according to the grammatical rules, and with the encouragement of my friends, in particular the illustrious Prospero Provana, to bring them to light, for the public use of those who I know well suffer acutely from the lack of knowledge of this language” (after Klemensiewicz 1974: 412; translation ours).

Despite his proficiency in Polish, Piotr Statorius-Stojęński always emphasized his French origin, adding the word *Francuz* ‘Frenchman’ to his signatures. He was a broad-minded man, kept in contact with prominent people of the era (e.g. Andrzej Trzecieski, Franciszek Lismanin, or Remigian Chełmski) and corresponded with such famous Europeans as John Calvin, Theodore Beza and Heinrich Bullinger (Hajdukiewicz 1974: 646).

In Poland, Piotr Statorius married Małgorzata, née Czarnowska, with whom he had four children: a daughter, Zuzanna, and three sons, Jan, Paweł and Piotr. Hajdukiewicz even calls Piotr Statorius “the protoplast of a distinguished family of pastors and writers in the history of Polish Arianism” (Hajdukiewicz 1974: 646; translation ours). Statorius’ children were ennobled on January 10, 1591, which is probably why this year was accepted by many authors as the date of their father’s death. Another possibility was considered by Matuszewski (2003–2004) who noted that 1591 as the date of death is not confirmed in the sources and stated

that the death occurred either in 1568 or in 1569. Leszek Hajdukiewicz did the same, writing that Statorius “died in Cracow probably after 1569” (Hajdukiewicz 1974: 646; translation ours). It seems that these opinions are closer to the truth, which is further vindicated by the fact that in the dedication to the grammar written on July 1, 1567, Statorius spoke of his health problems, mentioning “illnesses which have afflicted me like tempests for two whole years” (<https://gramatyki.uw.edu.pl/book/168>; p. 16; translation ours). It should be assumed that if he had lived another twenty years or so afterwards, Statorius, as a very active man, must have left traces of his activity in the form of publications, which Matuszewski was unable to locate. The author’s death some time after the publication of the work could also explain why the grammar had only one edition, although it was used by many foreigners, including later authors of grammars of the Polish language (cf. Jefimow 1970).

Polonization of foreigners is only illustrated by the example of Piotr Statorius-Stojeński, although it is known that this was a process accompanying the history of the Polish language from the earliest times until today. This is pointed out by Brzezina:

When we realize that foreigners constituted a significant percentage of the bourgeoisie and peasantry in the Middle Ages, and of the nobility even in the 16th century, that the process of settlement intensified again in the period of partitions, as a result of which every social stratum was imbued with a foreign element, it becomes obvious that the history of the Polish language is also, to some extent, the history of linguistic assimilation of foreigners living in Poland.

(Brzezina 1986:8; translation ours)

2.2.3. Later authors of grammars of the Polish language

Grammars of modern languages published in the 16th century in Europe are usually categorized as representing material linguistics, since they documented the existence of many languages that had not been dealt with before, described their pronunciation and grammar, as well as elements of the grammatical system with reference to examples of sentences and texts written in these languages (Heinz 1978: 86–90; Miodunka 2018b: 17–18). The first Polish grammar, entitled *Polonicae grammatices institutio*, was in this respect one of many grammars of European languages created at the time. Statorius-Stojeński himself was aware that he had written the first grammar of Polish. He expressed this in a dedication to Andrzej Dudycz, a Hungarian humanist living in Cracow, in the following words:

[H]aving stepped as the first one onto the difficult path of grammar writing, with my ridiculous and crude writing I have mobilized others to write, who will excellently cope

with this task, precipitating them out of idleness and indolence.

(<https://gramatyki.uw.edu.pl/book/168>; p. 16; translation ours)

His conviction that *Polonicae grammatices institutio* would have continuators and imitators proved completely correct, as demonstrated by Regina Jefimow, who studied the grammars of the Polish language published in Gdańsk by Nikolai Volckmar (1646), Jakub Gadebusch (1621), Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński (1649), Waclaw Gerson Brozek (1664) and Zygmunt Kontzewitz-Kotzer (1668). In her opinion they constituted the second stage in the history of the description of Polish, with the first stage being the grammar of Statorius-Stojeński (Jefimow 1970: 175).

Although Statorius-Stojeński's grammar of the Polish language had only one edition, it was used as a model and reference by other authors. The next grammar of the Polish language was published by Mikołaj Volckmar, a German from Hesse, who in 1584–1601 resided in Gdańsk, where he taught Latin and Polish at the local grammar school. His grammar, entitled *Compendium linguae polonicae* (1594), had four editions over fifty years, indicating its considerable popularity (Klemensiewicz 1974: 413–414). Analyzing 17th century grammars, Zwoliński (1953) notes that in his *Compendium* Volckmar took over about 90 percent of the information from Statorius-Stojeński. Applying modern standards to the 16th century, he calls Volckmar a 'plagiarist' (Zwoliński 1956: 310–321). This critical opinion was met with agreement from Jefimow, who, after a thorough comparative analysis of the two grammars, expressed the following opinion:

Volckmar indeed relied on Stojeński's textbook, a pioneering and independent work: he took over from him the general layout of the grammar's content and used his examples. However, he did not accept anything uncritically. He tried to organize Stojeński's material, he made a thoughtful selection of examples, typical of a given linguistic phenomenon. Although the two grammars are separated by a period of only one generation, the language described by Volckmar is in many respects more recent than that of Stojeński. (...) Volckmar's grammar is also better for didactic reasons due to its clarity, compactness, organization of the material, consistent graphic layout.

(Jefimow 1963: 220; translation ours)

Volckmar was a very industrious and imaginative man, as he also prepared and published a Latin-German-Polish dictionary entitled *Dictionarium trilinguae ad descendam linguam latinam, polonicam et germanicam accomodatum* (1596), as well as a Latin-German-Polish phrasebook *Viertzig Dialogi* (1602), published posthumously, which enjoyed great popularity and was therefore reprinted numerous times. In her monograph, Burzyńska (2002) analyzes the 1688 edition of the dialogues from Wrocław, published under the title *Viertzig Dialogi oder lustige Arten zu reden*. She generally characterizes Volckmar's dialogues in the following way:

This relic, as well as several others, features more than a dozen topic areas dealing with the realities of life in that era, such as travel and communication; commerce, money, weights and measures; shopping; weather and climate; social life and entertainment; holidays and celebrations; farm work, homesteading; fortuitous events; cuisine and food preparation; clothing; work, occupations; health and illness; interpersonal relations; daily routines.

(Burzyńska 2002: 206–210; translation ours)

It is worth noting the development that took place in the presentation of model conversations in the decades between *Polskie książeczki* and Volckmar's dialogues. In the former, learners had to deal with isolated sentences, which an intelligent teacher could weave into dialogues referring to a particular situation or topic. Volckmar offered extended dialogues, ranging from those concerning everyday situations (e.g., 1. *Greeting and answering*; 5. *Four common questions and answers to them*) at the beginning of the collection, to ones regarding random events (e.g., 37. *About war*; 38. *About various diseases*; 39. *About death*; 40. *About a funeral*), which close it.

Of special interest is the fact that both the dictionary and the dialogues present vocabulary and modes of linguistic behavior in three languages: in Latin, which was the international language of science at the time, in German, since these teaching aids were primarily aimed at Germans, and in Polish, since the idea was to teach Polish as a foreign language. However, the aids so conceived could also serve Poles while learning German and Latin.

This way of proceeding by the authors, in our consideration of Nikolai Volckmar, was not an accident, but a frequently used method of describing languages at the time. As noted by Heinz (1978: 91), lexical and grammatical descriptions of European languages tended to be comparative in nature due to the fact that their authors used the Latin description model as a basic one, and this naturally led them, for example, to compare Polish grammar with Latin grammar. In addition, this aspect also included comparisons of Polish with other languages known to the author in question, in the case described here with German, Volckmar's native language. This is particularly evident in the case of another Frenchman who published a highly regarded grammar of Polish in Poland, François Mesgnien-Meniński (1623–1698). Meniński wrote his *Grammatica seu institutio Polonicae Linguae (...) in usum exterorum* (1649), while simultaneously working on grammars of Italian and French, also published in 1649. During his travels from Poland to Turkey, he later learned the oriental languages and compiled a three-volume dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, entitled *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* (1680), translating and comparing their vocabulary with that of five European languages: Latin, French, Italian, German and Polish (Abrahamowicz 1975; Geneja 1975; Kowalczyk 2015).

While Jefimow (1970) discusses the grammars of Polish language published in Gdańsk in the 17th century, these are by no means all grammars of Polish that appeared at that time. Burzyńska (2002) reviews selected textbooks for teaching Polish in Silesia from the late 16th up to the 18th century. She carries out her analysis with reference to the presence of elements expressing the language-culture relationship, whereas the first part of her book discusses the demographic and economic situation in Silesia, which was conducive to the teaching of Polish as a foreign or second language, and to German-Polish bilingualism. The author discusses the textbooks used there in general terms, dividing them into six categories: grammar-oriented textbooks; phrasebooks; readers; letter writing handbooks; writing samples, and finally textbooks proper, similar to the foreign language textbooks we know. Overall, twenty-four textbooks are analyzed, including eleven that belong to the category of grammars, six of which were published in the 17th century. These were the following works:

- Michał Kusz (Michael Kuschius), *Przewodnik do języka polskiego (...)* [Guide to the Polish language ...] / *Wegweiser zur Polnischen und Deutschen Sprchse (...)*, Wrocław 1646;
- Maciej Dobracki (Gutthäter), *Goniec gramatyki polskiej (...)* [Polish grammar messenger ...] / *Vorbott der Polnischen Sprachkunst (...)*, Oleśnica 1668;
- Maciej Dobracki (Gutthäter), *Gramatyka polska niemieckim językiem wyrażona (...)* [Polish grammar expressed in German ...] / *Polnische Teutsch erklärte Sprchkunst (...)*, Oleśnica 1669;
- Jan Ernesti, *Przewodnik pokazujący pilnemu jako języka w krótkim czasie łatwie nabyć polskiego (...)* [A Guide showing the diligent one how to acquire Polish tongue easily and in a short time ...] / *Wegweiser (...)*, Brzeg 1682;
- Jan Ernesti, *Polnischer Donat (...)*, Toruń 1689;
- Jan Ernesti, *Neu aufgelegter und auf die Helffte vermehrter und verbesserter Polnischer Trichter (...)*, Brzeg 1695.

It is noteworthy that the author analyzes the Toruń edition of Ernesti's *Polnischer Donat*, despite the fact that there was a Silesian edition, which, however, was unavailable at the time. One of the authors, Maciej Dobracki-Gutthäter (ca. 1626–1681), a grammarian and lexicographer, as well as a teacher of Polish in Wrocław in the years 1657–1670, came from a polonized German family and was a lawyer by training. His two-part grammar contained many quotations from the works of Jan Kochanowski, Samuel Twardowski, Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro and other authors (WE PWN VII: 231).

Finally, at the end of the 17th century, another grammar of the Polish language appeared on the market. It was intended for foreigners, but written by a Pole, Jan Karol Woyna (1665–1693), a nobleman who came from Ruthenia. Here is what Klemensiewicz wrote about him and his grammar:

Having studied in Gdańsk and Königsberg, he became a teacher of Latin and Polish at the Gdańsk Gymnasium from 1691 to 1693 (...) The industrious and talented 25-year-old is the first Pole to develop a Polish grammar in a textbook in Latin *Compendiosa Linguae Polonicae Institutio* of 1690, aimed to make it easier for foreigners to learn the language (*ut peregrinis ad sermonem nostrum recte ac facile discendum, aliquod afferam adiumentatum*). He was convinced that his presentation would be more perfect, clearer and more useful (*perfectior, clarior ac denique utilior*) than those of his predecessors.

(Klemensiewicz 1974: 414; translation ours)

Woyna's Polish grammar was published in the same year in two language versions: the basic, unabridged Latin version mentioned above, and a German version, entitled *Kleiner Lustgarten...* (1690). The German version was an abridgement of the Latin version, but also included a glossary, a collection of proverbs and a phrasebook. It had been reprinted several times by the end of the 18th century. Its last edition appeared in 1791, which "proves the great popularity and usefulness of this book." (Klemensiewicz 1974: 415; translation ours).

According to Klemensiewicz (1974: 666; translation ours), "[c]hronologically, the first grammar for Poles is Walenty Szyłarski's textbook entitled *Początki nauk dla narodowej młodzieży, to jest gramatyka języka polskiego* [First teachings for the national youth, that is, a grammar of the Polish language], Lviv 1770." It is worth noting that Szyłarski's grammar was also the first grammar written by a Pole for Poles. However, we must remember that more than 200 years have passed since the publication of the first grammar of the Polish language by Statorius-Stojeński. Here are Dąbrowska's reflections on this subject:

Polonicae grammatices institutio, the first grammar compendium of Polish written by Statorius-Stojeński, a Frenchman, in Latin was developed two hundred years before the first grammar compendium of Polish written by a Pole for Poles (Walenty Szyłarski in 1770). (...) [F]or two centuries there was no grammar compendium of Polish written for native speakers of the language. Since the first such study was published (1770), there have appeared both those intended for foreigners and those devised for native users of Polish. Both kinds have existed in parallel.

(Dąbrowska 2019: 29)

One might assume that the publication of the first grammar of the Polish language written by a Pole for Poles would mark a new era in the presentation of the structure of Polish, which from that point on would be liberated from the external point of view imposed on it by foreigners. Meanwhile, this was not the case at all, according to Decyk-Zięba (2019), whose title suggests that Szyłarski's grammar was an Enlightenment version of Mesgnien-Meniński's work. Comparison of the structure of the two grammars, the manner in which they elucidate linguistic phenomena and the examples that they provide leads the author to conclude that such a claim:

has its justification both in the contents and its arrangement within the chapters, and in the selection of examples. On the other hand, (...) the differences are related in equal measure to changes taking place in the linguistic system, in extra-linguistic reality, as well as to the development of knowledge about language, to the appearance of modern textbooks for teaching Latin (e.g., by S. Konarski) and the intention behind both works.(...) Szyłarski used Meniński's grammar in a critical way, he revises the theoretical findings of his predecessor, the subject of description is modern Polish. He came across Meniński's grammar probably by accident, but he was extremely lucky, as it was "one of the best Polish grammars" (Jefimow 1970: 19).

(Decyk-Zięba 2019: 111–112; translation ours)

2.3. The contribution of foreigners to the teaching and promotion of Polish language and culture as foreign

The merits of foreigners in the area of teaching Polish as a foreign language between 1568 and 1770 are beyond doubt, since they had no competition from Poles. We know for sure that they aim was teaching PFL, because the titles of phrasebooks, grammars or textbooks contained the phrases *ad usum exterorum* or *in gratiam exterorum* at the end of the Latin title, clearly indicating that the recipients were foreigners, not Poles. Since the target audience did not speak Polish, the works were written in Latin or German to facilitate the learning process. Providing, for example, dialogues in Polish and German versions side by side solved the problem of understanding the global text. Understanding a text written in a foreign language is the so-called semantization of the text, which here was accomplished by translating the Polish text into German, the students' first language. Another problem could be the assignment of appropriate words in the Polish and German text, which is supposed to lead to an understanding of grammatical-syntactic structures, the function of individual words, idioms, sayings and proverbs. Here the help of a bilingual Polish teacher was usually needed, as such a teacher could explain all the ambiguities of the text to the students (Miodunka 2013: 243–245).

As we know, educated Europeans were aware of the existence of the Slavic language family, they also knew about important Slavic languages, including Polish, which was referred to as *Polonicus sermo* and *Sarmatica, Sclavonica*, or *Polonica lingua*. A general awareness of our language was important, but not enough for the language to be learned by interested Europeans. What was needed was a grammar of the Polish language, describing its rules like the one by Statorius-Stajęński (1568).

Dąbrowska comments on the merits of foreigners in the field of teaching PFL in the following way:

The history of the Polish language and its studies owes much to foreigners and people who were characterized by cultural polyvalence (or bivalence). Between the 16th and the 18th century, the vast majority of teachers and textbook authors (most often the same people) were at least bilingual (mainly German-Polish). They were Silesians, Masurians, Pomeranians, inhabitants of Greater Poland, Czechs, Prussians, or Hessians. They knew Polish well or very well and made a living from this knowledge, working as moderators (i. e., teachers) of the Polish language.

(Dąbrowska 2018: 37–38; translation ours)

Burzyńska sees the question of the origin of Polish language teachers in Silesia in a similar way and observes that many of them were Germans born in Polish lands, “mostly evangelicals living in Silesia, such as Jeremiasz Roter, who came from Głogówek, Jerzy Szlag born in Komorów near Trzebnica, or Michał Kusz – the son of a pastor from Brzezimierz near Oława” (2002: 181; translation ours). She also adds that many of them had theological education, although they often failed to obtain a master’s degree due to financial limitations. When writing Polish language textbooks, they exploited their competence in Latin or Greek.

Rombowski sketches the geography of teaching Polish among Germans, writing as follows:

The publishing topography of Polish textbooks itself indicates the territory of development of Polish language learning among Germans. The territory of this development started from Cracow and spread through Silesia, the region around Poznań, Royal and Ducal Prussia, and ended in Livonia. In the vastness of this semicircle, German children were taught Polish.

(Rombowski 1960: 212; translation ours)

Naturally, we need to remember that some of the authors of grammars were not Germans, but Frenchmen like Statorius-Stojeński and Mesgnien-Meniński. Working at the Pińczów Gymnasium, Statorius taught Latin, using Polish as an auxiliary language, while Mesgnien taught French and Italian at the beginning of his stay in Poland, and published grammars of these languages in 1649. The fact that many foreigners were teaching in Poland at the time was conducive to the transfer of new didactic practices from Western Europe to Polish environment. Thus, the use of Polish as an auxiliary language for the study of Latin in the Pińczów Gymnasium preceded by more than 200 years the introduction of Polish language teaching in Polish schools by the Commission of National Education, which was established in 1773. Local authorities of the time were receptive to the introduction of the latest educational solutions, as evidenced, for example, by the decision of the City Council of Wrocław, which in 1637 decided to promote the didactic reform of John Amos Comenius. According to the education historian Rombowski (cf. also Burzyńska 2002: 184–185):

Komeński in his *Great Didactic* devotes chapter 32 to the method of teaching languages. He stresses the need to know the mother tongue for use in everyday life, and emphasizes the necessity to learn the languages of neighboring countries. Komeński puts learning the mother tongue in the first place, and only in second place the knowledge of the language of neighbors – before “taught” languages, i.e. before Latin, Greek, Hebrew. (Rombowski 1960: 167; translation ours)

Finally, one must wonder why, between the late 16th century and the 1790s, Polish grammar was studied and taught to foreigners by other foreigners, e.g. Germans, French, and Czechs, but not by Poles. Of course, it would have been better if the grammars of Polish language were created by Poles in addition to foreigners at that time. This was, for example, the situation of the French language, whose grammars, written by Frenchmen and foreigners, were published in the 16th century both in France and abroad. One of the first grammars of the French language written in this language was published in 1557. It is the *Traitté de la grammaire françoise* by Robert Estienne, who also published it in Latin in 1558. It was a compilation of earlier studies, but it was highly acclaimed and was also reissued in 1569 and 1582. Also noteworthy is the figure of the author himself. Robert Estienne (1503–1559) came from a family of French humanists, publishers and printers, and was a man of great significance to French culture and language (Petit de Julleville ed., III, 1924: 739–749). However, it is Louis Meigret, the author of *Tretté de la grammere françoeeze*, published in 1550 (Petit de Julleville ed., III, 1924: 731–737), who is considered to be the founder of French grammar and a scholar with a real sense of research. To give an idea of how popular the compilation of grammars of the French language became in this country, Sypnicki enumerates nine of the most important grammars written by the French and published in France in the 16th century (1977: 127; cf. also Miodunka 2018b: 17–18). For the sake of comparison, it will be recalled that both grammars which were published in Poland in the 16th century, were written by foreigners – a Frenchman (1568) and a German (1594).

There can be only one answer to the question posed earlier: the French valued their language highly, considered it beautiful and in need of constant care. This is evidenced by the establishment in 1635 of the French Academy (*Académie Française*), whose task was to “cultivate the norms of good literary taste and establish a literary language, watching over its correctness and beauty” (EC PWN 2001, I: 243–244; translation ours). It should be added that the Academy was the first of its kind in Europe, with its own statute, tasks and privileges, and was a prestigious institution, financed by the state.

We will now compare what we know about the attitude of the French to their language with what Poles said about the Polish language around the middle of the 16th century. For this purpose, we will use the testimony of Hieronymus Viotor (c. 1480–1548 or 1549), a well-known Cracow printer of German origin, who

became royal printer in 1527. In 1542, Vietor released the Polish translation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Lingua*, under the title *Xięgi które zową język* [Books that describe language]. In a dedication to Jan Tarnowski, castellan of Cracow and the Grand Crown Hetman, Vietor wrote as follows:

Being a Pole by residence solely, and not native-born, I cannot wonder more at this, since every other nation loves, spreads cherishes and polishes its native tongue, whereas the Polish nation itself despises and belittles its language, which could, as I hear, equal every other nation in its richness and beauty. As much as I can understand from the people to whom I sometimes talk about it, there is no other reason for this, but the Polish nature, which is more inclined towards foreign and outside custom, affairs, people and languages, than towards its own.

(Vietor quoted after Brzezina 1989: 61; Vrtel-Wierczyński 1969: 292; translation ours)

Hieronymus Vietor, who devoted his life to a printer's work in Cracow, including the publication of the first books in Polish, could not be more surprised that the Polish people ranked foreign languages higher than the Polish language. Apparently, he sometimes discussed this with his friends and came to the conclusion that such is the Polish nature, which manifests a greater propensity for foreign languages than its own. This phenomenon was noticed and written about by Vietor, who felt himself to be *a Pole by residence solely, and not native-born*, as by birth he was German. This lack of balance in the status of Polish compared to foreign languages is noteworthy because it may have been one of the reasons why the teaching of Polish as a foreign language, including the writing of Polish grammars, was done by foreigners, not Poles.

In his well-known monograph, Maćkowiak (2011) summarizes the process of formation of Polish linguistic consciousness in the Middle Ages in the following words:

Within the late medieval reflection on the Polish language, a notable stratification can be made. Certainly, at that time there was already quite a significant group of people specifically interested in it (professors of the Cracow Academy, employees of the royal chancellery and other centers of literacy, teachers at cathedral schools, prominent preachers). Their extensive linguistic knowledge and stylistic sense made them precursors of Polish linguistics. We are able to identify some members of this group, for example, Lukasz of Koźmin in Greater Poland or Jakub Parkosz. They overcame a long tradition that limited scientific reflection to the universal language. Did this group operate in a vacuum? Probably not. The social need to use the national language in official situations during the period under consideration became stronger every year. It was felt by more and more circles. This was followed by an increase in the authority of the Polish language and the emergence of respect for it.

(Maćkowiak 2011: 179; translation ours)

Maćkowiak provides a very thorough analysis of the formation of Polish linguistic consciousness and his conclusions are convincing. However, the comparative analysis carried out here makes it clear that the existing linguistic consciousness must be openly demonstrated. If one has power or access to people in power, one should point out to them that the natural prestige of a language needs legal or institutional support. People with knowledge and experience in describing the *universal language*, Latin, could still use this knowledge to describe the grammar of the Polish language. The irrefutable facts demonstrate that in the 16th and 17th centuries it is the foreigners who resolved to do so, whereas the Poles did not.

In addition to their linguistic awareness, foreigners possessed what we would call today a sense of power of the Polish language. They either knew well, or at least sensed, why people unfamiliar with Polish would want to learn it. Analyzing various reasons for learning Polish throughout history, Dąbrowska (2018: 30–37) distinguishes between **instrumental** motives, i. e. those of an economic, political and religious nature, and **integrative** motives, comprising cultural, social and national reasons. For example, here is what she wrote about economic motivation:

From the 16th to the mid 18th century, the primary motivation for learning Polish among Germans inhabiting the borderlands was economic. Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń, Königsberg and Wrocław were cities that lived by trade, primarily with the [Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth, but also wholesale and long-distance trade (to Gdańsk, Cracow, Leipzig or Hamburg), in addition to daily shopping at the market, where Polish-speaking peasants often traded. (...) Proficiency in Polish was considered a prerequisite for good training as a merchant or craftsman.

(Dąbrowska 2018: 30–31; translation ours)

A great example of someone who learnt Polish for religious reasons is P. Statorius-Stojeński, a Calvinist who traveled from Geneva to Cracow to work at the Calvinist gymnasium in Pińczów. Since he was also a Reformation theologian, he had to learn Polish in order for his beliefs and arguments in disputes to be comprehensible to his Polish listeners. His religious motivation was so strong that it allowed him to learn Polish very quickly, and then – to be such an excellent speaker of Polish that he was offered to translate the Bible into Polish and was finally persuaded to write the first Polish grammar. Thanks to the latter, he became a symbol of French-Polish linguistic contacts, still evoked today by French admirers of Polish language, culture and history (Beauvois 1995; Miodunka 2018b: 9–10).

In addition, it should be noted that a strong basis for integrative motivation was the Polish culture of the time. “Integrative motivation relies on fascination with a foreign culture, treating it as a value. A foreign culture has certain prestige,

familiarity with it brings added value,” argues Dąbrowska (2018: 35; translation ours). In the 16th and 17th centuries, the German townsmen regarded Polish noble culture as a model to aspire to. Not only the knowledge of the language, but also of Polish culture formed a part of good upbringing. German bourgeoisie sent children to Poland to learn the language and become familiar with Polish customs.

Numerous foreigners writing grammars and textbooks of Polish and teaching the language attest to the prestige of the language and its economic, religious and cultural power. Analysing twenty grammars of Polish written for foreigners and later used as sources by Klemensiewicz (1974), Dąbrowska (2019: 38) concludes that “the contributions of foreigners to the knowledge of the condition of Middle and Modern Polish should be highly appreciated.” It can be said that **it was they who created the foundations for our knowledge about the structure of Polish in the 16th–18th centuries, its development and the changes it was undergoing.** A similar opinion was expressed by Brzezina:

There is no doubt that significant contributions to the Polish linguistic tradition and to the methodology of teaching the Polish language were made by bilingual Germans – authors of grammar textbooks, phrasebooks (vocabularies), readers (summaries), letter-writing handbooks (keys, guidebooks) and dictionaries, such as M. Volckmar, G. Vechner, B.A. Fontanus, Z. Kontzewicz-Kotzer, G.H. Bachstrohm, B. Bertermann, J.E. Müllenheim, K.G. Eberlein, J. Schlag, J. Roter, M. Gutthäter-Dobracki (senior and junior), J. Godebusch and many others.

(Brzezina 1989: 65; translation ours)

Their contributions were not always remembered later, as many of them became polonized and adopted Polish surnames (e.g. Stojeński, Meniński, Dobracki) or respelled their names in Polish (e.g. Szlag instead of Schlag). Of course, they were the ones who made such decisions, but seeing their Polish names, later readers did not even suppose that the authors who did so much for the description and teaching of Polish had first had to learn it as a foreign or second language. Furthermore, in an era when the concept of copyright was not recognized, reliance on the work of one’s predecessors was not infrequently left unacknowledged, and an objective assessment of the contribution of each author is only possible today through comparative studies (e.g. Zwoliński 1956; Jefimow 1963, 1970; Decyk-Zięba 2019). Therefore, one should strongly support the following suggestion by Dąbrowska:

Five centuries later, one should give due consideration to the large group of foreigners who assumed the Polish language and culture as their own, and who did much for their promotion. That indicates the intertwining and mutual linguistic influences in Central and Eastern Europe, and the major role which Polish played in the process.

(Dąbrowska 2019: 46; emphasis ours).

2.4. The development of teaching Polish as a foreign language

It is worth paying some attention to the evolution of the teaching of Polish as a foreign language, which, up until the 1960s was not the object of scholarly research. In response to the social demand for learning Polish among foreigners, textbooks and grammars of Polish were developed. For this purpose, the authors looked for models in materials published in Poland, while also relying on teaching aids created for other European languages, such as German, French and Italian. They drew on the Polish models in various ways; after all, the notion of intellectual property was not known at the time. Thus, they would take over the general concept while updating the examples, modify the original idea by introducing new solutions, discard parts that were deemed of little use, and add new ones, and publish the result under a new title without acknowledging their predecessors' work. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the teaching of PFL and its grammar was in constant development.

2.4.1. Dąbrowska's periodization of the five hundred years of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language

The first scholar to suggest a division of the history of PFL teaching from the early 16th century up until today is Dąbrowska (2018). The author indicates in her introduction that her interests do not lie in individual teaching, but in organized teaching, the geography of which she attempts to outline in the following way:

Of primary concern are municipal schools, gymnasiums and universities, where teaching Polish was a significant part of the curriculum. They were established and operated in borderland towns with mixed populations (e.g., Wrocław, Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg or Königsberg), and later also in other centers, not necessarily located near the border of the Polish Republic (e.g., Kiev, Berlin, Halle, Leipzig or Prague). In the 20th century, the territory expanded to include centers in North America and Asia. (Dąbrowska 2018: 19 translation ours)

The article was written at the turn of 2016, and therefore does not take into account the rapid development of Polish studies in the following years in China or the establishment of the first Polish studies program in South America, at the Federal University of Paraná in Curitiba (Brazil).

The most renowned Polish specialist in area of the history of teaching PFL, Dąbrowska (2018: 19), distinguishes four main periods of teaching Polish as a foreign language:

- the first period, 16th–18th century (the old period);
- the second period, 19th century–1918;

- the third period, 1918–1939 (the interwar period);
- the fourth period, 1945–now (the present period).

Commenting on this division, Dąbrowska notes that the period boundaries are a matter of convention. The beginning of the first period is associated with the earliest PFL textbooks and the beginnings of Protestant schools in cities where Polish was taught. It ends with the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, marking the end of an independent Polish state. Consequently, the second period covers the times of partition, when Polish society was divided, living under the rule of three states: Russia, Prussia and Austria. This period ended with the First World War in 1918, when the Polish state regained its independence. It was followed by the third period, which lasted until 1939, marking the outbreak of World War II. The fourth period begins with the establishment of the Polish People's Republic. Such a periodization of the 500 years of the history of PFL teaching corresponds well with Miodunka's (2016: 307–336) division of the evolution of Polish language glottodidactics, which breaks Dąbrowska's fourth period up into three stages: from 1950 until 1992, when Polish linguistics is increasingly applied to PFL teaching; from 1993 until 2003, when the current Polish language glottodidactics takes shape, and from 2004 until today, when the European standards come to be applied in Polish glottodidactics. This further subdivision of Dąbrowska's fourth period demonstrates that **the last 60 years have a special significance in the five-hundred-year history of PFL teaching. This is due to fundamental developments not only in teaching itself, but also in the scholarly examination of this topic, as a result of which one can now speak of Polish language glottodidactics as a scientific discipline. Another achievement is the development of training programs for future PFL and PSL teachers. The rate of progress in this period has thus been unique.**

2.4.2. Teaching Polish from the early 16th to the late 18th century

We can infer the methods of teaching Polish as a foreign language on the basis of surviving textbooks, dictionaries and other teaching aids, since curricula in the modern sense of the word were basically non-existent between the 16th and 19th centuries. Admittedly, there were documents such as *Gymnasii Pinczoviensis institutio* by P. Statorius (1558), but these were general curricula and regulations for the internal organization of the school, not detailed subject syllabuses. It should also be noted that textbooks and other teaching aids were prepared and published by people with international contacts and well versed in the prevailing language teaching trends of the time. Moreover, these materials were bilingual or trilingual, so they provide information on the methodology of teaching two or

three European languages (Latin, German and Polish), as pointed out by Dąbrowska, who writes as follows:

All teaching aids for PFL teaching are a testimony to intercultural and interlingual contacts, demonstrating the openness of neighboring nationalities, as well as the power of the Polish language. Some grammars and textbooks were written with both learners of Polish as a foreign language and Poles learning German in mind. Such a very pragmatic approach characterizes, for example, the anonymous *Wokabularz* [Vocabulary] (1539) or *Klucz do polskiego i niemieckiego języka...* [Key to the Polish and German language] by J. Roter (1616). Among other things, it is precisely these textbooks that German historians of teaching German as a foreign language take into account (Glück 2002). Thus, these works are regarded as common elements, belonging to both cultures and both glottodidactic traditions, connecting the histories of the neighboring Polish and German languages.

(Dąbrowska 2018: 39; translation and emphasis ours)

Having said that, it is important to emphasize that in the early 16th and 17th centuries, the methods of teaching PFL and German as a foreign language were very similar, virtually identical. Therefore, when today we want to teach Polish the way in which global languages are taught, we want to go back to what was already a fact several centuries ago.

Polskie książeczki is one of the earliest textbooks for teaching PFL, important because it is relatively well preserved despite certain shortcomings. It is sometimes referred to as a phrasebook for short, although the sentences that comprise it constitute only a part of a larger whole. Alongside them, there are patterns of verb conjugation for person, number and tense, and noun, pronoun and adjective declension for case and number. What is notable from a contemporary viewpoint is the complete lack of grammatical commentary that would demonstrate the linguistic system of Polish, and the avoidance of grammatical terms to describe its various elements, only a handful of which are referred to using their Latin names, such as *masculinum genus*, *pluraliter*, *singulariter*. Instead of grammatical commentary and terminology, learners are provided with German translations that allow them to, at least partially, address grammatical questions, e.g. *Ja umiem po polsku / Ich kan polnisch* [‘I can speak Polish’]; *Ty umiesz / Du kanst* [‘You can’] or *Nasz pies / Unser Hund* [‘Our dog’]; *Naszego psa / Unsern Hund* [‘Of our dog’]. Of course, in school practice, such explanations could be given by teachers, and their quality depended on their (meta)linguistic awareness and knowledge. The structure of *Polskie książeczki* as described here made it necessary to use it in alongside a grammar book, which further emphasizes the importance of Statorius-Stojeński’s first grammar of Polish of 1568.

In addition to the individual sentences that make up the phrasebook, *Polskie książeczki* also features sample letters for various occasions (e.g., a letter written by a student to his father and his entire family, including a request for money),

Polish prayers (e. g., *Oycze nasz* [Our Father], *Dziesięcioro Przykazanie Boże* [The Ten Commandments]), and even religious hymns (e. g., the Easter hymn *K Kristus zmartwych wstał jest. Nam na przykład dał jest* [‘Christ is resurrected, given to us as an example’] which is still sung today). From the point of view of the current division into language learning levels, one could say that *Polskie książeczki* contains language material for beginners (spoken texts in the form of dialogues) and for advanced learners (written texts, such as letters, songs and prayers, also literary texts and popular proverbs). However, we must remember that the language teaching model was that used for teaching Latin, where literary passages were introduced relatively quickly, as soon as the student could, with the help of the teacher, perform a grammatical and lexical analysis to understand a given passage (Cieśla 1974; Klimek 1978; Miodunka 2013a).

Burzyńska points out that six types of textbooks can be distinguished as a result of developments in the later period: “works with a predominance of grammatical material (grammars), conversational material (phrasebooks), older learning materials such as text selections (readers), letter samples (letter-writing manuals), or even calligraphy templates (handwriting samples). A final group comprises works that integrate almost all elements in one volume textbooks ‘proper’” (2002: 186; translation ours). As examples of these, Burzyńska cites Jan Karol Woyna’s 1976 *Kleiner Lustgarten* and Jan Moneta’s *Enchiridion Polonicum oder Polnisches Handbuch* (1774).

Dąbrowska (2018: 21) provides a table listing ten European cities where Polish was taught, including Wrocław, where PFL teaching continued for at least 352 years (from before 1560 to 1912); Toruń – for 225 years (1568–1793); Gdańsk – for 282 years (1589–1871); Elbląg – on and off for 209 years (1604–1815); Kiev – for 159 years (1658–1817); Königsberg – for about 200 years (early 17th–early 19th century); Halle – on and off for 253 years (1703–today); Leipzig – on and off for 316 years (from 1696 until today); Frankfurt an der Oder – from 1718 until the present, but with long interruptions; and, finally, Berlin – 189 years (1797–today).

A notable town on this list is Kiev, where Polish was taught at the famous Kiev-Mohyla Academy. It should be added that a textbook entitled *Grammatika pol’skaja dlja pol’zy i upotreblenija rossijskago junošestva*, written by Maximilian Siemiginovsky (1760–1822), was published in Kiev in 1791. Siemiginovsky’s book is noteworthy because it is perhaps the first grammar book of Polish for foreigners. As pointed out by Kutiepova (2019), the author relied on Onufry Kopczyński’s handbook entitled *Grammatyka dla szkół narodowych* [A grammar for national schools] in three separate parts intended for grade 1 (1778), grade 2 (1780), and grade 3 (1781), which indicates that grammars intended for foreigners were being published alongside grammars aimed at Polish readers, and their authors used similar approaches. Siemiginovsky’s Polish grammar book for

Russian youth was considered successful and was therefore reissued in 1831, already after the author's death (Safarewiczowa 1971; Kutiepova 2019).

2.4.3. Teaching Polish in the years 1795–1918

For most of the 150 years, from the abdication of Stanisław-August on 25 November 1795 to the retreat of the German Army from Warsaw on 17 January 1945, 'Poland' was little more than a name (...) [which] often had no practical significance beyond that of a cultural, linguistic, or administrative area lying in the territories of three separate states. (Davies 2005: 5)

This is how the illustrious British historian describes the period when Poland ceased to exist as a state and its territory was divided into three parts and annexed by three neighboring countries, Russia, Prussia (Preussen) and Austria, with Russian and German as the official languages. On the territory of the former Poland, a series of states were subsequently created, alluding to its existence, but none of them could claim the role of a successor to the Polish state. The first of these, the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1815), was created as a result of Napoleon's victorious campaign, and Poles had high hopes for it. However, after Napoleon's defeat in Russia, the duchy was largely incorporated into that country.

While the history of the Polish struggle for independence and the uprisings that would eventually lead to it falls beyond the scope of the present study, we would like to draw the reader's attention to the change in significance that the Polish language underwent in society at large. Indeed, the partitioning powers removed Latin from the school curriculum, replacing it with their official languages, either Russian or German. This resulted in a change which Norman Davies describes as follows:

In this situation, Polish was thrust into a role to which it had never pretended. It now became a great force for unity, where previously it had divided. It united the nobility with the peasantry, pushing them together towards a common cultural heritage. It united Catholics and non-Catholics. It linked the Polonized gentry of Lithuania, who in the early years produced almost all its literary exponents of genius, with the farmers of Poznań, the assimilated Jews of the cities, the professors of Cracow, the peasants of Silesia and Pomerania, and the citizens of Warsaw. It crossed all frontiers with impunity, and quickly became a vehicle for all those ideas and feelings which the authorities wished to suppress. For those who continued to oppose the effects of the Partitions, it became the 'language of Freedom'.

(Davies 2005: 16)

It is often believed that a period of political decline of a country is associated with a decline in the quality of its cultural output. In the case of Poland, it was exactly the opposite: the 19th century was a period when poetry and drama flourished in

the works of Polish writers such as Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849), Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859), or Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883). Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841) popularized historical novels in the style of Walter Scott, writing about the life of the Polish nobility, or the problems of Jews professing Hasidism. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887) created a multi-volume series of novels depicting Polish society from prehistoric times to the late 18th century, and his works gained widespread popularity. Henryk Sienkiewicz's (1846–1910) historical novels achieved the status of mass literature, and his work *Quo vadis?* (1896) first earned him worldwide recognition and then the Nobel Prize. In visual arts, Jan Matejko (1838–1893) created a series of great canvases depicting heroic historical scenes, and his visions of Polish history entered the Polish imagination forever. In music, it is essential to mention Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872), whose operas and songs, written in Poland, took inspiration from Polish folk music, as well as Frederic Chopin (1810–1849), who composed world piano works in Paris, employing folk motifs familiar to him from Poland (mazurkas, polonaises). It is worth emphasizing that many of those artists created their works in exile.

Leaving aside the dramatic situation of a nation without a state and returning to PFL teaching, Dąbrowska's (2018) overview indicates that teaching activities were not completely abandoned in the 19th century. Yet, they became largely restricted to a few centers (e. g., Wrocław, Gdańsk, Halle, Leipzig and Berlin). This happened because “the economic motivation [for learning Polish] all but disappeared”, and other types of motivation were reduced (Dąbrowska 2018: 31–37; translation ours).

However, when discussing such a situation in 19th-century Polish language teaching, one must remember that it was a time of the establishment and development of Slavic studies as an academic discipline, which was brought about by the dominance of evolutionary and biological approach to historical linguistics. Researchers concerned with the evolution of individual language families also paid much attention to Slavic languages. It is believed that Slavic historical-comparative linguistics was founded by the Slovene, Franz Miklosich (1813–1891), the author of a very good grammar *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen* (vols. I–IV, 1852–1875) and an etymological dictionary, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Slavischen Sprachen* (1886), and from 1848 a professor at the University of Vienna, which became an important center of Slavic studies (Heinz 1978: 155–156). Scholars undertaking historical Slavic studies were familiar with the major Slavic languages, which included Polish, so there was an elite teaching and learning Polish within the circle of these specialists. Lucjan Malinowski, who was appointed to the Chair of Slavic Philology at the Jagiellonian University in 1877, had studied in Prague and Jena with August Schleicher, one of the founders of comparative linguistics, and in Leipzig with

August Leskien. He earned his doctorate in Leipzig, and his dissertation *Beiträge zur slavischen Dialektologie. Ueber die oppelnsche Mundart in Oberschlesien* (1873) was devoted to the Opole dialect. It established Polish dialectology, and L. Malinowski is considered the founder of Polish Slavic studies, which later paved the way for the linguistic exploration of Polish (EJP 1994: 194–195). These developments are significant because out of the intellectual milieu of Polish linguists, specialists in PFL and PSL would emerge in the latter part of the 20th century.

The second half of the 19th century is a period when immigrant communities begin to establish schools for Polish children abroad with the protection of Polish language and culture in mind. The first Polish schools were established in 1842 in Chatillon-sous-Bagneux near Paris (France), in 1858 in the settlement of Panna Maria in Texas (USA) and in 1877 in the settlement of Orleans near Curitiba (Brazil). This was the beginning of Polish-language education organized outside the education system of the country of settlement. Depending on the country, such schooling activity experienced periods of growth and stagnation, but Polish schools, along with Roman Catholic parishes, have always been the most important institutions in the Polish communities abroad (Miodunka 1998). Polish schools still exist in many countries around the world today, as will be discussed in Section 4.1 (see also Miodunka 2020a: 17–19; 2020b: 10–15).

2.4.4. Teaching Polish in the years 1918–1939

In 1918 Poland regained its independence, which changed the situation of Polish abroad, since it was henceforth the official language of the Polish state, whose authorities had to take care of the Polish language spoken by Polish communities scattered around the world. The Polish authorities were aware of the existence of Polish communities abroad, formed as a result of the emigration that had been going on for many years. They saw an opportunity to make use of them in their political activities both in Poland and abroad based on the positive experiences of other European countries. Members of these collectivities were seen as Poles regardless of when they had left the country, which immigrant generation they belonged to, what they had experienced in the country of settlement, or how well they mastered its language and culture. It was believed that they could carry out tasks set out by the Polish state, and that is why the World Union of Poles from Abroad (Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, or Światpol) was established in 1934. It was the American delegation that pointed out that a large part of the Polish communities there felt themselves to be Americans of Polish origin rather than Poles (Miodunka 2020a).

The state authorities were aware of the need to promote the Polish language both among Polish emigrants and among foreigners of non-Polish origin. Conscious of the positive experience of other European universities, they sought to launch summer courses in Polish language and culture at the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University, which eventually took place in 1931. The summer courses, which ran for nine years, turned out to be a success, as recalled by the participants, including polonists abroad. State support for Polish schools abroad usually consisted in subsidizing their activities, supplementing their staff by seconding teachers from Poland, and general pedagogical supervision (preparation of curricula, selection of appropriate methods and textbooks, etc.).

The activity of government representatives with regard to teaching and promoting the Polish language abroad in the interwar period turned out demanding because Polish universities did not yet have the scientific and didactic base for such undertakings. Emigration and Polish communities outside our country were of interest to historians, lawyers and representatives of the social sciences, but not to Polish linguists. This is why Witold Doroszewski's research stay in the USA and his volume on the preservation of Polish in that country should be considered an extraordinary event, confirming that scholar's uniqueness. One might justify this situation by adding that Polish scholars had a lot to do in Poland, in terms of teaching Polish as a first language and as a second language to children from national and ethnic minority backgrounds (cf. Altbauer 2002: 159–163; Miodunka 2010), while the needs for teaching Polish as a foreign language were poorly understood, as was the specific character of teaching Polish to bilingual children and teenagers in the Polish communities abroad. Greater understanding of the needs of teaching Polish language and culture abroad was shown by modern language specialists, such as Professor Roman Dyboski, the founder of English studies in Poland and a great promoter of Polish culture and literature in the UK and the US. Equally noteworthy in this regard is Maria Patkaniowska (1905–1988), a junior lecturer at the English Philology College of the Jagiellonian University (1932–1936), who taught Polish in Polish language and culture courses at the Jagiellonian University. After the war, as Maria Corbridge-Patkaniowska, a professor at the Polish University Abroad (PUNO) in London, she became the author of a popular Polish language manual for foreigners published in the US with the first edition appearing in 1948. Brought out under the title *Teach Yourself Polish* or *Polish*, her textbook had a total of twenty-eight editions and is one of the most frequently reissued manuals for teaching PFL (Dąbrowska 2018: 28; see also Perkowska 2007: 280; Miodunka 2020).

Józef Andrzej Teslar (1889–1961), a Polish language teacher at the *École Supérieure de Guerre* in Paris (1922–1928), and, after the war, a professor at PUNO, soldier, poet, translator, critic, and author of textbooks of foreign languages, Polish, French and English, also made great contributions to the popularization

of PFL teaching in France and Britain. The first Polish language textbook by Józef Andrzej Teslar and Jadwiga Teslarowa appeared under the title *Méthode pratique de Polonais pour les Français* in 1937 (EC PWN, 27, 2005: 362). The textbooks of these two authors taught Polish according to the grammar-translation method, but they drew on current knowledge of its structure as presented in Polish grammars, and they also introduced a contrastive aspect where the structure of our language differed from that of English or French. Because the books drew on the authors' extensive experience and met the needs of PFL learners in Western Europe and the United States, they were popular there as basic learning aids. These textbooks were virtually unknown in Poland and therefore deserve a mention in this volume and merit a comprehensive analysis in the future.

2.5. History of teaching Polish against the background of the history of teaching European languages

2.5.1. Overview of the history of PFL teaching

The history of teaching Polish as a foreign language began in the early 16th century, when the Kingdom of Poland merged with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, first by personal union in 1385 and then as a result of the Union of Lublin in 1569, and became the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which would exist until 1795. At that time, the Republic was a large state occupying a significant part of Central Europe, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It experienced a period of prosperity in the 16th and 17th centuries, often referred to as the Polish Golden Age, and attracted to its court centers many foreigners who were not merely interested in a temporary stay, but decided to settle down and start a family. For this to be successful, it was necessary to master the language, which was foreign, Slavic, and might have seemed difficult at first glance. Hence there was a need for phrasebooks, grammars and other teaching aids. One such assimilated foreigner was the aforementioned Statorius-Stojeński, whose Polish biographers stress that he was “the progenitor of a family of pastors and writers who were significant for the development of Polish Arianism” (Hajdukiewicz 1974: 646; translation ours).

Characteristically, for the first 200 years Polish as a foreign language was primarily taught by foreigners or descendants of foreigners who had settled in Poland, for whom Polish was probably a second language, which they decided to improve in order to write grammars, dictionaries and textbooks and other aids for its teaching, to work as teachers, and so on. Subsection 2.3 highlights their merits, but it is worth adding here that some of them acquired important functions, such as the aforementioned Hieronymus Viotor, who was appointed

royal printer in 1527. He was among those who contributed to the development of Polish language and writing and the spread of humanist ideas in Poland (WEP vol. 29: 299).

The situation began to change in the second half of the 18th century, when educated Poles began to realize the need for educational reform. It was undertaken by the Commission of National Education, which had existed since 1773, and had rendered considerable services to the organization of education, but also to the development of curricula and new textbooks, including Kopczyński's three-part manual (1778, 1780 and 1781).

The PFL teaching tradition was interrupted between 1795 and 1918, when Poland lost its statehood and its territory was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. The absence of state institutions for more than 120 years created many pressing problems when the government officially began to function again on November 11, 1918, the most important of which was the need to merge the three recovered parts of the country into a single state. External problems should not be underestimated either; the biggest of these was the war fought against the Soviet army, which reached as far as Warsaw, where a decisive battle took place between August 13 and 19, 1920, won by the Polish army.

The period of partition contributed to the perpetuation of a considerable sense of inferiority of the Polish language in relation to German and Russian, as well as in relation to Western European languages such as French, English, Italian and Spanish. These languages are still considered in Poland "big global languages", while others, including those belonging to the Slavic language family, are viewed as "smaller, less significant", because their value is limited only to a small nation. This relatively low prestige of Polish had to be addressed if teaching Polish as a foreign language was to be successful, not only after the rebirth of the Polish state in 1918, but also after the end of World War II. Those who believed that Polish should be treated on a par with other European languages were a small group of individuals including a few linguists and a few politicians (see 4.3). The former had to arouse interest in the subject among master's and young doctoral students, while the latter had to seek appropriate legal regulations and secure sufficient funding for the field from the state budget, which never had enough means.

The above problems and the initial lack of institutions willing to undertake teaching Polish as a foreign language meant that summer courses in Polish language and culture did not begin until 1931. They lasted until August 1939.

After Poland was liberated from Nazi occupation in 1945, the most urgent task was to rebuild the country lying in ruins. One of the most devastated cities was Warsaw, whose reconstruction took place in stages over many years. Polish linguistics was preoccupied with the polonization of place names in the regions that had returned to Poland and with the history of the Polish language. The

culmination of the work on the history of Polish was the monumental work by Klemensiewicz (1974), who, in writing his work, readily referred to earlier grammars written in Latin or German by foreigners for foreigners learning Polish. As Dąbrowska established, the grammar he relied on most was one by Statorius-Stojeński (Dąbrowska 2018: 31). This reinforces the impression that it was predominantly grammars that existed in the consciousness of linguists. If phrasebooks or textbooks for foreigners were studied, it was primarily for their Polish content to serve as an illustration of Polish spoken in the past (e.g. Klimek 1978; Miodunka 2013a). That the material under study came from a textbook for foreigners was duly noted in such instances, but the very fact that Polish was taught to foreigners was of little interest. It can be said that scholars in Poland were largely unaware of PFL teaching in the past.

2.5.2. Recognizing the distinctiveness of PFL teaching

The situation began to change in the 1960s and 1970s, when linguists at the University of Warsaw posed the problem of PFL teaching, and later also engaged in discussion of PFL teaching methods and the writing of PFL textbooks. The example set by the University of Warsaw was soon followed by other Polish universities teaching foreigners: the University of Łódź, the Jagiellonian University, the Adam Mickiewicz University, the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, the Catholic University of Lublin, the University of Wrocław, and the University of Silesia (see Miodunka 2016: 25–57; 309–314). Noticeable development of PFL teaching aids occurred when methods of teaching English, French and German as foreign languages began to be adopted in Poland, a trend documented by Gębal (2014).

The changes in the Polish environment were accompanied by a process of integration between specialists in Poland and abroad, which began in 1997 with the registration of the ‘Bristol’ Association of Polish and Foreign Teachers of Polish Culture and Polish as a Foreign Language. Since the ‘Bristol’ Association emphasized language teaching, Congresses of Foreign Polish Studies began to be held to supplement its activities, emphasizing the importance of teaching culture and, especially, Polish literature. The congresses were held successively at the University of Warsaw (1998), the University of Gdańsk (2002), the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (2006), the Jagiellonian University (2008) and the University of Opole (2012; see Miodunka 2016: 315–328). A turning point in this process was the 6th World Congress of Polish Studies held at the University of Silesia in Katowice on June 22–25, 2016 (Tambor ed. 2018).

2.5.3. Studies on the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language

A useful summary of accomplishments in the field of PFL teaching in the years 1950–2015 is offered by Miodunka (2016). When defining Polish language glottodidactics, the author enumerates ten subdisciplines that comprise it, including the history of PFL and PSL teaching (Miodunka 2016: 54). The author then devotes a separate subsection of Chapter Three, concerned with the academic achievements of glottodidactics within the emerging subdisciplines, to a review of the existing studies that adopt a historical viewpoint, beginning with Cieśla's 1974 book (Miodunka 2016: 227–238). Stressing that there is a shortage of works of this type, Miodunka focuses on the history of foreign language teaching in Poland, with only a cursory treatment of PFL teaching. Another work which the author discusses is Burzyńska's (2002) monograph, which, although its title does not indicate it, is in large part devoted to the analysis of cultural background information provided by twenty-four textbooks, phrasebooks, grammars, readers and letter-writing handbooks published in Silesia from the late 16th to the 18th century. According to Miodunka, Burzyńska's work was underrated at the time of publication, which he attributes to the fact that the critics focused on the contemporary relationship between language and culture, while completely ignoring the book's carefully developed historical part, which he himself considers important for the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language.

The research on the polonization of the immigrant and indigenous populations is discussed by Miodunka on the basis of the general histories of Polish by Klemensiewicz (1974) and Walczak (1999). He then draws the reader's attention to works by Anna Dąbrowska and her students at the University of Wrocław, who specialize in research into the history of PFL teaching, including Burzyńska mentioned above. Dąbrowska (2014) discusses the research avenues explored by scholars affiliated with the School of Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners at University of Wrocław. Among the eleven research areas, the history of PFL teaching ranked fifth (Dąbrowska 2014: 257–264). This can be considered a certain underestimation, given that the leading researcher here is Anna Dąbrowska herself, who has achieved great renown and national recognition. In general, it can be said that the intensification of research in the field of the history of PFL teaching occurred after the year 2000, when a number of analytic and comparative studies of old textbooks were produced. Some of these were thematically link to one another, which allowed partial syntheses to be drawn. This is well illustrated by a very interesting and well documented article by Burzyńska-Kamieniecka and Dąbrowska (2014). Dąbrowska herself began publishing more and more works after 2010, clearly indicating her interest in producing a synthesis of the history of PFL teaching. One of these is a plenary lecture delivered at

the 6th World Congress of Polish Studies in 2016, published as Dąbrowska (2018), which begins in the following way:

From a diachronic perspective, teaching PFL is a part of the history of Polish, but it differs from the traditional (...) view of the history of Polish. After all, it is not a representation of changes occurring in the national language, but a look at Polish as a second language, mastered by foreigners in the course of conscious learning or as part of cultural and linguistic assimilation. Thus, we will talk about the power of the language, its power of attraction (assimilatory power), its significance in Europe or the nationalization (polonization) of nationally labile individuals (...), as well as the simple utilitarian need to use Polish as a foreign language, testifying to its power of attraction. (Dąbrowska 2018: 15–16; translation ours)

It is from this article that we took over the general breakdown of PFL teaching into periods, as well as other data.

Also noteworthy is Dąbrowska (2019), a translation of an article earlier published in Polish which offers an important overview of the significance of grammars written by and for foreigners for the studies on the history of Polish. For us, it is important that the article ends with an answer to the question of what the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language should look like. The author devotes three pages to a discussion of this issue, and concludes with the following statement:

The history of the teaching of Polish to foreigners spans five centuries. It is an extensive period, and it is high time to devote more attention to the notion and finally write a monograph on it. In this article, I presented the concept of what such a study should (could) look like. Now it is time to implement it.

(Dąbrowska 2019: 47)

Returning to the vision of the history of PFL teaching presented by Miodunka (2016), we would like to add that the author further divides works on this topic into those pertaining to ancient history and those concerned with more recent developments, noting that the latter are relatively abundant, as almost all existing centers of the education of foreigners publish anniversary volumes devoted to their history as well as teaching and research activities (see 4.3).

Furthermore, Miodunka draws a distinction between institutional and individual perspectives on the history of PFL teaching. Works representing the former include a volume discussing the 90-year history of Polish studies at Charles University in Prague, including profiles of distinguished Czech polonists, such as Marian Szykowski, Karel Krejčí, Iza Šaunová, Otokar Bartoš, Jan Petr, Theodor Bešta, Luboš Řehaček (Benešová, Rusin Dybalska, Zakopalová 2013), and a collection of studies devoted to prominent but deceased Italian scholars of Polish, which discusses the work of such scholars as Giovanni Maver, Ettore Lo

Gatto, Andrzej Zieliński, Enrico Damiani, Carto Verdiani, Angiolo Danti, Pietro Marchesani and Andrzej Litwornia (Ciccarini and Salwa 2014).

On the other hand, to illustrate the individual aspect of the history of PFL teaching Miodunka (2016) draws on the memoirs of Stanislaw Frybes, the organizer of summer courses in Polish language and culture at the University of Warsaw and founder of the Polonicum Center of Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners in Warsaw, the diary of Franciszek Ziejka, who taught the first Polish language class at the Universidade de Lisboa in Portugal in 1979/1980, and Tokimasa Sekiguchi's account of how his interest in Polish literature formed by Japanese translations of the works of Gombrowicz and Schulz, as well as learning Polish in Cracow in the early 1970s. Sekiguchi later became one of the founders of Polish Studies at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, its distinguished professor, and a translator of Polish literature into Japanese, who received the 2021 Trans-Atlantic Award for his translations of major works of Polish literature and culture.

In summary, we can say that the history of PFL teaching in the period from the early 16th century to the 18th century is a process that took shape at the level of municipal governments and parishes of various denominations offering language schools, that is, at the community level, at which learning Polish was seen as a step towards economic success in the future. In large cities, a big role was played printers, who, knowing the needs of the population, published, among others, language textbooks, often combining texts in several languages, such as Latin, Polish and German. Some printers reached a very influential position, such as Hieronymus Vietor, the royal printer in Cracow, a fervent supporter of the idea of European humanism, a great promoter of Polish language and culture, which he valued more than many Poles he knew.

Central government institutions enter the arena of history with the establishment of the Commission of National Education in 1773, which reformed, modernized and largely standardized the school system. This reform was so significant because the Commission sought to cover all aspects of schooling at the time, ranging from the list of subjects and their syllabuses to textbooks; from teacher training programs to educational programs for different levels and school types. As the Commission introduced the compulsory study of Polish, new textbooks had to be written, including the aforementioned one by Kopczyński (1778, 1780 and 1781). This meant that from then on, grammars for Polish youth began to function alongside grammars for foreigners, which had an increasing influence on grammars for foreigners.

What is important from the perspective discussed here is not only what the Polish education system is doing in terms of teaching PFL, but also what is happening in this regard abroad: from Polish schools coordinated by the Center for the Development of Polish Education Abroad (Ośrodek Rozwoju Polskiej

Edukacji za Granicą, or ORPEG) in Warsaw to community schools operating in various countries around the world, as well as in Polish programs and Polish language classes offered by universities abroad. Thus, of great significance is the history of particular Polish studies divisions at academic institutions, along with the overall development of Polish studies in a given country, and the achievements of individual Polish scholars, especially if their scholarly output is of international significance. Besides, Miodunka stresses that history takes shape today and current events become historical after a dozen years or so. That is why it is worth recording, describing and analyzing them in order to later create historical syntheses.

To conclude this part of the discussion, we would like to add that, delivering on the previously quoted declaration, Anna Dąbrowska is currently preparing a history of PFL teaching, which is expected at the end of 2024.

3. Current issues in teaching Polish as a foreign language

World War II brought forth many changes, including a radical shift in language teaching. Entering the war, the US authorities were aware that its fate would also depend on the rapid and effective learning of languages by soldiers from the Allied armies. Therefore, it was decided to involve the best specialists in linguistics, psychology, didactics, etc., to develop an effective method of teaching foreign languages. The theoretical basis for the new teaching method was the American structuralism of Leonard Bloomfield in linguistics, and in psychology the behaviorism of Burrhus Frederic Skinner, based Pavlov's theory of conditioned reflexes. The new scientific method of teaching was called the audio-lingual method. The most important assumptions behind it included: teaching linguistic skills in a fixed order (from listening, through speaking, then reading to writing); teaching colloquial language in its spoken version; linking colloquial language to typical situations familiar from everyday life; assumption that dialogues should be the basic teaching material, with reliance on typical structures and the most common vocabulary; mastering dialogues through repetition, with attention to pronunciation of phonemes and intonation of sentences; teaching language habits through repetition of language patterns (*pattern drill*) in language laboratories (Stawna 1991: 70–77; Johnson, Johnson 1999: 20–22; Komorowska 2007: 83–89). Since teaching by this method was considered a success during the war, after the war it was decided to apply it to school language teaching not only in America, but also in Europe and in selected countries elsewhere. The way in which Western methods of teaching foreign languages were introduced in the People's Republic of Poland was well demonstrated by Komorowska (2007: 21–26, 83–89).

Proposing 1945 as the beginning of the fourth period of PFL teaching in our country, Dąbrowska (2018) stressed the importance of the end of the war for the normalization and stabilization of the situation in Poland. However, it is known that it took several years for the various aspects of economy, business, culture and education to begin to function normally. Therefore, it was not before the 1950s that PFL teaching activity began in earnest. The launching of PFL teaching di-

visions at Polish universities should be considered the most important event. Gębal (2014: 24–25) offers a list of sixteen such centers, among which the oldest are the Polish Language Centre for Foreigners at the University of Łódź, operating since 1952, the University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center, running courses since 1956, and the Center for Polish Language and Culture Abroad at the Jagiellonian University, organizing summer courses in Polish language and culture since 1970. All these institutions published collections of course materials intended for students, which reflected the PFL teaching methods used (see Miodunka 2016: 310–314).

3.1. Teaching Polish from 1952 to 1992

A brief review of teaching aids produced between 1952 and 1992 shows the evolution that PFL textbooks have undergone, from collections of course materials produced in limited numbers of copies and distributed by those universities which offer Polish language study programs for foreigners to textbooks published by national publishing houses (PWN, Interpress), which ensured their nationwide distribution; from course materials reproduced at the cheapest cost possible to printed textbooks with drawings and color illustrations. Although a command-and-quota system prevailed at all times, mandating that only the needs of the foreign students entrusted to a given university should be taken care of, slowly some form of competition began to emerge between the various universities. It was not very noticeable with regard to collections of course materials (here, only the Catholic University of Lublin Press stood out), but it became more pronounced once the author managed to get a nationwide publishing house to take an interest in their textbook.

From the point of view of PFL teaching methods, it needs to be concluded that textbooks were dominated by a grammar-oriented program and adopted either the direct or audio-lingual method. A complete novelty were textbooks based on French audiovisual methods or those that introduced the communicative approach along with an intentional-conceptual program Martyniuk (1984).

The evolution of textbook content is also reflected in their titles. In the 1960s and early 1970s they were rather modest, e.g. *Język polski dla cudzoziemców. Podręcznik dla niezaawansowanych* [Polish for foreigners. A handbook for non-advanced students] (Iglikowska and Kacprzak 1972), but later slowly began to reveal the authors' individual approach to both their work and the methods used. It was then that such titles appeared as *Wśród Polaków. Polish for Foreign Students* [Among Poles...] (Rudzka and Goczołowa 1977), *Z polskim na co dzień. An Intermediate Polish Course for English Speakers* [Polish for everyday life...] (Grala and Przywarska 1978), *W Polsce po polsku. An Elementary Polish Course*

for *English Speakers* [In Poland in Polish...] (Graża and Przywarska 1981) or finally, somewhat competitively, *Polska po polsku. Podręcznik języka polskiego dla początkujących* [Poland in Polish. A handbook of Polish for beginners] (Miodunka and Wróbel 1986). It is worth mentioning that the textbooks by Graża and Przywarska (1978, 1981) and W. Miodunka and Wróbel (1986) had two language versions, English and French (Miodunka 2016: 312–313).

It needs to be emphasized that the first theoretical works on PFL teaching were published during this period. The first of these was the volume edited by Lewandowski (1980), a collection of all the important works on PFL teaching methods in a broad sense. The included authors were, in alphabetical order, Danuta Buttlerowa, Magdalena Foland, Tadeusz Frankiewicz, Krystyna Hrycyk, Henryk Lampasiak, Jan Lewandowski, Barbara Klebanowska, Władysław Miodunka, Paweł Smoczyński, Bronisław Wieczorkiewicz, and Janina Wójtowicz. The articles had been published previously, and were divided by the editor based on their subject matter: general issues, pronunciation teaching, vocabulary teaching, grammar teaching, and issues related to life, institutions and culture. Wieczorkiewicz's contribution was originally published in 1966 and is regarded as the first work that introduced PFL teaching as an issue to be tackled by Polish linguistics. It was in it that the Warsaw scholar emphasized that the topic had been largely overlooked up to that point, and discussed how the Polish language should be taught to foreigners: "Certainly not the way we teach the native language – but in the way, and on such a basis, that the teaching of any living foreign language in the modern sense is founded on today" (Wieczorkiewicz 1980: 10; translation ours). He was echoed by Miodunka, who wrote that: "if we want to step outside and make our language more approachable, we must teach it the way other foreign languages are taught in the countries we want to reach. For, otherwise, we will gain nothing, but confirm the opinion that we are lagging behind" (1980: 66; translation ours). This was an indirect response to Lewandowski's search for a specific method of teaching Polish as a foreign language (see Miodunka 2016: 25–30, 309–314).

The period under review concludes with the publication of two volumes. The first is a collection of articles by the employees of the Polonicum Center in Warsaw, who taught preparatory courses for candidate PFL teachers at foreign universities for many years (Bartnicka, Kacprzak & Rohozińska 1992). The authors attempt to answer the question of how to teach Polish abroad in order to meet the expectations of course participants and succeed. The other collection, edited by Miodunka (1992), was different, as it tackled the question of what should be taught when teaching PFL. The contributors made reference to quantitative studies of the contemporary language as spoken on Polish state television, with data on the frequency of lexical items and grammatical categories that make up the linguistic system of Polish. It is noteworthy that the volume

included two inventories, an intentional-conceptual and a thematic one, foreshadowing the introduction of the communicative approach in teaching PFL (Martyniuk 1992a). Similar in nature was the outline of the Polish language certificate system presented in the same volume (Martyniuk 1992b), which, after changes and additions, was officially implemented in 2004.

3.2. Methods of teaching Polish from 1993 to 2003

The free market was also beginning to increasingly embrace the publishing market, as reflected in two trends. Firstly, university publishers were transformed as they gradually abandoned the publishing of collections of course materials and began to publish books (including textbooks) that were more likely to become visible on the book market, and could compete with other publications of this kind on the basis of their layout and content. On the other hand, textbook authors tried to reach out with their offer to non-university publishing houses and published their works there. This is what happened, for example, with a series of textbooks written by authors affiliated with the Polonia Institute of the Jagiellonian University. Starting in 1996, the editor of the series, Władysław T. Miodunka, decided to move it to the Universitas Publishing House in Cracow, where, in agreement with the head of the press, he launched a new series of textbooks entitled *Język polski dla cudzoziemców* [Polish language for foreigners]. The series was published by that press until 2012, producing a total of thirty-eight textbooks, including six course books, twelve textbooks for teaching elements of the language system, ten textbooks for teaching language skills, three collections of exam tasks for B1, B2 and C2 level certificates, and finally four dictionaries. The innovative character of the series was marked particularly by the textbooks for teaching language skills and elements of the language system, as well as the collections of certificate exam tasks. It is also worth noting that over time, authors from other academic centers in Poland began to publish their works in the series.

The volumes published in Poland began to express increasingly the individual output of a given academic center and reflect its research and teaching activity, especially if they were published as journals (quarterlies, yearbooks) or series. The well-known journals in the field of Polish language glottodidactics include *Kształcenie Polonistyczne Cudzoziemców* [Teaching of Polish Language and Culture to Foreigners], published at the University of Łódź since 1987 (27 issues were published until 2020; see also Wielkiewicz-Jałmużna 2008: 89–114), and *Postscriptum* [Postscript], published by the University of Silesia since 1992, the title of which was later changed to *Postscriptum Polonistyczne* [Polish Studies Postscript]. Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press has published the series

Language – Culture – Society edited by Jan Mazur in Polish and English since 1997, in which 30 volumes have been published so far (see Mazur, Dunin-Dudkowska, Małycka, Sobstyl 2011: 35–52). The University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center of Polish Language and Culture for Foreigners runs the series *Biblioteka Polonicum* [Polonicum Library], the first volume of which appeared in 2005, and in the journal *Kwartalnik Polonicum* [The Polonicum Quarterly], published since 2006.

Another noteworthy initiative was undertaken by the Wiedza Powszechna publishing house, which published a PFL teaching manual *Uczymy się polskiego. Podręcznik języka polskiego dla cudzoziemców* (Bartnicka, Jurkowski, Jekiel, Wasilewska and Wrocławski 1994) in five foreign languages: Italian (*Impariamo il polacco*, 1991), English (*We Learn Polish*, 1994), French (*Nous apprenons le polonais*, 1995), German (*Wir lernen Polnisch*, 1996) and Russian (*My učim pol'skij*, 1999). The publishing house Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne did the same, publishing the textbook *Chcę mówić po polsku* (Mędak 1997) in English, French and German (all published in the same year).

Uczymy się polskiego was produced by scholars from the University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center and given that it was first published in 1984, it is evident that the foreign language versions took a very long time to appear. This must have created the impression that they did not take the latest didactic solutions into account, which was compounded by the fact that they were published at a time of rapid changes, when each year brought new ideas in PFL teaching aids design.

The development of the communicative approach in teaching PFL was greatly facilitated by a PFL multimedia course created by the Polish Foundation for Science Advancement in cooperation with TV Polonia. Thirty episodes of the series *Uczmy się polskiego* [Let's Learn Polish] directed by Marek Nowicki are accompanied by a two-part textbook (Miodunka et al. 1996). The author of the methodological concept of the course describes the motivation of its creators in the following way:

The programme “Let's Learn Polish” is the first state-of-the-art video program for teaching Polish as a foreign language. Its authors were fully aware that the new political situation opened new possibilities for teaching Polish outside Poland and that therefore new teaching aids were needed. This video programme, composed of 30 episodes, is precisely such an aid.

Our program shows Poland as it has been since 1990, with all the changes that have taken place in the street, in shops, in contacts with abroad, and in the way Poles see themselves and their opportunities.

(Miodunka et al. 1996, 1: XXI)

The course is based on a set of intentions and notions typical of the communicative approach and on a thematic idea. Their indexes can be found at the beginning of each part of the accompanying textbook so that they can be easily

located by teachers and language instructors who need examples of specific situations, intentions and concepts. The grammar curriculum in the video material is present only implicitly in the characters' linguistic behavior. However, it is directly present in the textbook, where grammar commentary and rules are provided, along with exercises focusing on specific structures and sentences.

The entire course is divided into two parts of fifteen lessons each. All episodes constitute a complete plot, bound together by the main characters belonging to three generations of the Grzegorzewski family, residing in Warsaw. The main location of the plot is the capital city, but the action also moves to other cities, Cracow, Gdańsk and Zakopane, to the seaside and to the mountains, so that students can learn about the diversity of Polish culture and nature. Part one introduces the Grzegorzewski family and shows how the language functions in basic communication situations, such as meeting new people, introducing oneself, shopping, calling a doctor or expressing one's good wishes to others. In the second part, we see the functioning of Polish in more complex situations when asking for help, complaining about something, arguing or expressing and discussing opinions.

The advantage of the video material is that learners can not only listen to the language they are learning, but they can also observe the situation and place where the language is spoken: the participants in the conversation and in the situation, and their linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior. In this way, the video material carries a wealth of cultural information about the country's regions, cities, customs related to holidays, etc. Importantly, in line with a postulate which is fundamental to the communicative approach, language is here fully integrated with culture: with everyday culture, but also with the social realities and high culture. The authors and producers of the program made the effort to make the linguistic and cultural content as rich as possible.

The course helped popularize the communicative approach in PFL teaching and bring PFL teaching up to date, especially in Western countries, where the use of video courses was considered a of language teaching in the 1990s. This was echoed by Małgorzata Majewska of the University of Potsdam, who began her review of the course in the following way: "One would like to say: 'at last'! At last we have modern materials for teaching Polish; at last we can fully use technological advances available in foreign language teaching (if we have access to them, of course)" (Majewska 1997: 153; translation ours).

In Poland, the fact that the course was made indicated the crossing of the "boundary of impossibility", but this was facilitated by funding obtained from TV Polonia, whose management at the time believed that its mission included not only providing information in Polish outside Poland, but also teaching our language to all those interested. Hence the decision to produce the program and

care taken to ensure a professional script, careful film direction, competent, well-known actors, etc.

3.3. Methods of teaching Polish since 2004

3.3.1. The communicative approach and the action-oriented approach in teaching Polish as a foreign language

The ultimate success of the communicative approach in teaching PFL was largely contributed to by a three-part textbook, *Hurra!!! Po polsku*. The most important innovation of this teaching aid is that the three parts, corresponding respectively to levels A1, A2 and B1, constitute a series published in a consistent format and under the same title and subtitle, and are based on the same methodological assumptions, and a similarly structured curriculum. As a result, the success of the textbook for level A1 contributed to the success of the textbooks at levels A2 and B1. The textbook for the next level was new and familiar at the same time, thanks to the fact that it referred to already known elements from the previous level. In fact, it was the first textbook that one could describe as fashionable, initially in Poland, and then abroad, gradually displacing other textbooks from use in Poland.

The textbook was developed project by female teachers from the private PFL school “Prolog” in Cracow as part of the European Socrates Lingua 2. Its three parts were published one by one (Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz 2005; Burkat and Jasińska 2006; Burkat, Jasińska, Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz 2009), each comprising a student’s textbook, a teacher’s book and a workbook, in accordance with European textbook standards. Previously such a setup was unavailable for PFL textbooks due to the cost of publication by university publishing houses.

The principal part of the textbook is the student’s book, containing texts (recorded on CD), exercises and additional explanations. The structure of the textbook is well demonstrated by the detailed table of contents, which first includes communicative functions and situations, then the subsystems of the language (the authors pay attention to vocabulary, grammar and syntax), language skills (listening comprehension, reading comprehension, speaking and writing), and finally, authentic materials. Thus, for example, in lesson five of Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz (2005, 1: 2–3) the following topics are included:

- communicative functions and situations, general notions: expressing preferences, justifying, expressing temporal relations, asking for information;
- vocabulary: verbs describing hobbies, adverbs defining frequency;

- grammar and syntax: the structures *interesować się* + instrumental case ‘to be interested in sth’, *lubić* + accusative case ‘to like sth’, *lubić* + infinitive ‘to like to do sth’, verbs in *-ować*, modal verbs, a chart of conjugations;
- rozumienie ze słuchu: different people talking about their hobbies, telephone conversations (asking for information), pronunciation of verbs in *-ować*;
- reading comprehension: newspaper advertisements;
- speaking: expressing preferences (hobbies), a survey *Co robisz w wolnym czasie i jak często to robisz?* ‘What do you do in your free time and how often do you do it?’;
- no writing practice;
- authentic materials: newspaper advertisements.

Such a table of contents properly sets up hierarchies between communicative functions and linguistic communication on the one hand, and the subsystems of language (commonly referred to as grammar) on the other, which in turn precedes language skills training.

The student book is accompanied by a workbook with a key for the exercises and a CD with recorded texts that form the basis for the listening comprehension exercises. The last part of the textbook is the teacher’s book which contains a brief description of the idea behind the course, suggestions for lesson plans, tests to check students’ proficiency in Polish, and supplementary material to accompany individual lesson units from the textbook. There is an extensive introduction, including an overview of the series, the principles of how to use the textbooks, opinions on the use of learners’ native language in a PFL classroom, the issue of using texts for teaching skills, the problem of language errors and their correction, and finally, the basic principles of working with a group of learners followed by a bibliography. The principles of how to use the textbooks are also given in larger type on page 4 of the teacher’s book. Of the eight principles, we would like to quote three that are particularly important here:

5. The teacher uses the communicative approach: she is interested in the linguistic functions she wants to teach.
6. She teaches functional grammar of Polish in a systematic way, but grammar and vocabulary are treated functionally as tools for communication.
- ...
8. The teacher builds up students’ linguistic competence by focusing on four skills: listening comprehension, reading comprehension, speaking and writing.

(Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz 2005: 4; translation ours)

Since none of the parts of the textbook feature grammatical commentary, they are supplemented by a didactic grammar book of Polish by Madelska (2008), available in four language versions.

The task-based approach is introduced by Janowska in her well-known monograph (2011, see esp. 77–82; 104–128). It is also discussed at length by Gębal (2019: 121–179), who writes:

The basic didactic goal of the task-based approach is to focus lesson activities on action, which combines the development of individual linguistic competences with the achievement of specific extra-linguistic goals which make the undertaking of learning meaningful and facilitate the self-realization of learners. The process of learning and teaching thoughtfully integrates modern achievements of psycholinguistics and cognitive theory into the context of language classes. It integrates cognitive epistemology with constructivist concepts.

(Gębal 2019: 138; translation ours)

Taking the above into consideration as well as the fact that in the most recent overview of the field half of the methodological issues discussed concern the development of linguistic activities (oral and written language comprehension; oral and written language production and interaction, as well as mediation actions; Gębal and Miodunka 2020: 264–326), we have to conclude that the knowledge of the essence of the action-oriented approach importance preceded the practice of teaching. This was related to a prolonged lack of an action-oriented textbook for teaching Polish. Such a textbook was developed by Bednarska, Machowska, Majcher-Legawiec and Rabiej (2021). It consists of a textbook proper and a workbook, and is made up of 10 units. Here is how Iwona Janowska, the author of the methodological assumptions behind the textbook, presents it on the fourth page of the cover (translation ours):

These are the first textbooks for learning Polish as a foreign language in Poland, developed in accordance with the principles of the action-oriented approach. Their goal is to prepare [the learners] linguistically, communicatively and socially to perform various types of “real-life” tasks, as well as to develop the intercultural communicative concept of the language users. The basis for these practical skills is a well-thought-out lexical and grammatical curriculum: clearly stated rules explaining how the language works and useful vocabulary, adequate to the needs of the user at a given level.

Each unit consists of the following parts: a task, communicative activities, grammatical competence, lexical competence, and intercultural competence. At the end of the textbook there is the answer key, transcripts of the recordings, a grammar bank and an A2 level proficiency test.

Since the novelty of the textbook lies the activities, let us give some examples included in the table of contents: we are making a portfolio; we are writing a blog post; we are creating a scrapbook; we are designing an ideal neighborhood; we are looking for a roommate; we are looking for a temporary job; we are arranging a nice day for our guests; we are organizing a trip for several people; we are designing a fashion collection, we are developing a guidebook. Equally interesting

are topics of classes on intercultural competence, which include: volunteering around the world; a culinary map of the world; marriage, wedding and family in different cultures; home in languages and cultures of the world; the role and importance of the table in people's homes; the appearance and function of clothes in different countries and cultures.

The textbook has an attractive design with many colorful illustrations, and each unit has its own color theme indicated in the table of contents.

3.3.2. Publications on PFL teaching methodology

So far, we have discussed a number of textbooks for teaching PFL at various levels of education, whereas there has been no mention of works intended for PFL teachers. It was with them in mind that a series of works entitled *Metodyka Nauczania Języka Polskiego Jako Obcego* [Methodology of Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language], initiated by Władysław T. Miodunka in 2004 and published by Universitas. Eleven volumes were published in this series, and the following are especially worth mentioning: Miodunka (2004), Seretny and Lipińska (2005a), Seretny and Lipińska (2005b), Lipińska and Seretny (2006), Gębal (2010), Janowska (2010), Rabiej, Marczyńska and Zaręba (2011), and Janowska (2011). Almost all these works refer to the European standards for teaching foreign languages in the version of the CEF. The most important of these will be discussed in the subsection on the European standards (see 1.1.4.).

In 2011, the series changed its publisher to Księgarnia Akademicka in Cracow, and was retitled to *Biblioteka LingVariów. Glottodydaktyka* [The LingVaria Library. Glottodidactics]. As of 2022, twenty-three volumes have appeared, including the following noteworthy works: Janowska, Lipińska, Rabiej, Seretny, and Turek (2011), Ligara and Szupelak (2012), Gębal (2013), Gębal (2014), Seretny (2015), Galiga (2015), Lipińska and Seretny (2015), Miodunka (2016), Janowska (2019), and Banach and Bucko (2019).

While each of these works has its own significance for the development of Polish language glottodidactics, those that can be considered textbooks and compendia necessary for PFL and PSL teacher training deserve special mention. It should be noted that the awareness of the need for publications of a synthetic, textbook-oriented character was widespread not only at the Jagiellonian University, but in other centers as well, including Wrocław, Warsaw, Łódź and Silesia, as evidenced, in addition to the above-mentioned works, e.g. by three volumes edited by the staff of the University of Silesia (Achtelik and Tambor 2007; Achtelik, Kita and Tambor 2010; Tambor and Achtelik 2013).

Finally, let us mention Gębal and Miodunka (2020), in the introduction of which, the authors note that the fifteen years that separate their work from the

textbook Seretny and Lipińska (2005) have brought many detailed studies, as well as more general overviews summarizing the achievements of the field. The authors pay special attention to two works, Miodunka (2016), and written by a team of twelve experts and edited by Miodunka and Tambor (2018). The former analyzes the process of teaching PFL and its research in the years 1950–2015, while the latter expands the field of vision, as it also takes into account the teaching of Polish as a heritage language, a second language and the language of school education, attempting to consider the whole world, and not just the countries with large Polish communities.

The authors take extreme care to demonstrate:

teaching Polish as a foreign and second language abroad ... as something real, existing, involving thousands of people as learners of our language and hundreds of people as teachers. That is why we refer directly or indirectly to the experiences of foreign Polish studies departments, to the successes of polonists working in various countries of the world.

(Gębal and Miodunka 2020: 392)

The novelty of this textbook lies in that it presents didactics and methodology in one volume. In the methodological part, the authors show the teaching of Polish according to the task-based approach, rather than the communicative approach, which constituted the earlier stage. The differences between the two become more evident not in the development of linguistic competence, but in the development of linguistic activities, divided into receptive (oral and written language reception), action-oriented (oral and written language production and interaction), and mediation activities (Gębal and Miodunka 2020: 201–320). Let us, however, pay some more attention to the part devoted to didactics, where the authors discuss the 500 years of teaching Polish as one of the European languages, mainly relying on the works of Anna Dąbrowska and her team at the University of Wrocław, as well as scattered works by other Polish authors (Gębal and Miodunka 2020: 19–197). Since such a historical perspective on PFL teaching was innovative at that time, it triggered a discussion on the usefulness of providing a historical background in a textbook on the didactics and methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter (see 2.1).

A critical discussion of the issue is offered by Banach (2022). It is worth mentioning that the initial idea for the textbook originated with Przemysław E. Gębal, who cooperated with the publisher, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, on the development of a series of studies on teaching foreign languages in our country. The textbook was designed by both authors, who cooperated on the introduction and the conclusion, while sharing work on the remaining chapters between them. Gębal and Miodunka (2020) was published in the glottodidactic series of Wy-

dawnictwo Naukowe PWN, and conceptually relies on Gębał's (2019) comprehensive study, published in the same series.

3.3.3. Textbooks for teaching Polish as a foreign language published between 2010 and 2020

The last decade has seen the publication of several new textbooks, most of which fall within the communicative approach, which is considered the dominant methodological approach. The Catholic University of Lublin was the first to publish a textbook in this period, entitled *Polski jest cool: seria do nauki języka polskiego jako obcego na poziomie A1* [Polish is cool: a series for learning Polish as foreign language at the A1 level] (Piotrowska-Rola and Porębska 2012). Each unit includes tasks focusing on communicative situations, lexis, grammar, listening comprehension, reading comprehension, speaking, writing and pronunciation. Three separate books were put together, a student's book, a teacher's book and a workbook, which makes this offering stand out.

A few years later, another Lublin-based academic center, the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, published its textbook in two parts, *Z polskim w świat: Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego jako obcego* [With Polish into the world: A handbook for teaching Polish as a foreign language. B1/B2 Level] (Ciesielska-Musameh, Guziuk-Świca and Przechodzka 2016, 2019). In the introduction, the authors noted that the textbook is addressed to Ukrainian, Russian and Belarus PFL learners who study at that university, with B1 as the basic level, and supplemented with selected issues from the general intermediate level B2. In each lesson the learner is expected to work on thematic vocabulary, four skills, as well as communicative and phraseological exercises. It is noteworthy that Slavic-speaking students, who are the target audience, is likely to process the material from levels A1, A2 and B1 faster than their Western European and American classmates. They are aided by the similarities between the vocabulary and grammar of Polish and those of the Eastern Slavic languages (Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian), as shown by Seretny (2011).

There are two other textbooks, produced at the University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center, which are designed for learners from the East. The first is a textbook for children, which is worth noting, since there have been far too few teaching aids for PFL of this type so far. The work in question is entitled *Raz, dwa, trzy i po polsku mówisz Ty! Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego dla dzieci z Ukrainy* [One, Two, Three, Your Turn to Speak Polish! A Handbook for Teaching Polish to Children in Ukraine] written by Kołak-Danyi, Malinowska, Rabczuk and Zackiewicz (2015, 2016), and edited by Piotr Kajak. The authors pay attention to receptive skills, listening and reading, and to productive skills, speaking and

writing. What is striking is the comic book style, in which all three parts of the textbook have been designed. It seems that this should appeal to children and young people not only from Ukraine.

Another textbook targeting the East Slavic learner is a two-part work entitled *A to polski właśnie! Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego dla młodzieży polskiej na Wschodzie* [Now That's What Polish is! A Handbook for Teaching Polish Language to Polish Youth in the East] written by a team comprised by Rabczuk, Skura, Stasieczek-Górna, Świecka and Youmen (2016), and edited by Piotr Garncarek. The lesson units begin with thematic vocabulary and grammar exercises, followed by examples of utterances on a selected topic, exercises in language skills, a text on Poland and its culture, and finally a presentation of young Poles famous and popular in our country, such as Anja Rubik. There is no doubt that PFL is in demand among children and young people in the East, especially in Ukraine, which is why the decision by the Polonicum Center in Warsaw to publish the two textbooks briefly presented is highly commendable.

The Cracow academic milieu has produced two further textbooks. The first one is a work prepared at the Center for Polish Language and Culture of the Jagiellonian University entitled *Po polsku po Polsce. Podręcznik do nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego oraz kultury polskiej dla początkujących* [Around Poland in Polish. A Textbook for Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language and Polish Culture to Beginners] (Prizel-Kania, Bucko, Majcher-Legawiec and Sowa 2016). What makes it stand out among its predecessors is the fact that its characters travel all over Poland, getting to know all its regions – from the Tatra Mountains to the Baltic Sea, from the Oder to the Bug. Therefore, Polish culture, directly referred to in the book's subtitle, finds its full expression in its content. Individual lesson units include communication, grammar and vocabulary activities, as well as comprehensive information about Poland. The material from the textbook can also be found on the online platform *Po polsku po Polsce*.

The other textbook by Cracow scholars is *Język polski? Chcę i mogę! Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego jako obcego* [The Polish Language? I Want and I Can! A Textbook for Learning Polish as a Foreign Language, Part I, Level A1 Gałat and Sałęga-Bielowicz (2018), in which each lesson features of communicative situations combined with activities focusing on speaking, vocabulary, grammar and syntax, reading, listening comprehension, writing, and authentic texts and materials. The textbook, published by Universitas, was developed at the International Center of Education of Cracow University of Technology.

Among commercial publishing ventures, it is worth mentioning various Polish language textbook series aimed a variety of target groups. These include the series *Polski krok po kroku* [Polish Step by Step] published in Cracow by the GLOSSA Language School for levels A1–B1 (Stempek, Stelmach, Dawidek and Szymkiewicz 2013–) and another, *Polski krok po kroku – Junior* [Polish Step by

Step – Junior], addressed to young people (Stempek, Kuc and Grudzień 2015–). They form complete packages of teaching materials and consist of numerous components, supplementing the core textbook with workbooks, audio recordings, teacher's books, language games and activities, grammar tables and extensive online material to support distance education. Another series, published by the Dialogue Club Language School from Warsaw, is the *Start* series, aimed at learners at A0, A1 and A2 levels (Dembińska and Małycka 2010–).

Two textbooks have been published for levels higher than B1: *Przejdź na wyższy poziom. Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego dla obcokrajowców dla poziomu B2/C1* [Move to a Higher Level. A Textbook for Learning Polish for Foreigners. Level B2/C1] (Zarych 2014) and *Język kluczem do kraju. Podręcznik do nauki języka polskiego C1/C2* [Language as a Key to the Country. A Textbook for Learning Polish for Foreigners. Level C1/C2] (Zarych 2018). Both are methodologically eclectic and contain a lot of reading material to inspire classroom discussions or written home assignments. The author pays attention to less frequent vocabulary and phraseology, as well as to selected grammatical and syntactic issues. Since teaching aids for B2–C2 levels are relatively scarce, it is worth paying special attention to them, since in recent years more and more people are learning our language at these levels, and are also seeking to obtain a PFL proficiency certificate.

To sum up the current situation with regard to PFL teaching textbooks, one should emphasize the special significance of those designed for children, young people and university program candidates from the East, since that is where the largest number of PFL learners come from. Teaching aids of this type have so far been in short supply, so it is necessary to welcome the publication of such textbooks as Kołak-Danyi, Malinowska, Rabczuk and Zackiewicz (2015, 2016) or Ciesielska-Musameh, Guziuk-Świca and Przechodzka (2016, 2019). Other textbooks are addressed to students from all over the world, i.e. to the audience traditionally served by the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL), Jagiellonian University (UJ) and other Polish universities. It is gratifying to note the popularization of the communicative approach and the teaching of language skills.

PFL textbooks are also put out by foreign publishers. In addition to materials appearing in Ukraine, Russia, China, Japan, the United States and Brazil, the market is dominated by works prepared by large Western European publishing houses, mainly German. The most well-known series include *Witam! aktuell* [Hello! aktuell], currently published by Hueber Verlag (Malota 2016–), a thorough revision of an earlier course *Witam!* [Hello!], and *Together neu* (Putzler, Wasilewski and Maskala 2016), published by Klett Sprachen. Both courses include numerous components aimed at learners and teachers. They also offer a wealth of online materials, posted on the companion websites.

In recent years, school textbooks for PFL have also been developed for countries where it is taught. An example of this trend is the German series *Witaj Polsko!* [Hello Poland!], which more thoroughly discussed in section 2.1.1.

It can be said with reference to PFL teaching methods that in the last forty years, Polish language has been increasingly taught with the help of methods originally developed for teaching other languages. The earliest such method intentionally adopted for PFL teaching was the communicative approach, and the specific textbook was Martyniuk (1984). One may observe that it was only then that the educators began to embrace Wieczorkiewicz's 1966 proposal that Polish as a foreign language should be taught "in the way, and on such a basis, that the teaching of any living foreign language in the modern sense is founded on today" (Wieczorkiewicz 1980: 10; translation ours). The development of the communicative approach in teaching PFL is presented in detail by Miodunka (2016: 267–278; see also Gębal 2019: 121–137).

3.3.4. The European standards in teaching Polish as a foreign language

A comprehensive analysis of the relationship between European language policy and the didactics of Polish as a foreign language was made by Janowska (2018), published in a special issue of the journal *Język Polski*, entirely devoted to Polish language glottodidactics. The author chose to analyze three stages in the development of European thought in language teaching methods, namely the audio-visual method, the communicative approach and the action-oriented (task-based) approach. At the beginning of her considerations Janowska refers to the activities of the Council of Europe, established in 1949; an international organization whose purpose was to facilitate cooperation among member states in the fields of economy, culture, education, defense of human rights and environmental protection. It was in December 1954 that the organization's member states signed the European Cultural Convention, which enabled further activity in the field of democratization of language teaching to foster the mobility of people and ideas, and promote the diversity and richness of Europe's linguistic heritage. In 1964, the International Association of Applied Linguistics (Association internationale de linguistique appliquée – AILE) began its activities, which consisted in establishing a scientific basis for language teaching. This involved the recognition of applied linguistics as an academic discipline and its dynamic development in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in Western Europe. This trend was also present in Poland, but was largely limited to the neophilological circles of two universities: the Department of Applied Linguistics at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the Institute of Applied Linguistics at the University of Warsaw. It is worth mentioning that the Department of Applied Linguistics at the

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań was established in 1965 on the initiative of Ludwik Zabrocki, an authority on German and English linguistics, who greatly contributed to the development of Polish applied linguistics (Miodunka 2016: 35).

Janowska observes that the teaching of PFL remained, until the end of the 20th century, outside the official reach of the European language policy. It was not until the spring of 2000 that Poland, represented by the Jagiellonian University, was accepted into the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE). Nevertheless, the influence of European didactic thought on PFL teaching is “substantial, [and] visible in the works and initiatives of some Polish didacticians. One might venture the opinion that wherever European glottodidactic thought has reached, that is where our discipline has made progress” (Janowska 2018: 112; translation ours). Further on, Janowska (2018: 115; see also Miodunka 2016: 273) comments on such publications as the volume edited by Miodunka (1992), the television program *Uczmy się polskiego*, which bears the hallmarks of two approaches, audio-visual and communicative (Miodunka et al. 1996; see also Miodunka 2016: 272), the studies by Czarnecka (1990) and Martyniuk (1991), the communication textbook by Martyniuk (1984), and finally a series of textbooks for levels A1, A2 and B1 (Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz 2005; Burkat and Jasińska 2006; Burkat, Jasińska, Małolepsza and Szymkiewicz 2009). Janowska’s article concludes with a discussion of the impact of the European Language Education System on Polish language glottodidactics, to which we will devote more space here.

In 2001, the Council of Europe published a document entitled “Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment” (CEFR), which became an important event in the field of language teaching not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world. It was the culmination of work that began in 1971 and was carried out by European and global experts involved in the *Language Learning for European Citizenship* project. The final version of the document was drawn up by four prominent specialists, Daniel Coste, Brian North, Joseph Sheils and John Trim.

The document consists of nine chapters, a bibliography and four appendices (cf. Janowska 2011: 51). In Chapter 1, the authors outline the political and educational dimensions of the CEFR in the context the Council of Europe’s language policy goals and objectives. The next two chapters discuss the assumptions underlying the CEFR and describe the levels of language proficiency that the document adopted, analysing their flexibility and consistency. Further on, the authors move on to describe language users and their use of language, discussing their general and communicative competencies in terms of scales. Chapter 6 discusses the processes of language learning and teaching, analyzing general and specific methodological solutions. Then (Chapter 7) the importance of tasks in

language teaching and learning is described in detail. The next chapter considers the possibility of taking into account linguistic diversity in the preparation of teaching plans and curricula due to multilingualism, multiculturalism, different learning objectives, different principles of creating such plans and curricula, etc. The whole text closes with Chapter 9, which discusses the goals and methods of assessment, taking into account such requirements as its comprehensiveness, precision and practicality. Among the appendices, it is worth noting the language proficiency indicators of the ALTE system, formulated in terms of ‘can do’ statements (Pol. ‘potrafię’, e. g., ‘can understand’/‘potrafię zrozumieć’, to be used in assessing reading skills; ‘can describe’/‘potrafię opisać’, to be used in assessing writing skills).

The CEFR was relatively quickly translated into Polish by Waldemar Martyniuk and published by the Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli [Central Teacher Training Center], under the editorship of Hanna Komorowska.

To show the significance of language in the European system of values, it is worth quoting selected passages from Chapter 1 of this document:

CEF serves the overall aim of the Council of Europe as defined in Recommendations R (82) 18 and R (98) 6 of the Committee of Ministers: ‘to achieve greater unity among its members’ and to pursue this aim ‘by the adoption of common action in the cultural field’. ... [T]he rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe is a valuable common resource to be protected and developed, and ... a major educational effort is needed to convert that diversity from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding. ... [I]t is only through a better knowledge of European modern languages that it will be possible to facilitate communication and interaction among Europeans of different mother tongues in order to promote European mobility, mutual understanding and co-operation, and overcome prejudice and discrimination.

In the pursuit of these principles, the Committee of Ministers called upon member governments[:]

... To promote the national and international collaboration of governmental and non-governmental institutions engaged in the development of methods of teaching and evaluation in the field of modern language learning and in the production and use of materials, including institutions engaged in the production and use of multi-media materials.

... To take such steps as are necessary to complete the establishment of an effective European system of information exchange covering all aspects of language learning, teaching and research, and making full use of information technology.

(CEFR: 2)

The way in which solutions can be created for the specific components of the language education system is well illustrated by the table *Common Reference Levels: global scale*, which forms the foundation of the whole system (CEFR: 24).

The most important Polish endeavor in which the CEFR was applied was the certification of PFL proficiency, which was initiated in 2004, coinciding with Poland's entry into the European Union on May 1 of the same year. The State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language, composed of representatives of all Polish universities which teach Polish to foreigners, was responsible for the certificate examinations in from 2003 to 2015. In those years the chairman of the Commission was Władysław T. Miodunka. It is worth noting that the basis for the Standard Examination Requirements (2003) developed for the Polish language were the European standards contained in the CEFR. After five years of certificate experience, their applicability was evaluated at the conference entitled *Standardy zawarte w "Europejskim systemie opisu kształcenia językowego" a standardy wymagań egzaminacyjnych z języka polskiego jako obcego dla poziomów A1–C2* [Standards Included in the "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages" and the Standard Examination Requirements for Polish as a Foreign Language at Levels A1–C2], held on May 29, 2009 in Warsaw.

The first publication popularizing knowledge about the Polish certification system was the guide to certificate examinations edited by Seretny and Lipińska (2005). The CEFR standards in teaching and certifying European languages were also discussed at an ALTE conference held at the Jagiellonian University in 2006. The conference proceedings were published in a volume edited by Martyniuk. (2007). As can be seen, the application of the European standards to the process of teaching and assessing PFL proficiency has been the subject of critical reflection at both national and international level. At the same time, it should be added that the European standards have been adopted for more specific purposes in teaching Polish language and culture, in works such as Martyniuk (2004), Gębal (2010), or Janowska, Lipińska, Rabiej, Seretny and Turek (2011; 2016), which we will return to later. Many works in the series *Metodyka Nauczania Języka Polskiego Jako Obcego* referred to the European standards for teaching foreign languages in accordance with the CEFR. The standards were also employed by Seretny and Lipińska (2005), although this is not immediately evident. The authors first refer to the levels of foreign language proficiency from A1 to C2 according to the CEFR in the introduction, and then, for example, when discussing grammatical competence (Seretny and Lipińska 2005: 19, 112–113). However, they refer much more frequently to the Standard Examination Requirements, for example, when discussing the Polish language proficiency certification system, which, as indicated above, took into account the European standards of the CEFR (ibid.: 300–307).

Meanwhile, special recognition for the promotion of the European standards should be given to the monograph by Janowska (2011). In the two opening chapters, the author discusses in detail the origins of the European standards and

the CEFR itself, noting also what the latter is not and what it does not contain (Janowska 2011: 17–103). Her monograph closes with a very useful glossary of basic CEFR terms (ibid.: 397–414).

Janowska's entire monograph is devoted to the task-based approach, as well as communicative actions and linguistic strategies within this approach. In the second part of the work, the author characterizes tasks, skillfully combining theory and practice. Further on, she presents their constitutive elements and comprehensively discusses tasks as a tool for learning, teaching and assessment. Her monograph concludes with chapters on teaching plans and lesson plans, as well as research results on the application of the task-based approach to PFL teaching and learning.

Reflecting on the prospects of the task-based approach, Janowska points out that the CEFR has achieved international renown:

Population mobility, promoted by the CEFR, is nowadays not limited to the countries of Europe, but goes beyond its borders. One can safely venture to say that **the document is no longer exclusively European** – even though that is what its title implies. The task-based approach, or at least the scales it uses for describing competences, are equally well known to Poles learning foreign languages, and to the Chinese or Koreans. The philosophy of language education has therefore shifted its focus. A task-based perspective on cooperative learning aimed at social action using a given language facilitates the development of contacts not only within Europe, but also intercontinentally.

(Janowska 2011: 355; translation ours)

Separately, the author points out that among the 37 language versions of the CEFR are translations into Arabic, Chinese, Japanese and Korean. Janowska (ibid.) also states that the CEFR has created an opportunity to unify the description of the language system, which has been a goal pursued by the Council of Europe since the 1970s. She also notes that the CEFR represents a new improved form of communicative approach, updating language teaching methodology and giving it a new image in the form of an action-oriented approach, which is in line with the needs of citizens of the united Europe.

The publication of the CEFR, and later its individual language versions, including Polish, generated at first a great deal of interest, and then a wave of discussion about which issues the CEFR solves and which it does not. Such a discussion was to be predicted, because the CEFR is a universal document, requiring interpretation and filling in with the vocabulary and structures of individual languages to reach the chosen level of language proficiency from A1 to C2. In other words, detailed inventories had to be prepared for many languages, whose structures are different and unique. Going down to this level of detail in adapting the CEFR for different languages must have raised many questions and comments. For some of these, the CEFR authors prepared guidelines, such as those in the 2005 document *Reference Level Descriptions for National and Re-*

gional Descriptions (ibid.: 43). A sizable portion of the comments were of a general nature (see Gębal 2019: 134–136), but numerous questions remained unanswered for a long time.

Changes did not occur until the second half of 2017, when the Council of Europe published the “Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Companion Volume with New Descriptors” (CEFR-CV), further updated in 2018 (CEFR-CV 2018). It is significant that the decision was made to retain the first volume, without changing its title or content, but to supplement it with new data and descriptors. This demonstrates that the initiatives that had been launched around the world and for the most part proven to have worked, was retained, whereas the additions concerned new takes and descriptors. The most recent version, CEFR-CV 2018, is discussed by Janowska (2019: 65–87) as well as Banach and Bucko (2019: 58–62). The latter authors characterize the changes introduced to the 2001 version of CEFR in general as follows:

Among other things, the new publication features scales – absent from the CEFR – that include proficiency indicators for multilingual and multicultural competence or for mediation activities. Much space has been devoted to the latter. Three subgroups have been distinguished among them: mediating texts, mediating concepts and mediating communication (see CEFR-CV 2018: 103–129). In the section on written reception, the publication also introduces an entirely new scale, including a description of reading as a leisure activity (see CEFR-CV 2018: 65). (...) The main novelty in the updated scales is the inclusion of a new level: in the volume under review, it is referred to as “pre-A1.” A person at this stage does not yet demonstrate the skills typical of a learner who has reached the A1 level, but is able to undertake some linguistic activities, mainly receptive, to a minimal degree.

(Banach and Bucko: 59; translation ours)

Mediation activities, described in great detail in the CEFR-CV 2018, are presented comprehensively in the chapter “Mówienie jako działanie językowe” [Speaking as a linguistic activity] in Janowska’s monograph (2019). She includes a useful translation of the table “Mediation Activities” from CEFR-CV 2018: 104 (Janowska 2019: 85), and sums up her reflections on the new approach in the following words:

The new concept of mediation, so extensively developed and presented in CEFR-CV (2018), may surprise even seasoned researchers and users of CEFR. However, after a careful analysis of the description of mediation activities and strategies, it should be concluded that it is a necessary addition from the point of view of the objectives of language education formulated in this document; objectives in the form of the development of multilingual and multicultural competence and the concept of language use (...) contained in the 2001 CEFR. Learning/teaching a language does not only denote taking care of linguistic communicative competence, the development of basic lin-

guistic skills, but the holistic and forward-looking formation of the learner, the development of his/her general competence: knowledge (*savoir*), skills (*savoir-faire*), personality traits (*savoir-être*), learning skills (*savoir-apprendre*), as well as the ability to act (*savoir-agir*) on many levels. From a didactic point of view, this can be provided primarily by mediation activities, stimulated by properly prepared tasks.

(Janowska 2019: 87; translation ours)

Summarizing the previous remarks on the impact of the European language policy, as well as the CEFR and the CEFR-CV 2018 language teaching standards on the theory and practice of PFL teaching, it must be said that they have had the greatest impact on the PFL proficiency certification system, which has been used since 2004. **In turn, certification, as a strategic breakthrough innovation, has caused a change in teaching methods and curricula, and in particular, it has:**

- enforced the testing and teaching of language skills;
- enforced the preparation of new types of tasks for teaching and testing proficiency;
- enforced the dominance of the communicative approach in teaching Polish as a foreign language;
- built the awareness of the need to develop new curricula (see “Curricula for Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language. Levels A1–C2” edited by I. Janowska, E. Lipińska, A. Rabiej, A. Seretny, P. Turek; 2011);
- encouraged the preparation of new (editions of) textbooks and collections of proficiency exercises for B1, B2 and C2 levels.

(Miodunka 2016: 260; translation ours)

4. Didactics of Polish abroad

4.1. Who learns Polish abroad and for what purpose?

No one has so far answered a question posed in this way. At the same time it is asked very rarely, because everyone feels that it would be difficult to provide an accurate answer. However, since it has been determined who and where learned Polish as a foreign language in the 16th century, one cannot escape such questions today, with regard to the 21st century. Even if a precise answer proves impossible, at least we will be able realize what we do not know and why.

Such a question has not been asked openly yet, as if a possible answer was to be feared. For example, Part I of the collection edited by Lipińska & Seretny (2006a) considers the participation of learners and teachers in the didactic process, but claims that progress in learning a foreign language depends on the individual characteristics of learners, such as personality, temperament, learning modality, hemispheric preference, multiple intelligences, Keith Golay's personality types, and David A. Kolb's learning styles (Lipińska & Seretny 2006b) as well as age, gender, motivation or attitude towards language (Lipińska 2006). Thus, the work contained much-needed knowledge from the area of the psychology of language learning, applicable to the process of PFL learning/teaching, although Polish itself was rarely mentioned by the authors.

In answering the question posed in the title, we will primarily use the expertise contained in the report edited by Miodunka & Tambor (2018), data from the ORPEG website, the website of the Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange (Narodowa Agencja Wymiany Akademickiej, or NAWA), as well as works and articles by various authors. However, one caveat is that each author refers to a specific theory and relies on a specific research methodology, which makes the results only partially comparable. It was therefore up to the writers of the current work to create a reasonably consistent whole from these diverse elements in order to give an idea of who outside Poland is learning Polish as a foreign language and for what purpose.

4.1.1. Primary and secondary school learners of the Polish language abroad

According to Miodunka & Tambor (2018: 46), teaching of Polish abroad is carried out by the following educational institutions operating at the primary and secondary levels:

- Polish schools operating at diplomatic posts under the supervision of ORPEG;
- community Saturday schools run by NGOs;
- schools offering Polish and Polish-language instruction and operating as part of the education systems of other countries;
- European schools.

Schools at Polish diplomatic posts exist in 35 countries around the world. They operate under the supervision of ORPEG, teaching the so-called native subjects, i.e. Polish language and literature, as well as Polish history, geography with elements of natural science and knowledge of Polish society as part of a subject called “knowledge of Poland”. These schools are mainly attended by the children of employees of Polish diplomatic, consular and military missions temporarily residing abroad, but children of migrant workers are also admitted should places become available. The Polish schools system currently comprises 67 schools around the world (some countries have several schools each), a Polish school complex in Athens and Polish sections in four international schools in France. ORPEG reports that more than 17,000 students studied in Polish schools during the 2018/2019 school year. Since Polish schools are attended by youth and children who came to these countries from Poland, where most of them studied in Polish schools, and will return to schools in Poland after a few years (about three to four), **Polish is taught in these schools as their mother tongue** at a level appropriate to their age. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that during their stay abroad, these young people become bilingual and they use Polish alongside the language of the country of settlement, which can affect the quality of their Polish.

Polish language classes are also conducted by **community Saturday schools**, established in many countries around the world by Polish educational organizations, parents’ associations (e.g., in the US, the UK, the Republic of Ireland), organizations of Poles in the East and Polish parishes. ORPEG reports that 402 schools with more than 31,000 students are registered in their system. However, we need to remember that the actual reach of community Saturday schools is unknown, as new ones are constantly being established, and in addition, no one keeps a register of such schools or keeps track of the numbers of their students. The current impression in the UK is that Polish Saturday schools are bursting at the seams, as they keep admitting new students for whom there are even not enough desks to sit at, although new schools are being established all the

time. On the other hand, British data shows that of all Polish children staying with their parents in that country, only about 30 percent attend Saturday Polish schools. This means that about 70 percent are not being taught in their native language. Similar data based on French research was presented by Wróblewska-Pawlak (2015), which seems to contradict the belief prevailing in Poland and among the Polish communities abroad that Poles cherish their language. The authors of the expertise emphasize that any figures regarding these schools are only estimates due to the fact that the organizations that have established and are running them are not required to register their activities in any office in Poland (Miodunka & Tambor 2018: 49).

As for **Polish sections in schools abroad**, it is estimated that at least 170 schools are attended by more than 30,000 Polish students. The schools provide Polish education, both on the kindergarten and school level. Such institutions are located primarily in areas that have been inhabited by Poles for centuries. This is the case, for example, in Lithuania, where 121 schools and 82 kindergartens operate; the Czech Republic, with 36 schools and 26 kindergartens function; Latvia, with five schools and one kindergarten; and Ukraine and Belarus, with two such schools in each country. In addition to these, schools that allow students to take classes in Polish as their mother tongue are available in Germany, Denmark, Romania, Sweden, Norway, Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus. They follow a curriculum developed and approved by state or local educational authorities of the country of settlement.

A separate type is represented by schools where PFL is taught on an optional basis. Such establishments are found primarily in Germany, Sweden, and many countries of the former USSR.

There are European schools in Luxembourg and Brussels with Polish sections. They educate the children of European officials working in those cities. ORPEG reports that about 380 Polish students attend these schools.

ORPEG also offers remote education, via the “Otwarta Szkoła” [Open School] educational project, for children of European migrants who live far from Polish communities. According to reports about 700 students participate in this project. A separate solution is the project entitled “Otwarta Szkoła – system wsparcia uczniów migrujących” [Open School – a support system for migrant students], offering a distance learning platform for students who migrate with their parents to many European countries.

All of the solutions discussed so far have concerned elementary schools and kindergartens. However, it is worth noting that, for example, in large American cities, Polish schools also run programs for high school students, ending with a high school diploma (Matura), which is sometimes held in higher regard than in Poland. It is interesting that in Chicago, for example, increasingly more schools have begun to run programs for high school students over the years. Lipińska and

Seretny report, for example, that between 1993 and 2010, 7,218 students in the Chicago district took the exams for the high school diploma (2012: 50, see also 51–84). This trend decidedly benefits the students and their Polish language learning, as it allows them to remain in touch with the Polish school, Polish teachers and Polish classmates for several years longer than if their contact with the Polish school ended in the last grade of elementary school.

As for the functions of the schools listed here, despite the passage of time, their tasks remain the same and include:

- to maintain and develop competence in the language which is a sign of group affiliation, as well as an expression of acceptance of the group's professed value system;
- to acquaint children and youth with the richness of the cultural heritage of their country of origin, thus strengthening and developing their identity;
- to foster integration in the current place of settlement, thus preventing marginalization and confinement in ethnic enclaves.

(Miodunka & Tambor 2018: 54; translation ours)

These functions imply that Polish schools must be open to cooperation with the country of settlement in which the educated youth are about to live and pursue a career.

Of course, it should be remembered that Polish schools scattered around the world can create local organizations to help them solve current problems. Thus, for example, in the United States, the teaching of the Polish language in schools is supervised by four institutions:

- Association of Polish Teachers in America, operating in Chicago;
- The Central Board of Polish Supplementary Schools in New York City;
- Forum of Polish Teachers on the West Coast in San Francisco;
- Polish Teachers' Union in Detroit, Michigan.

The president of the Congress of Polonia Education, Dr. Jolanta Tatara reports, for example, that in the 2013/2014 school year there were 130 Saturday schools operating in the US, with 1,788 teachers providing instruction to 26,491 students. The most influential organization was the Polish Teachers Association in America taking care of 15,000 students in 42 schools. The situation is similar in Canada, where the Polish community numbers nearly 900,000 people. Polish schools there are under charge of the Polish Teachers Association in Canada overseeing the teaching of the Polish language in Ontario (mainly in Toronto), Alberta (e.g., in Edmonton), as well as in Quebec and British Columbia. It is estimated that the number of students in these schools fluctuates around 8,000.

In Australia, about 1,000 students attend Saturday schools, which are subsidized in part by each state's education budget.

It should be remembered that children of Polish descent attending Polish schools are simultaneously students of public schools run in individual countries and states. In these schools, they learn the language of the country of settlement, i. e. English, German, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Ukrainian, etc. We bring this to the attention of the reader because the European Union is now emphasizing the importance of bilingualism and multilingualism, recommending that each of its young citizens speak at least three languages: their native language, a so-called global language that allows them to communicate with many people around the globe, and a second foreign language chosen by the student and their parents. It is recommended that the second foreign language be the language of a neighboring country. Such a situation will enable adult citizens of the Union to be more socially mobile than in the past and to function freely on the European labor market.

This concept functions, for instance, in Germany, as it forms a part of the country's education and language policy. The idea of teaching the neighbor's language is being implemented there with increasing commitment. Accordingly, PFL kindergarten and school classes at all educational stages are also conducted, referred to as *Polnisch als Nachbarsprache*. These language classes are included in the curricula, and the basic mission is to promote European multilingualism and plurilingualism. The implementation of this type of teaching is supported by project initiatives. The *Mehrsprachige Erziehung in Kindertagesstätten und weiterführenden Schulen* model project implemented in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern between 2007 and 2010 was conceptually based on the implementation of the principles of language immersion in early language education (Bartels & Fiałek 2018: 6). Since 2017, on the other hand, the German-Polish *INTERREG* project *Nachbarspracherwerb von der Kita bis zum Schulabschluss- der Schlüssel zur Kommunikation der Euroregion Pomerania* has been implemented in the bordering areas of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the city of Szczecin. In the project described above, classes in PFL or the language of origin on the German side are offered in sixteen kindergartens, ten elementary schools and seven secondary schools, significantly boosting the ranks of learners of our language in Germany (cf. *ibid.*: 15).

Germany is also one of the countries whose educational system provides for regular classes in Polish, taught as a first, second or third foreign language. Currently, classes in Polish as one of the foreign languages in the school system are offered in Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony and Lower Saxony. In 2011/2012, about 8,300 students participated in such classes, and in 2015/2016, more than 11,000 (an increase of 32%) (Brehmer 2018: 26). Among those learning Polish as a foreign language are not only people of Polish descent, but also other students of German schools who are interested in learning the language of their eastern neighbor. Comparing the numbers of learners of

Polish as a foreign language with those of other languages offered by the German educational system, we see a relatively low, albeit growing, interest in Polish. The future of teaching Polish depends on a number of factors, which also include the availability of properly trained teachers and appropriate teaching materials. Between 2009 and 2011, the German publishing house Universum Verlag published a two-volume series of textbooks for teaching Polish as a foreign language in German schools, entitled *Witaj Polsko!* [Hello Poland!]. PFL teacher training is provided by the universities of Leipzig, Potsdam and Greifswald.

A growing interest in the teaching of Polish and its expanding presence in schools is currently observed primarily in Ukraine. Although it is well known that Polish is increasingly the foreign language of choice for Ukrainian youth, Polish cultural diplomacy does not have detailed data on this subject. The leading educational center for teaching Polish in the country of our neighbor is the university in Lviv. However, it is worth noting the data provided by Levchuk (2020), which shows that in 2016/2017 Polish was taught in 235 secondary and elementary schools, more than 80 of which were schools run by Polish cultural and educational organizations and parishes. These data confirm the great interest in Poland, its language and culture, which we can also observe in Poland. Levchuk suggests that Polish is becoming the second most popular foreign language in Ukraine after English.

The scale of PFL teaching in school systems where learners autonomously choose the languages to learn is a kind of litmus test for the interest our country in and cooperation with it. The very appearance of Polish in foreign educational systems confirms the growing importance of Poland in the international arena. However, it should be remembered that supporting the teaching of the so-called rare languages requires many promotional initiatives. The Polish side should also participate in them, understanding the value of PFL, and not focusing its efforts on the propagation of Polish identity solely among people of Polish origin.

4.1.2. Teaching Polish as a foreign language at universities around the world

At the academic level, PFL teaching is carried out in various countries around the world, either in the form of language classes or as part of Polish Studies or Polish sections operating in a given university. The authors of the report state that in the 2016/2017 academic year, PFL courses were offered by Polish teachers at 85 universities and colleges in countries such as: Armenia (1 university), Azerbaijan (2), Belgium (1), Belarus (1), Brazil (1), Bulgaria (4), Croatia (3), China (5), Czech Republic (3), Egypt (1), Estonia (1), France (11), Georgia (2), Ireland (1), India (2), Indonesia (1), Kyrgyzstan (1), Kazakhstan (3), Macedonia (1), Morocco (1), Portugal (1), Moldova (3), Russia (14), Romania (3), Serbia (2), Slovakia (3),

Slovenia (1), Turkey (1), Ukraine (7), Hungary (2) and the United Kingdom (2). It should be noted that the list does not mention, for example, Australia, Canada, Germany and the United States, which have not signed agreements on cultural and academic cooperation with Poland, making it impossible to transfer language teachers from our country to their educational institutions. Universities offering Polish language programs and Polish language courses in those countries either find suitable candidates on the local labor market on their own or use the aid of Polish universities cooperating with them.

As for the teaching of Polish in foreign universities, there are two trends to be observed here: on the one hand, Polish studies divisions are being closed down or transformed into, for example, European studies centers, and on the other hand, new Polish studies divisions and Polish studies programs are being established. Among the latter, it is worth mentioning the Polish program at the Federal University of Paraná in Curitiba, the first program of this kind in South America, established in 2009, and the new Polish programs opened in recent years in Chinese universities, e.g. in Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenyang, Zhaoqing or Shanghai (Miodunka 2020). NAWA currently reports that Polish is present in more than 80 universities around the world, where our language is taught to a total of more than 10,000 people. One can notice that this institution's data only takes into account those academic centers that host language teachers from Poland, while it omits universities that employ Polish language teachers independently, although there are at least a dozen organizations of the latter type in Germany and the US, for example. Therefore, we would like to provide at least some estimates with regard to the teaching of Polish. After all, one cannot pass by indifferently the fact that the United States is the country with the largest Polish community, numbering several million. Useful data on the subject can be found in Mikoś (2012), which gives a very solid overview of the development of Polish Studies in the US, while the most recent data on the number of colleges teaching PFL are the results of Leonard Polakiewicz's 1995 study, published as Polakiewicz (1996), with a Polish translation published a year later. It contains detailed documentation consisting of a list of universities offering Polish, the number of enrollments for courses in each university between 1968 and 1995, etc. The largest number of students, namely 1,268, enrolled in Polish classes in the year 1980, the second year after the election of Pope John Paul II and the birth year of the Solidarity movement, events which were both widely reported in the world media. In the academic year 1994/1995, Polish instruction was offered by 62 universities under a credit-based system, and 5 under a non-credit-based system. A total of 973 students enrolled in Polish classes at 67 universities in the fall, and the total number of students enrolled that academic year was 1,753 (Polakiewicz 1996: 135). Enrollment in Polish programs at many universities was on a downward trend at that time, and it should be assumed that some of them stopped offering

Polish language courses. Since there is no official data on American universities offering Polish as part of Polish studies programs, we conducted our own search, which shows that in the academic year 2019/2020 Polish programs were taught at 17 universities: Harvard University; University of Illinois Chicago; University of Chicago; Loyola University Chicago; DePaul University in Chicago; Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago; Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois; Duke University; University of North Carolina; Indiana University at Bloomington; Georgetown University; University at Buffalo; The State University of New York; Columbia University in the City of New York; Copernicus Program in Polish Studies at the University of Michigan; Polish and Polish American Studies at Central Connecticut State University; University of Florida; University of Wisconsin-Madison (the oldest Polish program offered by a university in the USA); University of Washington in Seattle. It can be seen that of the 17 Polish studies programs, as many as 6 (or 35%) are offered in Chicago. Thus, it is Chicago that is not only the largest Polish city outside Poland, but also the capital of Polish studies outside Poland.

In Canada, Polish programs are run by the University of Toronto, the University of Alberta in Edmonton and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. Most important is the Polish studies program at Canada's top university in Toronto, ranked among the top ten universities in the world. The program offers classes at the undergraduate, master's, doctoral and postgraduate levels. It is considered one of the largest and most vibrant programs of its kind in all of North America, as it comes up with academic and organizational initiatives of international scope and importance (Miodunka & Tambor 2018: 240–241). One such initiative was a volume edited by Trojanowska, Niżyńska and Czapliński (2018) to commemorate the centenary of Polish independence. Published by the University of Toronto Press, the volume of over 800 pages is a synthetic overview of the transformation of Polish literature and culture in the last century. It takes into account, among others, achievements in drama, essays, diaries, journalism, literary theory, film, popular culture and mass media.

It is also worth mentioning that in Ukraine, PFL teaching is provided by 51 universities (state and private), in which 2,727 students studied Polish in the academic year 2016/2017. Six of them had Polish Studies with 656 students (Levchuk 2020). Such data is important because it significantly changes the implications of NAWA's information that Ukrainian universities have only seven lecturers from Poland. This means that more than 40 universities employ Ukrainian lecturers, either coming from the Polish minority in the country or belonging to the Ukrainian majority. However, they are all qualified to teach Polish at the university.

4.1.3. Achievements of Polish Studies at Hankuk University in Seoul

There is another method for presenting foreign Polish studies departments, which involves sharing their data and analyzing their scholarly output. It needs to be said that this method is not easy or simple, if only because of the necessity to obtain data, document scientific, teaching and organizational achievements, collect opinions about these achievements, etc. Therefore, by way of an example, we have decided to present one such institution from the Far East, namely the Department of Polish Studies at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS) in Seoul, South Korea, ranked among the best in the world. We obtained data on this program courtesy of Estera Czoj (Choi Sungeun), head of the department, for which we are most sincerely grateful.

The Department of Polish Studies has existed at HUFS since 1987, and the remarkable fact is that it was founded by Professor Cheong Byungkwon before Poland established diplomatic relations with the country. A Germanist by education, he learned Polish and became interested in Polish literature at the University of Berlin, where he was on a research fellowship in 1979–1981, when events in Poland made headlines around the world. Before returning to Korea from Europe, Cheong wanted to visit Poland, where he had never been before, and so he enrolled in a summer course at the Polonicum Center in Warsaw. He was admitted by the university, but the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs denied him a visa, making his arrival in Poland impossible. Having returned to Seoul he undertook numerous efforts which resulted in first establishing a Department of Polish Studies in 1987, and then, in 1999, organizing Slavic studies at Hankuk University. The Korean authorities were interested in Poland, because of the changes that were taking place there. They recognized that Poland could one day become an important trading partner for South Korea in Central Europe. The 1989 elections were followed by the collapse of the People's Republic of Poland and further political, economic and social transformations. They led to the establishment of a democratic and independent Republic of Poland, which developed diplomatic relations with South Korea. As a result, starting in 1990, Korean students were able to visit Poland on scholarship for a semester or a year, and could also undertake doctoral studies here.

Hankuk University has a fixed enrollment limit for their Polish studies program, which was 20 students in 1987, was increased to 40 students between 1988 and 2004, and then lowered to 34 students from 2005 to the present. In the period from 1987 to December 2019, overall 1,301 people were enrolled in the program, out of which the last classes of students are still studying. Polish studies are offered as an undergraduate program, which is common in Korea, lasts four years and culminates in a Bachelor of Arts (BA) diploma. University graduates with a BA degree are in demand in the country's job market. A postgraduate program,

ending in a master's degree, lasts two years and is chosen by a small number of graduates who are interested in undertaking doctoral studies later on (three years), obtaining a PhD and remaining at a university to further their academic career. To date, seven students have earned a master's degree, and two students have earned a PhD in Polish studies at HUFS in Seoul.

As of December 2019, 908 students (511 female and 397 male students) have graduated from the Polish studies program. Graduates find employment in companies having contacts with Poland, including corporations such as LG, Samsung and Hyundai, and in organizations such as the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA), as well as in various ministries, at the Polish Embassy in Seoul and the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Warsaw. More than 80 Polish studies graduates have decided to come to Poland and have found employment here, including four persons with a PhD who work at Korean studies departments at the University of Warsaw, the Adam Mickiewicz University and the University of Wrocław. Estera Czoj stressed that the number of Korean polonists making use of their knowledge of the Polish language, culture, and country in their professional career is exceptionally high compared to graduates of other philologies at HUFS.

The Polish studies at HUFS played an important role in the process of integrating specialists in the Far East. It was on its 20th anniversary in 2007 that scholars from Korea, China and Japan met, and the decision was made to cooperate more closely and hold regular Tripartite Polish Studies Meetings (Spotkania Polonistyk Trzech Krajów, or SPTK) in China, Korea and Japan in turn. The latest, sixth SPTK meeting was held in Seoul at the Yongin Campus in 2018, and included a special session on translations of Bolesław Prus's *The Doll* into Far Eastern languages, which was attended by translators into these languages: Zhang Zhenhui (Chinese), Thuat Nguyen Chi (Vietnamese) and Cheong Byung Kwon (Korean) and Tokimasa Sekiguchi (Japanese). The latter posed the question of the likelihood of the novel entering the canon of world literature.

The HUFS Polish Studies Department has had four professors, the oldest of whom has already retired. One of them was the HUFS vice-rector for university development. Another professor, fluent in Polish, is an employee of the Foreign Ministry in Seoul and a translator for the President of the Republic of Korea. Two professors are translators of Polish literature into Korean. Works translated by Professor Cheong Byung Kwon include Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* and Bolesław Prus' *The Doll*, while Professor Estera Czoj has translated Wisława Szymborska's poetry and Olga Tokarczuk's novels *Flights* and *Primeval and Other Times*. The works of both authors have been very successful in Korea. After Olga Tokarczuk received the Nobel Prize, Estera Czoj wrote in an email dated February 4, 2020 (translation ours):

As of October 10, 2019, my life has changed a lot thanks to Olga Tokarczuk. I am her translator, and in 2019 I was able to publish two of her books in Korea – *Flights* and *Primeval and Other Times*. My life has suddenly become colorful. Now in Korea, a lot of people (journalists, publishers, scholars and readers) seek me out, ask for meetings, and I often have opportunities to promote not only Olga Tokarczuk's books, but Polish literature in general. I've never regretted studying Polish language and literature in my life, but I don't think I've ever been as proud as I am now of the fact that I specialize in Polish studies and am a translator of Polish literature.

4.1.4. Motivation of Polish language learners in different countries around the world

So far, no coordinated research has been conducted on the number of students of Polish at foreign universities and the reasons they give for undertaking this course of study. It is safe to assume that the latter vary depending on the country, the student's ethnic background (ethnic Poles are more likely to choose to study Polish), the student's future plans, etc. At the same time, it needs to be assumed that there is usually one primary reason for choosing our language, along with two or three secondary ones. Let us compare data from Europe (from France and Ukraine) and North America (from the USA and Canada; see Table 1). Since the research carried out by the scholars cited below was qualitative rather than quantitative in character, the types of learners' motivations listed in Table 1 for Canada and Ukraine are a reconstruction of data collected in those countries, whereas those for France and the USA have been adapted, occasionally with some modification, from the lists provided by researchers themselves. It should be noted that the US data were collected from students studying in Polish schools and not at universities, but they reflect the real motivations of the surveyed group, aged from 14–15 to 17–18 (Lipińska & Seretny 2012: 50). This confirms one of the motivations for learning Polish at school, that is, coercion on the part of parents. In other countries, the studies focused on adolescents and students, with the predominance of the latter group. From a comparative perspective, the strongest motivation to learn Polish is observed among high school and university students from Ukraine, for whom the primary reason is the desire to learn and study in Poland, followed by the desire to go to Poland for work, as well as the desire to live in Poland permanently and accept Polish citizenship. The self-reported motivations are fully confirmed by reality, as Ukrainians usually rank first in terms of numbers among those taking the certificate exams to obtain Polish citizenship, accounting for 35 to 45 percent of all examinees. The same tendency can be seen in the case of foreign students at Polish universities, among whom Ukrainian students account for more than 50 percent of all students. This

is because young Ukrainians are aware that Polish is one of the official languages of the EU, and that studying in Poland means studying in Europe, which can then help enter the European labor market. Therefore, for many of them Polish is a prestigious language. Ukrainians also stress that they find Polish easy and pleasant. The ease of learning Polish is due to the close affinity between these two Slavic languages, which is reflected in similar vocabulary as well as inflection, word formation and syntax. This similarity enables mutual comprehension, that is, global understanding of texts without the need for formal language learning.

Table 1: Motivation for learning Polish in different countries of the world (in France, Ukraine, USA and Canada, after (Borkowska 2018, Krasowska 2018, Lustanski 2018, Lipińska 2015)

France (Borkowska 2018: 577)	Ukraine (Krasowska 2018: 660–614)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. friendship with peers from Poland 2. interest in contrastive grammar and comparative culture studies (French, Spanish, Polish, Russian) 3. personal reasons: one parent is Polish; ancestors were of Polish descent 4. second Slavic language after Russian (for Slavic students and people of Russian descent) 5. interest in Polish culture and art 6. exchange program between French and Polish high schools 7. desire to discover an unfamiliar culture 8. desire to include a less popular but more noticeable foreign language in the résumé 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. desire to study at school and university in Poland (high school students) 2. desire to travel (periodically) to Poland 3. desire to take a (permanent) job in Poland 4. desire to live in Poland 5. desire to obtain Polish citizenship 6. Polish as one of the official languages of the EU; studying in Poland is studying in Europe; prestigious language 7. language of Polish ancestors (grandmother, great-grandfather) 8. easy, pleasant and rich language
Canada (Lustanski 2018: 39–57)	USA (according to Lipińska 2015: 83)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. symbol of identity and integration for people of Polish origin 2. means of communication for people with Polish families 3. another Slavic language (for people of Slavic origin) 4. the language of Polish friends 5. the language of the Polish partner 6. interesting language with an interesting structure, using a Latin alphabet 7. easier than other Slavic languages 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. desire to retain or improve one's competence in Polish 2. continuation of Polish language study (after a stay in Poland or previous years of study) 3. practical considerations (passing Matura, the Polish secondary school exit examination) 4. coercion by Polish parents 5. personal desire to speak Polish well and fluently 6. language of communication with Polish peers 7. sense of ethnic identity

Further commentary is required concerning the motivations given in each country. Students in Slavic programs offered in France usually opt for Russian as their primary Slavic language, but due to the requirement of learning two additional Slavic languages, Polish is often selected as the second or third language. French students express a desire to demonstrate their proficiency in one of the less commonly studied languages, such as Polish, as this may attract the attention of members of selection committees who review the candidates' applications and make decisions regarding their employment, for example. The same reasons were also given by some of those taking the PFL certification examination in that country. Japanese students indicated a similar trend, claiming that a PFL certificate is a strong argument that demonstrates the candidate's commitment to achieving their goals and their ability to overcome the challenges posed by learning a rare foreign language and obtaining a confirmation of their proficiency.

Another motivation for learning Polish observed in France, Canada and the US is the need to communicate in Polish with Polish peers, classmates from schools offering exchange programs with Poland or with a Polish family. This reason is very important and confirms the desire to integrate with people whom one likes and values, and with whom it is worth keeping in touch by learning their language. If these contacts have a high emotional intensity (see the fifth motive in Canada), they may become a factor that will influence life decisions of those involved. This is reminiscent of the typology of learners of Polish abroad that Dziwirek (2001: 33–35) proposed, dividing them into:

- students of Polish descent, representing a third or fourth generation of Polish immigrants and searching for their roots;
- young Americans entering into personal relationships with Poles, a group of so-called “fiancé(e)s”;
- students whose parents emigrated from Poland, so-called *heritage speakers*;
- Slavists in need of a second or third Slavic language to complete their program of study;
- representatives of various disciplines of study, writing their master's or doctoral theses related to Poland.

Dziwirek also summarizes the latest trends at the time in the following words:

The number of students interested in the search for their roots and working on master's and doctoral theses about Poland has decreased markedly. The categories of “fiancé(e)s” and Slavists remain about the same in number. In contrast, the group of children of emigrants is clearly growing. One can imagine that teaching in this situation is becoming increasingly difficult.

(Dziwirek 2001: 35; translation ours; see also Miodunka 2002: 81–97)

In Canada, students of Slavic descent other than Polish may choose to study Polish because it is the only Slavic language offered at a given university. We see similar motivation in the USA, Australia and Brazil. For students of non-Slavic descent, it may be important that our language uses Latin letters rather than the Cyrillic alphabet, which makes it easier to learn, as it is not necessary to learn a new alphabet.

As demonstrated above, the motivations for learning Polish share several similarities even across geographically distant countries (having a Polish family, Polish peers, acquaintances and friends; Polish offered at university as an important Slavic language; Polish seen a rare language, the knowledge of which can impress others). In addition, specific motives exist in each country that are characteristic of a given respondent group. The strongest utilitarian motivation (Lipińska 2006: 69–73) is found in Ukraine, as proficiency in Polish is associated there with educational and economic success, which is guaranteed by studying and working in Poland. Obtaining Polish citizenship is also regarded as a significant achievement, as it guarantees EU citizenship, enabling one to move freely throughout the EU without the need for permits, visas, and identification at every border. It is noteworthy that Krasowska's qualitative results are confirmed by quantitative research carried out by Levchuk. Studying Ukrainian-Russian-Polish trilingualism, he surveyed 900 Ukrainians of non-Polish origin, of whom 450 lived in Ukraine, and the rest in Poland. The majority of respondents indicated that they learned Polish primarily to study (51.8% of those surveyed in Ukraine and 70% of those surveyed in Poland), to work (28.5% and 47.7%, respectively), and ultimately, to settle in Poland (27% and 33.3%, respectively; Levchuk 2016: 202–203; see also Levchuk 2018).

To sum up our discussion of data on learners of Polish around the world, it is worth pointing out that according to estimates more than 84,000 school-level and 10,000 university-level students learn Polish outside Poland. This is quite a significant group that should be supported and embraced, because the future of Polish abroad largely depends on it.

4.2. Who teaches Polish abroad and why?

4.2.1. Polish language teachers in Polish community schools abroad and Polish schools abroad

The average teacher at a Polish community school in the Chicago area is a middle-aged woman (36–45 years old) or older, who is professionally qualified to work in her field, and views her job abroad as a continuation of her career path that began in Poland. She perceives her profession as a mission and a vocation, and performs it with conviction,

out of a heartfelt need, as working with children and young people is a source of satisfaction for her. She also regards her profession as prestigious. She is a person who has an adequate command of the language of the host country, can navigate the surrounding reality, and if necessary, explain certain linguistic or cultural phenomena in contrastive terms.

(Lipińska & Seretny 2012: 41; translation ours)

This is how the Cracovian researchers summarized the results of two surveys carried out among a total of 74 Polish community teachers in Chicago in 2006 and 2010. This is a general characterization of a Polish teacher in one of the best-known Polish communities abroad, but at the same time it fits well with many other Polish teacher communities found elsewhere around the world: in Western Europe, Asia, North and South America and Australia. Therefore, it is with that group in mind that we begin our considerations as to who teaches Polish abroad, while taking into account the fact that Polish community schools are the dominant form of Polish language education in many countries (cf. 1.2.1.1).

The respondents in the aforementioned survey were asked what made them decide to become a Polish community school teacher. They provided the following answers (given here in order of decreasing frequency):

- desire to continue working in the profession;
- a love for children and a desire to work with and for them;
- passion and vocation;
- striving for professional development.

(Lipińska & Seretny 2012: 40; translation ours)

The most frequently cited motivation, i. e. the desire to continue working in the profession, indicates both that the teachers received their education and certification to teach Polish as a first language or to teach in early childhood education in Poland, and that afterwards they found their first employment in Poland. The authors of the book consider this to be both their asset and a liability, because “for children in ethnic schools Polish remains their mother tongue as a second language (*heritage language*), which is an emotionally charged but underdeveloped code. Furthermore, the level of competence in this language varies among children who attend the same class. It must, therefore, be taught differently, and not everyone is prepared to do so” (ibid.: 41; translation ours).

The English term *heritage language* corresponds to Polish *język odziedziczony*, lit. ‘inherited language’, which Lipińska uses to describe the Polish of “students of Polish origin in a Polish school (in Polish community school education)” (Lipińska & Seretny 2012: 30–31; translation ours). Speakers of heritage languages are characterized in the following way by American researchers of Russian as a heritage language in the USA:

These are people who had been immersed in Russian from childhood and may have even started as monolinguals, but then, usually with the onset of schooling, began functioning much more in their second language, which gradually became their dominant language. Upon graduating from secondary school (i. e., as young adults), they understand and may still speak Russian, but their Russian differs greatly from that of the home country or even from that of their parents (the first generation), and they find it easier to speak their country's dominant language.

(Dubinina & Polinsky 2013: 172)

The complex language situation of heritage languages, as demonstrated by the American researchers allows, us to better understand Lipińska's claim about the varying levels of Polish language competence among children who, admittedly, attend the same class, but require different teaching methods. This is because the issue here concerns the teaching of a native language under conditions of bilingualism, which may lead to the learners becoming more competent in the language of the host country than their native language, Polish.

Bonusiak (2004) devotes a considerable amount of attention to the functioning of the Polish community school in the USA, presenting the tasks of such a school, the work that teachers and students put in, its social conditions and financial challenges, the involvement of parents and the entire community in the life of the school (pp. 65–75). There are several statements drawing attention to the difficult life of Polish teachers, such as the following one:

For a teacher, Polish community school was not their full-time job, a source of income. Consequently, there were huge problems with organizing the educational process on days other than Saturdays and Sundays. Participation in prospective conferences (...) required taking leave – which, of course, was not always possible to arrange. Attending conferences and symposia required shelling out a certain amount of money from one's own pocket, or ensuring funding by the school or, possibly, a sponsor that had to be found first.

(Bonusiak 2004: 69; translation ours)

We present these remarks here to ensure more recognition for the teachers' commitment to teaching, to the school and to the community as a whole. As Lipińska writes, “one may find ‘fulfilment’ in such a school, but one cannot make a career. (...) [teachers’] work should be perceived as a mission on which the future of ethnic Poles in the USA depends” (Lipińska & Seretny 2012: 42; translation ours).

At the same time, we would like to point out that it is possible to work in a school on a full-time basis, as part of the education system of the host country, provided one has acquired necessary qualifications. This usually involves completion of appropriate university studies, which depends on good command of the language of the host country and the ability to invest money in obtaining a

suitable job. Consequently, only a relatively small group of teachers from Poland decide to follow these steps.

A different perspective on the issue of teachers in Polish schools abroad is provided by a report edited by Miodunka & Tambor (2018). Its authors highlight how diverse the group of teachers is in terms of status and qualifications. They distinguish five groups among them: volunteer teachers, teachers on the payroll of non-public educational institutions, those on the payroll of Polish public institutions, teachers employed in the education systems of other countries, and seconded teachers. The volunteer group is large and diverse, including Polish activists and clergymen, who often head educational institutions. Their qualifications for teaching vary and range from lack of formal preparation to teach to full qualifications for the profession, with diplomas received in Poland or in their current country of residence. The second group consists of teachers employed in various forms in Polish community schools and community Saturday schools. The requirements for their professional qualifications are regulated by the laws of their country of residence. The third group includes teachers who have been seconded to work for Polish schools operating at diplomatic missions, consular offices and military representative offices of the Republic of Poland. They must comply with regulations dictated by Polish law, and are paid by Polish public institutions while working abroad. These are domestic teachers posted abroad by Polish authorities, and most of them return to the home country after a few years and continue to work in Polish schools. The fourth group consists of teachers employed in schools operating as part of the education system of the host country, including Polish schools in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Ukraine, as well as local schools teaching Polish in countries such as Germany, Sweden and Denmark. Of course, the qualification requirements and conditions for employment are regulated by the laws of these countries. The last group consists of teachers seconded by ORPEG to schools operating as part of the education systems of other countries and providing instruction in Polish (ibid.: 145–147).

The authors of the report present a SWOT analysis of employing Polish teachers abroad. Among the strengths of the existing system, the authors highlight the experience and strong commitment of teachers working in community Saturday schools, professional development opportunities for principals and teachers at schools teaching Polish abroad, and supplementary training opportunities offered by ORPEG. At the same time, however, the authors recognize the weaknesses of the current system. These include the mismatch between the professional and methodological qualification standards for teachers and the needs arising from the specific character of foreign schools; the lack of regulations concerning the professional advancement of teachers working abroad; and the fact that the specific status of a Polish community school teacher is neither recognized nor regulated by law. The opportunities that the current

system offers include the growing interest in learning Polish as a second or heritage language; the growing interest in supplementary methodological training among teachers in Polish communities abroad; the good linguistic competence and professional qualifications of teachers from the “new emigration”; the readiness of many teachers to work in Polish educational institutions abroad; and the growing demand in Polish communities abroad for teachers seconded from Poland. Among the threats presented by the current system the authors enumerate the organizational instability brought about by the need to rely on volunteer work; the severing of connections with the country on the part of some teachers; career abandonment; and a shortage of teachers, which may lead to the loss of Polish as a heritage language by successive generations of emigrants (*ibid.*: 149–150).

The authors of the report treat separately the teaching of Polish in the East because of the different traditions and specific character of the schools which operate there. It is also important to note that the educational institutions in the East offer Polish instruction not only to children and adolescents, but also to adults, in the form of courses offered by Polish community associations, Polish institutes or other institutions unrelated to Polish community organizations. The purpose of teaching Polish in the East is primarily to strengthen the identity of people of Polish descent, to reinforce the bilingualism of children and adults, to enhance the overall development of students, to promote among Poles abroad the awareness of their right to learn the language, or to encourage young people of Polish origin to take up education in Poland. Teachers sent to the East work in Belarus, Latvia and Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia. The authors present a SWOT analysis of Polish language teaching in the East, mentioning such strengths as increasing the interest in the Polish language, increasing the number of schools teaching Polish as a second or foreign language, and the existence of Polish language schools operating within the educational systems of other countries. The weaknesses include insufficient methodological and linguistic qualifications among the local teaching staff, whose proficiency in Polish is often lacking; insufficient qualifications of the teaching staff seconded from Poland to teach Polish as a foreign and second language; the fact that the average stay abroad is two or three years long, which prevents the teachers from settling down and disrupts the continuity of the learners’ educational development; and a growing tendency to close or merge classes. As for opportunities, the authors of the report point out mainly the revival of Polish communities, the establishment of new educational institutions and local methodological centers, the growing interest in studying or working in Poland associated with the desire to improve Polish language skills, the large number of children and young people studying in various institutions, and a growing methodological awareness of the local teachers and their desire for further training. Among the threats the authors

emphasize insufficient competence in running and managing institutions, paid Polish language courses in large groups and merging groups with varying language competence, the scarcity of technical and library resources in Polish language teaching centers, and the lack of textbooks for teaching Polish as a foreign or second language to learners who know other Slavic languages (ibid.: 89–92).

4.2.2. Polish language teachers employed in foreign universities

The authors of the report devote a separate chapter to lecturers teaching Polish in academic centers abroad and in Poland. First of all, it should be emphasized that preparation for teaching Polish in foreign academic centers is offered by almost all Polish universities in either undergraduate, graduate or postgraduate programs (see Gębal 2013: 189–199). Thus, it can be concluded that universities are highly interested in offering programs in teaching Polish as a foreign and second language, although they are not adequately supported in this respect by the officials at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The authors of the report point out that Polish is taught by foreign universities enumerated in subsection 2.1.2.1. The authors recognize the following strengths in the current system of education and secondment of language teachers to work in foreign academic centers: raising the prestige of the Polish language abroad; promotion of Polish language and culture in foreign communities; growing interest in our country; the presence of Polish language and culture in places significant and prestigious for Poland; increasing foreign students' chances for a future professional career in Poland; and an opportunity for young people and universities in the countries under discussion to cooperate with Polish universities. Among the weaknesses of the current system the authors include the lack of adequate financial conditions in some universities abroad; the lack of a precise definition of the status of a language teacher, and their rights and duties; the lack of a recruitment policy on the part of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education that would involve rehiring of good, reliable teachers; difficulties in recruiting competent language teacher candidates; low teacher salaries; disruptions in the continuity of employment; and a sense that language teachers are treated unjustly in comparison to other academic teachers in Poland (Miodunka & Tambor (eds.) 2018: 197–198). Polish language teachers sent to work in foreign universities have a chance to master the language of the country of employment well and to complete studies that complement their education acquired in Poland, but not all of them recognize these opportunities or try to take advantage of them. There is a strong interest in working in well-known and popular academic centers, while insufficient interest in working in new and less well-known places. The report devotes a lot of space to the problems of Polish language courses and Polish

studies programs in different regions of the world: the Far East, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, North and South America, Australia, Africa and Europe (ibid.: 221–250).

To conclude these considerations, we would like to emphasize that the teacher and the student are the two basic elements of any glottodidactic system, which is to say that teachers' participation is crucial for the process of foreign language teaching to be successful, even if various forms of computer-assisted self-study methods are becoming increasingly popular. As expressed by Waldemar Pfeiffer:

While autodidactic processes are possible without the participation of the teacher the teacher cannot be replaced completely, i. e. at all stages and levels, in all functions and aspects of teaching. Therefore, mass schooling, which we are dealing with here, will remain the domain of teachers. They will be increasingly supported by elaborate and functional media systems to facilitate learning, including individual learning, especially at the stage of practical exercises in order to consolidate material.

(Pfeiffer 2001: 23; translation ours)

This view has been confirmed by surveys on PFL teaching. The results of one such survey concerning the use of the Internet and computer techniques in PFL teaching have been summarized in the following way:

On the one hand, Polish language learners would like (to a greater or lesser extent) to use modern technology during classes. On the other, they emphasize very consistently the need for direct, personal contact with the teacher, and often with other class participants. Learning a foreign language by its very nature is oriented towards communication and interaction, so **even the most modern programs or technical equipment, including computers, cannot replace contact with another human being.**

(Bargiel 2008: 67; translation and emphasis ours)

4.2.3. Training of teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language

PFL teacher training has a special significance in Polish language glottodidactics because from its early days it was taken for granted that Polish (including Polish as a foreign language) can only be taught by polonists. However, no special attention was paid to the fact that in the course of their studies polonists received training for teaching Polish as a native language, which differs from the training required for PFL teaching. Bartnicka, Kacprzak and Rohozińska (1992) were first to notice shortcomings in the vocational qualifications of PFL teachers, distinguishing in this regard between polonists who specialize in linguistics and polonists whose specialty is the history and theory of Polish literature:

The methodology of teaching Polish as a native language is generally not alien to linguists in Poland, but even they rarely have the opportunity to encounter the fundamentally different methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language. Literary

scholars, on the other hand, not only need to familiarize themselves with these problems, which are completely foreign to them, but they should also refresh their knowledge of grammar.

(Bartnicka, Kacprzak & Rohozińska 1992: 5)

What is noteworthy in the passage above is the statement that the methodology of teaching Polish as a native language is fundamentally different from that of teaching PFL. However, this statement was not followed by further action, such as a presentation of the methods of teaching foreign languages used at the time. The volume discusses teaching Polish pronunciation, nominal and verbal inflection (including verbal aspect), Polish syntax and vocabulary, i.e. the system of modern Polish language, which constitutes over 60 percent of the text. The volume also discusses the psychological aspects of the professional practice of a teacher working with beginner and intermediate learners, as well as elements of Polish culture that should be taken into account in the process of teaching Polish to foreigners. Although language teaching methodology pointed out the importance of teaching language skills (listening comprehension, reading comprehension, writing and speaking), these are not included in the *Vademecum*. One more thing deserves attention here: the fact that the book is concerned with teaching Polish as a foreign language at two levels only, beginner and intermediate. This is because at that time our language was indeed taught to foreigners at these two levels only. Teaching Polish to advanced learners is not dealt with, as these were only isolated cases, and consequently, teachers working with them had to cope on their own, reading literary texts and holding conversations about them.

What the volume was missing is discussed here on a par with what was included in it, because this publication of the University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center will serve as a reference point for everything that has been achieved in the field of PFL teaching methodology and PFL teacher training in the next 30 years. This is because we consider this volume to be an important event, indicating that the necessity of training future PFL teachers was already acknowledged and certain measures had been undertaken towards that end; however, the achievements of foreign language teaching methodologies had not been employed, and no PFL teaching methodology manual existed at that time.

The training and work of PFL teachers abroad was the subject of articles of two types: remarks on how a language teacher working abroad coped with the specific character of teaching PFL in a given country (such information was intended as a kind of advice and guidelines for future teachers) on the one hand, and articles on the Polish studies program offered in a given country or institution, discussing the Polish language staff there, the popularity of PFL learning among students, and the most important methodological problems on the other.

Lipińska (2006b) offers the first overview of the distinctive characteristics of work as a teacher of Polish as a foreign language. The author relies on selected information on general glottodidactics discussed by Komorowska (2002: 105–118), and supplements it with remarks on the work of a teacher of Polish in foreign language classes and in Polish community schools abroad. At the same time, Lipińska overlooks one specialist study, namely Zawadzka (2004), which is important because it takes into account the state of Polish foreign language education up until 1990, the reform of the education system after that year and – for the first time – the context of European education. Zawadzka devotes the entire second chapter of her book to teachers in EU countries and Poland, comparing models of training of foreign language teachers, their professional work and forms of their further education and training in the EU and in our country. The bulk of Zawadzka’s monograph consists of six chapters devoted to various roles of the foreign language teacher: an expert; an educator; a cultural intermediary; an organizer, facilitator and advisor; an evaluator; and an innovator, researcher and reflective practitioner (Zawadzka 2004: 109–306).

The first study to take into account the European context in the training of PFL lecturers is the article by Gębal (2008), which begins with a concise discussion of the existing forms of PFL teacher training offered by Polish universities. The author also discusses the *European Profile for Language Teacher Education*, which was created in 2006 under the auspices of the Council of Europe and serves as:

an attempt to standardize this education and a kind of reference point for various pedeutological systems operating in different countries or regions. Developed under the direction of M. Kelly and M. Grenfell of the University of Southampton, the publication was the result of international projects with the participation of many academic centers. Its basis was the current European teacher education programs, and one of the goals was to develop proposals for a unified understanding of concepts and a common pedeutological terminology.

(Gębal 2008: 465; translation ours)

The interest in European models of foreign language teacher education initiated at that time led to the publication of the first pedeutological monograph (Gębal 2013). It should be noted that its content is not limited to matters of teacher education; models of teacher education in Poland and Germany are the subject of the second, analytical part of the monograph, i. e. Chapters 4 and 5 along with appendices, totalling more than 230 pages (pp. 109–342). Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 61–108), on the other hand, are devoted to comparative glottodidactics, announced in the subtitle. The first chapter, entitled “Polish glottodidactics as an autonomous scientific discipline”, goes far beyond what its title implies, and is concerned with an extremely important issue, that is, the academic status of

glottodidactics, including Polish language glottodidactics, as a research discipline.

In the section relating to models of language teacher education, the author describes and compares the education of teachers of modern languages in Germany and Poland, including the education of teachers of German as a foreign and second language in Germany with the education of teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language in Poland. In the course of his analyses, Gębal considers two aspects in each case:

- theoretical considerations regarding the philosophy of education that have a direct impact on the assumptions behind the organization of teacher training studies;
- programmatic implementation of these assumptions, defining ways to train teachers.

(ibid.: 109; translation ours)

In comparing language teacher education in Poland and Germany, the author takes into account four factors included in the *European Profile for Language Teacher Education* (2006), namely, the **Structure** of teacher education; the theoretical basis for the education of future teachers, referred to as **Knowledge and Understanding**; strategies for integrating teaching practices into teacher education programs and the practical skills that trainees should acquire here, i. e. **Strategies and Skills**, and finally, **Values**, consisting in the formation of attitudes aimed at respecting the differences between cultures and supporting European linguistic diversity (ibid.: 214–215).

In Germany, language teacher training (*Lehramt*) is conducted only by universities with full academic status, i. e., providing education ending with a diploma corresponding to a master's degree in Poland (universities, technical universities that additionally offer programs in philology, and teacher training colleges). The universities of Hamburg, Bochum and Bonn run a separate course of study called *Sprachlehrforschung*, corresponding to Polish glottodidactics, which, however, does not function as a separate academic program in Poland. Universities in Germany allow teachers to obtain teaching credentials only on a full-time basis and only at public universities. It is also noteworthy that in German universities it is possible to obtain qualifications to teach 20 foreign languages. The process of teacher training in Germany does not conclude with the completion of a university degree, as in Poland, but with a state exam passed after an internship in a school, lasting between one and a half and two years (the length of the internship depends on the pedeutological arrangements of each state). It is the passing of the state exam, and not graduation itself, that opens the way to a career in German schools. Students interested in teaching German as a foreign language study for a degree in *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, for which they are not required to complete an internship or take a state exam. This means that it is

possible to work as a German language teacher in non-school educational facilities immediately after obtaining the diploma. This rule does not apply to teachers of German as a second language in German education, who should follow the training path of other school teachers.

Poland observes the standards for teacher education set by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, which merged in 2021 with the Ministry of National Education to form the current Ministry of Education and Science. The teaching specialization is an independent module that can be pursued as part of full-time undergraduate or graduate studies. Completion of this module and obtaining a bachelor's degree entitles one to teach a language up to and including the eighth grade of elementary school. Teachers intending to teach a language in secondary schools should have a master's degree in their field of study. Language teacher training in our country also takes place in the form of post-graduate qualification studies, providing teaching qualifications to holders of undergraduate and graduate degrees (*ibid.*: 216–219).

Until now the Ministry of Education and Science has not developed any standards for training PFL teachers as it has largely ignored the PFL teaching profession or the need for training in this field. In the past, discussions held at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education usually ended with a referral to those Ministry of National Education officials within whose competence it was decided what kind of teachers the Polish education system needs. Representatives of the Ministry of National Education responded to parliamentary interpellations by stating that, after all, it is the Ministry of Science and Higher Education that decides who can receive education in Poland and in what scope. Given the lack of interest in educating teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language on the part of ministry officials, individual universities took the matter into their own hands and created postgraduate programs for PFL teachers, as well as undergraduate and graduate programs in teaching Polish as a foreign and second language. (Gębal (2014: 26–27) lists nine universities that train teachers of Polish as a foreign language.) Since these are post-graduate qualification studies, i. e., they grant the right to teach Polish as a foreign and second language, those who design the curricula for these studies are bound by the general standards of teacher education.

Gębal (2013) devotes the last chapter of his monograph to the training of teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language. He reports on empirical research he conducted among 169 individuals who had undertaken or completed this course of study at various academic centers in the country (*ibid.*: 230–237). The author considers PFL and PSL teacher training programs in detail, evaluating them from the point of view of students' expectations, and discusses the level of professionalism in PFL and PSL teacher education as well as the condition of PFL teacher education in comparison to the education of teachers of other foreign

languages in Poland. This research indicates that more than 65% of undergraduate students and more than 32% of postgraduate students believe that a degree in PFL teaching prepares them better for the foreign language teaching profession than a degree in modern language studies. This is a surprisingly high figure if one weighs the long tradition of language teacher training in modern language studies against the relatively short tradition of PFL teacher training.

After presenting the process of training PFL and PSL teachers from the perspective of university lecturers, the author moves on to evaluate the process from the point of view of active PFL teachers and concludes that:

[F]irstly, the graduates point out [as the most useful] the educational content that directly develops teachers' practical skills. The least useful, in the eyes of in-service teachers, are the areas of Polish language glottodidactics that are relatively least developed, such as the use of multimedia in language training and the teaching of Polish culture, until recently limited to the transmission of dry information about Poland, with little integration with practical language learning.

(Gębal 2013: 267; translation ours)

The chapter under discussion ends with conclusions that express recommendations for the future and therefore are worth quoting:

1. The pedeutological activity carried out in Polish language glottodidactics requires a rapid transition from so-called rational empiricism to activity underpinned by scientific research (...).
2. The professions of teacher of Polish as a foreign language and teacher of Polish as a second language should promptly be included in the list of regulated professions. Only in such a situation will they enter the consciousness of decision-makers and organizers of language education in our country, which will significantly improve the status of the circles dealing with this field and accelerate its development.
3. Standards for the training of specialists in teaching Polish to foreigners need to be promptly developed. Their development in a team consisting of representatives of individual centers would further integrate the entire Polish studies community and enable the exchange of previous experiences (...).
4. There is a need to raise the professional standard of PFL and PSL teachers education promptly by matching the offer of courses included in university study programs with the actual professional needs of future teachers. An analysis of the existing curricula clearly shows the provision of classes unrelated to those needs (...).
5. A good practice developed by German universities is the introduction of modular organization of studies, which facilitates the planning of training fields and prediction of their outcomes. It seems all the more valuable if we take it into account that a significant part of the postgraduate study programs that are currently on offer lack essential components of education almost completely (...).
6. Reflective teaching methods, which represent the most recent views in European pedeutology, should become more common in the practice of professional training of teachers of Polish as a foreign and second language (...)

(Gębal 2013: 272–274; translation ours)

Among these, the second conclusion is especially worth highlighting, as it is addressed to ministry officials, so far persistently overlooking the special character of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language. Also important is the third recommendation, addressed to academic centers that offer training to future PFL and PSL teachers. There is no doubt that the development of educational standards would be facilitated by ministerial support, which would in effect enforce the postulated raising of the professional standard of teacher education.

4.3. The formation of PFL teaching theory

The practice of teaching PFL has existed since the early 16th century, which required the writing of grammars, textbooks, phrasebooks, letter-writing handbooks, etc., but did not necessarily entail theoretical considerations. Foreign language proficiency was necessary, they were a marker of social status and education, but at the time no thought was given to the idea that the experience gained by one author could be recorded and passed on to others. Instead, it was a common practice to draw freely on others' works, use them and develop one's own solutions based on them. From a contemporary point of view, one could consider this plagiarism, although this would not be justified since the concept of copyright and copyright infringement did not exist at that time. Simultaneously, we must note that this practice contributed to continuous improvement of the existing textbooks and grammars, as shown in 1.1.3.

The International Association of Applied Linguistics was established in 1964, which later contributed to the flourishing of scientific research on language teaching in Europe. As noted by EJO (1999: 281) the greatest success of applied linguistics was the modernization and democratization of language teaching all over the world. The 1960s also marked the beginning of scientific reflection on PFL teaching. One of its earliest outcomes is the article by Bronisław Wieczorkiewicz (1966), which was the first to point out that PFL must be taught in accordance with the methods of teaching of global languages. The author was one of a group of academics at the University of Warsaw's Polish Studies Department who took a keen interest in the teaching of PFL and had valuable contributions to its theory and practice. Other noteworthy names in this group include Stanisław Skorupka, Danuta Buttlerowa, Barbara Bartnicka and Janina Wójtowicz. In 1980, the first volume collecting all previous works on PFL teaching was published (Lewandowski 1980). It is difficult to overestimate its importance today, but there is no doubt that it introduced PFL teaching into Polish academic discourse, as it drew attention both to existing works and to authors interested in the subject. As

a matter of fact, some of those authors studied these issues for many years to come.

The first to summarize all the theoretical and practical achievements in teaching PFL was Lewandowski (1985). To this day, his study is the richest collection of information on the broadly understood theory and practice of teaching PFL in the years 1948–1982. The appearance of the adjective ‘glottodidactic’ in the subtitle is one of the first examples of the use of this term with reference to teaching PFL (Miodunka 2016: 24–37). The 1980s were not conducive to academic reflection on teaching languages in general and PFL in particular, so the first significant works on the topic appeared only in the 1990s. Noteworthy volumes include Miodunka (1990), Bartnicka, Kacprzak and Rohozińska (1992) and Miodunka (1992). The second of these summarized the knowledge on methods of teaching Polish language and culture, which had been taught over the years by the staff of the University of Warsaw’s Polonicum Center to candidates for PFL teachers in foreign universities, whereas the 1992 volume edited by W. T. Miodunka described the results of a quantitative study of grammatical frequency in contemporary spoken Polish on Polish state television, which became the basis for the development of PFL grammar, syntax and vocabulary curricula. Since the volume also presented inventories of linguistic functions, which were the basis of the communicative approach, it can be said that it foreshadowed what was yet to come in PFL teaching.

Another noteworthy work is Miodunka (1997), which marks the beginning of the process of integration of polonists in Poland with those based abroad, which was reflected in the registration of the “Bristol” Association in 1997. The book also demonstrates that the problems of PFL teaching theory and practice are equally familiar to both foreign and Polish specialists. The main task set by the governing body of the “Bristol” Association was to hold regular meetings of foreign and Polish polonists in Polish PFL teaching centers, a goal that was indeed accomplished. All successive conference proceedings provide evidence on how foreign and Polish specialists approach issues involved in teaching Polish language and culture (see Gębal 2014: 40–43, 142–145).

A few years later, the volume edited by Dubisz, Nowicka-Jeżowa and Święch (2001) brought together materials from a meeting of Polish scholars organized at the University of Warsaw, which was intended to draw attention to the fact that the worldwide milieu of specialists in Polish studies is composed primarily of authorities on teaching the history of Polish literature and culture, to whom the “Bristol” Association did not pay adequate attention. The conference was called the Congress of Foreign Polish Studies and gave rise to a series of regular meetings of foreign and Polish polonists, organized until the year 2011 (University of Warsaw, 1998; University of Gdańsk, 2001; Adam Mickiewicz University, 2006; Jagiellonian University, 2008; University of Opole, 2012). These

meetings were later transformed into the World Congress of Polish Studies, which was organized under that name for the first time at the University of Silesia in Katowice in 2016. The proceedings of this first congress were published in five volumes edited by Tambor (2018) and they demonstrate that research in Polish studies is carried out around the world and scholars engaged in it are interested in a variety of problems related to Polish literature, culture and language. This is reflected in the titles of the subsequent volumes: I: *Literatura polska i perspektywy nowej humanistyki* [Polish Literature and Prospects for the New Humanities]; II: *Literatura (i kultura) polska w świecie* [Polish Literature (and Culture) Abroad]; III: *Współczesne aspekty badań nad językiem polskim – teoria i praktyka* [Contemporary Aspects of Polish Language Studies – Theory and Practice]; IV: *W kręgu (glotto)dydaktyki* [In the Circle of (Glotto)didactics]; and V: *Języki i kultury w kontakcie* [Languages and Cultures in Contact].

The 7th World Congress of Polish Studies was organized at the University of Wrocław in 2021. Due to the pandemic, which effectively delayed the date when the Congress was held, it proceeded remotely. The head of the organizing committee was Anna Dąbrowska.

In 2004, the first certification exams were held in Polish as a foreign language at B1, B2 and C2 levels. The certification was later evaluated as a strategic breakthrough innovation, affecting the entire process of teaching and learning Polish as a foreign language (Miodunka 2016: 260). It made specialists realize that there was a need to prepare new PFL curricula that would take into account the CEFR standards, which were relied on for the preparation of the certificate exams. The PFL teaching curricula published by Janowska, Lipińska, Rabiej, Seretny and Turek (2011) were met with great interest especially abroad, and were later revised and expanded for a second edition in 2016.

The fact that Polish language glottodidactics owes its rapid development to the adoption of theoretical and practical solutions from the didactics of global languages, such as English, French, or German, and their application to the theory and practice of teaching PFL, was pointed out by Gębal (2014). He demonstrates this by making a detailed analysis of the connections of Polish language glottodidactics with the didactics of foreign languages abroad. The conclusions of his analysis are as follows:

The flow of glottodidactic thought and the introduction of a comparative approach from the perspective of the Cracow center meant first drawing on the achievements of French glottodidactics (Miodunka, Ligara, Janowska), followed by attempts to take over concepts from the didactics of English (Czernecka, Dębski, Seretny, Rabiej) and German (Martyniuk, Gębal). Along with them, the works developed in the Cracow center took into account the developing European standards for teaching foreign languages (Miodunka, Martyniuk, Seretny, Lipińska, Janowska, Gębal, Rabiej, Czerkies, Prziel-Kania), which, as is well known, are heavily influenced by the didactics of English and

French. In all cases, the adoption of the European standards to Polish language glottodidactics was carried out with respect for the previous achievements of Polish scholarship and with reference to them.

(Gębal 2014: 124; translation ours)

It is worth noting separately that Przemysław E. Gębal has devoted a lot of attention in his books to the formation of Polish language glottodidactics against the background of the development of general glottodidactics (cf. Gębal 2013: 13–39, 2014: 15–54, 2018: 23–94).

An overview of all the theoretical and practical achievements in PFL teaching in the period 1950–2015 was brought by Miodunka (2016). This monograph summarizes and evaluates the entire output of Polish language glottodidactics. This is first discussed in connection to the subdisciplines of glottodidactics, such as the methodology of PFL teaching and learning, Polish language pedagogy, PFL acquisition research, Polish didactic linguistics, design and evaluation of glottodidactic materials, computer-assisted PFL teaching (CALL), the situation of Polish studies and PFL teaching around the world, language policy with regard to the promotion of teaching Polish abroad, and the history of PFL teaching and comparative glottodidactics. The author also proposes a division of the history of Polish language glottodidactics into three periods. Period one (1950–1992) was dominated by attempts to apply the achievements of linguistic research on Polish to the teaching of Polish to foreigners. Period two encompassed the years 1993–2003, when Polish language glottodidactics in its current form was taking shape. The third period began in 2004 and has been marked by reliance in Polish language glottodidactics on the European standards as defined by the CEFR. This study, fundamental to Polish language glottodidactics, has been discussed in detail and critically evaluated by Zarzycka (2017), Gębal (2018b), and Cudak (2020).

In preparing this summary of the achievements of Polish language glottodidactics, Miodunka refers to models of language teaching, but on the other hand he takes into account the entirety of scientific, didactic and organizational achievements in Poland over the period of 65 years. Therefore, his overview should be considered as fundamental for Polish language glottodidactics as a discipline.

Miodunka's study takes into account contributions of all Polish centers and foreign specialists in Polish studies to the achievements of Polish language glottodidactics, but focuses on the emergence of Polish language glottodidactics as a science on the national level. Therefore, it is worth mentioning the volumes discussing the theoretical and practical achievements of individual academic centers such as Cracow (Miodunka and Rokicki 1999), Warsaw (Rohozińska, Skura and Piasecka 2006), Łódź (Wielkiewicz-Jałmużna 2008), Lublin (Mazur,

Dunin-Dudkowska, Małycka, and Sobstyl 2011), Wrocław (Dąbrowska and Dobesz 2014), again Cracow (Gębal 2014; Gałyga 2015), Olsztyn (Ndiaye, Przybyszewski and Rólkowska 2015), and Kielce (Cygan, Marczevska and Ostrowska 2022). The title of the latest volume, *Glottodydaktyka polonistyczna wczoraj, dziś i jutro. Między doświadczeniem a nowymi wyzwaniem* [Polish language glottodidactics – yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Between experience and new challenges], is so general that it does not reveal the occasion of its publication which was the fifth anniversary of the Center for Polish Culture and Language at the Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce (Cygan 2022).

4.4. The multidimensional character of the didactics of the Polish language as a native, foreign, second or heritage language abroad

For many years it has been reiterated that Polish is the native language of almost 40 million citizens of our country. Since Poland appears to many people as a country which one leaves more often than one settles in, it was thought that Polish could be a foreign language for those foreigners who, for some reason, became interested in it, decided to come here and set up their home in Poland. This image began to change when Polish language glottodidacticists began to take a closer interest in the specifics of teaching Polish to particular groups of people. The work and research undertaken in the past led to the emergence of three branches of Polish language glottodidactics, depending on whether Polish is taught as a foreign (PFL), second (PSL) or heritage language (PHL). The most advanced of these is PFL didactics. Its contemporary framework began forming in the 1960s, but since the 1990s it has started to develop intensively as a result of the bottom-up process of integration of glottodidacticists in Poland and abroad; scientific conferences have been held regularly, research has been conducted, and doctoral and postdoctoral degrees have been conferred to linguists in Poland (Gębal 2018a: 47–61). All theoretical, methodological and practical achievements in the years 1950–2015 are summarized in Miodunka (2016), as already mentioned.

It was not until much later, i. e. after 2003, that PHL didactics began to develop. The first valuable work in this area was Laskowski's study of the acquisition of Polish by Polish-Swedish bilinguals (2009). After 2010 other foundational works were published, dealing with e. g. PHL teaching and learning in Chicago (Lipińska and Seretny 2012), Polish language education in Germany (Pułaczewska 2017), and the communication strategies of speakers of Heritage Polish in Germany (Żurek 2018); one might also include here a collection edited by Besters-Dilger,

Dąbrowska, Krajewski and Żurek (2016). The rapid progress that has been made in the didactics of heritage languages is largely due to the research conducted in Germany, based on a solid methodological foundation and rich material. It is very fortunate that Juliane Besters-Dilger, a European authority on Slavic languages as heritage languages, was able to join the research project carried out by Wrocław linguists, as this makes it possible for Polish research results to gain worldwide recognition.

It was still later, around the year 2010, that works on research and methodology of PSL teaching began to emerge. The output in this area is admittedly dispersed, but a convenient summary is found in Gębal (2018a). Owing to this work, Polish language glottodidactics can begin a scholarly dialogue with current sociological, educational and psychological research in Poland. What is more, the author presents his own glottopedagogical model of PSL didactics, taking into account the principles of intercultural teaching, didactics of multilingualism, inclusive education, pedagogical inclusion and positive education. Consequently, we can hope that both scientific research and the didactics of Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language should continue to develop extensively, supported by the solid theoretical and pedagogical foundations created by glottodidacticians in recent years (cf. Gębal 2019).

The efforts of glottodidacticians have demonstrated that the linguistic situation of Polish is comparable with that of other European languages, which are taught as foreign, second or heritage languages. Unfortunately, representatives of the Ministry of Education has not acknowledged the researchers' findings, and that is why Polish is only taught in Poland as a first language, i. e. in Polish language classes at school.

5. Language policy and promotion of (teaching) of Polish language abroad

5.1. General works on language policy

There was nothing to suggest that the year 2009 would become an important, or even decisive, year for the emergence and further development of the language policy in Poland from the perspective of academic research. This happened due to the publication of two seemingly completely different books: Lubaś's (2009) monograph on language policy and Szul's (2009) exploration of language as a political phenomenon.

The title of the series edited by Stanisław Gajda in which Lubaś's book appeared, "Comparison of Modern Slavic Languages", is indicative of his Slavist point of departure, which is also confirmed by its contents. Władysław Lubaś, a trained specialist in Polish and Slavic, was a well-known sociolinguist, dealing, among others, with the Silesian dialect and language. In the volume in question the eminent scholar presented an overview of the existing language policy in the Slavic countries and proposed its possible optimal paths for the future. What is notable, he did this at an important time for many Slavic nations – that is, after the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, when new states were emerging and reaching for languages in their symbolic and communicative function in order to emphasize their new identity.

In the introduction, the author described his aims as follows:

The intention is to provide broader information useful to the linguistic community and the humanities **in general in view of the noticeable lack of greater interest in this issue on the part of the Polish academia.** (...) the aim is also to create a theoretical and material foundation for the development of a **new projection of an optimal language policy in Slavic countries** from a scientific point of view **to be implemented on a broader scale in the spirit of European linguistic ideology.**

(Lubaś 2009: 13–14; translation and emphasis ours)

Emphasizing that his objective was to fill a gap in Slavic linguistics, which lacked a comparative study of Slavic languages, the author included four chapters in his

book. The first, theoretical in nature, dealt with phenomena that were extremely common at the time and related to political, socio-cultural and demographic transformations in post-communist countries. The second commented on language policy itself and its attitudes towards public communication and collective identity, based on the example of the Polish language on the one hand, and other Slavic languages on the other. The third chapter was devoted to language policy in the USSR and the former Yugoslavia. At the time, it was probably one of the first academic studies to address the linguistic problems of former socialist federal states directly. In the fourth chapter, the most extensive one at over 300 pages, the author discussed the situation of new Slavic states and languages: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The entire monograph closes with a fifth chapter, offering a summary in which the author describes old and new phenomena in Slavic language policy and possible changes in it.

The entire work is innovative within Polish and Slavic linguistics, and the Polish reader may be particularly interested in the discussion of the concepts of Polish language policy as proposed by Walery Pisarek, Władysław Lubaś, Stanisław Gajda, as well as Andrzej Markowski, Henryk Jaroszewicz, Maciej Czerwiński and Adam Pawłowski (ibid: 35–70). Particularly insightful is Lubaś's portrayal of the struggles of mainstream Polish linguistics whose adherents advocated for a notion of appropriate language use to counterbalance language policy:

The term “language policy” was shunned by Zenon Klemensiewicz, Witold Doroszewski and Stanisław Urbańczyk, the leading legislators of the principles of language use (according to certain views of the language policy department), even in the first three decades of the post-war period (1945–1975), and the traditional aversion to the term “language policy” is still represented to this day by Jadwiga Puzyńska, who popularized in Poland the concept of the axiology of linguistic and verbal correctness (...), which is supposed to positively balance the “language policy.”

(Lubaś 2009: 37; translation ours)

The book by Szul is different in spirit, because the author is a graduate of the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Warsaw, whose main areas of interest are economics and economic policy alongside sociolinguistics, language policy and the theory and history of nations. Key to his book are the three concepts listed in the title, language, nation, and state, and the mutual relations between them are discussed in the first chapter. In the rest of the book, the author groups various countries around the world into three separate models of the relationship between language, nation, and state. According to his classification, the first model, *language* → *nation* → *state*, includes such states as Germany,

Italy, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, and Albania (Szul 2009: 69–126). The second model, *nation* → *language and state*, includes such nations and states as Jews and Israel, Greeks, Armenians, Norwegians, the Irish, the Basque, India and Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia (ibid.: 127–164). In the most numerous, third model, *state* → *nation and language*, we find such states as France, England/Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, Poland, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Andorra, China, Japan, Vietnam and Korea, Madagascar, South Africa, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea in addition to the Empire of Alexander of Macedonia and the Roman Empire (ibid.: 165–386).

Szul's approach to language is unique, as evidenced by the subtitle of the book and by the following statement:

Language (or rather proficiency in it) is a commodity that is bought and sold (...). And like goods and services, languages are more or less profitable (...). In this way, language becomes a factor in socioeconomic stratification, both on the scale of individual societies and on the scale of the world as a whole – which is best exemplified by the global role of English.

(Szul 2009: 8; translation ours)

All in all, it can be said that both these extensive works provide a very reliable and useful basis for further, more detailed research on language policy. Lubaś offers an in-depth analysis of linguistic transformations in the Slavic countries at the end of the 20th century and shows Poland against this background, which makes his book particularly valuable. Szul's study is highly relevant, as it draws attention to many facts that are either passed over in silence or understated by linguists, for whom language is a value in itself, as it is language that binds a nation together and allows it to survive even in the absence of state institutions.

5.2. Language policy in Poland at the turn of the millennium

Unlike many Slavic countries, Poland did not experience major national or linguistic problems in the late 20th century. On the other hand, it was one of those Slavic countries that, along with others, joined the European Union in 2004, which in itself was bound to provoke considerable reflection and discussion about our place in Europe, including the place of our language among European languages. Another factor affecting linguistic reflection at that time was that not merely the century but the millennium was nearing its end, which encouraged turn-of-the-millennium reassessments. It is worth recalling here, first of all, a general volume on the state of Polish edited by Pisarek (1999), as well as two works narrower in scope, focusing on phenomena which were closer to the in-

terests of PFL specialists, i.e. promotion of Polish abroad (Mazur 1998), and Polish language policy at the time (Mazur 1999).

The last of these contains the proceedings of a conference organized by Jan Mazur, and was designed by the editor as a very ambitious endeavor with the intention to provide, on the one hand, overviews of past activities undertaken by prominent Polish specialists, and on the other, to offer guidance to the central institutions of Poland, such as offices of the President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, Culture and Media Committee of the Polish Parliament, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Broadcasting Council and the General Council for Higher Education. Here is what the editor wrote in the introduction about the idea behind the conference:

The political breakthrough in Poland after 1989 and the dynamic changes in Central and Eastern Europe accelerated the developmental processes taking place in the languages of individual countries and nations. The growing momentum of the processes of interference between different varieties of Polish and the massive influx of borrowings, especially from English, resulted in the weakening of the unity of the system of standard Polish, disruption of norms and occurrence of free variants, leading to the development of destandardization tendencies.

In contrast, the integrative tendencies in Europe, the process of universalization of languages and cultures, resulting in the marginalization of smaller, less prestigious and less widely-used languages, raise concerns about the fate of Polish abroad, not only as a means of communication and a sign of the ethnic identity of its speakers, but also as a language of business communication and a key to the rich, over a thousand years old culture of one of the significant nations of Europe.

All these processes make it necessary for the subject, goals, directions and tasks of Polish language policy both at home and abroad to be addressed.

(Mazur 1999: 7; translation ours)

The papers published in this volume are divided into three parts. The first (pp. 13–46) is devoted to general problems and contains three articles discussing the essence and meaning of language policy (Pisarek), the most important tasks that language policy is facing in Poland (Lubaś), and the program of Polish language policy (Gajda). The second part (pp. 49–134) includes papers on internal Polish language policy, and in particular the codification and normalization of Polish (Markowski & Podracki), the teaching of correct Polish usage at school (Zgółka), policy with respect to language learning (Grucza), and the media as an agent and object of language policy (Majkowska). The third part (pp. 137–157), devoted to foreign language policy in Poland, features two papers, one on the tasks of the language policy of the Republic of Poland in the field of teaching Polish among the Polish community abroad, Poles residing abroad and foreigners (Mazur), and another on the assumptions underlying the system of

certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign and second language (Marty-niuk). The fourth part (pp. 161–188) contains a record of the discussion held at the conference, a summary of the findings of the conference on Polish language policy at the turn of the millennium and, finally, a program of Polish language policy developed by Stanisław Gajda. It was among the findings that the aforementioned recommendations for the central institutions of Poland are included. The key aims of Polish language policy in turn are formulated as follows (p. 172):

- preservation of the vitality of the Polish language as well as its presence and conditions for development in all areas of social life;
- reinforcing the status of Polish as the first language in Poland;
- attention to linguistic appropriateness in the media, in public institutions, in schools at various levels and in the Church;
- modification of the curriculum and methods of teaching Polish at school;
- promotion of the Polish language abroad;
- promotion of proficiency in other languages in Poland;
- providing necessary conditions for the preservation and development of national and ethnic minority languages in Poland.

In his introduction to the Polish language policy program, Gajda includes very important remarks and reservations, which are worth quoting here:

The “Program” was not born out of a desire to impose a unified model for practicing language policy. The modern era is a time of fundamental political and cultural transformation in Poland. New times require a new language policy. The “Program” attempts to formulate **the basis for such a new Polish national and state language policy**. It appears that it must be based to a greater extent on the involvement of **multiple entities**, and be more **democratic** and more **dynamic** than in the past. This is because the program is intended to support the emerging communicative order. Thus, it is not a register of detailed tasks of language policy. Instead, it can (and probably should) become a reference point for the development of various more concrete plans of action.

(Gajda 1999: 179–180; translation ours, emphasis original)

5.3. Poland's accession to the European Union in Polish language policy

Fundamental to the issues discussed here is a collection on Polish language policy in the European Union (Warchała & Krzyżyk 2008), which contains the proceedings of the 6th Forum Kultury Słowa (Forum on Linguistic Etiquette), organized by the Council of the Polish Language and the University of Silesia, which took place in Katowice in October 2005. This is a series of conferences at which only plenary sessions are held, with papers delivered by the best Polish specialists

in the field. Furthermore, there is usually plenty of time for discussion, and the participants' statements are recorded and published in the proceedings. Consequently, both the forums themselves and the proceedings volumes represent current state of linguistic research in Poland on a given academic problem. In the volume under discussion, of particular interest are papers on issues such as language policy in selected European countries (Pisarek 2008), the objectives of Polish language policy in the European Union (Pawłowski 2008), and the promotion of Polish abroad (Dąbrowska 2008).

Selected excerpts from these three papers are worth quoting. Having presented three aspects of language policy (legal matters, issues of Polish usage, and the educational dimension), as well as the types of language policy carried out abroad (policy of assimilation, non-intervention, language differentiation, appreciation of the official language, and the policy of bilingualism and trilingualism), Pisarek analyzes approaches to language policy in selected European countries (France, Germany, Estonia and the Czech Republic), which leads him to formulate the following conclusions:

The differences between European Union member states in terms of their language policy are so large that they seem to preclude the existence of any single European or EU standard. (...) In practice, these model differences between countries with opposing language policy models are not so great. They are reduced, for one thing, by the Council of Europe's and the European Union's activities to promote minority languages, institutionalized in the form of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL), which, among others, have enriched the French Republic with the "languages of France." Secondly, the reduction of differences between European countries is influenced by European legal regulations. While the sphere of language policy is an internal affair of each EU member state, legal regulations of other spheres, such as consumer protection, exert impact on language policy.

(Pisarek 2008: 105; translation and emphasis ours)

Pawłowski (2008) begins with a discussion of the linguistic structure of the European Union, followed by an overview of the opportunities and threats faced by the Polish language in the EU, with particular attention paid to the influence of Russian on the status of our language. Then, he analyzes the prestige of Polish in connection with Poles' level of education, proposing in conclusion guidelines on how to promote the Polish language in the EU. According to him, the community at whom this promotional campaign should be aimed may be divided into three circles. The first of these comprises residents of Poland, who are the target group of "an effective language policy that includes education, counseling and moderate supervision of language use in public, social and religious institutions" (ibid: 137; translation ours). The second circle includes residents of the former Polish territories, and Polish immigrants in various countries, forming Polish

communities abroad, to whom a specific language policy is directed by representatives of state institutions (the Senate of the Republic of Poland, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education), as well as foundations and associations (including Association “Polish Community”, the Semper Polonia Foundation, the Foundation Aid to Poles in the East, and the Polonijne Centrum Nauczycielskie, i. e. a teacher training center for Polish teachers abroad, in Lublin), and the media. In the third circle, Pawłowski places citizens of the EU and other European countries with no familial or cultural ties to Poland, observing that **“until the accession on May 1, 2004, Polish language policy did not take into account, or even worse, underestimated this group”** (2008: 138; translation and emphasis ours). His extensive study concludes with 18 recommendations – some general and some more specific – concerning Polish language policy in the EU (pp. 138–143). He summarizes his well-documented considerations in the following way:

In the current historical context, Poland is well placed to become the representative Slavic language of the EU. But will this opportunity be seized? There are two opposing arguments on this issue. For the past 200 years, Polish language policy has been dominated by an attitude of defense against the external threat posed by German and Russian languages and the resulting purist attitude. In such a historical context, it is undoubtedly difficult to overcome the siege mentality overnight and initiate a well-organized policy of external language promotion.

However, the effectiveness of defending the language against real threats so far has proven that Polish society has a substantial capacity to adapt to new conditions, which, in the European context, may facilitate a change in the orientation of Polish language policy from one focusing on defense and purism to an assertive one, treating external language expansion as one of its priorities.

(Pawłowski 2008: 146; translation and emphasis ours)

The very title of Dąbrowska's contribution, in English “Let's do our own part! The upsides and downsides of promoting Polish abroad”, indicates her focus on the practical aspects of promotional activities. At the beginning the author points out that the tradition of teaching Polish as a foreign language is more than 300 years old, whereas her main concern is the evaluation of Polish language policy after Poland's accession to the EU, including student exchange programs, which have led to increasing numbers of foreigners learning Polish at Polish universities. Dąbrowska reports, for instance, that between 8,800 and 10,500 foreigners studied in our country in the academic year 2004/2005, while noting that specialists saw an upward trend here. Outside Poland, approximately 200,000 students studied Polish in primary and secondary schools, with more than half in countries such as Ukraine (50,000), the US (25,500), Lithuania (25,100), Germany (23,000) and Belarus (20,000). All in all, she observes several positive developments in this regard, such as increased interest in the Polish

language in Europe, caused by Poland's accession to the EU; the establishment of a language proficiency certification system for Polish as a foreign language; well-qualified staff in Poland for teaching Polish as a foreign and second language; and, finally, a large selection of modern textbooks for teaching Polish language and culture to foreigners. At the same time, she called for a more decisive promotion of the Polish language abroad and the allocation of more funds for informational and promotional activities, stressing that the opportunities brought about by the formation and activities of the Solidarity movement, which changed the course of history in Central Europe and the balance of power in the world, should not be squandered (Dąbrowska 2008: 191–192).

In addition to the papers, Warchala and Krzyżyk's collection presents the results of a survey commissioned by the Council of the Polish Language and conducted on a representative random sample of 1,133 adult Poles (Warchala & Krzyżyk 2008: 234–243). It is worth noting, by way of an example, that when asked why it is important to pay attention to the way we speak Polish, respondents gave such answers as: "Polish is a value that binds the nation together and needs to be cherished" (35.4%), "I was taught at home to care about my native language" (19.4%), "cultured people should speak [Polish] correctly" (19.5%), "correct speech facilitates communication" (12.3%). On the other hand, in the contemporary everyday Polish, the respondents were particularly offended by obscenities (86.3%), foreignisms (51.4%), careless pronunciation (44.7%) and limited vocabulary (24.1%) (Warchala & Krzyżyk 2008: 234–235; since the respondents could select multiple answers, the percentages do not add up to 100%). While an attempt to capture Poles' views on the contemporary Polish is commendable, it is striking that the survey, which took place in January 2005, when Poland was already a member of the European Union, did not address in any respect the new situation of Polish among other European languages, as one of the official languages of the EU. This is all the more surprising given that the results of the survey were to be presented and discussed at a conference on Polish language policy in the context of EU membership. Thus, as can be seen, the organizer of the conference, **the Board of the Council of the Polish Language, on the one hand, was aware that Poland's accession to the EU was an important, or even groundbreaking, event which prompted serious reflection on Polish language policy in the EU, yet on the other hand, it completely ignored this historic event while commissioning research on the linguistic awareness of Poles.**

A very interesting initiative was launched in the year 2010 by Teresa Garbacił-Jeziorska of the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. With the help of employees of Polish diplomatic missions, she published a report on the systems of language promotion abroad run by selected countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). This 40-page study

included information on the promotion policies carried out by the following countries: Great Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Hungary, Italy, China, Japan and South Korea. It is possible to observe that on the one hand, the text included information on the promotion of so-called global languages (English, French, Spanish, German, Chinese, and Russian), but, on the other, on the promotion of the national languages of European nations (Dutch, Portuguese, Italian, Swedish, and Hungarian) and the nations of the Far East (Japanese and Korean).

In her concluding remarks, the author highlighted two phenomena:

1. A common feature of most of the analyzed systems is the existence of at least one leading institution which is committed by the bylaws to the promotion of language teaching abroad. It should be noted that what underlies the activity of almost all institutions alike is the promotion of culture (...).
2. It is an urgent task to create a coherent system for promoting the teaching of Polish as a foreign language in Poland, covering the teaching of all age groups, as well as language for specific purposes (e.g., tourism or business). The "Directions for the Promotion of Poland before 2015," mentioned at the outset, propose creating an institution responsible for the preparation of an appropriate educational offer, tailored to the needs of the domestic and foreign markets and various types of audience, the development of curricula, textbooks, as well as online courses and teaching aids. In the Polish debate there also appeared the idea of building a multifunctional institution along the lines of the Goethe Institute or the Cervantes Institute.

(MFA 2011: 39–40; translation ours)

A year later, a study commissioned by the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was published concerning the challenges facing Polish language policy (Dąbrowska, Miodunka, and Pawłowski 2012). It consists of three parts, the first of which, authored by Adam Pawłowski, is devoted to the historical conditions and goals of foreign promotion of Polish language. In it, the author draws attention to the history, current situation and the future of Polish language policy, discusses the concept of the power of language, and presents the benefits and difficulties of language promotion abroad. His section is concluded with a presentation of specific goals of Polish language policy.

In the second part of the book, Władysław T. Miodunka discusses the teaching of Polish as part of Polish education, also with reference to Polish communities in various countries of the world, devoting much attention to education in the USA, which is considered the largest and best organized Polish education system abroad. It is also the education system which has been the topic of the greatest number of studies on the history and sociology of education and on the teaching of Polish language and culture. Polish primary and secondary education abroad,

which exists in more than 50 countries around the world, performs very important and socially useful work, while it is foreign universities that constitute the most admired place where Polish is taught abroad, usually as a foreign language, which the author considers in general terms. He then moves on to the education of foreigners in Poland, both at the level of primary and secondary education in Polish as a second language, as well as at the level of higher education, where Polish is taught as a foreign and second language. The second part concludes with a presentation and analysis of data concerning the system of certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign language. Miodunka provides data for the years 2004–2011 regarding the number of certificate exam takers at different levels of Polish language proficiency (B1, B2, C2), the grades obtained, as well as the examinees' country of origin, age and gender.

The Polish studies program at foreign universities usually begins with regular instruction in Polish as a foreign language, taught by a local or visiting teacher from Poland. It is only when a university employs an independent researcher – usually a professor specializing in Polish literature, culture or civilization, less often in Slavic or Polish linguistics – that the program can develop further leading to the establishment of an organizational unit such as a teaching and research institute or department established. In Poland, all such units are customarily referred to as *polonistyka*, i. e. 'Polish studies (division)', and the nature of their activity, which depends on the time of their establishment, the number of students, the size of the teaching staff, etc., is often overlooked. It is for this reason that Polish studies divisions abroad are the subject matter of the third part, written by Anna Dąbrowska, who emphasizes in the introduction that it is necessary to support foreign Polish studies divisions in various ways due to their prestige and achievements, reflected by the quality of their research, teaching and translation activities. In providing a general overview of Polish studies divisions in countries where they are most prevalent, the author simultaneously draws attention to the fact that some of these divisions are facing a crisis, the causes of which need to be carefully identified in order to assist them without interfering in internal university affairs.

Dąbrowska addresses a very important issue here, namely the mutual cooperation between foreign Polish studies divisions and Polish Institutes, of which there were twenty-two in twenty countries around the world by the end of 2011. Polish Institutes are involved in "promoting Polish culture," but this does not necessarily mean that all of them offer Polish language instruction (at the beginning of 2011, only ten institutions were conducting Polish language courses, while a few others supported such instruction in various forms; pp. 53–54). A similar situation exists at the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, whose "main objective is to increase the value of the Polish brand and to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of how the cultural dimension of the Polish brand is communicated"

(data from the Adam Mickiewicz Institute's website as of December 2011; *ibid*: 56). By analyzing both the Institute's bylaws and activity reports, the author concludes that the Adam Mickiewicz Institute "does not regard the Polish language as an inherent element of culture" (*ibid*: 56; translations ours).

The author ends the section on Polish studies abroad with conclusions and recommendations, among which is the "establishment of departments of Polish studies and professorial positions" (*ibid*: 58; translation ours), as well as the "coordination of the activities of all state institutions and non-governmental organizations, leading to the optimal utilization of funds allocated for the promotion of the Polish language abroad" (*ibid*: 60; translation ours).

Thus, it is clear that both the 2011 report by the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 2012 study by experts in the promotion of Polish language and culture fully agree on one point: the need for coordination in promoting the Polish language through a leading institution specialized in the promotion of Polish language and culture. Such an institution does exist in Poland and it is the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, but the problem lies in the fact that the Institute focuses on promoting Polish culture, paying little attention to the Polish language. Therefore, all expert opinions, recommendations and proposals remain in the realm of wishful thinking, with individual ministries either failing to implement them at all, or implementing them fragmentarily, and without proper coordination.

5.4. The program and objectives for the promotion of the Polish language abroad according to Adam Pawłowski

A linguist who relatively frequently comments on the Polish language policy is Professor Adam Pawłowski of the University of Wrocław. Since he not only shares interesting ideas on the topic, but also outlines an action plan in this area, it is worth taking a closer look at his views.

It was already at the conference "Polish Language Policy in the European Union" (2008) that he delivered a paper that can be considered programmatic, as indicated in its title, "Tasks of the Polish Language Policy in the European Union." Concluding his meticulously documented remarks on the tasks of Polish language policy in the European Union, Pawłowski referred to the metaphor that Pope John Paul II used with reference to a united Europe:

which, in the spiritual sphere, should breathe with "two lungs," the eastern and the western one. The European Union, seen from a communicative perspective, appears as a vast space for the flow of people, capital, thoughts, ideas and views resting not on two, but on three linguistic pillars: Romance, Germanic and Slavic. The advantage of such a

concept, in addition to respecting historical conditions, is also that it defines the desired linguistic profile of a European capable of conscious and active participation in the life not only of their own country or region, but of the entire Union. Such a profile would consist of a global language (with English as a natural candidate), a Germanic language (with German as a natural candidate), a Romance language allowing communication throughout the Latin world (with several natural candidates) and a Slavic language of the Union (with Polish as a natural candidate).

(Pawłowski 2008: 145–146; translation ours)

In subsequent work Pawłowski returned to this concept several times, modifying its name, ultimately choosing to conceptualize it as the three communication pillars of the European Union: Romance, Germanic and Slavic. Here is what he said about the goals of promoting Polish abroad in a study on the challenges of Polish language policy published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Pawłowski 2012). Each goal is accompanied by comments in the text, indicating ways to achieve it and its preferred target groups. However, we will present these goals in the form of slogans to make them easier to remember and implement for current and future Polish language teachers abroad:

- *A permanent presence of Polish in the European and, where possible, global communication space.*
- *Recognizability of written Polish and the sound of spoken Polish.*
- *Debunking the stereotype of Polish as a niche and less useful language.*
- *Improving the overall image of the Polish language* by pointing out its association with the transformations after the year 1989, the heroes of the breakthrough, such as Lech Wałęsa and Pope John Paul II, or the Solidarity movement, also with world-famous artists, writers, cultural figures, and recognizable athletes.
- *Supporting educational programs* by activities such as writing textbooks, training language teachers, teaching and research staff, and certification of language proficiency levels in Polish.
- *Promotion of Polish in the media*, which create a space of permanent symbolic violence that affects all participants in the semiosphere.
- *Popularizing the “three communication pillars” model as the optimal solution for Europe.* This model is based on teaching the most important languages, representing the global language (English) and the various language groups in Europe: Germanic (German), Romance (e.g. French) and Slavic (Polish).

(Pawłowski 2012: 18–26; translation and emphasis ours)

The same author published another important article in the special issue of *Poradnik Językowy* dedicated to the Polish language outside Poland (Pawłowski 2015). He proposes here a new definition of promotion, which is general, but easily adaptable to language promotion. The definition reads:

Promotion is a complex communication activity aimed at making products, institutions, individuals, initiatives, ideas, or views recognizable, popular and well-liked.

Achieving these goals requires the thoughtful and planned creation of a comprehensive information system, encompassing participants, channels of transmission, patterns of content and legal regulations of its operation.

(Pawłowski 2015: 147; translation ours)

Later in the same article, the author also provides a new definition of language:

(Language is) one of the information subsystems operating within the state management system, enabling processes of interpersonal and social communication in the areas of administration, economy, culture, etc., while also contributing to the formation of a community of users, its prestige and economic potential. (...) Contrary to idealistic notions in traditional humanities, this subsystem would exhibit features that make it similar to economic entities. Three characteristics seem particularly relevant in this regard: the presence of professional personnel, the imperative of innovation, and profitability.

(Pawłowski 2015: 148; translation ours)

After providing this definition, the author assesses the potential for promoting Polish in terms of professional personnel, innovation and profitability (viability), demonstrating that, remarkably, our language has several important assets.

In 2018, a collective work entitled *Nauczanie i promocja języka polskiego w świecie. Diagnoza – stan – perspektywy* [Teaching and Promotion of the Polish Language Abroad: Diagnosis, State, Perspectives] was published by the University of Silesia. It was developed at the request of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in Warsaw, by an authoring team composed of Władysław T. Miodunka and Jolanta Tambor as co-chairs, along with Aleksandra Achteлик, Roman Cudak, Danuta Krzyżyk, Jan Mazur, Bernadeta Niesporek-Szamburska, Kazimierz Ożoga, Adam Pawłowski, Danuta Praszalowicz, Anna Seretny, Roman Szul, Agnieszka Tambor, and Tadeusz Zgółka. As stated by the authors in the preamble:

the monograph was prepared with the awareness that for the first time in history, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education turned to specialists with a proposal to develop a strategy for teaching and promoting the Polish language abroad. What is more, this decision was announced to specialists in Polish studies from numerous countries around the world at a meeting held during the 6th World Congress of Polish Studies in Katowice (2016), indirectly promising a new opening in this area.

(Miodunka & Tambor 2018: 20; translation ours)

The volume opens with a chapter devoted to the linguistic situation of children from Polish families migrating to different countries around the world. An overview follows of the tasks, the functions and the role of institutions providing Polish language teaching abroad with particular emphasis on Polish education in the East. The education of children and adolescents with migratory experience in the Polish education system is subsequently presented. The fifth chapter focuses

on teachers of Polish abroad, distinguishing between teachers of Polish as a native language abroad and teachers of Polish as a heritage, second, or foreign language, The following chapter proposes regulations concerning the financial and legal situation of Polish-language education abroad. The next three chapters were devoted to higher education abroad, addressing the problems of Polish language teachers and language classes in foreign and Polish academic institutions, the education of foreign students in Poland, and finally, language classes and Polish studies programs in the Far East, Southeast and Central Asia, South and North America, Australia, Africa and Europe.

The tenth chapter is devoted to the promotion of the Polish language and efforts aimed at raising its status abroad. Since it was authored by Adam Pawłowski, we include it here as a supplement to his earlier ideas. This 20-page text concludes with a SWOT analysis of Polish language promotion. It is worth noting that among the strengths of promotion, the report recognizes:

the large number of native speakers of Polish; a significant percentage of so-called Europeanisms in Polish, i. e., words and expressions that are common to most European languages; and the relative ease with which Polish is understood and mastered by Europeans speaking Romance or Germanic languages.

(ibid.: 268; translation ours)

On the other hand, weaknesses include, for example, the “multitude of institutions involved in language promotion, the fragmentation and lack of coordination of their activities; the lack of a single institution managing language promotion and teaching (a Polish equivalent of the Goethe, Cervantes, Pushkin, Confucius Institutes, etc.)” (translation ours). Opportunities for promotion include Poland’s growing role as a transit country on the east-west and north-south axes, generating the need for language dissemination; Poland’s political ambitions to play the role of a representative of Central Europe. Threats to promotion include:

the persistence of the notion of “Mitteleuropa” as a colonized no-man’s land between the resource-rich East and the technologically dominant West, where German was traditionally used as the ‘lingua franca of the Slavs’ (an auto- and heterostereotype); persistently circulated negative autostereotypes about the Polish language (difficult, useless, worthless, niche).

(Miodunka & Tambor 2018: 268–269; translation ours)

In conclusion, we would like to return to one of the conditions for the promotion of the Polish language, which is the availability of professional personnel. There is no doubt that we can currently speak of such personnel, which includes all glottodidacticians involved in the theory and practice of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language, as well as scholars involved in the development of language policy programs and methods, such as Adam Pawłowski.

5.5. State authorities or academic institutions – who is responsible for language policy in Poland?

As a research area, language policy is a relatively new phenomenon in Polish linguistics, dating back to the late 20th century. Nevertheless, it needs to be said that during those years a number of works have been published of great importance for language policy in general, and particularly for the promotion of Polish abroad. The foundation of Polish language policy is based on two general studies discussed above: Lubaś (2009) and Szul (2009). For the promotion of Polish language abroad, the following are of special importance: Pisarek (1999), Mazur (1999), Warchala and Krzyżyk (2008) and Dąbrowska, Miodunka, and Pawłowski (2012). It can be stated with confidence that **the turn of the millennium, the beginning of the 21st century, the political, social and cultural transformations that took place in Poland at the end of the 20th century, as well as Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, have resulted in an extraordinary mobilization of the linguistic community in Poland. This led to the preparation and publication of monographs, as well as the discussed collective volumes. As a result, we have obtained a meticulously designed program of Polish linguistic policy aimed at promoting the Polish language among Polish citizens, in Polish communities dispersed around the world, and finally, among foreigners of non-Polish origin, including in particular representatives of countries that do not belong to the European Union.**

Looking at the achievements of Polish language policy from the perspective of the last 20 years, we may venture to assess its practical results, whose magnitude does not correspond to that anticipated in the programs. This can be easily observed by comparing the individual tasks set forth in these programs with the actual outcomes achieved. This has happened because the intellectual efforts of the most prominent Polish linguists did not find proper understanding and resonance among representatives of the so-called Polish political class, who lack awareness of the significance of the period in which they happened to be active, as well as of the opportunities presented to Polish culture, with the Polish language at the forefront.

Evidently, the problem of neglect in Polish language policy became most apparent in Mazur (1999), where it was reported that presentations by representatives of the three most important ministries, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration were not delivered during the conference. This disregard for Polish language policy by representatives of the central authorities not only needs to be noted, but also appropriately condemned.

Noticing the neglect of Polish language policy by the higher echelons in the relevant ministries, one should at the same time note the extraordinary mobilization among the lower ranks, such as specialists involved in teaching of Polish as a foreign language; Polish language scholars abroad and at home; historians specializing in the history of Central Europe, including the history of Poland; and finally, among translators of Polish literature into many languages of the world. This mobilization is clearly evidenced by associations registered in Poland and regularly held conventions, conferences and congresses, demonstrating the continuity of the ongoing work, as well as the willingness to cooperate across national borders. **This willingness to promote Polish culture, including the language, is particularly gratifying in the case of specialists working outside our country, among foreigners sincerely dedicated to teaching Polish language and culture, conducting scientific research in these fields, and translating our literature into many languages of the world. While they may not have written any Polish language promotion programs, they have done much more by “doing their own part.”**

5.6. Certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign language as a tool to promote its teaching and knowledge

5.6.1. Introduction of certification of the knowledge of Polish as a foreign language

The certification system for PFL proficiency is exceptional in the entire history of teaching Polish as a foreign language for several reasons. First and foremost, it is a system created by the legislative authority of the Polish state, namely the Sejm, as a result of the amendment to the Act on the Polish Language of April 11, 2003 (see Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland No. 73 of April 30, 2003). The amended Act was supplemented by two executive regulations of the Minister of National Education and Sport on October 15, 2003: one on the State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language, and the other on examinations in Polish as a foreign language (see Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland No. 191 of November 12, 2003). It follows from these legal documents that the State Certification Commission is the supreme body overseeing the organization and conduct of certification exams, accepting applications with regard to the needs for conducting examinations and confirming the proficiency in Polish as a foreign language with certificates at three levels of proficiency: basic, referred to as threshold level in Europe (B1), intermediate (B2) and advanced (C2). These legal documents laid the foundation for the system, which

began to operate in practice in June 2004, when the first certification exams were held. It is worth noting that the introduction of certification exams in Polish as a foreign language coincided with Poland's accession to the EU on May 1, 2004, which was very beneficial for the Polish language. Poles, as the largest Slavic nation entering the EU at that time, met with quite a lot of interest, which extended to Polish culture, science and language.

5.6.2. Development of the certification system

The development of the PFL certification system was presented by Miodunka (2013b), who also dealt with the certification of proficiency in Polish in a globalizing world (Miodunka 2011) and the quality of Polish mastered by foreigners (Miodunka 2013c).

To provide an idea of the reality of the certification system of Polish as a foreign language, we will present, for example, the analysis of the data for 2012 and 2013, when the number of those taking the certificate exams approached two thousand per year. The year 2013 was the second year when certification exams in Polish as a foreign language functioned as **high-stakes tests**, owing to the entry into force, on August 15, 2012, of the Law on Polish Citizenship (Journal of Laws of February 14, 2012), which requires applicants for Polish citizenship to confirm their knowledge of Polish with a certificate issued by the State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language. High-stakes tests are those the passing of which gives access to other socially important values that matter in a given country (educational, legal, economic). A prime example of a high-stakes examination is the new high school-leaving examination. Successful completion of this examination is a prerequisite for admission to university, while the obtained score determines the possibility of securing admission to a prestigious higher education institution in a specific academic discipline. The decision of granting of high-stakes status to examinations does not rest with the bodies conducting these examinations, but with higher authorities, usually of a governmental nature, who are responsible for the preparation of legislation through ministries and its approval by the parliament. In this particular case, credit is attributed to the Department of Citizenship and Repatriation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which formulated the legislation, and the Polish Parliament, which subsequently ratified it.

As a result of the certification exams being designated as high-stakes examinations in 2012, the number of candidates who took these exams in that year exceeded 1,000 for the first time since 2004, reaching 1,113 persons. In 2013, the number increased to 2,073 individuals, followed by 1,987 individuals in 2014, and 1,970 in 2015.

5.6.3. The administration of certification exams in 2013

Candidates taking the certification exams in 2013 were assessed at three proficiency levels: B1 (basic level in Poland and threshold level in Europe), B2 (upper intermediate level) and C2 (advanced level). In order to pass the certificate exam, a minimum score of 24 out of 40, points (60%) had to be achieved across all its components, including listening comprehension, grammatical accuracy, reading comprehension, writing proficiency in Polish, and oral communication skills in the language (including monologues, dialogues, and discussion of various texts). The overall evaluation of the exam, recorded on the certificate, was determined by the cumulative score obtained in each skill area, and ranged from failing grades (totalling less than 120 points out of 200, or less than 60%, or failure in one or several language skills) to excellent grades for papers scoring between 190 and 200 points.

The distribution of candidates across different proficiency levels was as follows: B1–1,586 individuals, B2–378 individuals, C2–109 individuals. As observed, candidates at the B1 level passers constituted the largest group (more than 75% of all candidates). It is noteworthy that the significant interest in this level stemmed from the requirement of passing the B1-level exam for citizenship application purposes. In reality, a substantial portion of B1 candidates possessed a higher level of proficiency in Polish, such as B2, C1, or even C1. This was confirmed by the results of the B1 certification exams, and conversations during the oral exams indicated that nearly all of these individuals had acquired the language through direct interactions with Polish speakers over several years, rather than through formal instruction. However, many individuals had to work on their Polish skills on their own, which was especially evident in their written works.

In 2013, there was a significant increase in the number of countries of origin of the candidates, rising from 36 countries in previous years to 80. Among foreigner candidates, individuals from Ukraine constituted the largest group, with a total of 1,018 candidates, accounting for a remarkable 49% of all candidates. Candidates from Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus accounted for a total of 68% of all candidates, while individuals from former Soviet Union countries constituted a substantial group of 1,507 individuals, accounting for 72.7% of the candidates. These figures clearly demonstrate that **the opportunity to apply for Polish citizenship was primarily utilized by foreigners originating from former USSR countries, who chose to regularize their legal status in the Republic of Poland through the conversion of their permanent residence permits to citizenship of a European Union country.** It can be asserted that, similarly to the past, Polish citizenship and the prerequisite knowledge of Polish, served indirectly to confer the status of a European Union citizen.

Apart from residents of former USSR countries, the exams were also taken by adults originating from other parts of the world, for example Vietnam (with a remarkable increase in the number of Vietnamese candidates to 35 in 2013). Among the candidates, we find individuals from countries far from Poland, such as Turkey (21 individuals), Japan (16), India (13), Syria (9), South Korea (8), Mongolia (8), Tunisia (7), Egypt (6), Brazil (5), Algeria (5), Somalia (4), Macedonia (3), Albania (2), Sri Lanka (2), Cameroon (2), Bangladesh (1), Ghana (1), Costa Rica (1), Cuba (1), Madagascar (1), Nigeria (1), South Africa (1), Sierra Leone (1), Togo (1), Uganda (1), Venezuela (1), and so on.

As a result of this distribution of candidates' countries of origin, in 2013 the number of people of Polish origin did not exceed 15% (308 individuals).

In 2013, a new grading structure for exam results became apparent, particularly noticeable at the B1 level, where 1,586 individuals took the exams. Out of these, 401 individuals (25.3% of those taking the B1 level exam) achieved an excellent grade, 664 (42%) attained a very good grade, 308 individuals (19.4%) received a good grade, and 96 individuals (6%) obtained a satisfactory grade. Only 117 individuals (7.3%) failed the exam at this level. Thus, it can be said that as many as 69% of those who took the exam demonstrated at least a very good level of proficiency at the B1 level, which is certainly encouraging. This finding also confirms the previously mentioned observation that the choosing the B1 level did not necessarily reflect the actual level of proficiency in Polish, but rather fulfilled one of the requirements for obtaining Polish citizenship. In addition, a (very) good or excellent grade leaves a stronger impression on everyone, regardless of the fact that it was obtained at B1 level.

The new grading structure, which significantly deviates from the previous grading structure, is characterized by the following distribution: approximately 20% of grades are classified as excellent (compared to earlier long-term data indicating approximately 5–6%), around 40% are classified as very good (compared to approximately 45% in the long-term data), approximately 23% are classified as good (compared to approximately 30% in the long-term data), approximately 8% are classified as satisfactory, and only 8.5% are classified as insufficient (compared to approximately 15% in the long-term data).

5.6.4. Polish language certification after 2015

In 2015, modifications were made to the PFL certification system and the way certification exams are conducted. This decision was determined by the Act of June 12, 2015 amending the Act on the Polish Language and the Act on the Organization and Functioning of Pension Funds (Journal of Laws 2015, item 1132). The Act adopted by the Sejm was complemented by two executive regu-

lations of the Minister of Science and Higher Education: the first on December 11, 2015 on the State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language (Journal of Laws 2015, item 2288) and the second on February 26, 2016 on examinations in Polish as a foreign language (Journal of Laws 2016, item 405). All these documents introduced a number of significant changes. In accordance with these regulations, on May 10, 2016, the Minister of Foreign Affairs established a new State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language, composed of 14 members: ten specialists in Polish language teaching, one of whom was designated by the Council of the Polish Language, and four representatives of relevant ministries: the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Commission's prerogatives underwent significant changes. Its responsibilities now include supervision over the creation of exam answer sheets, determining the examination schedule, examining the fairness of exam evaluations, conducting examiner training, and issuing certificates. The Commission no longer has the authority to appoint examination committees or conduct examinations, as these tasks are now within the purview licensed examination centers, also known as "authorized entities." State institutions (such as universities), cultural and educational organizations (e. g., those in Polish communities abroad), or private companies (e. g., language schools) can now apply for authorized entity status, if they meet the criteria stipulated in the law. Applications for authorized entity status, reviewed by the State Commission, form the basis for decisions by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Thus, it is not the certification specialists but rather Ministry officials that hold decisive influence over such highly significant decisions. It was by their decision that there were 7 authorized entities in 2016, 21 in 2017, 28 in 2018, 36 in 2019, and 25 in 2020. Within that period, 1,111 persons took the certification exams in 2016, 2,803 in 2017, 5,122 in 2018, 7,440 in 2019, 6,498 in 2020, and 12,888 in 2021 (Janowska 2022: 17).

The 2015 Act allows individuals at various levels of language proficiency to apply for PFL certification. In the group tailored to the needs of adults, these levels include A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2, which encompass all the levels distinguished in the CEFR. In the group tailored to the needs of children and adolescents, four lower levels are recognized: A1, A2, B1 and B2. Experience shows that interest in the levels is not evenly distributed, as the B1 level receives the greatest interest, with 29,628 persons taking the exams between 2016 and 2021. During the same period, 3,097 individuals took the exams at the B2 level; 1,742 at the C1 level; 571 and 657 individuals respectively at the B1 and B2 levels for children and adolescents; 161 at the C2 level; and 6 at the A2 level. Since the 2016 regulation by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education regarding certificate exams does not provide for specific level assessment, we can only

report that 970 individuals passed the exams in 2016, 2,406 in 2017, 4,404 in 2018, and 6,168 in 2019. This indicates that the pass rates for certificate exams were 87.31% in 2016, 86.23% in 2017, 86.01% in 2018, and 83.12% in 2019. Taking into account the fact that the Personal Data Protection Act came into force at the same time, the State Certification Commission does not provide data as to the gender, age or country of origin of the candidates. This explains why the detailed analysis focused on the year 2013 and did not include the most recent data. Simply put, such data is nowadays not available.

Here is the secretary of the State Certification Commission Iwona Janowska's overall assessment of the certification reform:

The certification reform primarily involved expanding the range of exams (in terms of proficiency levels and target groups) and decentralizing the system. The format of the exam itself remained unchanged (...). Thus, the exam certifies the general language proficiency (see Standard Examination Requirements). As experience and practice in other European countries in this regard demonstrates, exams for migrants should diagnose specific skills necessary for daily life and professional purposes in the target language country, as well as elements of sociocultural knowledge. Therefore, it can be inferred that the current state-administered PFL exam does not align optimally with the needs of the largest target group. Nevertheless, it is a highly-demanded exam that determines the fate of foreigners residing in Poland. As a result, in most examination centers, once the application process opens, candidate lists fill up within minutes. Thus, it can confidently be stated that the Polish language certification system, originally designed for testing general language skills, has been "appropriated" for migration purposes.

(Janowska 2022: 17–18; translation ours)

In the current situation, it is possible to analyze data related to individual authorized entities more closely. Unfortunately, there are not many such analyses available, which emphasizes the importance of the article by Domańska and Kajak (2019). It deserves special attention as the only article of this kind thus far and due to the fact that the University of Warsaw's Polonicum Center is one of the main centers for PFL proficiency examinations. After all, the authors state that between September 2016 and March 2019, a total of 1,632 individuals took exams there. During the same period, the number of exam-takers at other popular centers was 818 at the Center for Polish Language and Culture Abroad at the Jagiellonian University, 794 at the Center for Teaching Polish Language and Culture at Lazarski University in Warsaw, 785 at the School of Polish Language and Culture at the University of Wrocław, and 713 at the "Linguae Mundi" Foundation and School of Foreign Language Learning in Warsaw (Domańska & Kajak 2019: 12). It is apparent that Warsaw is the main center for PFL certification in Poland. It is worth noting that there are seven authorized entities operating in the capital, three of which are among the top five most popular centers.

In conclusion of their article, Domańska and Kajak report that among the exam-takers at the University of Warsaw, the largest group consisted of candidates from Ukraine (approximately 48% of exam-takers), Belarus (approximately 19%) and Russia (approximately 7%). In total, individuals from former USSR countries accounted for over 77% of candidates, confirming a long-standing trend (Miodunka 2016: 255). It is also worth noting that individuals of Polish descent accounted for approximately only 0.5% among the test-takers (Domańska & Kajak 2019: 16).

Domańska (2020) conducted an additional analysis of data concerning individuals taking C1 level certification exams, of whom there were 762 in all centers by the end of 2019. The author conducted a survey of 47 persons (32 women and 15 men) who took the exam at the University of Warsaw. Here is how she characterizes the average candidate at this level:

The average candidate who tackled the C1 level of effective operational proficiency (in November 2019 at the authorized entity at the University of Warsaw) is a young, educated woman from Ukraine, who has been living in Poland for 4 years and 7 months. The main reason for her pursuit of the certificate is the opportunity to study at a Polish university, even though she has already earned a university education (bachelor's or master's degree) in her own country.

(Domańska 2020: 67–68; translation ours)

The author noted that the interest in the C1 level is a new trend that emerged in relation to the enactment of the Act on Higher Education and Science on July 20, 2018 (Journal of Laws 2018, item 1668). The Act created the possibility of free studies in Poland for all foreign nationals who began their studies in the academic year 2019/2020 or would begin them in the following years, and who have a certificate confirming their proficiency in Polish at least at the C1 level. Domańska therefore predicts that more and more foreigners will be taking certificate exams at the C1 level, with their main motivation being the opportunity to pursue higher education in Poland (2020: 62). The survey she conducted largely confirmed this hypothesis. Therefore, the author concludes that the certificate of proficiency in Polish is an important, momentous and desirable document that promotes the Polish language abroad (Domańska 2020: 65–66).

Instead of summarizing the information about the PFL proficiency certification process, we would like to present the opinion expressed by the aforementioned researchers from the University of Warsaw. We consider it important because it was expressed by representatives of the younger generation of Polish language glottodidacticians who have been involved in the certification process from the very beginning. The opinion reads as follows:

We consider the results produced in the years 2004–2015 by a nationwide team of Polish language specialists and neophilologists appointed by the Ministry of National Edu-

cation to be one of the greatest achievements of the Polish glottodidactic professional community. The activities of the 10 members of the State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language and over 40 members of the nationwide Team of Task Authors and Examiners (divided into proficiency groups, task authors, and examiners) have led to a qualitative leap in the standardization of curricula, the preparation of teaching materials, proficiency testing, and the preparation of future teaching staff. This achievement has certainly also influenced the quality of education, it introduced an objective tool for verifying the teaching process. It is also worth noting that there has been a change in the way PFL teachers think about their own language. Its prestige has increased in our own eyes because we gained a new opportunity to make comparisons and references (to other foreign languages), as well as a new tool for promoting Polish culture. An additional value was that certification contributed to strengthening the relationships among specialists representing the most important academic centers in Poland, historically responsible for the development and state of Polish language glottodidactics. Certification completed the process initiated by the “Bristol” Association [in 1996 – W.M.].

(Domańska & Kajak 2019: 12–13; translation and emphasis ours)

5.6.5. The role of certification in promoting (and teaching) of the Polish language around the world

Taking into account all the information presented so far regarding the certification of Polish language proficiency in general and in 2012–2014 in particular, it can be concluded that it is mainly the certification of Polish language proficiency that contributes to the (gradual) realization that knowledge of Polish beyond Poland is not limited to Polish communities abroad, but also applies to individuals of non-Polish origin. This claim is strongly supported by statements made by a specialist in teaching Polish as a foreign language, working in the Team of Task Authors and Examiners at the State Commission for the Certification of Proficiency in Polish as a Foreign Language. This opinion is quoted in Miodunka (2016) and comes from a 2015 survey on the impact of certification on the perception and teaching of Polish as a foreign language:

With the implementation of the certification system, **the Polish language abroad ceased to be associated in my mind solely with the presence of Polish emigrants** around the world, and began to be associated also with individuals who do not have Polish roots but aspire to obtain an internationally recognized certificate of proficiency in our language. Not proficiency in English or German as foreign languages, but specifically Polish. In my case, certificate exams were also a way to change students’ awareness during my work abroad. **The possibility of obtaining a certificate**, whose value is equivalent to certificates of proficiency in other (so-called global) languages, **was an argument that allowed me to enhance students’ motivation.**

(quoted in Miodunka 2016: 258; emphasis and translation ours)

While discussing the testing of Polish language proficiency, it is worth noting the rate at which the European standards were applied in proficiency assessment: the Polish version of the original English CEFR (2001), i. e. ESOKJ, was published in 2003, and the standards themselves were applied in the certification of PFL proficiency in the years 2003–2004 (in 2003, legal acts referring to the standards were issued, and in 2004 they were included in the practice of testing Polish language proficiency).

The consideration of European standards is so crucial because it closes the debate on whether Polish can be taught like other foreign languages, including global languages, and whether the extensive inflection of many Slavic languages allows the adoption of the latest teaching methods and approaches, such as the communicative approach, task-based approach, project-based method, or action-oriented learning. The inclusion of European standards should not be seen as limiting the distinctiveness of the Polish language system, but rather as an attempt to teach this system effectively using the latest approaches and methods related to the development of linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, didactic and (intercultural) communication research.

Data on the number of individuals taking certificate exams, proficiency levels in Polish, and grades obtained by foreigners have debunked several stereotypes both within and outside our country. The most important of these is the number of individuals taking certification exams, which clearly contradicts the belief that there are only a handful of Polish language learners.

A further stereotype is the belief that only individuals of Polish descent know the Polish language beyond our country. Earlier, we presented data indicating that the percentage of individuals of Polish ancestry among candidates in 2013 and 2014 was only 15%. Long-term data shows that the percentage of individuals of Polish origin ranges between 25–35% (according to Domańska & Kajak's 2019 data, there were 0.5% of people of Polish ancestry at the University of Warsaw).

Another stereotype is the perception of Polish as a difficult language, which is contradicted by the results of certificate exams. Let us recall, for example, that in 2013, as many as 69% of test-takers achieved at least a very good language competence at the B1 level. These data has potential to be useful in promoting the Polish language abroad.

6. Polish as a second language and as a language of school education

Since Poland's accession to the European Union, there has been a significant increase in the settlement of foreigners in our country. Poland attracts both citizens of other EU member states and, above all, foreigners representing other countries and cultures. The growing number of individuals with migration experience is noticeable at universities and schools of all levels. There is also an increasing number of participants in Polish language courses for foreigners. However, the intensity of this phenomenon varies across different regions of the country. Typically, foreigners tend to settle in larger urban centers. However, proximity, specifically that of the neighboring borderland territories, also plays a role in the decision-making process. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Polish educational system has implemented legislative measures to facilitate educational procedures with the new cohort of students in Polish schools.

The outbreak of war in Ukraine in 2022 has significantly altered Poland's previous perspective on issues concerning the organization and implementation of Polish as a second language instruction. Within the first five months of the conflict alone, more than 5 million war refugees crossed the Polish border. A considerable portion of these refugees settled in Poland, necessitating the establishment of Polish as a second language classes for an unprecedented number of potentially interested individuals, both for school-aged children and adolescents within the educational system, and for adults outside the formal schooling system. The magnitude of this new educational challenge for Polish schools is underscored by the fact that approximately 600,000 male and female students from Ukraine are expected to enroll in Polish schools during the 2022/2023 school year. This influx will be in addition to the existing population of learners with migration experience from various countries, estimated at around 50,000.

6.1. Teaching Polish as a second language in Poland

In an educational context, the term *Polish as a second language* is now accepted in Polish language glottodidactics to refer to the teaching of our language to individuals with migration experience, typically including children of immigrants and political refugees, children belonging to national minorities who use a language other than Polish in their family environment in family environment, as well as Polish re-emigrant children returning to the country after longer stays abroad (mainly in other European Union countries) (cf. Miodunka 2016, Gębal 2018a). In earlier studies, the term *teaching Polish as a second language* also encompassed children and adolescents learning our language in Polish communities abroad. Today, this area of didactics is described in accordance with Western concepts as didactics of Polish as a heritage language (according to American usage) or a language of origin (in German terminology) (Gębal 2018a: 77–86).

The use of the term *second language* in the field of education is often contrasted with its use in a psycholinguistic context, also in Poland. Originally synonymous with *foreign language* and a component of the definition of *Second Language Acquisition* (SLA), where the numbering reflects the order of acquisition (the first language being the mother tongue, and the second language being the first non-native language), it has been redefined to refer to the acquisition or learning of a language in its natural setting, i. e. “in a country or community where it is naturally spoken, as opposed to a foreign language acquired under artificial school conditions, outside the community that uses it” (Arabski 1985: 6).

Thus, the second language is usually acquired in a natural environment, in a country where it is commonly the native language (cf. Lipińska 2003: 42).

In an educational context, the term *second language* applies to speakers for whom the native language is different from the second language. The native language, often referred to today, especially in multicultural countries, as the language of school education, represents the opposing concept to that of a foreign language. These may then be considered extremes on a continuum.

In an educational context, the concept of a second language lies somewhere between the other two terms on this continuum. The development of competence in this area, along with the accompanying teaching objectives, means that under favorable conditions for linguistic development, it acquires a dynamic character and shifts along the described continuum towards the native language/language of school education. This is because individuals with migration experience participating in second language classes are ultimately prepared to participate in all school activities, normally conducted in the native language, i. e. the language of a given educational system.

By applying these approaches and terminological solutions, used with reference to the teaching of Western European languages, to Polish language teaching and the Polish educational system, attention is drawn to the fact that in such a defined context, the key goal of pedagogical activities becomes acculturation-oriented actions achieved through the development of communicative action competence in an immersive setting. The situation is reversed in the case of PFL classes. Foreign learners of our language outside Poland or during short-term stays in our country for language courses outside the educational system work on their communicative competencies, while also developing cultural and intercultural competencies.

To facilitate understanding the boundaries between teaching Polish as a foreign language, as a second language and as a heritage language discussed here, a tabular summary of specific educational areas is presented (see Table 2).

Table 2: Characteristics of the didactic process with reference to teaching Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language (Geßal 2018a: 87–88; translation ours)

Area / educational context	Kindergarten and school (children and adolescents)	Adult education
Polish as a Foreign Language (PFL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – teaching in Polish schools abroad or in foreign schools with Polish as a foreign language; – all educational stages, including early childhood education and bilingual education; – international school exchange projects (Polish teachers in foreign partner schools, foreign students in Polish classes). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – language education at universities abroad; – language education at foreign language schools; – language education at domestic universities, adult education and training centers, language schools, courses in companies that employ foreigners.
Polish as a second language (PSL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – teaching children with migration experience (including Polish children returning to the country after stays abroad), in kindergartens and schools in Poland and in Polish schools abroad; – providing cultural and linguistic support for individuals with migration experience outside the school context (in Poland). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – language education for individuals with migration experience, within the country in adult education and training centers, language schools, courses offered by companies that employ foreigners.

Table 2 (Continued)

Area / educational context	Kindergarten and school (children and adolescents)	Adult education
Polish as heritage language / as language of origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – teaching Polish children in Polish communities abroad, in kindergartens, schools and Polish education centers abroad (Polish as a heritage language); – teaching Polish children abroad, in kindergartens, schools and Polish education centers abroad (Polish as a heritage language); – providing cultural and linguistic support for Polish children outside the school context (in Polish cultural centers) (Polish as a heritage language); – providing cultural and linguistic support for Polish children outside the school context (in Polish cultural centers) (Polish as a heritage language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Polish language and culture courses for individuals of Polish descent in Polish cultural centers (Polish as a heritage language).

Considering the aforementioned categorization, we advocate for the necessity of consistent terminological separation of the three described domains of Polish language glottodidactics. This is supported primarily by the diversity of the intended objectives of learning Polish and the contexts in which its instruction takes place. In strictly methodological terms, we are obviously aware of the fact of the paramount importance attributed to the domain of PFL teaching and the solutions developed within its framework.

6.1.1. Models of conducting second languages classes

The linguistic and cultural education of students with migration experience is implemented within European educational systems through three models of access to education, which reflect the integration policies of individual countries or regions. These models include the integration model, the separation model

and the mixed model (cf. Januszewska & Markowska-Manista 2017). Contemporary Polish legislative solutions align with the separation model, allowing for the creation of segregated groups for Polish as a second language classes and other school activities offered in the Polish core curriculum for general education. However, until 2016, it was the integration model that was the primary approach employed in Polish educational system.

In systems with an integration model, children and adolescents attend classes together with native speakers, even if their language proficiency is not yet satisfactory. Language assistance is provided to them in supplementary classes that accompany the main flow of school activities conducted in the language of the respective educational system. This model is implemented, among others, in the United Kingdom, Portugal, Italy, Austria, and Hungary. It is also in force in Poland. According to specialists, its greatest advantage lies in the swift integration of children and young people with migration experience into the daily school life. From the very beginning of their presence in an educational institution, they become full participants in pedagogical activities in the social dimension. A major disadvantage of the integration model is the often experienced frustration and discouragement among foreign students due to language barriers, which hinder effective communication with peers and proper reception of educational content.

The separation model in turn involves placing students with migration experience in separate, segregated classrooms. They learn in these classes until they achieve a level of language proficiency that enables them to transition to so-called regular classes. Currently, this solution is implemented in Germany. Occasionally, such classes also appear in systems that implement the integration model. However, their role is limited solely to language instruction, meaning that apart from them, students simultaneously participate in other school activities alongside native speakers. This approach to the organization of language education for foreigners is now possible in Poland, following the introduction of a new system by a September 2016 regulation issued by the Minister of National Education. According to Januszewska and Markowska-Manista, the motivation for introducing this new class organization was based on parental feedback indicating that foreign students were impacting negatively the overall teaching quality. The separation model is often criticized for stigmatizing children with migration experience. According to experts, it can lead to a sense of exclusion among immigrant children. The cited researchers also discuss the concept of so-called dispersal, which involves placing foreign students in different classes where students fluent in the language of the host country are present, ultimately facilitating positive relationships with peers from the host country.

The third model, the mixed model, incorporates solutions that combine both concepts described above. It is currently implemented, among others, in Swit-

zerland. From the very beginning of their education, students in segregated classes participate in daily school activities in three school subjects, art, technology, and physical education, alongside native speakers.

Polish preparatory sections for individuals with migration experience, previously often referred to as welcome classes (German: *Willkommensklassen*), are modeled on the concept of the German separation model, but they differ significantly from their prototype. In the German context, learning in *Willkommensklassen* proceeds according to the curriculum designed for individuals with migration experience, which considers such divisions as so-called zero-grade classes aimed at cultural and linguistic preparation for life and education in Germany. Regular schooling begins only after leaving such a class. In Poland, learners in preparatory sections follow the guidelines of the general education curriculum intended for Polish students from the beginning. The main challenge lies in the limited amount of time dedicated to Polish as a second language, of which there are typically only three hours of classes per week, with the possibility of, at the most, additional two hours as a supplement. The ambitious goal of these classes is to enable students to achieve a level Polish proficiency that allows them to participate in compulsory school activities. However, as past practice shows, this outcome is rarely fully achieved.

The military conflict in Ukraine and the resulting unprecedented influx of learners with migration experience has suddenly presented Polish schools with a tangible challenge concerning the existing legislative and organizational frameworks for Polish as a second language classes. The attempt to incorporate these frameworks into everyday educational practice involving such a substantial number of students from a single country and educational system has necessitated the implementation of a number of ad hoc solutions, including those adopted in preparatory sections. For instance, certain classes are facilitated by cultural assistants proficient in Ukrainian, who translate the lessons into this language. These solutions have starkly highlighted the imperative to increase the number of hours dedicated to classes in Polish as a second language, as continuous improvement of language proficiency is essential in devising an effective educational trajectory for learners with migration experience. The legislative modifications have granted municipalities and schools the authority to augment the number of hours dedicated to classes in Polish as a second language, often at the expense of other subjects. At the same time, it should be noted that learners enrolled in preparatory sections currently constitute the largest cohort receiving instruction in Polish as a second language in Polish schools. Nevertheless, there are still students, especially in smaller centers, who attend exclusively additional language classes, while actively participating in regular Polish classes on a daily basis.

6.1.2. Systemic and curricular solutions

Alongside the ongoing reforms in the Polish educational system in recent years, the previously developed solutions for teaching individuals with migration experience who are admitted to our educational institutions have been modified. These changes primarily concern aspects related to the organization of the linguistic development process of migrant learners, including language classes in Polish, referred to as PFL classes.

Starting from the 2016/2017 school year, the pedagogical and didactic principles regarding students with migration experience have been defined by the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of September 9, 2016 regarding the education of non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who have received education in educational systems of other countries (Journal of Laws 2016, item 1453), with later amendments (Journal of Laws 2017, item 1634 and Journal of Laws 2019, item 666).

In accordance with the adopted legislative solutions, foreigner nationals residing in Poland have the right to receive education in public schools under the conditions applicable to Polish citizens. The relevant regulations specifically mention particular groups of individuals with migration experience. These include, among others:

- citizens of all EU member states, citizens of the EFTA member states, namely Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, as well as citizens of Switzerland, as well as their family members who have the right of residence or permanent residence;
- repatriates of Polish origin;
- individuals who have been granted a permanent residence permit, subsidiary protection, tolerated stay permit, humanitarian residence permit, temporary protection, or an EU long-term residence permit on the territory of our country;
- individuals (and their family members) who have been granted refugee status;
- family members of individuals applying for refugee status;
- individuals holding a valid Karta Polaka (Polish Charter);
- individuals entitled to such rights under international agreements;
- scholarship recipients receiving scholarships from the Minister of Education, the school's governing body or the school principal.

The amended legislation also takes into account the presence of Polish re-emigrants attending school classes after returning to the country from abroad.

With regard to the organization of language classes, an important novelty is the possibility of opening preparatory sections for persons with migration experience to participate collectively in courses in Polish as a non-native language. As stated in the regulation, these classes can also include students who face

adaptation difficulties due to cultural differences or a change in the educational environment. The regulation also addresses language communication disorders, particularly those caused by crisis or traumatic situations.

These regulations also specify the number of hours dedicated to classes in these preparatory sections. According to them, elementary school students in grades 1–3 should have a minimum of 20 hours of classes per week, older students should have no less than 23 hours, and high school students should have no less than 26 hours.

The first preparatory sections began operating in 2017, and the schools where they were launched quickly became showcases for families with migration experience, as they demonstrated openness to cultural diversity.

The educational regulations introduced in 2016 also established the possibility of conducting relevant assessments of language aptitude, directional abilities, language skills, as well as talents and predispositions relevant to a particular profession. Furthermore, these regulations made it possible to adapt examinations conducted within the Polish educational system to the needs and language skills of learners with migration experience.

According to the regulation, diplomatic or consular institutions of students' countries of origin or of the home countries of relevant cultural-educational associations can organize classes offering instruction education in the language and culture of the country of origin. The prerequisite for launching such educational classes is the enrollment of at least seven interested individuals. The total workload in such educational classes should not exceed five hours per week.

Polish preparatory sections are created at the request of the school principal, not necessarily at the beginning of the school year, i. e. on September 1. They can be created at any time during the school year, aiming to facilitate the functioning of the institution, especially when there is a need to accommodate a larger number of students arriving from abroad. It is assumed that learning in a preparatory class can last for one school year with the possibility of extending it to the following year. A welcome class should not exceed fifteen students. The regulation does not specify the minimum number of students required to establish such a class. There is also the option to open inter-school sections, where students from other schools can be admitted to a welcome class in one school.

The extent to which the implemented systemic solutions in educational practice will make it easier for learners with migration experience to navigate Polish reality and Polish schools is still uncertain. Teachers working with immigrant children and adolescents also point out the insufficient number of subject-specific teaching materials targeting this group of learners. Although some publications of this type have already emerged, it is difficult to consider the textbooks used in Polish schools as learner-friendly for those with migration experience. In addition, appropriate regulations are required with regard to the

reliable psychological and pedagogical diagnosis of students arriving from abroad, as well as the strengthening of the role of teachers as intercultural assistants who serve as unique intermediaries between the culture of learners with migration experience and the Polish situational and educational context.

The formalization of systemic curricular solutions and the enhancement of the general education curriculum with pedagogical and didactic assumptions that take into account learners with migration experience remain an open question. We already have an official resource, “The Curriculum for Teaching Polish as a Second Language in Preparatory Sections of Elementary School” (Pamuła-Behrens and Szymańska 2019). The curriculum defines the goals and conditions for language education for learners with migration experience, grouping them into three categories: general educational goals in elementary school, general goals for teaching Polish as a second language in elementary school, and specific subject-oriented goals for teaching Polish as a second language. The curriculum also includes thematic and grammatical catalogs with examples of selected teaching content, detailed implementation guidelines for the curriculum grouped under general methodological assumptions, teaching methods and techniques, instructional materials, as well as assessment and evaluation of achievements and skills, including various forms of assessment and self-evaluation. The substantive characteristics of the curriculum, shaping its philosophy and specific didactic and methodological solutions, encompass humanistic education which implies individualization and differentiation in teaching practice, intercultural teaching (including cultural and social mediation), constructivist action-oriented teaching and integration of school subjects. The combination of these features sets out the conceptual direction and reference point for the planning and implementation of all school activities in preparatory sections.

In the methodological section of the curriculum, the authors also refer to Polish as the Language of Education (Język Edukacji Szkolnej – JEZYK POLSKI; abbreviated as JES-PL), a method of their own design. These references are primarily found in connection with lexical production expanded to include specialized vocabulary (subject-specific and interdisciplinary), as well as in the context of school discourse structures. Therefore, the curriculum takes into account not only the language of everyday communication, but also specialized language in the school context, which is linked to specific school subjects.

The conceptual framework of the program also refers to the principles of inclusive education, which complements its humanistic dimension.

A programmatic reference point for the implementation of PSL classes is also provided by materials developed through bottom-up initiatives by local academic and educational circles. These include the first educational package addressed to teachers working with learners with migration experience, developed

by a team coordinated by the educational advisor of the City of Warsaw, Ewa Pawlic-Rafałowska and Przemysław E. Gębal, entitled *Ku wielokulturowej szkole w Polsce* [Towards a Multicultural School in Poland] (Biernacka-Langier et al. 2010). Its didactic foundations are shaped by European standards for second language education as well as experiences and systemic solutions adopted from the British educational system, in addition to the postulates and proposals outlined in theoretical studies and curriculum analyses dedicated to second language teaching. The following materials are included: Cardiff Assessment for EAL (CATE), a package for assessing language skills in listening, reading, writing, and speaking; *New Arrivals Checklist*, a package that enables the diagnosis of the foreign student's skills in their native language; and *New Arrivals Checklist for Class Teachers*, a package outlining procedures for admitting foreign students to school. The solutions created in the Welsh context have been adapted to contemporary Polish educational reality and the teaching of Polish as a second language in schools. In addition to the practical materials derived from the Welsh systemic solutions, the package under discussion includes detailed curriculum frameworks for teaching Polish as a second language at the first, second and third stages of education (taking into account the Polish *gimnazjum*, i.e. middle school, still in existence at the time of the package's development), which collect suggested content for teaching in the form of functional-conceptual, thematic, grammatical-syntactic, language proficiency, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural catalogs. Each of these curriculum frameworks is accompanied by a section devoted to the implementation of the intended content (including teaching methods, teaching techniques, and sample lesson plans) and evaluation of the acquired language competencies. The didactic concept of the program incorporates the assumptions of intercultural approach to language teaching.

Supplementing Biernacka-Langier et al.'s (2010) package is a guide published by largely the same team of authors, and Ewa Dąbrowa, who wrote the section describing the importance of identity in human life from a pedagogical perspective (Biernacka-Langier et al. 2011). Targeted at school principals, teachers, school counselors and psychologists, the guide of good practices consists of six parts that correspond to different stages that the presence at school of a student with migration experience entails: admission of a foreign child to school; diagnosis and monitoring of educational skills; preparation the school to receive a new learner (working with the class in the inclusion process); and preparation of the school to work with culturally diverse classes. These steps are supplemented with materials describing ways to support students with migration experience in Polish and Welsh schools (examples of good practice) and sample lesson plans for Polish as a second language in elementary and middle schools.

In 2014–2015, a series of methodological publications was released as part of the project “Mama, tata, ja i mój nauczyciel” [Mom, Dad, Me and My Teacher],

developed by the Warsaw-based “Linguae Mundi” Foundation. It included teaching materials for preschool children with migration experience and Polish language learning aids for their parents. The conceptual framework of the described modules was based on Beata K. Jędryka’s curriculum for teaching Polish as a foreign/second language and the first methodological manual for teachers of Polish to young children (Jędryka 2015). Among the published materials, there was also a Polish language manual for parents and caregivers of children (Busiło & Wiśniewska, 2015, including a student textbook and teaching materials), and a phrasebook for parents of children with migration experience (Wiśniewska). Altogether, considering the actual demand, four language versions were published: Polish-English, Polish-Russian, Polish-Chinese and Polish-Vietnamese. These products were complemented by work sheets for teachers and a multimedia basic dictionary for learning Polish. The designation of individual project products as “Polish as a foreign language” stemmed from the need to align with the terminology used in official legislative documents of the Polish educational system.

As part of another European project carried out around the same time, also by the “Linguae Mundi” Foundation, textbooks were developed for teaching Polish for professional purposes, intended for use as auxiliary material when working with adolescents with migration experience. These include a general textbook for Polish for professional purposes (Wiśniewska, Kokot, Jasnos and Busiło 2014), a textbook for teaching Polish to foreigners who seek employment in elderly care (Wiśniewska and Mijas 2014); and a textbook for teaching Polish to foreigners who seek employment in the catering industry (Wiśniewska, Mijas, Kokot and M. Jasnos 2014).

6.1.3. Pedagogical and didactic concepts

In order for the teaching of Polish as a second language to become a well-implemented domain within school education, it is necessary to develop appropriate pedagogical and didactic concepts that reflect its place across the entire spectrum of education and describe the fundamental principles at the intersection of philosophical considerations of education.

The first studies on this subject conducted by Polish language teachers and educators, emerged relatively recently. These works typically consisted of presentations of foreign systemic solutions for teaching second languages and comparisons of those introduced in Poland with the foreign concepts. A detailed presentation of the Swiss system of teaching second languages is available in Gębal (2009), which also includes information on teaching languages and cultures of origin to learners with migration experience.

Another important work is the study by Januszewska and Markowska-Manista (2017), who adopt a comparative approach, as they examine Polish solutions in comparison to those employed in Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, and France for learners with migration experience. Consequently, the authors contextualize the situation in Poland by considering the approaches implemented in European countries with significant experience in teaching culturally diverse children.

Gębals work (2018a) is the first comprehensive exploration containing a conceptual model for teaching Polish as a second language. His idea of PSL didactics extends far beyond language classes conducted in preparatory sections, as it encompasses all pedagogical activities of school institutions in its scope. It becomes a natural catalyst for introducing new curricular solutions and instructional activities for incoming students with migration experience and the students, teachers, and other staff of educational institutions who receive them. Integration, as well as linguistic and cultural inclusion, occurs not only in PSL classes, but in every other context of the functioning of a school which has witnessed, is currently witnessing, or will soon witness an influx of students with migration experience.

6.1.4. Przemysław E. Gębał's model of didactics of Polish as a second language

The basic factors that shape educational processes are coherent pedagogical and didactic concepts, which define their philosophy and organization, thus allowing for their practical implementation in teaching. In glottodidactics, this principle achieved realization through the formulation of new teaching methods and approaches, which became the primary factors influencing the organization and implementation of language education. Pedagogical concepts and trends in linguistic thought, particularly in psycholinguistics, formed the conceptual background that takes precedence over the aforementioned methods and approaches. In the early stages of development of second language glottodidactics, these concepts often played a secondary role compared to the established didactic and methodological solutions derived from foreign language teaching methodologies. However, as the field of second language teaching progressed, these concepts increasingly became interdisciplinary, mainly intersecting with pedagogy. Consequently, the created didactic-methodological concepts took this interplay into account, integrating the achievements from both fields.

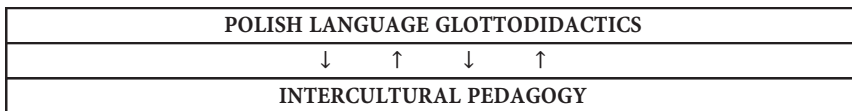
6.1.4.1. Basic assumptions of the model

The glottopedagogical model of teaching Polish as a second language combines glottodidactic assumptions with elements constituting intercultural pedagogy. Teaching and learning Polish as a second language is an endeavor that integrates,

both empirically and didactically, Polish language glottodidactics with intercultural pedagogy. From an academic and professional perspective, it represents the collaboration between glottodidacticians and intercultural pedagogues, extending beyond the established boundaries of Polish language glottodidactics and integrative pedagogy. It emphasizes the promotion of interdisciplinary engagement that fosters the advancement of both disciplines.

The assumptions of these two disciplines are regarded as overarching factors influencing the development of PSL didactics. From a glottodidactic perspective, this entails the possibility of utilizing the didactic and methodological resources of PFL didactics, with the necessary requirement of adaptation and empirical verification of adopted solutions to the context of teaching individuals with migration experience (see model 1).

Model 1: Relationship between Polish language glottodidactics and inclusive pedagogy



Reliance on the current achievements in Polish language glottodidactics and intercultural pedagogy should ultimately result in the formulation of interdisciplinary didactic and methodological concepts for the advancement of the didactics of Polish as a second language teaching. These concepts should particularly take into consideration the emerging directions and frameworks in integrative pedagogy, which represents both the subsequent phase in the evolution of intercultural pedagogy and a component that guides the didactic approach in working with students with special educational requirements, including those with migration experience.

6.1.4.2. Components of the model

Polish language glottodidactics and intercultural pedagogy are therefore the primary components of the PFL didactics model, constituting its conceptual and methodological foundation (see Model 2). They are complemented by two specific conceptions of language and cultural education, which serve as the programmatic core of Polish as a second language didactics. These concepts include intercultural teaching and the didactics of multilingualism, with a particular emphasis on the concept of awakening to languages. The pedagogical framework for integration efforts undertaken in the context of students with migration experience encompasses inclusive education and positive education approaches. Meanwhile, the primary pedagogical objective of the activities described in the

model is to develop learners' linguistic and cultural skills (expressed in the model as "Polish as a second language" and "Polish culture as a second culture").

Model 2: Author's original glottopedagogical model for teaching Polish as a second language

POLISH LANGUAGE GLOTTODIDACTICS

POLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE	DIDACTICS OF POLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE		POLISH CULTURE AS A SECOND CULTURE
	Intercultural teaching	Didactics of multilingualism and awakening to languages	
	↓ ↑	↓ ↑	
	Pedagogical Inclusion / Inclusive Education		
	Positive education		
	INTEGRATIVE PEDAGOGY		

INTERCULTURAL PEDAGOGY

All pedagogical and didactic activities aim to develop cultural and language competencies for both incoming students and those who are already present in schools as learners and teachers. According to the model, the Polish language and Polish culture become means of supporting the process of integration and inclusion of students with migration experience into the Polish educational system and life in Poland.

The overarching principles of language education (also broadly present in pedagogy), derived from general glottodidactics, psycholinguistics and PFL didactics, and transferred to the teaching of Polish as a second language encompass intercultural teaching and the didactics of multilingualism, with a particular emphasis on awakening to languages. We regard them as valuable resources for developing detailed curricular solutions and teaching techniques that enable the attainment of specific goals by preparing individuals, linguistically and culturally, for the process of integration between host communities and newcomers.

In the proposed model, the overarching pedagogical concept is inclusive education, which conforms to the principles of so-called pedagogy of inclusion. This approach combines linguistic and cultural integration with additional pedagogical elements aimed at developing various skills and competencies of students with migration experience and those already studying in Polish schools. This includes the cultivation of so-called soft skills such as teamwork, which is crucial in the process of inclusion, along with conflict resolution and a willingness to engage in problem-solving through dialogue.

Furthermore, within the broad pedagogical context, there are also assumptions of positive education. These assumptions focus on fostering positive rela-

tionships and effective communication within schools, thereby supporting the autonomy and well-being of all participants in the school community.

The glottopedagogical nature of the model arises from its interdisciplinary concept that integrates glottodidactics with pedagogy. The term itself alludes to Pfeiffer's idea of intercultural glottopedagogy (2004), which is discussed in more detail in 3.3.2 and was the first terminological attempt to connect these two fields within Polish glottodidactics.

The aim of this model is to establish a comprehensive framework that captures the complexity of language instruction for individuals with migration experience in an educational context. By doing so, we aim to initiate a discussion on the glottopedagogical foundations of such teaching, extending beyond previous considerations that predominantly focused on developing the linguistic competence of foreigners learning Polish as a second language.

All the elements comprising this concept will be subject to further detailed analysis. In delineating the pedagogical assumptions of teaching Polish as a second language, it is necessary to acknowledge the already mentioned contribution of the didactics of Polish as a foreign language to the development of our field. Within this context, we consider various components encompassed by modern Polish language glottodidactics, with the didactics of Polish as a second language serving as an integral part. When designing curriculum concepts for teaching the language to students with migration experience, it is advisable to draw upon existing solutions developed by specialists who teach Polish as a foreign language. These resources will serve as the primary reference point for specialized classes in Polish as a second language offered to students with migration experience (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Didactic and methodological factors shaping PSL classroom practice (Gębal, Miodunka 2020)

European standards for language education (action-oriented didactics)	<< didactic determinants methodical determinants >>	Developing learner competence in language activities (reception, production, interaction, mediation)
Polish CEFR language proficiency scale	POLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (PSL)	Developing learner competence within the sub-systems of language (phonetics, grammar, lexis, spelling)
diagnosis of language skills		Developing socio-cultural and intercultural skills

The basic premise, as previously described, is the implementation of the assumptions of action-oriented didactics discussed in the CEFR. The approach

underlying the European standards for language education brings together the modern advancements of psycho- and neurolinguistics, while incorporating the principles of humanistic pedagogy. This approach supports the development of communicative and action-oriented competencies among students with migration experience. The progression of linguistic content should align with the various levels of language proficiency outlined within the six-level scale (A1-C2) of the CEFR. It also serves as a substantive factor in assessing language proficiency during students' admission to school. The specific proficiency indicators pertain to individual language skills, including reception, production, interaction, and mediation of texts. The integrated development of language skills is complemented by parallel training within language subsystems, such as pronunciation and intonation, grammar and syntax, lexis and semantics, and orthography. Teaching Polish as a second language also necessitates the prompt introduction of elements of specialized language and terminology that will enable students to participate actively in various school activities. Furthermore, the task of teaching Polish as a second language extends to supporting the development of socio-cultural competence and fostering intercultural education itself.

6.1.5. Towards inclusive education

A key pedagogical element of Gębał's model is inclusion, an idea which has been implemented in the educational systems of Western European countries that receive learners with migration experience. The concept of inclusion, often expressed in Polish literature as *włączanie*, is understood in a broader sense than integration. Considered in a wider social context, it takes an opposite direction to marginalization, which leads to social exclusion (Reich, Asselhoven & Kargl 2015; Thurn 2015). Inclusion, in a social context, refers to the process of inviting individuals or social groups to participate in the society at large. In an educational environment, it involves the process of including learners with various learning difficulties or special educational needs in the school community. Viewing the above attempts to define inclusion from the perspective of learners with migration experience leads us to conclude that the inclusion of such learners is an ongoing process of integration with the receiving school community, which ultimately becomes the backdrop of migration. This means that the act of accepting learners with migration experience into schools positions these institutions as consciously embracing this fact as an opportunity for their own further development and openness to diversity, which is a byproduct of globalization and mobility.

Contemporary concepts of inclusive education reflect the general principles formulated in international declarations and conventions, including statements

contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed in 1948, the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989, and the World Declaration on Education for All published in 1990. The term “learners with special educational needs,” which is crucial to inclusive education, first appeared in the Salamanca Statement of 1994. This document emphasized the fundamental right to education for every child, taking into account their distinctive characteristics, interests, abilities, and learning needs (UNESCO 1994:VIII; see Firkowska-Mankiewicz 2012). Detailed principles of inclusive education were defined during the 48th Session of UNESCO in 2008. Its task was to transform educational systems and learning environments to cater to the diversity of students. This diversity should be seen as a challenge and enrichment, rather than a problem (UNESCO 2008).

Inclusive pedagogical approaches represent a natural continuation and expansion of the previously existing integration concepts within the pedagogical-didactic discourse, thereby adopting a more holistic perspective towards learners with special educational needs. Programmatically and organizationally, they focus on the collaboration between inclusive learners and those being included in the education system, schools, and classrooms. Integrative and inclusive approaches are entirely opposed to the previously implemented segregative approaches, which separated learners with special educational needs from their peers and established special units or even separate schools for them. The pedagogical assumptions behind all three approaches are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Differences between segregative, integrative and inclusive approaches according to Firkowska-Mankiewicz (2012; translation ours)

A segregative approach	An integrative approach	An inclusive approach
Education for some	Education for almost everyone	Education for all
Focus on subject and curriculum	Focus on the student	Focus on the classroom
The same program for all students	Individualized education program for students with special educational needs	Teaching strategies for teachers
Emphasis on teaching	Emphasis on teaching and learning	Emphasis on learning and collaborative problem solving
Diagnostic approach focused on shortcomings	An approach that looks for the student's strengths and weaknesses	Holistic approach focused on opportunities
Placing a student in a segregative facility	Placing the student in the appropriate program	Adaptation of conditions in a regular school classroom

Table 3 (Continued)

A segregative approach	An integrative approach	An inclusive approach
The teacher helpless without a specialist	The teacher cooperates with a specialist	The teacher becomes a specialist, takes responsibility for all children

The development of inclusive education, which extensively considers learners with special needs, aims to ensure broad access to learning for all. In contrast to previous pedagogical approaches, inclusive approaches focus on the entire class, perceiving it as a unique social microenvironment that prepares its members for responsible adult life in a diverse and democratic society. Inclusive pedagogy views teachers as autonomous members of the school community, prepared to take full responsibility for the implementation of educational tasks in line with their own teaching style. The didactic and methodological content of inclusion-oriented classes involves the implementation of open task-based teaching methods that require collaborative problem-solving and decision-making, taking into account the real possibilities of the collaborating individuals. Inclusive educators are individuals equipped to work with students with various educational needs, understanding the conditions of the learning processes for different types of learners. They are pedagogues who can recognize the potential in each learner and utilize it to build the potential of the entire class.

In line with the theoretical foundations of inclusion, educators have started developing specific didactic and methodological solutions, thereby incorporating a repertoire of new educational concepts into everyday school practice. These concepts take into account the changing learning environment that involves learners with special educational needs. The new approaches integrate various pedagogical perspectives, with a primary focus on constructivist approaches.

One such model is the project authored by Kersten Reich in 2014 (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Inclusive methods in teaching and learning contexts (Reich 2014: 375; translation ours)

		Methodical conduct of the teacher and learners assuming constructive inclusion of various methods and techniques of work		
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		Instructions		
Elective classes (both mandatory and optional) from a pool of various subjects, tailored to learners' interests, oriented to professional life and the ever-changing world	Workshops	INCLUSIVE METHODS IN LEARNING / TEACHING CONTEXTS	Projects	Interdisciplinary learning (going beyond a single subject) in relation to the topics and focal points to be learnt, with an emphasis on developing social skills
		Learning landscape		
		Self-directed learning process in relation to the formulated competency levels, based on tasks and materials, enables execution of individual plans at an individual pace, as well as self-monitoring, guidance and feedback from educators		

The vertical axis of the model encompasses general didactic assumptions, emphasizing the constructivist orientation of the suggested educational concept and the autonomy and self-control of the learning process. The horizontal axis outlines the methodical formats of classroom implementation, focused on workshops and project-based learning.

From the perspective of teaching Polish as a second language, when examining Reich's model, it is evident that it aligns with an action-oriented constructivist approach to language learning and teaching, relying on project-based methods and other open teaching forms. These elements play a significant role in fostering learning and better integration between incoming and receiving students.

Kersten Reich is also the author of the concept of ten foundations of inclusive education, which include: relationships and teams; heterogeneity, democracy and participation; equal qualifications – equal opportunities; learning throughout the school day; a supportive learning environment; the need for support

without stigmatization; a new assessment system; new school architecture; openness to the world; as well as counseling, supervision, and evaluation (Reich 2017: 15–33).

The direct conceptual connection between inclusive education principles and learners with migration experience does not have a long history. In recent years, it has emerged in various forms, including the Equity Foundation Statement developed in Toronto, Canada, which encompasses an inclusive education program for learners with migration experience. The statement consists of five standards, with the following substantive components:

- Training in ethnocultural equality and support for anti-racism;
- Promoting gender equality and condemning sexism;
- Advocating for diversity in social life and preventing discrimination based on sexual orientation;
- Supporting socio-economic equality;
- Ensuring equal rights for people with disabilities.

(Hoffmann et al., 2017: 488, own translation)

Reich, in his discussions on learners with migration experience, also refers to the Canadian concept. In the context of our interest, his formulation of seven areas of inclusive education includes:

- Language competence in the German language;
- Language classes and support for language learning;
- Appreciation and support for the first languages of students with migration experience;
- Support for learning other languages;
- Inclusion and utilization of the heritage languages of students with migration experience within school activities;
- Inclusive development within language classes;
- Development of support systems for inclusive language learning.

(Reich 2012: 109, translation ours)

For the didactics of Polish as a second language, the concept of inclusive education entails defining its primary pedagogical goal, which is to create conditions for the inclusion of students with migration experience in Polish educational institutions. These conditions go beyond the existing programmatic framework, which predominantly focuses on language aspects with elements of cultural didactics, and expand into a comprehensive educational concept, which encompasses not only Polish as a second language classes but the entire school education.

In the context of schools receiving students with migration experience, inclusive education sets two perspectives for pedagogical actions: the perspective of adaptation and the perspective of development. Adaptation entails the necessity to establish the legal and organizational framework of the school regarding the

curriculum content and the conceptual basis of educational work. Development, on the other hand, involves training school staff to develop new (meta)competencies, including intercultural and multilingual competence, with particular emphasis on techniques for classroom work with students who have limited or no proficiency in Polish to support teaching school subjects in Polish.

Unfortunately, the official curricular solutions, which do not directly consider learners with migration experience, do not support the development of culturally inclusive schools. The aforementioned practice of offering segregative welcome classes to students with migration experience conforms only to a limited extent to the fundamental principles of inclusive pedagogy, which prioritize broader collaboration between incoming and receiving students, including in the context of language education for the former.

6.2. Polish as the language of school education

Learners of Polish as a second language are confronted with its specialized variety, referred to as the language of school education. This term refers to “the language used by students in school to acquire knowledge and skills” (Schleppegrell 2004, cited in Pamuła-Behrens 2018: 178). It is the language used by immigrant and re-emigrant students directly in the context of their educational process (Szybura 2016). In Schleppegrell’s view, it serves three main functions (as summarized by Pamuła-Behrens 2018: 178–179):

- it is the object of teaching within the language learning process, aiming to develop communicative competence that enables not only functioning in school but also in everyday communicative situations.
- it serves as a means for acquiring subject-specific knowledge through the knowledge of specialized vocabulary.
- it is a tool for self-realization based on individual and social development, which takes place through language; at the same time weak language proficiency poses a significant obstacle to development, delaying or almost entirely hindering it.

The language issues faced by learners with migration experience in subject classes at school are usually caused by insufficient proficiency in the language of school education. It thus becomes a pedagogical problem that the education system must address.

6.2.1. The language of school education as a specialized variety of language

The language of school education binds together various school subjects in which knowledge is acquired provided that the learner's competence in that language is sufficient. It is also the language used for communication in the classroom (see Pamuła-Behrens & Szymańska 2019).

While studying in Polish schools, children and adolescents develop their skills in specialized varieties of language. The language of school education is itself a distinct specialized variety of language. Through it, learners acquire new subject knowledge and skills. By acquiring this language, they can comprehend school textbooks and produce written texts themselves. For native earners, the language of school education represents another stage in their linguistic development, but for those who learn it as a second language (in our context, Polish as a second language), it poses a considerable challenge. This is because when they begin learning in a Polish school and participating in classes of Polish as a second language, they are unable to quickly grasp elements of specialized language, which require a certain level of general language proficiency that they do not yet possess.

Pamuła-Behrens and Szymańska draw attention to several elements that differentiate the language of school education from that of everyday communication. At the same time, these elements bring it closer to the language of academic discourse and scientific style. They include (Pamuła-Behrens, Szymańska 2019: 13–14):

- speaker stance – the language of school education is similar to formal style, emphasizing the speaker's distance from the interlocutor and the message;
- information density in texts – the language of school education usually appears in texts related to abstract topics, presented in a concise and as unambiguous manner as possible;
- organization of information – texts are characterized by a specific arrangement that highlights the logic of the argumentation. There is a prevalence of complex sentences (often with subordinate clauses), containing indicators, references, and connections rarely found in everyday language(...);
- vocabulary selection – texts exhibit a wide lexical range, with a dominance of abstract words, domain-specific terms, and general academic terminology;
- representational congruence – the language of school education often employs grammatical metaphors strongly linked to the nominalization of syntactic structures, resulting in information-rich communication;
- presentation of content in isolation from context.

The study by Cummins (2008) on the learning process of bilingual students demonstrates that such learners possess two language systems, which they

choose depending on the task they are facing. These are the Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) for interpersonal communication and the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) for advanced cognitive language use in educational discourse (see Table 4).

Table 4: BICS Interpersonal Communication System (BICS) and CALP: Empirical and Theoretical Status of the Distinction, as summarized by Pamuła-Behrens (2018: 180)

BICS Not cognitively demanding + Set in context e.g., talking to friends, communicating with the teacher in class	BICS Not cognitively demanding + In a limited context e.g. phone call, radio program
CALP Cognitively demanding + Set in context e.g., presentation and discussion of an experiment	CALP Cognitively demanding + In a limited context e.g., writing an argumentative text, an essay

The first system, BICS, represents the language of everyday communication. From a cognitive perspective, its use does not require significant cognitive effort. Communicating with other participants in the interaction is facilitated by the situational context. The use of the CALP system, which is the cognitively advanced language of educational discourse, usually takes place in a limited context, in situations that require the learner to mobilize their knowledge and skills. It is different with the cognitively advanced language of school discourse. It requires cognitive effort, especially when the context is limited and the tasks imposed on the learner demand the mobilization of their knowledge and skills (Cummins 2008).

Analyzing educational achievements and the level of mastery of the language of school education, Cummins observes that native language users learn to use the advanced cognitive language of educational discourse much faster than students with migration experience. Immigrant students typically require five to seven years to navigate educational discourse with fluency (Cummins 2008, cited in Pamuła-Behrens 2018: 179). This period is influenced not only by the experience of migration itself but also by many other factors, including, according to Cummins, parents' level of education, the socioeconomic status of the family, and the linguistic development of learners in their first language (ibid.: 180).

Therefore, teaching second languages, including Polish as a second language, requires the rapid development of language skills in the specialized language of school education, which is not guaranteed in the current organizational solutions for Polish as a second language. Małgorzata Pamuła-Behrens and Marta Szy-

mańska, as pioneers in the field of Polish as a second language, have developed innovative teaching materials for early childhood education and mathematics, along with methodological guides for teachers (Pamuła-Behrens & Szymańska 2017, 2018).

6.2.2 Key competencies and integrated subject and language teaching (CLIL)

From the perspective of Polish as a second language didactics, the development of key competences appears to be extremely important. These competences are essential for self-realization and personal growth of individuals. Learners with migration experience, when embarking on their education in a new educational system, particularly benefit from these competences, as they enable them to become active members of the school community, supporting their acculturation process in a new cultural context through their actions and relationships with others. Developing key competences facilitates faster adaptation to the changes occurring in their environment, while ensuring greater flexibility, satisfaction, and higher quality of the learning process in the new educational environment (see European Communities 2007).

According to 2018 recommendations of the Council of the European Union on key competences, these include: literacy competence; multilingualism competence; mathematical competence and competence in science, technology and engineering; digital competence; personal, social and learning to learn competence; citizenship competence; entrepreneurship competence; and cultural awareness and expression competence (Council of the EU 2018: 7–8).

Literacy competence is understood as the ability to express and interpret feelings, thoughts, concepts, facts, and opinions in both speech and writing. From the perspective of the didactics of Polish as a second language, it also includes competence in the specialized language of school education. Other indicators of this competence include a propensity for critical and constructive dialogue and the need to use language in a positive and socially responsible manner (ibid: 8).

Multilingualism competence is particularly important for all parties involved in the educational process in the context of migration. This competence determines the ability to use different languages effectively for communication, while also indicating a unique capacity for mediating between different languages and cultures:

A positive attitude includes the appreciation of cultural diversity, an interest and curiosity about different languages and intercultural communication. It also involves respect for each person's individual linguistic profile, including both respect for the

mother tongue of persons belonging to minorities and/or with a migrant background, and appreciation of a country's official language(s) as a common framework for interaction.

(ibid.: 8)

The emotional and cognitive dimensions of personal development, which are important for acculturation processes, are related to a broader range of competences known as soft skills. These include psychosocial “on which an individual builds their competence and ability to act in various situations” (Wosik-Kawala 2013: 37). Soft skills constitute a set of transversal skills that support functioning in human teams and mutual learning from one another.

A detailed compilation of soft skills described in contemporary literature on language didactics is presented by Sabina Nowak (see Table 5).

Table 5 : List of soft skills according to Nowak (2016: 40; translation ours)

Active listening	The ability to listen carefully and actively to what others have to say.
Assertiveness	The ability to express one's thoughts, feelings, opinions, decisions and needs in a direct, effective manner without violating the dignity of the interlocutor. Accepting criticism, the ability to say no.
Self-presentation	The ability to build a positive self-image in the eyes of others.
Relationship building	Establishing and maintaining good relations with others.
Striving for results	Constantly mobilizing oneself to achieve set tasks and goals.
Striving for success	Striving for success with willingness and enthusiasm while effectively using available resources.
Ethics and values	Acting in accordance with generally accepted values, norms and principles. Acting in both easy and difficult situations.
Readiness to learn	Openness to new knowledge and the tasks that enable it. Accepting feedback from others.
Emotional intelligence	The ability to understand one's own emotions. Showing concern and understanding toward the experienced emotions of others.
Communication skills	Ability to express oneself accurately and clearly and show understanding of the statements of different types of people.
Emotional control (composure)	The ability to cope with stress caused by unexpected events and difficult situations.
Creativity	Generating original solutions to various problems and finding connections between seemingly unrelated issues.
Etiquette	Knowledge and application of the rules of savoir-vivre.

Making contact	Ability to establish relationships with others and maintain them.
Negotiating	Ability to seek compromises and find win-win solutions for all parties in negotiations.
Organizing one's work / self-management	Skillful use of one's own time and maintaining relationships with others to improve one's work.
Action orientation	Demonstrating determination to achieve a goal and striving to complete a task despite difficulties that arise.
Self-confidence	Belief in oneself and one's abilities in professional and personal activities.
Making presentations	Knowledge of presentation techniques to influence listeners and capture their attention.
Leadership	Building authority among others, inspiring and motivating.
Coping with stress	Effectively dealing with both sudden emotional tension and long-term stress resulting from a difficult situation.
Problem-solving	Ability to find solutions to problems, implement solutions and persevere.
Independence	Carrying out individual tasks and taking personal responsibility for them.
Teamwork	Being active and committed to supporting team activities and taking joint responsibility for the team task.
Exerting influence	Proficiency in influencing the behavior and decisions of others.
Persistence	Consistency in action aimed at completing the task.

Although the competence-oriented dimension of language education is increasingly becoming a suggested form of developing language, as noted by Nowak, there is hardly any comprehensive research to suggest ways to develop and shape these competences in the context of language education (Nowak 2016: 41; see also Smuk 2017).

The arena of didactics that supports the development of the competences described in this subsection is the concept of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) derived from Canadian experiences with immersion-based language learning in the 1970s. CLIL is a doubly oriented educational approach in which an additional language is used for both learning and teaching subject content as well as that language itself (Coyle, Hood, Marsh 2010: 1; see Marsh, Zajac, Gozdawa-Gołębiowski 2008: 4; Nowak 2016: 43).

In the work of Do Coyle, Philip Hood, and David Marsh, CLIL is presented as a structure consisting of four types of content (the 4Cs framework): content, communication, cognition, and culture (Nowak 2016: 47). Taken together, they form an integrated network of pedagogical interactions and translate into specific CLIL methodological concepts (see Table 6).

The non-linguistic content that CLIL aims to teach is not taught in a foreign language but rather with and through the foreign language (European Commission 2007: 7).

Table 6: CLIL methodology according to Mehisto et al. (2008: 45)

<p>Multiple focus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - language learning in non-language classes - content learning in language classes - integrating several subjects - cross-curricular themes/projects - reflection on the learning process using routine activities 	<p>Scaffolding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - building on a student's existing knowledge, skills, attitudes, interests and experience - repackaging information in user-friendly ways - responding to different learning styles - fostering creative and critical thinking - challenging students to take another step forward
<p>Safe and enriching environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - using routine activities - displaying language and content - building student confidence - using learning centers - accessing authentic materials/environments - student awareness of and growth in language 	<p>Active learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - students communicating more than the teacher - students help set learning outcomes - students evaluate progress in meeting learning outcomes - favoring peer cooperative work - negotiating meaning - teachers acting as facilitators
<p>Authenticity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - students indicating language needs - accommodating student interests - connecting learning and the students' lives - connecting with speakers of the CLIL language - using current materials 	<p>Co-operation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - planning lessons in co-operation with CLIL and non-CLIL teachers - involving parents - involving the local community and authorities

The implementation of CLIL in working with learners with migration experience can significantly support their linguistic development, especially in the area of specialized language used in education, as well as other soft skills that facilitate the process of acculturation in a new cultural context. However, its utilization remains infrequent. Content and Language Integrated Learning is still not widely associated with work in welcome classes, where newly arrived students with migration experience are enrolled. It is still perceived as a concept limited to bilingual classes for Polish learners interested in thorough learning of a chosen foreign language.

Teaching Polish as a second language is commonly regarded as a relatively new field in Polish language glottodidactics, and its development primarily relies on resources and solutions derived from the didactics of other European languages. Increasing international cooperation, initiated both locally and at the state level,

in particular after Poland's accession to the European Union, has led to the adoption of various ideas originally implemented in other educational systems within Polish schools. This transfer of scientific and didactic knowledge to PSL teaching is evident in the curriculum solutions and teaching materials presented in this chapter. The organization of linguistic and cultural education for learners with migration experience in Poland was also influenced by models implemented in schools in other countries. Introduced as ad hoc solutions they then underwent evaluation and verification. As a result, scientific reflection and the first research studies on teaching Polish as a second language in the context of migration emerged.

The process has gained significant momentum in recent times, particularly following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Consequently, discussions within Polish language glottodidactics have shifted their focus from teaching Polish as a foreign language to teaching Polish as a second language in the context of migration.

However, the teaching of Polish as a second language within a European context has a long history. It was already implemented and described in studies prior to World War II, when Poland, as a country inhabited by individuals from diverse cultures, taught Polish to members of communities who did not use it as their native language. Pre-war initiatives in teaching Polish to Jews in multi-cultural Poland were documented by scholars such as Mosze Altbauer, a researcher of Jewish origin, who made the following observations in 1934 on the unique challenges of teaching Polish to children for whom it was not their primary means of communication:

Methodologically, we face a special problem; although Polish is not the child's native language (I leave aside details of political nature, of course), it is also not a foreign language, like French or German, since the child encounters it, hears it, and uses it everywhere outside of school. From this follow methodological guidelines: the teacher must take these factors into account and find a middle ground between methods used for teaching the native language and a foreign language.

(Altbauer 2002: 160; translation ours)

The context described in Altbauer's pre-war study and the need for didactic and methodological solutions remain relevant from a psycholinguistic perspective today, particularly for children whose daily communication at home involves the use of the Silesian ethnolect. Despite the awareness of this issue in Polish schools, they do not fully recognize these children as bilinguals for whom standard Polish is not their native language. However, the increasing number of local initiatives and the changing perception of the problem among Silesians themselves should accelerate educational changes in this area, benefiting the linguistic and cultural development of young Silesians. Moreover, the solutions currently being developed can also be successfully applied to the education of other minorities whose

languages, although recognized as minority or regional languages, such as Kashubian, will require a different approach to didactic and methodological concepts and solutions.

7. Contemporary factors in teaching Polish as foreign and second languages

Contemporary teaching of Polish as a foreign and second language, as well as academic glottodidactics in the field of Polish studies, are inherently connected to various scientific disciplines and research areas in their conceptual dimension (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Factors affecting the development of Polish language glottodidactics (author's original model; translation ours)

Methodology of teaching Polish as a native language	Development of scientific thought in the field of theoretical and applied Polish linguistics	Cultural anthropology and cultural studies
Concepts of Polish glottodidactics	POLISH LANGUAGE GLOTTODIDACTICS	Development of pedagogical sciences (including intercultural pedagogy)
Didactics of European languages European standards for language education		Development of psychological sciences (including psychology of learning, intercultural psychology)
Linguistics of language contact	Development of scientific thought in the field of Polish, European and world applied linguistics (including pragmalinguistics, psycholinguistics, neuro-linguistics)	Sociology (including the sociology of education)

In its academic and didactic practice, Polish language glottodidactics reflects the advances in Polish and European glottodidactic theory, developed by researchers of the didactics of various languages. It is also intertwined with Polish linguistics, from which it originated. Practiced by Polish language specialists and neophilologists, it is connected to the methodology of teaching Polish as a native language, as well as the didactics of European languages, whose concepts and educational standards have greatly influenced the teaching of Polish as a foreign

and second language. The development of specific lesson activities and teaching techniques is also influenced by advances in pedagogical and psychological thinking, particularly in the intercultural dimension, from which general language didactics draws its psychopedagogical and methodological inferences. These are complemented by research conducted by applied linguists, mainly psycholinguists, as well as cultural anthropologists, cultural studies scholars, and sociologists. They aim to provide answers to pressing questions of Polish language glottodidactics regarding the learning and acquisition of Polish and the specific processes of acculturation of foreigners learning in Poland. Indirectly, they shape the adopted curricular solutions, providing guidance on material progression and content selection.

Most contemporary didactic concepts focus on two areas of pedagogical impact: linguistic and personal development of learners, facilitated by the acquisition of specific competences. The thus advocated emphasis on competence development is a consequence of perceiving learners as active participants in the language learning process.

These developments find theoretical, empirical, and practical reflection in ongoing discussions and research projects, also in the field of Polish language-glottodidactics. When presenting them as specific concepts and topics that define contemporary teaching of Polish as a foreign and second language, it is important to mention action-oriented didactics, inter- and transcultural education, didactics of multilingualism, as well as the idea of autonomous language learning and the related concept of reflectivity. All of these areas are subject to inquiry involving various elements that constitute glottodidactics, namely learners, teachers, and the very process of learning and teaching in its various organizational and methodological forms. Introducing these issues into Polish studies discussions and curricular solutions for teaching Polish as a foreign and second language is a natural reflection of changing paradigms in language education and the increasing orientation towards constructivism in social sciences and humanities, which continues the previously supported cognitivist orientation. Therefore, understanding the development of didactic thought in Polish language teaching requires familiarity with pedagogical and didactic directions. In the following, we will provide a synthetic overview of these directions, presenting key psychological and pedagogical assumptions, as well as detailed didactic implications supported by the results of specific didactic research which confirm that their implementation in Polish language education is justified.

7.1. From behaviorism and cognitivism to constructivism: Contemporary theories of cognition and learning

The constructivist perspective on learning and teaching currently being developed in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign and second language has its origins in psychological theories of cognition, as in the case of didactics of other languages. Numerous studies and theoretical works by cognitive psychologists have solidified the belief since the 1970s that participants in the educational process are not passive recipients of information. They actively construct their knowledge and skills through interaction with the environment and re-organization of their own cognitive structures. Such a view of cognition reflects the constructivist perspective, which sees the process of learning not as memorization of information and acquisition of knowledge, but as their interpretation (see Resnick 1989, Kolsut 2020).

The constructivist view represents a continuum of the previously developed cognitive concept, in which the essence of the learning process was the ability to process information. When analyzing the nature and manner of human cognition, the focus was not on its individual elements but rather on the entire process of cognition and perception, with knowledge organization becoming the most important object of the latter. Learning meant passive acceptance and accumulation of knowledge, occurring in four consecutive stages: information processing, absorption, cognitive operations on information, and retention in memory (see Mayer 1996, De Corte 2013). Cognitivism expanded the debate in didactics by introducing reflections regarding the way learners choose and implement strategies when engaging in specific cognitive acts.

To better understand the cognitive approach to learning and teaching, it is necessary to take a closer look at behaviorism which preceded it and viewed learners through the prism of their responses to external stimuli. This current, born in the early 20th century in the United States, dominated all discussions on education, including language education, for many years. According to the fundamental principles of behavioral didactics, learning involved a change in behavior based on the acquisition, reinforcement, and application of associations between stimuli from the environment and observable reactions of the learner, thus following the stimulus-response paradigm. In the field of language didactics, behaviorism found reflection in the audiolingual and audiovisual methods developed from the 1940s onwards, which greatly solidified such an approach to conducting language classes, including PFL. Their basic assumption became the effect of reinforcing and rewarding learners after a correct response to the stimuli provided, that is, the production of correct language constructions. By controlling desired behaviors, teachers aimed to condition their students

actively. This was achieved by reinforcing the learners' correct linguistic responses through various pre-planned situations that would trigger their emergence. Such curriculum-based teaching was developed on the basis of a detailed structural analysis of individual language constructions conducted by structural linguists. The application of the stimulus-response paradigm in the context of language classes meant implementing language drills aimed at developing habits that facilitated memorizing and consolidating grammatical patterns.

The emergence of new trends and concepts with cognitive and later constructivist characteristics shifted the focus from the curriculum to the learner, along with their cognitive needs and capabilities. It primarily changed the role of the teacher and disrupted their hierarchical dominance over the learners.

The emerging constructivist ideas were presented in the form of various detailed philosophical and pedagogical concepts. From the perspective of the development of pedagogical thought and language education, considerations related to cognitive constructivism and socio-cultural constructivism appear particularly significant.

In his cognitive-constructivist theory, Jean Piaget views humans as active individuals seeking explanations to their pressing questions and constructing knowledge independently. The mechanism of learning is a response to experiencing and confronting different perspectives and points of view. This process occurs in relation to subjective experiences of each individual through independent problem-solving (cf. Klus-Stańska 2010). All cognitive stimuli that encourage learning originate from the learners themselves and stem from their internal needs. Translating these considerations into an educational context, it is meaningful to introduce problem-solving tasks that elicit a cognitive conflict in students (Gofron 2013: 160).

In contrast to Piaget's concept, which regarded the learner as a spontaneous product of their own mind, Lev Vygotsky's socio-cultural constructivism perceives the studying individual as an autonomous entity developing within socio-cultural processes. It highlights the important link between mind and world and recognizes the significance of the learner's relationship with the teacher (cf. Filipiak 2011). Every learner who co-creates their development deserves a collaborative relationship with the teacher based on mutual acceptance. The primary task of the teacher is to facilitate the discovery and expression of the learners' cognitive potential. Learning is a social process, meaning that cognitive competencies develop through social interactions that condition the process of constructing meaning, which is fundamental to constructivism. From a socio-cultural perspective, learning occurs through the interaction between the learner and more mature members of society (Filipiak, 2011: 32). In Vygotsky's view, language plays a significant role in the learning process. It is not only a tool for communication in an educational context but also an instrument for influencing

the learner and their developmental process. In contrast to cognitive constructivism, where the cognitive process conditions learning, socio-cultural constructivism assumes that learning precedes development and activates cognitive processes that would not occur without an educational context.

Pedagogical implications of cognitive constructivism emphasize the importance of the learner's activity, which arises through specific cognitive conflicts with the surrounding world and becomes the main source and means of their cognition. According to this approach, new content should not be presented but discovered and assimilated with the pre-existing knowledge already possessed by the learners' minds (Konrad 2005: 9).

Socio-cultural constructivism provides contemporary pedagogy with insight regarding the role of social interactions, the surrounding environment, and ongoing cultural processes in which learners and teachers are involved.

Contemporary theories of cognition complement constructivist considerations by exploring neurobiological mechanisms and emotional engagement. They open new research perspectives and curricular solutions that have been practically absent in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign or second language.

7.2. Pedagogical pragmatism

Constructivist didactics is closely related to the concepts of pedagogical pragmatism, represented, among others, by John Dewey. For this approach, action is the essence of learning and the source of knowledge. Action implies cognition. By engaging in action we learn about the world and the processes taking place within it, and continuous activity ensures our development. According to proponents of pedagogical pragmatism, action is a pragmatic process which should not be reduced to passive acquisition of knowledge (Reich 2008: 102). Another important element of pedagogical pragmatism is experiential learning, which involves direct engagement with the world. It takes place through interactions that combine communication and cooperation among learners. Learning through inquiry and learning by doing, which are practical markers of pedagogical pragmatism, only make sense in relation to reflective learners who cooperate with one another. By collectively engaging in problem-solving tasks, learners are confronted with diversity, and group learning should be seen as a potential in itself. A learning group forms a learning community (cf. Kerres & de Witt 2004).

The primary goal of contemporary constructivist didactics is to emphasize the essence of the learning process, which not only leads to the acquisition of specific knowledge and the development of certain skills and competencies, but above all, strengthens the learners' personalities. Constructivist teaching provides an environment that facilitates the acquisition of knowledge through discovery, in-

dependent construction, experiencing, and supports reflection. It involves a shift from transmission-based teaching techniques to open, task-based, and action-oriented forms.

For foreign language didactics and the teaching of Polish as a foreign or second language, constructivist theories of cognition serve as a conceptual framework for action-oriented and task-based learning and teaching approaches. They form the theoretical basis for the concept of action-oriented didactics presented in CEFR and CEFR-CV 2018 (cf. Janowska 2011), and are indicative of modern teaching practices aligned with European language education standards.

7.3. Intercultural education

In learning and teaching Polish as a foreign or second language, there is an encounter between cultures. Polish culture, which is the subject of educational activities, is confronted with the cultures of the participants in the classes. This confrontation, which becomes a means of supporting the development of cultural and intercultural competence of Polish language learners, is the didactic goal and a distinctive feature of intercultural education.

Contact with Polish culture in the context of Polish language classes as a foreign or second language takes two formats, depending on the location where the teaching process takes place. If the classes are conducted in Poland, in an endocultural environment, we are dealing with the personal experience and immersion of the class participants in Polish culture. In this context, cultural content usually becomes a more extensive focus of the classes conducted with foreigners. Living or staying in Poland, the learners are interested in various aspects of Polish culture and realities, which help them in their daily functioning and discovering a reality that is new to them. If the teaching of our language takes place in an exocultural context, outside the realm of Polish culture, it is usually not experienced directly. An exception is the situation in which the language classes are taught by a Polish teacher who has undergone the process of enculturation in Poland. In that case, it can be said that through contact with the Polish teacher, foreign learners of Polish have the opportunity to experience and feel the influence of Polish culture. The presence of cultural content in such an educational context is usually less pronounced. The context of class implementation implies ways of learning, teaching, and developing cultural competences.

Intercultural education is a pedagogical concept that goes beyond language classes to encompass the entire educational process. In intercultural teaching, content is presented to demonstrate different culturally conditioned points of view, and the contribution of a given culture to the development of human civilization is critically reflected upon. Mutual interactions between cultures and

the specific processes and cultural products resulting from them are also presented to a greater extent. Methodologically, open forms of learning and teaching dominate in the intercultural context, prompting learners to personally explore their own culture and the cultures of others, and subject them to critical self-reflection.

Knowledge of didactic experiences with culture among participants of Polish language classes as a foreign or second language is an important point of reference for the cultural content proposed by teachers and the way it is introduced. It is worth taking a closer look at the cultures of education that our students have experienced. This will help us better understand their approach to the way we teach and help us select specific activities and methods of pedagogical interaction.

Intercultural education, also often referred to as cross-cultural education, emerged in the context of language learning and teaching in the 1980s. However, its roots in terms of didactic reflection can be traced back to the early 1970s when schools in Western Europe saw an influx of children from immigrant families originating from former colonies (mainly in France, England, and the Netherlands) as well as children of guest workers (mainly in Germany) (cf. Wilczyńska, Mackiewicz, & Krajka 2019). In the European context, intercultural teaching was also a natural response to the increasing mobility of Europeans themselves. Representatives of different cultures were learning together in increasingly multicultural classrooms and schools.

In the context of second language didactics dedicated to learners with migration experience, intercultural teaching became an important element in the development of this field, eventually leading to its clear separation from foreign language didactics. This process is now increasingly observed in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign or second language.

In the case of an exolingual environment, intercultural teaching was recognized as an opportunity to prepare learners for European mobility. Familiarizing learners with cultural distinctiveness, which is inherently connected with diversity, was becoming the goal of foreign language teaching in European educational systems at that time. The didactics oriented towards the development of competences recognized in intercultural teaching an opportunity to work on further skills that learners needed, such as intercultural competences.

In the practical implementation of intercultural education in language classes, various types of exercises and tasks are used, which, in most cases, resemble those commonly employed in language education. It is worth remembering that implementing the goals of intercultural education in the didactic process involves making learners more familiar with and more aware of the values of other communities. This means that it does not usually produce measurable results that can be subjected to systematic evaluation, unlike the

linguistic component of teaching. Intercultural teaching enjoys significant interest among Polish language glottodidacticians. Reflections and research focused on intercultural education can be found in works by Piotr Garncarek, Grażyna Zarzycka, Anna Burzyńska-Kamieniecka, Władysław T. Miodunka, Przemysław E. Gębał, Tamara Czerkies, Anna Żurek, Katarzyna Stankiewicz, Piotr Kajak, Anna Rabczuk, Monika Nawracka and Marzena Wawrzeń, among others.

7.4. Didactics of multilingualism

Teaching Polish as a foreign or second language is usually carried out in the context of learners who already have experience in learning other foreign languages. For them, Polish represents another stage of linguistic development that supports an orientation toward multilingualism and linguistic diversity. In this case, drawing on the findings of contemporary psycholinguistic research and the evolving concept of multilingualism in didactics can be an important step in the development of the entire modern reflection in the field of Polish language glottodidactics.

In line with its basic tenets, the didactics of multilingualism takes into account the broader context of learning multiple languages, rather than treating the learning of each language as a separate process developing disconnected language competencies, as traditional monolingual approaches did in the past.

In its promotion of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, the CEFR framework combines the development of multilingual competence with intercultural competence, directly addressing the long-standing linguistic reflections on the relationship between language and culture:

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw.

(CEFR: 168)

The term “didactics of multilingualism” refers to pluralistic approaches to language learning and teaching that go beyond the previous monolingual orientation and so-called “singular” approaches. It encompasses “didactic approaches which use teaching / learning activities involving several (i. e. more than one) varieties of languages or cultures” (Candelier 2007: 7).

With regard to pluralistic approaches, the following four core areas of the didactics of multilingualism are currently being developed: the intercultural approach to teaching foreign languages described in 7.3., integrated language education, intercomprehension between related languages, and awakening to languages.

Integrated language education is currently perhaps the most well-known and popular concept among those presented here. Its development and functioning will appear logical if we examine more closely its basic premise. Integrated language education involves simultaneously teaching multiple foreign languages through didactic implications that take advantage of the knowledge gained from the acquisition of previously learned languages. This approach primarily focuses on utilizing similarities between different language systems and highlighting differences between individual language systems. The concept of integrated language education with the inclusion of Polish has been the subject of research interest by Agnieszka Zawadzka of the University of Greifswald in Germany (Zawadzka 2018).

Intercomprehension between related languages is a proposal to teach several related languages in parallel. Their similarity proves particularly valuable for rapid development of receptive skills, such as reading comprehension, listening comprehension, and audiovisual reception, which are becoming the primary areas for the pedagogical use of intercomprehension. In the field of Polish language didactics, initial research is already being conducted on the psycholinguistic determinants of intercomprehension and the potential applications of this concept in teaching Eastern Slavic languages. This direction of research is a subject of interest for Grit Mehlhorn from Germany and Jacopo Saturno from Italy (2020).

Awakening to languages, on the other hand, refers to a collection of specific pedagogical activities that familiarize children with a multilingual environment. Described in the Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures (FREPA/CARAP), the contemporary version of this concept aims to develop specific skills and attitudes that open learners to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the modern world. Candelier identifies four main objectives of this concept, which are:

- to develop students' interest and openness towards diversity, including their own diversity; as a corollary, in multilingual classrooms, to recognize, legitimize and value the linguistic and cultural competencies and identities of each individual;
- to enhance students' ability to observe and analyze languages, thereby fostering their ability to learn and master them, including the language of instruction;
- to foster students' desire to learn languages, and to learn diverse languages;

- to develop students' knowledge regarding the presence of languages in immediate, distant, and very distant environments, as well as the statuses they enjoy or suffer from.

(Candelier, 2006: 67; translation ours)

The implementation of the concept of awakening to languages aims to prepare students in contemporary schools to engage in future communication with multilingual interlocutors. It also seeks to encourage them to explore the intricacies of individual language systems and cultures, opening them up to discovering their own linguistic potential and developing strategies for learning and communication. The concept of awakening to languages has become a component of the glottopedagogical model of Polish as a second language (Gębal 2019).

7.5. Action-oriented didactics

Contemporary educational theories derive their substantive assumptions from theories of action, which view human action as the pursuit and organization of specific means necessary to achieve intended goals. Rooted in philosophy (Donald Davidson) and sociology (Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Jürgen Habermas), these concepts associate the will and intention to act with cooperation, through which a relationship is formed, resulting in individual experience of action. In philosophical terms, action is seen as a process that ultimately transforms the surrounding reality. However, from a sociological perspective, its personal experience is embedded in communication and interaction with others. The combination of these assumptions is the essence of modern teaching, which seeks to situate the activities proposed to learners within clear patterns of tasks that encourage cooperation and interaction with others, serving linguistic and personal development. In a didactic context, action is manifested in the execution of tasks that link a designated object of action, the tools necessary for its execution, and the roles required to be played. Didactic tasks place action in specific contexts and situations, providing them with meaning and authenticity. These principles are implemented in contemporary foreign language didactics through an **action-oriented approach** (an approach focused on taking action), which integrates theories of action with constructivist-oriented concepts in a pedagogical sense. This approach has been developed since the beginning of the 21st century. Its initial assumptions were presented in the CEFR in 2001 (with a Polish translation released in 2003), which was subsequently revised and expanded to CEFR-CV 2018 (see section 3.3.4 above).

Some researchers consider the action-oriented approach as a distinct and autonomous approach to foreign language learning and teaching, while others

view it as an evolution of the communicative approach that has been practiced for decades (Janowska 2011, Gębal 2019).

Action-oriented didactics and its potential applications in language education are also the subject of interest among Polish language glottodidactics researchers. This direction is present in the works of Iwona Janowska, Przemysław Gębal, and Marzena Wawrzeń, among others. In 2021, the first textbook for teaching Polish language based on the assumptions of action-oriented and task-based didactics was published. Developed with reference to the didactic expertise of the Institute of Polish Language Glottodidactics at the Jagiellonian University and under the substantive supervision of Iwona Janowska, the course titled “*Together in Polish*” by Dorota Bednarska, Joanna Machowska, Urszula Majcher-Legawiec, and Agnieszka Rabiej presents an innovative didactic approach to teaching and learning A2-level Polish.

7.6. Neuroeducational concepts

The emergence of new research methods in cognitive neuroscience has significantly contributed to the accelerated development of neurolinguistic research, which primarily utilize neuroimaging techniques and eye-tracking in their exploratory projects. Empirical information obtained through these methods about brain processes has triggered many discussions on educational issues, including language education. These discussions have also found reflection in theories of cognition and have contributed to the development of new theories of cognition, including the concept of neurobiological constructivism (cf. Kołsut 2020). Neurobiological constructivism represents an interdisciplinary dialogue between the humanities and natural sciences and redefines the long-standing philosophical debates on the coexistence of consciousness and body. According to neurobiological constructivism, the human brain is the subject of cognition. Thus, the perception of reality is determined by brain structure. The brain acts as the constructor of the reality we discover and perceive, and it is the primary center that shapes it. The brain is naturally oriented towards receiving information that ensures physical survival and adaptation to the surrounding reality. Only the content that is relevant to an individual’s biological and social survival reaches their consciousness. This fact explains the correlation between learning speed and age. The brains of older individuals, who are already adapted to the surrounding reality, learn much more slowly than those of children who are still adjusting to the world.

According to neurobiological constructivism, humans, due to their biological conditions, are social beings. Cooperation with others is made possible through emotions and, from a neurobiological perspective, systems responsible for joy

and reward, as well as anger and punishment (Spitzer 2008: 225). However, this cooperation needs to be learned.

As a result of neurobiological research, closer attention has been given to the influence of emotions and feelings on human life, including education. The development of emotional constructivism emphasizes the significance of emotions in the processes of experiencing thinking and acting, as they are indispensable factors in making rational decisions (cf. Damasio 1999). According to emotional constructivism, learning involves taking action to solve problems and establish relationships with others, and through communication, entering the world of their mental constructions (cf. Johner, Wilhelm and Teta 2014). According to Rolf Arnold, one of the pioneers of emotional constructivism, the cognitive processes occurring in the brain are intertwined with the accompanying emotions (Arnold 2009: 61). In relation to cognitive processes, this means that effective learning and competence development are only possible when learners are aware of their emotions. From a psychological point of view, emotions consist of bodily reactions that precede the development of feelings, which result from experiencing and undergoing those initial reactions. Emotions are expressed by us externally and are visible to the external observer. They influence the individual's thinking and actions, making them a pattern for behavior and evaluation. They also impact our mental processes and determine what content will be consciously perceived (cf. Damasio 2000). According to proponents of emotional constructivism, these actions constitute an ongoing process of learning.

Neuroeducational concepts, although increasingly present in glottodidactic considerations, are not currently the focus of interest for Polish language glottodidacticians. However, there have been initial references to this direction of inquiry. It is worth noting the presentation by Anna Seretny entitled “Neurodydaktyka, czyli nauczanie przyjazne mózgowi a rozwijanie kompetencji leksykalnej” [Neurodidactics, or Brain-Friendly Teaching and Developing Lexical Competence] delivered at the 2016 “Bristol” conference in Toruń. Another step in the development of scientific thought related to neurodidactics is the research conducted by Przemysław Gębal as part of the POLPROF project in 2021–2022, which focuses on the well-being of Ukrainian teachers of Polish as a foreign language.

7.7. Reflectivity and autonomy in the learning process

Contemporary pedagogical concepts drawing from personalistic philosophy and humanistic psychology assume a synthetic vision of human beings with a key role given to the right of each individual to individualism, satisfaction, and personal

pleasure. Both learners and teachers are seen as individuals capable of reflecting on their own developmental process and the actions that condition it.

Reflectivity in daily functioning supports coping with challenges and ongoing changes. In an educational context, it also involves improving one’s skills and competencies in light of current knowledge. Reflective learners and teachers are individuals who take action and are prepared to confront uncertainty, the uniqueness of contexts and situations, and the often resulting conflicts of values. They are self-aware individuals who can recognize the value of problematic situations in the development of personal theories (cf. Nawracka 2017).

As Wilczyńska (1999) points out, reflectivity in the context of language education is supported not only by the level of linguistic competence but also by the entirety of communicative events occurring in the classroom, including those within interpersonal relationships. Learners and teachers should perceive the didactic and communicative actions they undertake with great sensitivity. When communicating with each other, language learners often operate with “incomplete codes,” partially learned in the course of time- and content-limited language classes.

The approach to reflection itself has evolved over time (see Table 7). The fundamental difference between the traditional view of reflection and core reflection lies in the change in the way we perceive ourselves and the surrounding reality (Korthagen and Vasalos 2010: 548).

Table 7: Changes in the perception of reflection according to Korthagen and Vasalos (2010: 548)

Traditional view of reflection	Core reflection
Reflection on the problems	Reflection on the possibilities and ideas
Focus on the past	Focus on the here-and-now and the future
Focus on the situation	Focus on personal strengths
Focus on cognitive thinking/rationality	Focus on presence as well as awareness of thinking, feeling, wanting and the environment
Focus on the outer levels of the onion model	Focus on all levels of the onion model and their alignment
End goal: clear analysis of the situation	Final goal: being <i>in</i> the situation with full awareness of thinking, feeling and wanting, leading to a free flow of core qualities

Reflection is not only about developing mental processes but primarily about the holistic development of the individual, who has feelings, desires, and personal values (Korthagen et al., 2013: 196, 199). In the pedagogical context, reflection is considered a key element that determines autonomous learning and even serves as a means of creating an autonomous learner (Benson 2001: 95): “the autono-

mous learner is essentially one who is capable of reflection at appropriate moments in the learning process and of acting upon the results.”

In the context of language education, according to Wilczyńska (1999, 2004, 2008), autonomy is an attitude in which an individual – a learner and/or a teacher, that is, a self-actualizing subject in the process of education, responsible for their actions – shapes the learning environment according to their own judgment, will and perspectives. According to the researcher, since dialogue and interaction are inessential in complete autonomy, such a degree of independence would imply a lack of need for didactic cooperation between learners and teachers. Therefore, Wilczyńska describes their cooperation in terms of semi-autonomy. Of course, semi-autonomy allows for the possibility of autonomous development in others. The process of activating and supporting semi-autonomy aimed at enhancing subjectivity and self-realization, is advocated in contemporary pedagogical concepts as autonomization.

The semi-autonomous approach described here is not a one-size-fits-all solution. Therefore, it is important to determine the recipients, their expectations, as well as the psychological, social, and educational reasons significant in a given educational situation on a case by case basis. Learning and teaching, as Nawracka (2017) notes, are long and variable processes. It is crucial to consider the long-term and holistic development of learners in each case. This should be characterized by flexibility, as a specific response to the diverse needs of learners acquiring (semi-)autonomy (Nawracka, 2017). Without considering (semi-)autonomy, it is impossible to analyze the processes related to reflecting on learning and teaching strategies.

Autonomy and semi-autonomy involve learners adopting a reflective stance, enabling them to participate more consciously in directing their own development, while receiving support from those who teach (Wilczyńska 200?: 129–138). Autonomization, which is not imposed or given but consciously chosen by the learner, taking into account their central role in the learning process, is supported by several factors, including better adaptation to needs (including self-development), utilization of one’s potential (learning and communication strategies), accelerated development of the foreign language learner’s identity, and improvement in communicative skills (including their native language). Autonomy represents a flexible cooperation between the learner and the teacher, with a focus on individually perceived effectiveness, efficiency of development, and improvement in the realm of foreign language proficiency. The teacher can offer assistance to the learner in terms of providing information (indicating relevant knowledge, guiding analogies, etc.), technical support (useful methods and procedures), and even therapeutic support (helping the learner understand their concerns or worries).

Empirical investigations on reflection in the field of language teaching and learning, specifically in teaching Polish as a foreign language, have emerged relatively recently. They have become a subject of research interest for scholars such as Monika Nawracka (2017, 2020).

7.8. Multimedia didactics (supported by information and communication technologies)

Nowadays, the use of information and communication technology for language learning and teaching is becoming increasingly common. With the unlimited availability of online services and mobile technologies, language teaching is widely shifting to the virtual realm (cf. Krajka 2011). Virtual reality provides an opportunity not only to develop language skills but also cultural competence, integrating learners of Polish from different parts of the world.

Closely related to technological advances, the use of computer equipment and mobile technology has found its way into language teaching within specialized didactics, particularly in the concepts of CALL, MALL, and MALU.

Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) and the related concept of intermedial foreign language teaching have gone through all the significant phases of development in contemporary foreign language didactics in a relatively short period of time. Originally serving as a tool for simulating behavioral language drills using computer programs, over time they have gradually become a space which offers exercises that develop and reinforce individual language skills. Today, they serve as a platform for global communication and a source of countless authentic language materials available on the Internet. Computer-assisted language learning has become one of the modules of blended learning, combining computer-based activities with traditional teaching methods that require direct interaction with instructors. Nowadays, multimedia offers various means of textual, graphical, audio, animation, and video communication. Its use makes the learning environment closer to the real world. Multimedia tasks combine activities that develop various language skills. Users of multimedia have the opportunity to control the process of their language development. They can perform exercises at a pace tailored to their needs and abilities. It is possible to revisit different tasks, complete them faster or slower. Typically, learners are also given access to a variety of hyperlinks that lead them to other sets of exercises, thematic vocabulary lists, grammar explanations, pronunciation information, and various learning strategy guidelines.

The emergence and development of mobile devices have opened a new era in the development of CALL, referred to as Mobile Assisted Language Learning

(MALL), which refers to language learning involving the use of handheld mobile devices such as phones, smartphones, iPads, iPods, PDAs, tablets, and other portable devices used for making voice calls, creating short messages or video chats (cf. Czerska-Andrzejewska 2019). Mobility, in the context of this pedagogical concept, can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it allows learners to move with a given device to a convenient learning location, and secondly, it enables access to resources that can serve as teaching materials from all over the world, available on various portals and websites. Mobile-assisted language teaching can be integrated with traditionally taught language courses and take on the character of m-learning. Such integration can be seen as a variation of blended learning.

Currently, we observe the emergence of a new face of MALL didactics, referred to as Mobile Assisted Language Use (MALU). Learners of foreign languages increasingly use diverse mobile devices for accessing information and/or sharing it for social purposes (cf. Czerska-Andrzejewska 2019). The social use of mobile technologies associates the concept of MALL with the principles of the action-oriented approach to foreign language learning and teaching (see subsection 7.5.), which views the language learning process as a result of engaging in specific language activities within a social context.

Academic interest in CALL in the area of teaching Polish as a foreign language emerged in the 1990s. It was initiated by the research of Robert Dębski and his monograph published in 1996 on the possibilities of using computers in the process of teaching Polish. The monograph provides an overview of experiences with computer processing of the Polish language in its phonological, morphological, and syntactic dimensions, and explores methodologies for developing writing skills in terms of the sound-letter relationship at the sentence level and the development of communicative competence (Dębski 1996).

Initially, Dębski takes CALL into its communicative phase, highlighting the opportunities for interactive collaboration between teachers and learners that support effective reading instruction:

Computers and word processors can also help instructors teach students to perceive writing as a process, sometimes long and laborious, in which excellence is achieved by carefully analyzing already written texts and frequent editing. Using a word processor significantly facilitates making corrections to a previously written text. It allows students to gradually create the text, as it were in collaboration with the teacher, who has increased control over the process, refining it until the work meets the teacher's requirements and, above all, the students' expectations.

(Dębski 1996: 101; translation ours)

The technical possibilities of computer utilization described at that time may sound somewhat archaic today, but they demonstrate the progress made in

recent decades in the use of multimedia in language education. It is worth noting here that Dębski's study was one of the first devoted to CALL in Polish language teaching at the time. In addition, Dębski's research, contributed to the development of SKRYBA 1, a computer program meant to support the teaching of Polish orthography.

The outlined development of CALL and, to a limited extent, MALL has also occurred in the case of PFL teaching, although it has unfortunately not received much attention from researchers. Among the empirical projects and studies, it is worth mentioning the activities of the Department of Polish as a Foreign Language at Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and in particular the aforementioned Robert Dębski, along with Dominika Bucko and Adriana Prizel-Kania. Their studies integrate the teaching of Polish into CALL didactics, emphasizing the social aspects supporting bilingualism in Polish and other languages in Polish communities abroad, for example, in Australia (Dębski 2009), as well as the psycholinguistic aspects of Polish language acquisition in the context of learning strategies employed during the reading of hypertexts (Bucko 2014; Banach and Bucko 2019). They also provide an overview of contemporary methodological concepts in CALL and analyze the development of online resources for teaching Polish (Bucko and Prizel-Kania 2018).

The didactic use of information and communication technologies in teaching Polish as a foreign and second language follows the expectations of Generation C (for connect, communicate, change), whose members, constantly connected to the internet, often fulfill their communication needs in the realm of social media. According to the research conducted by Bucko and Prizel-Kania, 80% of the participants in their study use online resources for educational purposes. Dictionaries (90%), textbooks (80%), translators (50%), materials available on CD or DVD (35%) and audiobooks (less than 20%) were among the most frequently mentioned resources (Bucko and Prizel-Kania 2018: 13). Polish language teachers increasingly make use of multimedia, which gives the classes they teach a hybrid character that combines traditional teaching with e-learning. Online courses are also being developed to support this type of teaching in the realm of CALL and MALL.

Assessing the merit of such proposals requires a thorough understanding of their content and an examination of their didactic usefulness. This goal can be facilitated by utilizing the available evaluation tools developed by Bucko and Prizel-Kania (see Table 8).

Table 8: Catalog of evaluation criteria for online courses (Bucko and Prizel-Kania 2018: 11–12; ; translation ours)

<p>Substantive criteria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – To what extent the course/teaching aids implement the linguistic material stipulated in the core curriculum – in the case of Polish as a foreign language, the reference point in terms of linguistic content is <i>Programy nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego</i> [Curricula for Teaching Polish as a Foreign Language] (ed. By I. Janowska, E. Lipińska, A. Rabiej, A. Seretny and P. Turek, 2011). – Do the materials presented stimulate the development of all language skills (listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing) and the subsystems of the language (grammar and vocabulary)? – Does the course also develop cultural and sociolinguistic competence?
<p>Requirements regarding the realm of didactics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – What teaching and learning method was adopted to create the materials? – Is the language content introduced in a way that assumes linearity of content acquisition or can selected course elements be employed in whatever order, thus individualizing the learning process? – Does the program provide for feedback and adequately corrects the mistakes made? – Are the language exercises varied but based on clear instructions and easy-to-understand patterns? – Is the language material “up-to-date, authentic, relevant to the situation, correct” (Cwanek-Florek, 262)? – Has maximum use been made of the opportunities provided by the computer (integration of illustrative materials, audio and video files, hypertextuality)? – Does the layout correspond with and complement the content of the course? – Does the program provide opportunities for real interaction with other users (forums, chats, voice messaging, etc.)?
<p>Usability and accessibility requirements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Does the program require the participant to log in and/or create an account? – Does the system ensure that feedback is received? – Does the layout of the course interface allow easy and intuitive access to the learning materials? – Are the materials available on mobile devices (tablet, smartphone)? – Is there a fee to access the materials?

In order to facilitate the selection of online courses, in Table 9 we provide a list of them, which includes teaching aids evaluated by Bucko and Prizel-Kania, based on the aforementioned criteria (cf. Bucko and Prizel-Kania 2018).

Table 9: Selected online courses for teaching Polish (cf. Bucko and Prizel-Kania 2018)

Online course	Didactic and methodological characteristics
<i>e-Local</i>	A course for A1-level learners. It teaches linguistic competence along with aspects of culture. Polish is among five other less commonly taught European Union languages: Flemish, Finnish, Italian, Hungarian and Portuguese. The target group for the course is adolescents and young adults, i. e. high school and college students. The material offered by <i>e-Local</i> should be considered as an additional self-study resource to supplement a traditional course. The material can act as a distance learning course. However, it does not provide for interaction between course users, although the Moodle system offers the possibility of creating discussion forums.
<i>Klub Dialogu (Dialogue Club)</i>	<i>Klub Dialogu</i> offers a multimedia version of the <i>Start</i> textbook, which can be accessed for a fee. Each lesson consists of 41 slides, which include animations with presentation of language material and additional consolidation exercises. It is possible to listen to all the content. The course is aimed at complete beginners (A0 Survival).
<i>yummy</i>	The <i>yummy.pl</i> website has been designed for teenagers and children learning one of four languages: Polish, English, German or French. Its resources are divided into three parts, according to age categories: – for the youngest (Preschoolers), for older children (<i>Schoolchildren</i>) and for teenagers (<i>Laboratory</i>). The site offers about 200 games along with educational games, which are age- and skill-appropriate.
<i>Busuu</i>	The <i>busuu.com</i> website brings together a global community of nearly twenty million users, who can learn one of twelve languages, including Polish. In the free version of the service, users can benefit from vocabulary presentations, including contextualized usage accompanied by audio, reading and writing exercises and interactive tests. Notes taken as part of the lessons are reviewed by proficient speakers of the respective language. The materials are available at four levels, referred to as A1, A2, B1, B2, and in an additional category devoted to Travel. Subscribing for specified duration grants users access to a broader database of dialogues, videos, podcasts or grammar explanations.
<i>Oneness</i>	<i>The Oneness</i> program is designed for learners at the A1 level. Explanations and comments are provided in English. The Language School section features ten lesson units, centered around ten thematic circles. Each unit presents vocabulary, grammar basics, texts for reading and listening, as well as speaking and writing exercises. A Polish-English and English-Polish dictionary provides additional learning support. The Library section contains concise grammatical explanations, essential phrases and information on Polish phonetics. In the Information Center section, essential cultural information about Poland can be found, along with useful links to sites to further expand one's knowledge on the subject.

Table 9: (Continued)

Online course	Didactic and methodological characteristics
Polish language and culture course <i>Po polsku po Polsce</i> (In Polish in Poland)	The interactive course for learning Polish language and culture <i>Po polsku po Polsce</i> at the elementary level. It was developed under a grant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs awarded in the <i>2015 Cooperation in Public Diplomacy</i> competition. It covers topics at the A1 level. Each lesson unit takes learners to one of the sixteen provinces of Poland and includes a variety of communicative situations presented in the form of written dialogues, recordings and comic strips. In addition to the communicative scenes, the course units include interactive lexical and grammar exercises, as well as listening and reading comprehension tasks.

The principles underlying modern Polish language education correspond closely with the components that shape contemporary European standards for language teaching and the didactics of Western European languages. The rapidly evolving field of Polish language glottodidactics is incorporating these principles relatively quickly into everyday teaching practices. This can be observed in the development of teaching materials that embrace action-oriented, intercultural, or multilingual approaches. Research on these is being conducted not only in Poland but also in other countries where the teaching of Polish as a foreign language is gaining interest in schools and universities, including Ukraine and Germany. The methodological frameworks used in these approaches are influenced by the traditions and experiences of native language didactics, which gives them a distinctly European character. Noteworthy examples of these practices include the initiatives of Ukrainian centers for Polish language glottodidactics, such as the activities led by Prof. Alla Kravchuk at the University of Lviv, and Julia Vaseiko at the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University. Similarly, in Germany, Grit Mehlhorn's team at Leipzig University and Bernhard Brehmer's team at the University of Greifswald have made significant contributions to the field.

8. The achievements of European foreign language didactics in the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language

Although the achievements of European foreign language didactics have inspired the development of the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language, it has not always been its primary reference point.

Until the late 1970s, the development of Polish language glottodidactics largely relied on the teaching Polish as a native language as its central concept. Methodological solutions were sought within the framework of teaching Polish as a native language (Miodunka 1977, Lewandowski 1985). Furthermore, psycholinguistic or glottodidactic research in the field was minimal during that time, despite the presence of such research in the didactics of other European languages.

The situation changed significantly in 1978 when Władysław Miodunka, a Polish philologist and an applied linguistics graduate from the University Jean Jaures of Toulouse educated on the achievements of the didactics of French as a foreign language, took over the management of the center for the education of foreigners at the Jagiellonian University. The Department of Applied Linguistics for the Teaching of Polish as a Foreign Language was established in 1980 under the Miodunka's leadership. It was the first department of its kind in Poland and the world. In its contributions to the development of Polish language glottodidactics, it emphasized empirical research and aimed to align the teaching of Polish as a foreign language with the didactics and methodologies used in teaching Western languages. The underlying assumptions behind the development of the Cracovian center were described as follows in 1980:

Currently, an opinion can be increasingly heard that Polish should be taught just like any other foreign language. This does not a slavish imitation of the methods of teaching global languages, but rather utilizing theoretical achievements and practical experience to adapt them to the specific characteristics of our language and culture. The experience of others should help us avoid mistakes, as there is no point in catching up by repeating the entire process, including what has already been deemed unnecessary or erroneous.
(Miodunka 1980; translation ours)

This perspective contradicted the parallel academic concept proposed by Jan Lewandowski of the University of Warsaw. Lewandowski advocated for the creation of a distinct Polish theory of PFL teaching, drawing from Polish linguistics, pedagogy, didactics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and emerging Polish glottodidactics (Lewandowski 1985: 90). Referencing Lewandowski's concept Miodunka wrote as follows:

In the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language there are opposite tendencies: one, which is most fully expressed (...) in Lewandowski's monograph, aiming to present the teaching of Polish as a foreign language as a phenomenon unique in its own right and therefore incomparable to the teaching of other languages; and another, stating clearly that Polish should be taught like other foreign languages, especially global languages, additionally solving problems typical highly-inflected, ethnic, small languages, etc.

(Miodunka 1991: 150; translation ours)

An argument in favor of following the Cracow path was the formulated by Bronisław Wieczorkiewicz on the universality of methodologies for teaching individual foreign languages (Miodunka 1977), suggesting that it is reasonable to reach for the achievements of the didactics of other European languages.

Over time, the approach advocated by Cracow researchers became the mainstream of Polish language glottodidactics, aligning it with the frameworks dominant in Europe, both in the conceptual dimension of language education and in the methodological solutions adopted. Gradually, the Cracow center of Polish language glottodidactics has become a kind of reference point for "European-oriented" teaching of Polish as a foreign language in Poland and abroad. It has evolved from the aforementioned Department of Applied Linguistics for the Teaching of Polish as a Foreign Language, into the Department of Polish as a Foreign Language and eventually into the first and so far the only Institute of Polish Language Glottodidactics, which was established in 2020. The unique development of the Cracow center its methodological advances have earned it the distinction of being referred to as the Cracow school of comparative glottodidactics (Gębal 2014, Kowalikowa 2010). The influential stature of the Cracow school has significantly shaped the modernization of Polish language teaching and the research endeavors of other academic centers focused on teaching Polish as a foreign language, for which the European approach to language education has become an integral part of didactic practice and glottodidactic research.

8.1. The Cracow school of comparative glottodidactics of Władysław T. Miodunka

The utilization of the international exchange of glottodidactic ideas has served as the impetus and catalyst for the advancement of Polish language glottodidactics since the late 1970s. It has initiated a series of activities that, from a present-day perspective, can be described as promoting and establishing the foundations of a comparative approach in glottodidactic research, thus contributing to the emergence of comparative glottodidactics. In establishing the Cracow center for Polish language glottodidactics at the Jagiellonian University, Władysław T. Miodunka advocated for the integration of proven methodologies employed in the teaching of global languages. His belief was that embracing these approaches and didactic solutions would be instrumental in elevating the teaching of Polish to a fully-fledged academic discipline. The pursuit of this objective laid the groundwork for the 1977 action plan designed for practical teaching of Polish as a foreign language and the development of teaching aids tailored to this purpose. The following words serve as the opening of the text:

The present program is an attempt to incorporate practical experience and theoretical findings acquired by foreign centers (of applied linguistics) to our own context, an attempt that takes into account our organizational constraints and the current state of teaching Polish as a foreign language.

(Miodunka 1977: 3; translation ours)

The implementation of this postulate took the form of specific research and teaching activities, which at that time entailed the pioneering practice of employing neophilologists professionally trained to teach other languages in academic positions within the so-called “Polish studies chapel”. According to Miodunka:

[T]hey contributed a solid background in the methodology of teaching foreign languages, a proficient command of at least two foreign languages, and native-level linguistic competence in Polish. [...] What turned out to be very useful in research and teaching practice was the neophilologists’ greater receptiveness to emerging currents in linguistics, including socio- and psycholinguistics, linguistic pragmatics and text theory, as well as new methodologies and techniques, including technological advancements.

(Miodunka 1999: 36; translation ours)

Thus, these specialists possessed knowledge and skills that, from the perspective of comparative activities and the exchange of glottodidactic ideas, positioned them above their contemporaries in the field of teaching Polish as a foreign language. Anglicists, Italianists, Germanists and specialists in the teaching of other foreign languages also found employment in the Cracow center.

Looking at the history of the Cracovian center of Polish language glottodidactics, characterized by its comparative research orientation, three distinct stages of its development can be discerned: drawing on the free international exchange of glottodidactic ideas; focus on strictly comparative research; and application of comparative methodologies corresponding with European standards of language education.

The first stage is reflected in works published from the inception of the center in 1978 until the mid-1990s. The second stage one covers publications from the mid-1990s to 2010. The third stage encompasses considerations and studies published in the second decade of the 21st century.

8.1.1. Introducing European thought into the teaching of Polish as a foreign language

The authors associated with the Cracow center who contributed to the introduction of European thought into the teaching of Polish as a foreign language include Władysław Miodunka, Zofia Cygal-Krupa, Urszula Czarnecka, Waldemar Martyniuk and Robert Dębski. Their works, including influential foundational studies, have significantly shaped the landscape of Polish language glottodidactics and are highly regarded within the field. These publications cover various topics, such as thematic vocabulary research and the implementation of the communicative approach in the teaching of Polish as a foreign language. One notable work is the volume edited by Miodunka (1992), which advocates for the introduction of the assumptions of the communicative approach into the process of designing language courses. This publication presents a number of didactic solutions contributed by specialists both affiliated with and outside of the Jagiellonian University.

The integration of foreign glottodidactic ideas became a formative factor for the Cracovian center, shaping its methodological dimension, although at that time it could not yet constitute an independent scientific school. The formula adopted in Cracow for conducting research inquiries, which involved the transfer of scientific ideas, proved highly successful when employed in research by local specialists in language teaching. These specialists drew upon the aforementioned universal methodology of teaching foreign languages, contributing to the development of the Polish concept of general glottodidactics. As a result of the efforts of the Cracovian center, the communicative approach, originally developed for teaching Western languages, made its way into the learning and teaching of Polish in the 1980s.

8.1.2. Glottodidactic comparativism

The comparative trend in research was implemented in later studies by Cracow specialists, covering topics such as comparative semantics and lexicography, the didactics of culture and literature, as well as the methodology of teaching linguistic competences and elements of the Polish linguistic system. These areas, which occupy a central place in the development of Polish language glottodidactics, have been explored by scholars such as Anna Seretny, Ewa Lipińska, Bronisława Ligara, Iwona Janowska, Przemysław E. Gębał, Agnieszka Rabiej, Tamara Czerkies and Władysław T. Miodunka.

The preparation of glottodidactic materials, which is one of the most important areas of the Cracovian center's activity, has also been closely aligned with the comparative trend. Textbooks and other materials for the study of Polish have incorporated didactic and methodological solutions originally used in the teaching of other languages. However, as declared by most of the authors, these solutions have been adapted to the specific context of teaching Polish, while also acknowledging and respecting the distinctive aspects of Polish as a foreign language and the existing local didactic solutions.

The end of the first decade of the 21st century witnessed a number of publications by the Cracow center that refer to the comparativist trend with an increasing consciousness. These materials frequently demonstrate conceptualizations that highlight the importance of comparativism as a pivotal point of reference for the conducted research and analyses. Elements of comparative glottodidactics not only appear in new works devoted to new glottodidactic issues. They can also be found in papers and texts that provide comprehensive overviews of the development of Polish language glottodidactics to date. This signifies a growing recognition and appreciation of comparative approaches within the field, establishing it as one of the viable methodological approaches.

The systematic integration of a comparative perspective into the activities of the Cracovian center not only shaped the identity of the center but also profoundly influenced the overall development of Polish language glottodidactics. The foundational works produced within this approach initiated a cascade of further studies, which engaged in dialogue with research conducted within the field of didactics of Western languages.

The formula of comparative research, pioneered by Władysław Miodunka within the Cracow center of Polish language glottodidactics garnered support from other Polish centers dedicated to Polish language education. The first publications began to appear, which largely aligned with the current of comparative studies. Notably, these include the proceedings of two international conferences on language policy and language certification, organized by the Department of West Slavonic Studies at Leipzig University in 2005 and 2007. The

School of Polish Language and Culture at the University of Silesia served as the Polish partner for both events. The conference proceedings have been compiled in Tambor and Rytel-Kuc (2006) and in Rytel-Kuc and Tambor (2008).

8.1.3. European language education standards as the basis for a new comparative approach

The appearance of studies presenting European standards for language education, such as the CEFR, the updated CEFR-CV 2018, the European Profile for Language Teacher Education, or the FREPA (Candelier 2007), supported by a series of comparative studies and analyses, provided a significant impetus for the Cracovian center to engage in comparative activities guided by these standards. Thus, scholars began to develop works that stemmed from comparative analyses, which sought to explore concepts and instructional solutions common to the broader theory of language learning and teaching, rather than those specific to a particular foreign language. These efforts primarily focused on action-oriented, cross-cultural, and transcultural approaches. They accelerated the emergence of the first general curriculum proposal in the history of Polish language teaching, encompassing all levels of language proficiency (A1–C2 according to the CEFR scale with reference to Polish). Scholars such as Iwona Janowska, Tamara Czerkies, Adriana Prizel-Kania, Anna Seretny and Ewa Lipińska were instrumental in advancing this trend through their studies. Meanwhile, other centers saw the development of works exploring multilingual and cross-cultural approaches.

The introduction of European standards into the research activities of the Cracovian center at the Jagiellonian University has influenced the development of the entire Polish language glottodidactics, by introducing, first and foremost, the curricular assumptions of the action-oriented approach to language learning and teaching widely represented in these standards.

The methodological trajectory developed at the Cracow center has found its continuators among Polish specialists in the teaching of other foreign languages. This trend is exemplified by Zajdler (2010), among others, a study inspired by theoretical works and specific didactic proposals originating from Polish language glottodidactics. Taking the language proficiency certification system created for the Polish language education of foreigners to be a reflection of European glottodidactic thought, Zajdler developed a coherent system for teaching Chinese at the elementary levels A1 and A2 based on the Polish CEFR language proficiency scale and formulated a proposal for a curriculum and an outline of a system for certifying proficiency in this language.

Furthermore, the achievements of the Cracovian center have influenced studies devoted to the teaching of other foreign languages in Poland and beyond, including Arabic (Lewicka 2013) and Belarusian (Kaleta 2015).

8.2. Action-oriented and task-based approach to learning and teaching Polish as a foreign language as seen by Iwona Janowska

As discussed earlier, the publication of the first English-language version of CEFR in 2001 was followed by a Polish translation in 2003. The action-oriented approach to language learning and teaching promoted in that document, as well as the accompanying language proficiency scales for the transparent organization of language education, became a unifying element of the adopted organizational, curricular, didactic and methodological solutions for educational systems in various European countries. In Polish language glottodidactics, they were initially interpreted as indicative of a trend towards Europeanization of teaching Polish as a foreign language, serving as an important element and point of reference for modernization of the entire educational process (Miodunka 2016, Gębal and Miodunka 2020). For many less commonly taught foreign languages, including Polish, the adoption of European standards resulted in the acceleration of the implementation of new didactic and methodological trends that had been relatively underrepresented in empirical research concerning the teaching of these languages. In addition to the already described prompt adoption of the linguistic proficiency scales proposed in the CEFR, mainly for the purposes of certification of proficiency in Polish as a foreign language from 2004 onwards, the philosophy of the action-oriented approach, understood as an extension of the communicative approach dominant in educational practice at the time (Janowska 2011, Gębal 2019), served as a specific model for the development of the native concept of the post-CEFR task approach by Iwona Janowska of the Jagiellonian University. This approach has been subject to empirical verification to a basic degree within the field of teaching Polish as a foreign language.

Describing in detail the assumptions of the action-oriented and task-based approaches (see 7.5), Janowska proposed her original concept of a didactic task unit. Such a unit consists of eight stages, within which the main task, which is the key pedagogical element of the approach, is implemented. Other lesson activities are also incorporated into the unit, designed to prepare learners for independent engagement with the main task. These activities are also largely task-based, stimulating learners' creativity in language learning (Janowska 2010, 2011) (see Table 10).

Table 10: Structure of the task unit (adapted from Janowska 2011: 227–229; translation ours)

STAGE 1	INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC
STAGE 2	DEVELOPING NECESSARY COMPETENCES (micro-tasks)
STAGE 3	VOCABULARY AND LANGUAGE STRUCTURES IN CONTEXT
STAGE 4	FORMS AND RULES
STAGE 5	CONSOLIDATION OF STRUCTURES AND VOCABULARY LEARNT
STAGE 6	MAIN TASK (macro task).
STAGE 7	ELEMENTS OF CULTURE
STAGE 8	SELF-ASSESSMENT

Considered as the main task, the macro-task integrates the possibility for practical application of all skills and strategies developed and discovered during the completion of individual micro-tasks within the second stage of the task unit. Both types of activity can be either pedagogical tasks or so-called “real-life” tasks. The former are less connected to the real-life needs of learners and taking into account the broader context of the implemented curriculum that is tailored to specific levels of language proficiency. Pedagogical tasks are more often implemented at lower proficiency levels. On the other hand, the subject matter and format of real-life tasks often extends beyond the confines of the traditional classroom setting, aligning more closely with learners’ their subject matter and organizational format of activities real-life linguistic communicative and action needs.

Janowska’s concept of the task unit, which draws heavily from the proposals implemented in the didactics of Romance languages, is practically illustrated in a model textbook task unit included in the appendix of her book (Janowska 2011: 363–388). This model became a reference point for task-oriented teaching materials developed later. The task-based approach itself, along with its task-based implementation, has been extensively examined by the Cracovian researcher (Janowska 2017, 2019) and has been embraced by language teaching specialists in Poland, complementing other task-based language teaching concepts developed with English, Germanic, or Romance studies.

8.3. From the methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign language to the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language. The concept of humanistic didactics of foreign languages by Przemysław E. Gębal

For years, the methodological foundations of Polish language glottodidactics have been complemented by considerations and empirical research, increasingly of an interdisciplinary nature, linking it with other research fields. However, the concepts developed in this area still rarely engage with the realm of philosophy of education. Although Polish language glottodidactics, with its new orientations and approaches to language learning and teaching, such as action-oriented and intercultural didactics, may give the impression of engaging with pedagogy, it lacks deeper humanistic reflections that bridge theoretical approaches with everyday teaching practice. Moreover, reflection within Polish language glottodidactics still relatively infrequently involves metareflective discussions on the functioning of the entire research field.

Recognizing this need, Przemysław Gębal proposes expanding the commonly used terms “Polish language glottodidactics” and “methodology of teaching Polish as a foreign/second language/heritage language/language of origin” and the scope of theoretical and empirical inquiry they imply, with the addition of “the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language” (Gębal 2019, Gębal and Miodunka 2020). In his proposal, he goes beyond the customary distinction between didactics and teaching methodology in glottodidactic studies, where the former encompasses the broader context of language learning and teaching and its underlying conditions, whereas the latter pertains to the practical implementation of the educational process, including planning, execution and evaluation (cf. Lipińska and Seretny 2006). According to Gębal’s proposal, **didactics** is an elaborate philosophical concept of education that refers to the developed ideas and directions of formal language education in relation to the achievements of pedagogy and applied psychology (cf. Cuq 2003: 70). Thus, in its theoretical and empirical investigations, the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language takes on a largely pedagogical character. In its scholarly considerations, it opens up to the achievements of modern social sciences and humanities, which, although also developed in Poland, are to a lesser extent part of the consciousness of glottodidacticians. Although increasingly open to interdisciplinarity in their declarations, their focus often remains confined to strictly linguistic concepts.

An early example of following such a path was Gębal’s concept of developing the didactics of Polish as a second language. Drawing on the achievements of other humanities and social sciences, he proposed an original model of teaching

Polish as a second language to learners with migration experience (cf. Gębal 2018a, see 6.1.4). Without taking into account pedagogical, psychological and sociological research, the creation of such a concept would not have been possible. The use of the insights from other sciences, particularly intercultural pedagogy and psychology, offers an opportunity to foster attitudes of openness to difference and diversity within the language education process. These attitudes are socially important today and are determinants of intercultural competence developed in language classes. The mechanisms of their development is also of interest in the field of didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language. After all, the task of contemporary teachers is to teach tolerance, promote social integration, and foster cooperation among individuals from different cultures.

As outlined in Gębal (2019) and Gębal & Miodunka (2020), the same author supports a concept of “didactics” which clearly delineates the academic scopes of Polish language glottodidactics, the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language, and the methodologies employed in their teaching (Gębal and Miodunka 2020).

The didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language focuses primarily on the guided process of acquiring a foreign language. It explores the social conditions of the institutionalized educational process, addressing questions such as “Who learns Polish?”, “In what educational context?”, “With whom?”, and “Why?” (including an examination of needs and motivational factors). By providing answers to these questions, it simultaneously supports the psychopedagogical development of the entire linguistic framework of teaching Polish as a foreign language, which operates under conditions similar to academically stabilized domains in other systems, such as ELT (English Language Teaching), DaF (Deutsch als Fremdsprache), FLE (Français Langue Étrangère), ELE (Español como Lengua Extranjera), or ILS (L’Italiano come Lingua Straniera) (cf. Gębal 2013: 37).

Conceptually, Gębal’s idea is grounded in his own model of constructivist language learning and teaching. He views the learners and their instructors as individual entities with inherent cognitive potential, the unlocking of which becomes the primary goal of all curricular and methodological solutions. The linguistic and personal development of individual learners occurs through interaction with other learners, who provide the social communicative context for the linguistic activities undertaken during lessons. Teachers, in the didactic process, also adopt the role of learners who, by arranging the implementation of individual lesson activities, themselves become participants in them.

Drawing upon the constructivist cognitive context, the author’s own model of foreign language didactics takes into account the intricacies of the aforementioned didactic process, integrating the multidimensionality and individuality of learners and teachers, alongsind the contemporary cultural educa-

tional context, thus supporting the humanistic orientation of language education (cf. Polish CEFR 2003; CEFR-CV 2018).

This model is not purely theoretical, allowing for a more detailed presentation of the philosophy of modern language education. It should be regarded as a programmatic outline that integrates developed didactic assumptions, grounded in empirical research, with everyday educational practice, teaching techniques and didactic resources employed within it. The aim of Gebal's study is to raise awareness of the essence of the modern language education process, its multifaceted nature, and its educational role in supporting the development of learners and teachers. Both learners and teachers need to situate themselves within this multidimensionality, considering their own identities and the environment in which language education takes place. The constructed model aims to facilitate the understanding of the fundamental goals of modern language education, thereby aiding in the conscious planning and implementation of classes in the spirit of reflective teaching practices, which forming an integral part of teachers' considerations.

Consisting of four elements, the model encompasses the fundamental goals of modern language education, which also serve as the conceptual determinants of language didactics. These elements include: learning, linguistic and personal development, cooperation and proficiency (see Diagram 2).

Modern language education views **language learning** as a process of developing linguistic communicative competence, enabling learners to engage in linguistic actions of reception, production, interaction and mediation. It interacts with the development of general competencies, which encompass declarative knowledge (*savoir*), the ability to use it in practice, i.e. procedural knowledge (*savoir-faire*), learning skills (*savoir-apprendre*), and self-awareness of personal traits (*savoir-être*) (cf. Polish CEFR 2003; CEFR 2018). The latter serve as a foundation for the development of language skills, influencing and often determining how languages are learned and spoken (cf. Smuk 2016). The last of the general competencies – *savoir-être* – is a factor that significantly determines awareness of **personal and linguistic development**. Combining the cognitive and affective characteristics of individual learners, it shapes their personality profile and influences their preferred learning style. In humanist-oriented modern language didactics, the personal development of both learners and teachers is considered the goal and determinant of a reflective educational process. The development of *savoir-être* competencies in language classes is an added value that facilitates the individualization of teaching. It also supports the development of a number of psychosocial (soft) competencies that facilitate effective communication in various social and cultural contexts. These include skills that facilitate decision-making and problem-solving (including those that are influenced by culture), effective communication and maintenance of good inter-

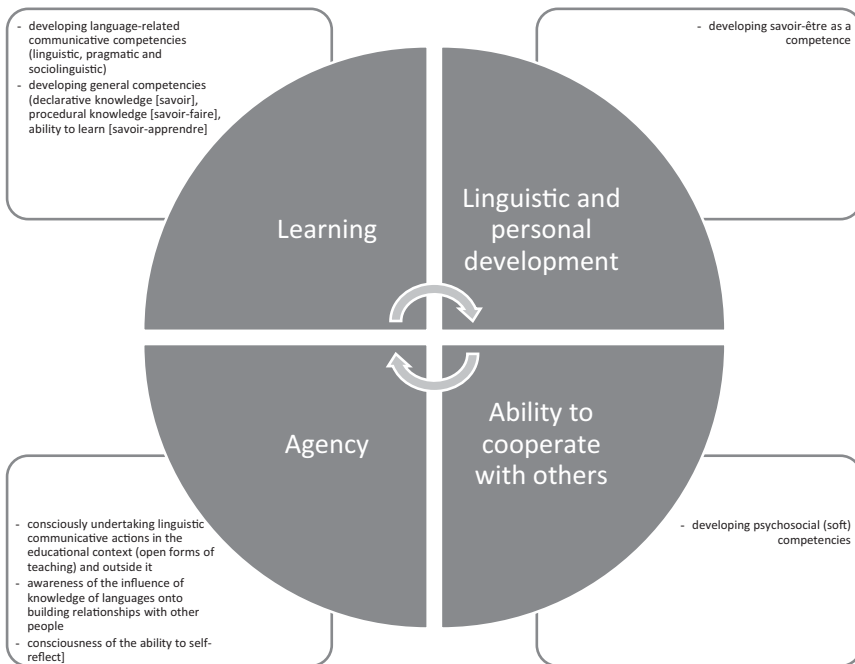


Diagram 2: Gębal's model of foreign language didactics

personal relations, self-awareness and empathy, as well as emotional coping and stress management (cf. Madalińska-Michalak and Górska 2012). Through didactic activities undertaken in language classes, the cultivation of these competencies teaches the **ability to cooperate with others** and places linguistic communicative competence in a broader social context. Self-awareness, as a fundamental indicator of personal maturity, involves, among other things, a comprehensive understanding of oneself, honesty with oneself, openness to inner experiences, and the ability to identify one's own emotions. Derived from the concept of humanistic psychology, self-awareness is pivotal to fostering a person's capacity for reflection. On an intentional level, it supports their **proficiency**, providing them with a sense of self-fulfillment and imparting profound significance to their learning endeavors. In the context of teaching activities, the factor that facilitates the experience of causality is the implementation of open forms of teaching in the form of a constructivist action-oriented approach, enabling learners to engage in linguistic actions embedded in a social context. This expands the scope of language teaching, traditionally focused on linguistic proficiency, to encompass a broad spectrum of educational interactions that foster learners' holistic development.

In relation to the presented model, Gębal's concept of didactics sees the process of language learning and teaching as a supportive educational environment that embraces linguistic and cultural diversity in the modern world and aims to prepare learners for future professional endeavors that require the utilization of acquired linguistic and cultural competencies. Additionally, this concept recognizes the individual cognitive potentials of learners and emphasizes the inclusion of learners with diverse needs and educational difficulties, who may require special attention in their linguistic and personal development. These didactic tasks are an essential part of the theoretical and empirical framework of foreign language didactics and, when applied to the context of Polish, the didactics of Polish as a foreign and second language.

8.4. Didactics of Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages. Towards the didactics of European languages

Historically rooted and still present in the consciousness of European linguists and didacticists, the divisions of language didactics based on linguistic classifications into the Romance, Germanic and Slavic areas seem to be out of step with the changing reality of modern glottodidactics. While the didactics of individual languages strive for autonomy, researchers in the field are aware that collaborating with others, they can achieve more in developing effective language learning and teaching approaches. Although each of the European didactic traditions values and cherishes its own accomplishments and specific practices, they are now all bound under European educational standards that transcend these traditions and practices, while emphasizing their varying prominence and influence onto the conceptual, curricular and methodological solutions developed on their basis. This seems to challenge the entrenched linguistic divisions into Romance, Germanic and Slavic areas from a pedagogical and didactic standpoint.

The increasing number of international interdisciplinary scientific and didactic projects, which bring together specialists from different regions of the European linguistic mosaic, further blurs these classifications and incorporates solutions and educational standards developed beyond the confines of specific research fields into everyday teaching and learning practice.

This trend accelerates the flow of scientific thought, extending to the didactics of less commonly taught languages that have traditionally drawn on the achievements of the more established ones. Polish language glottodidactics serves as an example of this practice and development, as its experience and achievements increasingly influence the didactics of other languages. This reciprocal exchange

and the formation of transcultural networks of cooperation lead us to reflect on the need for a discussion on the development of a concept of didactics that goes beyond the rigid divisions into language families and groups.

It is time to discuss the concept of “Didactics of European languages”, which embodies this methodological transcultural dimension. It is supported by the entire history of European scientific thought in the field of language learning and teaching, acknowledging the relative autonomy of individual language didactics and their cooperation in the development of translanguing educational standards. This concept treats the achievements of each of these traditions equally, without dividing them based on linguistic categorizations such as Germanic, Romance, or Slavic. It is a didactics shaped by a European community of researchers representing diverse academic traditions, united by a common goal: to support the development of a European cultural identity built on the multilingualism and plurilingualism of its societies, which demand ever-increasing effectiveness in European language education.

Concluding remarks

Contemporary Polish language glottodidactics is a rapidly developing field of teaching and research. It functions as a relatively autonomous academic research area alongside Polish glottodidactics. It also encompasses educational standards and curricular solutions for teaching Polish as a foreign, second language or heritage language (language of origin). Additionally, it creates a market for textbooks and teaching materials catering to foreigners and individuals with migration experience who are learning the Polish language. Furthermore, it encompasses a community of individuals actively involved in the glottodidactic process, including on the one hand, learners from all regions of the world, and on the other, teachers and researchers, carrying out research projects and developing new didactic and methodological solutions.

The current didactic and methodological solutions, along with experiences in implementing new approaches such as the action-oriented approach, can serve as important reference points for specialists in the teaching of other languages seeking to modernize education in their area. However, while examining the achievements of Polish language glottodidactics thus far, it is important to acknowledge that Polish language glottodidactics is still a relatively young field. Despite its rapid progress, it faces numerous challenges and has much more to accomplish. To solidify its position among the humanities and social sciences, it would be beneficial for Polish language glottodidactics to expand its research base through interdisciplinary empirical projects. Such initiatives should encompass various levels of scientific research, including empirical, applied, theoretical, and metatheoretical inquiries. By doing so, the field can establish a prominent presence within the realm of modern humanities. Additionally, it is important for research findings related to teaching Polish as a foreign, second or heritage language to be published internationally, and more actively contribute to the international scientific discourse on language learning and teaching.

Another potentially significant condition for further development of Polish language glottodidactics is greater reliance on the methodological perspective of inter- and transdisciplinarity in its scientific inquiries. Such inquiries should

move beyond the limits of applied linguistics and actively engage in new research projects and conscious scientific cooperation among specialists from diverse disciplines, even those that may initially seem distant.

It should be borne in mind that the position of Polish language glottodidactics will also be shaped by various social and political factors. There will be no meaningful development of this field without a appropriate educational and linguistic policies that acknowledge its merits and incorporate it into cultural diplomacy activities at both the national and European levels.

As the increasingly international community of Polish language glottodidacticians continues to grow, it is expected continue to train professional staff and generate innovative ideas for research and curriculum development.

By combining all the above elements and involving representatives from different communities in joint efforts to shape the field's development profile, further progress in advancing the discipline in the European context. These actions will grant it a greater social significance and increase recognition and understanding of the emerging needs that accompany its development.

Our study attempts to fit into such a philosophy of the development of Polish language glottodidactics. We have aimed to create a comprehensive and innovative work that opens up new directions for teaching Polish as a foreign and second language, in line with international progress. Our publication seeks to contribute to the professional training of future European specialists in language teaching and inspire their interest in exploring the themes addressed herein.

Summarizing the development of Polish language glottodidactics to date, we observe that it is shaped by the European paradigm, which is reflected in the use of psycholinguistic models of European origin to describe the process of learning a foreign language, teaching concepts recently unified under the banner of European standards of language education, and humanist-oriented models for training teachers of Polish as a foreign language, which also adhere to European pedeutological standards.

It is worth noting the achievements of Polish language glottodidactics, which have successfully been transferred to the didactics of other European languages, such as Slovenian, Macedonian, and Ukrainian. Polish-Slovenian cooperation was established through the *Lingua Action 2* grant – Development Program for Testing in Polish and Slovene, implemented from 2001 to 2004 and coordinated by the Jagiellonian University. This program laid the foundations for certificate exams in both languages, based on European standards. Significant works were prepared and published as part of this program, including the *English-Polish-Slovenian Glossary of Language Proficiency Testing Terms* (2004) and *Language Proficiency Indicators* (2004), which greatly contributed to the teaching and testing of these languages.

Alongside the well-established European tradition in the development of Polish language glottodidactics, it is worth mentioning achievements of the latter, which have successfully been transferred to the didactics of other European languages, such as Slovenian, Macedonian and Ukrainian. Polish-Slovenian cooperation was established through the *Lingua Action 2* project entitled “Development of Tools and Materials: Development Program for Testing in Polish and Slovenian”, implemented in the years 2001–2004, and coordinated by the Jagiellonian University. This program laid the foundations for certificate exams for both languages, relying on European standards. Significant works were published as part of this program, such as a glossary of English-Polish-Slovenian language testing terms (Martyniuk 2004) and Language Proficiency Indicators (2004), which greatly contributed to the teaching and testing of these languages.

In the years 2009–2012 there was a project called *Tempus IV: Macedonian as a Foreign Language Curriculum Upgrading*, which involved specialists from the Department of Polish as a Foreign Language. They served as advisors during the development of Macedonian language curricula for levels A–C, and later as reviewers of the textbooks produced under the project.

Polish-Ukrainian cooperation took an unusual turn when history began to interfere with scientific work in the aftermath of Russia’s attack on independent Ukraine on February 28, 2022. For many years, specialists studying the Polish language abroad focused on Ukraine as the country of residence of a Polish minority. However, the situation changed with the publication of Pavel Levchuk’s book on Ukrainian-Russian-Polish trilingualism among Ukrainians of non-Polish descent (2020). Levchuk conducted extensive research involving 1,160 questionnaires and came to the following conclusions:

The rapid development of Ukrainian-Russian-Polish trilingualism occurred in the years 2012–2015. First, Polish universities recorded a significant increase in the number of students from Ukraine, and after the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of the conflict in Donbas, even more than 2 million Ukrainians came to Poland in search of permanent or seasonal work. Today, foreigners from Ukraine constitute the largest group of foreigners in Poland, which is noticeable in all spheres of life.

(Levchuk 2020: 249; translation ours)

Among further conclusions, the researcher noted that Polish, as one of the official languages of the European Union, holds a high status in Ukraine, which may lead to increased interest in it among students, researchers and individuals intending to work in Poland. Levchuk is the first to have pointed out that for Ukrainians Polish is gradually replacing Russian in the role of a functionally second language, primarily in Poland and to a lesser extent in Ukraine, especially among individuals with negative attitudes toward Russian. Writing these words in 2019, he stressed that it is a long-term process that has just begun (Levchuk

250–255). Of course, he could not have anticipated at that time that the process could significantly accelerate at the end of February 2022, when nearly 4 million refugees fled Ukraine for Poland after the outbreak of the war. For a smaller portion of them, Poland served as a transit point to other EU countries, while for the rest, Poland became a place of temporary or permanent settlement, depending on the developments in Ukraine. The current situation brings to my mind the following opinion of George Friedman, the American political futurologist, as outlined in his book *The Next 100 Years. A Forecast for the 21st Century* (2009):

Eastern Europe will become the most dynamic region of Europe. As Russia collapses, the Eastern European countries will extend their influence and power to the east. (...). The Poles, on the northern European plain, **will be the most vulnerable, yet at the same time the largest and most important Eastern European nation.** As the Russians fall apart, the Poles will be the first to want to press eastward, trying to create a buffer zone in Belarus and Ukraine. As the Poles assert their power, the Carpathian countries will also project power east of the mountains, into Ukraine. (...) **In this scenario, Poland becomes a major and dynamic European power, leading a coalition of Eastern European countries.** The balance of power within Europe by 2040 will therefore shift to the east.
(Friedman 2009: 149–150; emphasis ours)

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