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Bilingualism in an Exolingual Environment: Polish Ethnic Minority in the UK

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Preface

The major subject of this monograph is bilingualism in an exolingual environment (based on Polish ethnic minority in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)¹.

The first chapter is a review of Polish and English terminology functioning in the area of bilingual education. At its beginning, I lay out some of the issues concerned with glottodidactics, (applied) linguistics and didactics (methodology) of foreign language teaching. In the further course, the concept of bilingualism is defined with the areas in need of particular attention being: immersion and submersion, followed by other typology of bilingual education.

The second part, in turn, is a review of research in the area of bilingualism. In its first section I juxtapose additive bilingualism with subtractive bilingualism, and dwell on their history. A reference is made to model research and (meta)analyses conducted in bilingual education in the past decade, too.

Part three concentrates on minority languages. First, I focus on the most crucial legislation initiatives adopted by the Council of Europe; a prompt reference is made to the concept of bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism as well as ethnic variety. In the further course of my analyses, and after quoting relevant data gathered by the European Union institutions and UNESCO, I refer to the Welsh language as an example of minority languages.

The fourth chapter is devoted to (e/ im)migration, following the definition of which there is a distinction between an immigrant, refugee and asylum-seeker. In the next part of the same chapter, I analyse intrapersonal psychological processes whose aim is to determine immigrants' own (cultural) identity which can be manifested by compulsory, induced or voluntary acculturation in the form of assimilation, integration, marginalisation or isolation in relation to the receiving society. At the end, a reference is made to the data on the number of Polish citizens (Polish ethnic minority) residing in other countries (particularly Great Britain) as well as the results of a survey conducted by *YouGov UK* whose goal is to diagnose attitudes of British citizens towards different groups (including ethnic groups).

Unit five describes Polish education in an exolingual environment (in the United Kingdom). First of all, I ponder on the mother tongue and other (second or foreign) language teaching contexts (based on the English language and the Polish language) and then – the data on the number of Polish citizens residing temporarily in other European and overseas countries. The history of Polish education abroad is presented after which an analysis of the names of Polish schools follows.

The next section concentrates on the facilitative function of English educational policy with regard to education of ethnic minorities. At its beginning, I highlight some

¹ This is an English version of my articles (2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b) originally published in the Polish language (for further details refer to: Bibliography). All texts have been perused thoroughly, and some parts either amended or supplemented.

major assumptions of *Education and Inspections Act* 2006; a reference is made to educational policy regarding newly-arrived minority students (NAMS) in Europe. In the further course of my analyses, I address different means of support of ethnic minority pupils included in *Guidance on the assessment of EAL pupils who may have special educational needs* prepared by Ethnic Minority Achievement Support Service (EMASS) department of Milton Keynes local education authority.

The last but one text concentrates on achievements of the younger generation of emigrants in GCSE Polish. I lay out some of the issues concerned with bilingual and Polish education abroad (the latter is presented in an exolingual context – here: England). Further, English education system is presented with particular stress put on key stage 4 examinations, that is General Certificate of Secondary Education (here: Polish). The data gathered come from an AQA (Assessment and Qualifications Alliance) centre.

The final part, after defining a jobseeker as well as quoting the unemployment rate in Poland and the UK, delves into the educational system of England and Wales. Further, I also probe adult education implemented by adult education institutions (AEIs) in London Borough of Ealing and, in particular, their range of courses as a means of combating unemployment (here: from the perspective of Polish ethnic minority).

Bilingualism: Review of Terminology

Introduction

The following text, after presenting a sketch of the *differentia specifica* existing between (applied) linguistics and didactics (methodology) of foreign language teaching/ glottodidactics, contains an overview of terminology functioning in bilingual education. After referring to some definitions of bilingualism and its typology, I further examine the phenomenon of immersion and submersion.

It should be noted that this chapter is not intended to make a comprehensive and exhaustive description of the subject matter, but, merely, to signal it. In light of irrefutable redundancy, it is difficult to cite even the most important definitions of the index concept that are proposed in the literature, and which emerge when attempting to make a synthetic review of the notion in question.

(Applied) Linguistics and Glottodidactics/ Didactics of Foreign Language Teaching

Glottodidactics, F. Grucza (2013a: 221–228) states, first and foremost, concentrates its research interests on scientific comprehension of the processes that operate in the glottodidactic system during the process of language learning. S. Grucza (2013b: 6), in turn, following the above definition, makes a note that glottodidactics, which is established as an independent field of study in the second half of the twentieth century, focuses on foreign language teaching, foreign language learning and foreign language teachers' education. It is worth adding that according to yet another distinguished Polish linguist: W. T. Miodunka (2009: 77–78) "the term glottodidactics works with one limitation: it refers to teaching foreign languages, and not to teaching languages in general (including the mother tongue, as it is originally suggested by Prof F. Grucza)."^{2 3}

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań is the place where Polish glottodidactics is born – perceived by Poznań linguists as a field of applied linguistics, and the place where the name is used in a pioneering way is, set up by Prof F. Grucza, Institute of Applied Linguistics of the University of Warsaw.⁴ L. Zabrocki, according to F. Grucza (2013a: 221), uses either the term "methodology" or "didactics of foreign languages teaching" instead. It is also important to note that the Poznań school of linguistics representative combines glottodidactics not with pedagogy or general didactics, but

² "Linguodidactics" deals with the school acquisition process, the development and improvement of linguistic and communicative competence in the mother tongue/ first language (J. Nocoń 2012).

³ All translations from the Polish language are mine, M. Ł.

⁴ Prof F. Grucza uses the term "glottodidactics" in the title of the first symposium organised in 1972 by the Institute of Applied Linguistics of the University of Warsaw: "Applied linguistics and glottodidactics" (F. Grucza 2013a: 222).

with linguistics. F. Grucza (2013a: 223), however, treats glottodidactics as "a (relatively) autonomous" field rather than a component of (applied) linguistics or didactics, justifying that both linguistics, glottodidactics and general didactics, firstly, work on different subjects and, secondly, "glottodidactics (the sequence of cognitive work that constitutes it must be divided into the stage (plane) of pure research and the stage (plane) of applied (applicative) research."

Hence according to the assumptions of the linguists from Poznań, glottodidactics is identical with methodology of teaching foreign languages whereas the Warsaw conception posits that its main purpose is to study the functioning of one of the particular types (a certain category) of communication systems that F. Grucza calls – as it is mentioned above – "glottodidactic systems":

[t]heir main (constitutive) elements (components) are, on the one hand, pupils and, on the other hand, teachers of languages, but not only of foreign languages, but also mother tongues. The primary objective of glottodidactics is the reconstruction of specific properties (abilities, skills) of both constitutive coefficients of these systems and, thus, not only teachers, but also, as a matter of fact, and in the first instance, pupils involved in such communication systems (F. Grucza 2013a: 221),

and foreign language learning methods are one of research components of glottodidactics perceived in this way (yet another can be, e.g., language learning materials, including foreign languages).

Let me expand here in more detail on the very concept of reconstruction⁵. Learning, assimilation or acquisition S. Grucza (2013a: 106), on the basis of the anthropocentric theory, calls "reconstruction" both in reference to a general and specialised idiolect: "[r]econstruction of specialised idiolect, similarly to reconstruction of general idiolect, is based on linguogenerative (biological-genetic) properties of speakers-listeners." Besides, as the author adds further (2013a: 145):

real languages (idiolects) of specific individuals, and, thus, real specialised languages (idiolects) of specific professionals are not something given to anyone 'in advance', that every man has to produce ('acquire') his own language (idiolect) and only he can develop it himself. Second, 'language acquisition' is a process in which every man 'produces' (his own) real language based on a specific kind of biological-genetic linguogenerative properties and that language learning 'involves' the process of generating linguistic knowledge about the world – the process of getting to know the world, that, yet at this level, human languages 'fulfil' important cognitive functions.

Towards the end of this part it is yet crucial to recall some basic facts regarding (applied) linguistics. Namely, it is a German linguist: August Ferdinand Bernhardi who, at the end of the 18th century, as the first scholar ever, distinguishes and then separates applied linguistics from pure linguistics; second, in chronological order, is Jan Niecisław Ignacy Baudouin de Courtenay of Polish origin (F. Grucza 2013a: 49–50). As F. Grucza notes in the further course of his study (2013a: 185), the date of publication of A. F. Bernhardi's work does not set the start of the history of applied

⁵ J. Sokol (2015) replaces "learning" (first) language with "constructing" (with assistance of the trial and error method, and adults).

linguistics at all, but merely "(a) the beginning of the history of conscious isolation of applied linguistics and, thus, dividing the general scope of linguistics into pure and applied linguistics; and (b) the beginning of the explicit recognition of certain concepts to the set of objectives of applied linguistics." What is more, the year of giving by J. N. I. Baudouin de Courtenay his famous St. Petersburg lecture – i.e. 1870 – does not stand for the beginning of the history of Polish applied (meta)linguistics in general (F. Grucza 2013a: 187). F. Grucza (2013a: 117) rejects the assertion that the difference between these two subfields is that pure linguistics has only cognitive objectives while applied linguistics – practical, arguing that both are of cognitive nature: "knowledge, and only knowledge creation", be it a different kind of knowledge.

Bilingualism

It is difficult to refer, even briefly, to all the important definitions of bilingualism proposed in the literature since it is a complex concept, encompassing a number of different elements from both the teaching and learning sphere. The following quotation by M. Olpińska-Szkiełko $(2013b: 50)^6$ just proves this indisputable redundancy⁷:

[a]ctually each of the authors dealing with the problem of bilingualism creates his own terminology or uses the terms proposed by other researchers, understanding them, though, in a different manner and 'filling them in' with other meanings. This can lead to many misunderstandings, and therefore one should be aware of these inaccuracies at the beginning of their deliberations.

In contrast to the notion of bilingualism and multilingualism, and as a result of the work carried out by the Council of Europe implying a change in the approach to linguistic education, the concept of plurilingualism is ultimately introduced. The purpose of the plurilingual user is no longer to achieve perfection in a given language/ given languages following the ideal native user, but, merely, to develop language competence in accordance with the assumption that

an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these

⁶ In her work devoted to the linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development of children, M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b) presents the most vital results of scientific research on speech acquisition, bilingualism and bilingual education (taking into account historical features of these studies and paying simultaneous attention to Polish achievements in the field). ⁷ S. Grucza (2013b: 23), based on the peculiar relationship between specialised languages and a language presented by F. Grucza (that is: a general language and specialised languages are not functionally compatible, but rather complementary languages), suggests that they should be treated, to a great extent, especially functionally, as separate languages, which may in turn lead to a conclusion that "any Polish speaker-listener who knows both general Polish as well as Polish specialised language has to be treated, in a sense, as a bilingual person (...)" (S. Grucza 2013b: 22-23).

languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact (*The common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching assessment* 2003: 4).

M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b) emphasises the fact that early contact with a language other than one's mother tongue can have (on the assumption that certain conditions are met) a very good influence on linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development of the child. Equally important is the fact that, according to the author (2013b: 20), linguistic development is identical with the development of the child in general because language is an exclusively human property (here: of any particular child) and cannot be considered separately, which F. Grucza (2013a, 2013b), already referred to a couple of times throughout the course of the present text, proves in his work on the anthropocentric theory. F. Grucza (1981) also distinguishes between two phases of the language acquisition process: a. simultaneous, including early childhood (from 0 to 4 years of age) and b. consecutive, including late childhood (from 5/ 7 to 11 years of age).

For the purposes of this publication, it is enough to recall yet the definition of: L. Bloomfield (1933) that the bilingual speaker is fluent in two languages, F. Grosjean (1989) characterising a bilingual person as a person being able to function in any language as per their given needs or E. Bialystok (2001) according to whom the bilingual child seems to function to the very same degree in any two languages, move between them effortlessly, and take an appropriate socio-cultural stance for each language. Compiling the above descriptions with the definition of E. Lipińska and A. Seretny we do not notice any *differentia specifica* since in the authors' opinion (2012: 27–28) bilingualism:

means mastering, to the very same extent, two languages by a given person as their native counterparts of same age and social status. It depends on the ability to use all skills in the mother tongue and second language, and on the frequent and free use of them in different situations and with different participants of the communicative act. It also involves a close contact with both cultures and a possibility of experiencing them.

Thus, when attempting to synthesise the definitions and descriptions of the concept of bilingualism found in the literature, it has to be stated that although they are very numerous, they are also quite convergent indeed with some common key concepts easily shared. It is worth mentioning here that pioneering research on the development of bilingualism is begun by a French psychologist J. Ronjat, and later also W. Leopold; in both these cases appropriate research is carried out in the first half of the last century (in 1913 and 1939–1949, respectively). Indeed, regardless of who the authors are (in terms of their country of origin), and what language(s) they refer to, these definitions focus on the speaker's knowledge of two languages (native and second)⁸ acquired according to their age and social status. A thorough and

⁸ It is worth mentioning here one more phenomenon that, nowadays, no longer constitutes a true *terra incognita*, namely – when a bilingual person uses a spoken language (e.g. English

synthetic review of terminology used in glottodidactics of Polish studies with simultaneous explanation of contextualised, i.e. in either an endo- or exolingual environment, terminological nuances is accomplished by E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 19–31) who examine terms such as, for instance: "the mother tongue", "the first language", "the native language", "the primary language", "the ethnic language, "the national language", "the inherited language", "the output language", "the target language", "the foreign language" or "the second language" – I shall not summarise them again here then.

E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 28–29) point to the need to distinguish bilingualism from: a. knowledge of two languages (which is a broader term) that assumes that "one's mother tongue is not acquired according to one's age and social status (...) and competence achieved in *the other* language does not diverge from linguistic skills of native speakers of same age and same social status", and b. diglossia perceived as a skill of using two varieties of any language; a distinction can be made here between its low version (the contact or regional-contact variety used in the home environment) and high version (the national language). The example of the first language is Polonia⁹, and the second – Polish¹⁰.

Typology of Bilingualism

The typology presented below is not intended to make a comprehensive and exhaustive division of the issue under discussion. However, bearing in mind the effusion of mixed contexts and reference points taken in the literature of the subject, one can distinguish between the following kinds of bilingualism¹¹:

- additive bilingualism: the child acquires the ability to use two languages of equal social prestige to the same extent, which translates into the development of their cognitive abilities,
- balanced/ perfect bilingualism: the degree of competence in both languages, under the same circumstances, is the same¹²,

¹¹ The alphabetical order is maintained.

as his/ her mother tongue) and the other is a sign language (e.g. ASL: American Sign Language or BSL: British Sign Language) with the latter being the equal of the first (natural) language (E.S. Klima / U. Bellugi 1979). In such circumstances we speak of "bimodal bilingualism".

⁹ According to *Oxford-PWN Dictionary* (Wielki Słownik Polsko-Angielski PWN Oxford 2006), the equivalent of Polish attribute "polonijny" is "of the Polish community abroad". The author of this work, however, throughout this work, uses the term "Polonia" instead.

¹⁰ Yet another example may be the combination of Arabic and Malaysian (E. Bialystok 2001). What is more, an individual may possess two-dimensional (bidialectal) or biscriptual skills – an example of both can be Chinese (A. Lam 2006).

¹² In Polonia generation lack of knowledge of the sociolect of a socially equivalent age group excludes balanced/ perfect bilingualism (W. T. Miodunka 2010), perceived in turn by E. Lipińska (2013: 103) as "a native or near native competence in all competences in two languages".

- complementary bilingualism: one language is used in some areas of everyday life and the other – in other,
- complete/ full bilingualism: linguistic and communicative competence is developed in both languages in both spoken and written language¹³,
- compound bilingualism: a common system of meanings corresponds to words in one's mother tongue and second language,
- consecutive/ successive bilingualism: the second language is introduced after the third year of age¹⁴,
- coordinate bilingualism: a distinct system of meanings corresponds to words in one's mother tongue and second language,
- dormant bilingualism: one of the languages is not used on a regular basis, which may even result in forgetting it,
- functional bilingualism: individual language competence in one's mother tongue and second language is developed to a varying degree as a result of which one of them becomes a weaker language and the other – a dominant language (this does not have any influence on using both languages freely),
- individual bilingualism: knowledge of two languages the mother tongue and second language acquired adequately to the age and social status of the individual,
- natural bilingualism: the child simultaneously masters two languages in the natural environment before the age of three or one of them up to three years of age, and the other after that period,
- productive bilingualism: an ability to use two languages with competence developed to a certain degree,
- real bilingualism: the individual acquires both languages from an early childhood and communicates in both with ease,
- receptive bilingualism: an ability to understand two languages with simultaneous mastering different (here: receptive) skills,
- simultaneous bilingualism: the second language is introduced before the third year of age¹⁵,

¹³ If a given person does not master the ability to read and write, then, they are bilingually balanced/ perfect, but not fully.

¹⁴ "Early successive/ consecutive bilingualism" takes place when the child grows up in a family that uses their native language at home with the second language being met in a formalised environment, viz. in a kindergarten or school or through contacts within foreign environment. In the literature there exists a concept of "school bilingual education" perceived as the second language learning on courses or at schools situated in the home country. Finally, for comparison purposes only, it is worth mentioning here also the concept of "adult bilingualism", *videlicet* acquiring one's second language in a natural way through contacts with the environment in which this language is used. It should be added that, as indicated by appropriate studies, bilingual adults tend to count and pray in the language in which they first learn to perform the said activities (B. Spolsky 1998).

¹⁵ "Early simultaneous bilingualism" occurs when the child is in contact with two languages at the stage of them learning to speak.

- societal bilingualism: knowledge of two languages the mother tongue and second language acquired adequately to one's age and social status in the social dimension,
- subordinate bilingualism: access of the second language to a system of meanings with the help of one's native language,
- subtractive bilingualism: the child develops an ability to communicate in the second language at the expense of the development of skills in their mother tongue which, in turn, does not enjoy equal social prestige¹⁶ this has a negative effect on their cognitive development,
- transitional bilingualism: gradual replacement of one's mother tongue with the second language where the latter is also a dominant language (T. K. Bhatia/ W. C. Ritchie 2004, E. Bialystok 2001, S. Döpke 1992, F. Grosjean 1982, A. Lam 2006, E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012, I. Kurcz 2007, E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 2007)¹⁷.

Bearing the above in mind, S. Romaine (1989) distinguishes six types of linguistic acquisition in childhood:

- 1. "one person one language": parents speak different native languages, but each of them has a certain degree of competence in the other's language; the language of one parent is a dominant language of the society each speaks in their own language to the child from birth,
- 2. "non-dominant home language": parents speak different native languages, but the language of one parent is a dominant language of the society; both parents speak to the child in a non-dominant language; the child, in turn, has full contact with a dominant language only outside home especially in a kindergarten,
- 3. "non-dominant home language without the community support": both parents use the same native language which is not a dominant language parents speak to the child in their own language,
- 4. "double non-dominant home language without community support": both parents use different native languages; a dominant language is different from the language of any parent which they speak to the child from birth,

¹⁶ Example variants of estimating prestige of the mother tongue and the second language as seen through the prism of solidarity with a given group (own or foreign) by representatives of the majority group that uses their mother tongue and the minority group that uses their second language are discussed, for example, by E. B. Ryan and H. Giles (1982).

¹⁷ The three types of "bilingual memory system" developed by U. Weinreich (1953) are: a. "coexistent bilingualism" which posits that two languages, acquired in different environments, are separate, b. "merged bilingualism" which assumes that two languages are merged into one system used alternately, c. "subordinate bilingualism" which assumes that the second language is based on the mother tongue. This conception is subsequently modified by S. Erwin and C. Osgood (1954).

- 5. "the parents share the same native language": parents' language is a dominant language one parent always talks to the child in a language other than his/ her native language,
- 6. "mixed languages": parents are bilingual, social sectors may also be bilingual; parents switch codes and mix languages.

I. Kurcz (2007), to present yet a different viewpoint, mentions three strategies (models) for teaching the child's second language; these are:

- 1. "one person, one language" (OPOL) where one person (one parent) refers to the child only in the native language and the second person (the other parent) in the second language this strategy is identified with simultaneous bilingualism,
- 2. "minority language at home" (ml@H¹⁸) where one language (usually the native language which is also the minority language) is used at home and the other language at school; this strategy is identified with successive bilingualism,
- 3. "time" whereby at certain times of the day (or on certain days) all members from the child's environment speak in their native language and at others in the second language¹⁹.

The notion of "immersion" (here: immersion in a new language for the child, i.e. the second language), also called "additive bilingualism", is also important in bilingual education studies. Works on the subject begin in the early 1960s and are initiated by Canadian scholars: a neuropsychologist W. Penfield and a social psychologist W. Lambert who linguistically test English-speaking children living in Montreal (at that time it is French which is much less prestigious). The initial results of the children tested in both languages are rather poor compared to the results achieved by their monolingual peers, and only later (at the age of 11) the children begin to achieve comparable results – in several tests in English they are even better than their English-speaking colleagues. The results gathered from research, proving positive effects of bilingual education on the child's native language (as it gets enriched), intelligence and cognitive functioning are eventually published by E. Peal and W. E. Lambert (1962)²⁰. Contrary to initial fears, no submersion occurs.

Immersion education is based on specially developed programs whereby monolingual children are taught at schools, and in which the second language is a means of instruction in all subjects. Teachers are (second language) native speakers who also possess certain knowledge of their students' native language and culture (M.

¹⁸ F. Grosjean (2010) proposes the term "home – outside the home strategy".

¹⁹ Similar to the assumptions of "the strategy of time" is "the alternate strategy" with periods of speaking only in the native language or the second language being longer (for example, the whole year). Both "time strategy" and "alternate strategy" can be identified with simultaneous and successive bilingualism.

 $^{^{20}}$ For comparison purposes only – the studies conducted by M. Paradis (2000, 2004) show that the brain of a monolingual person is no different from the brain of a bilingual person, and possible differences are only a consequence of the degree to which the brain is used.

Swain 1978)²¹. It should be noted that in the case of immersion, the second language does not pose a threat to the first language in terms of its social prestige and scope of use (E. Lipińska / A. Seretny 2012: 88). The subject literature distinguishes between "early total immersion" constituting full immersion in the second language, which in the case of minority groups learning a dominant language can lead to the risk of submersion and "early partial immersion" where the proportion of use of the native language and the second language in all communicative situations amounts to $50\%^{22}$.

"Submersion", also called "subtractive bilingualism", literally means "dipping, sinking" (here: absorbing one's mother tongue by their second language). One speaks of the submersion phenomenon when the child representing an ethnic minority using a low social prestige native language learns school subjects with his/ her native peers. Consequently, this leads to one's loss of their mother tongue, viz. lack of full linguistic competence. It may also happen that the child does not achieve full linguistic competence in the second language either. For the above-mentioned reasons, many psychologists in the past century believe that bilingualism is detrimental to the child's cognitive and intellectual development²³.

Therefore, for immersion not to transform into submersion, certain conditions should be met. F. Genessee (1987, 1994) mentions the following circumstances: a. the child is a native speaker of the mother tongue which is the majority language and has a high social prestige, b. teachers and the school maintain this prestige, c. the child himself/ herself values his/ her mother tongue and, finally, d. the child, the school and parents are all interested in acquiring appropriate skills in the second language by the child.

Other (Essential) Concepts in Bilingualism

Analysing other concepts associated with bilingualism, it is necessary to recall "fossilisation", i.e. frozen competence and "semilingualism", that is deficiency of competence in two languages. The first posits that "the learner who reaches a certain level of language proficiency (other than his/ her native language) does not make further progress despite favourable conditions", while the latter – "regress of

²¹ Another variation of immersion education is "sheltered English programme" (sheltered meaning "protected" here), according to the assumption of which immigrant children coming from different language backgrounds are taught all subjects in English, and also attend English as a second language (ESL) classes (H. D. Brown 1994).

²² Methodological bases developed in studies on linguistic immersion result in the "content and language integrated learning" (CLIL) approach proposed by D. Marsh (1994) (*quod vide* D. Marsh / A. Maljers / A. K. Hartiala (2001), *Profiling European CLIL classrooms*. *Languages open doors*. Jyväskylä) or "content-based instruction" (CBI) propagated by D. M. Brinton, M. A. Snow and M. B. Wesche (1989).

²³ The opposite of bilingual education model based on submersion is "the heritage language programme" which posits that a non-dominant language is not used as a means of instruction but is still valued as a target language or "the language exposure time model" in which the user's native language is valued as a target language and also used as a means of instruction in teaching certain school subjects (A. Lam 2006).

competence in the mother tongue while simultaneously blocking (freezing) it in the second language" (E. Lipińska / A. Seretny 2012: 29–30). More than that, semilingualism, as noted by R. Laskowski (2014), can lead to social marginalisation with all its psychological and social consequences. Parents, the author further notes (2014), addressing the child in the second (dominant) language, and, thus, in the language not mastered sufficiently by themselves, can lead to loss of the mother tongue in the second generation of immigrants and cultural separation from their country of origin; this strategy is termed "forward escape strategy". In addition to that, there also exists a concept of "pseudobilingualism" (E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 2007 in: E. Lipińska 2013) treating of much better knowledge of one language than the other and using it in everyday communication, and "double illiteracy" in reference to which R. Laskowski (2009) uses the term "moving backward" (of knowledge of a given language) and which E. Lipińska (2013) characterises as underdeveloped skills in the mother tongue and the second language.

Other relevant concepts in bilingualism, closely related to the phenomenon of language attrition within the same community, are:

- "code switching"²⁴ whereby certain lexical elements (single words or phrases) deriving from one language are adopted by the other²⁵,
- "lexical borrowing" whereby certain words, expressions, derivatives, inflectional forms, syntactical constructions or phraseologies pass from one language to another²⁶,
- "language convergence"/ "linguistic alliance"²⁷ resulting in a unique combination of two languages belonging to the same geographic area of speech into one.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to present a review of terminology functioning in the area of bilingualism. Pioneering research on the development of bilingualism is begun in the first half of the last century by J. Ronjat; the achievements by W. Leopold or the works of W. Penfield and W. E. Lambert, gathered and published by E. Peal and W. E. Lambert (1962), also deserve attention. Subsequent studies, many of which are case

²⁴ "Language switching" is used in language-based communication strategies in a classroom where the second language is taught as a foreign language (J. Majer 2003).

²⁵ "Code switching", in the context of multilingualism, is an alternate use of several languages (B. Bailey 2001). G. Liebscher and J. Dailey-O'Cain (2005) add that it may also involve systematic alternation of the use of variants of the same language and occur within a single conversation or expression; for example, this phenomenon may refer to one's mother tongue in the context of the following dichotomy: literary variety versus colloquialism.

²⁶ "Language switching" is of an individual dimension, and in the case of "linguistic borrowings" we refer to members of a given community. In both examples, the linguistic system remains intact (A. Lam 2006).

²⁷ A complete combination of languages can result in a "mixed language", "pidgin"/ "pidgin language" or "creole"/ "creole language".

studies of idiosyncratic states or societies highlighting the recognition of history, politics or demography, post-war migration movements, postcolonial language policy, promotion of humanistic and egalitarian ideologies (A. Lam 2006) confirm, respectively, that bilingual children do not differ at all from their monolingual peers, except that they know two languages and not one (W. Klein 1986). However, as stated by E. Bialystok (2009), (biculturalism and) bilingualism can both be an extremely valuable stimulus in the process of intellectual development of the child and a burden which, in extreme cases, leads to sociopathic behaviour and delays in their cognitive development. M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013a: 146), appreciating the importance of bilingual education, believes that:

[t]he most balanced and comprehensive development of both linguistic skills, including an ability to comprehend – interpret – and produce oral and written discourses, terminological competence and skills of text analysis, as well as non-linguistic skills, particularly methodological competence, but also cognitive skills, intercultural competence, media and social competences, takes place in bilingual education as well as in project work and drama; in the latter cases, though, the development of methodical competence is not so important.

Finally, in the seventies of the previous century, we observe an abundance of all kinds of educational initiatives promoting teaching content through language rather than learning a language "on principle" only. These initiatives include, *inter alia*, programmes such as: "language across the curriculum" (LAC), "immersion education" (ImE), "immigrant on-arrival programmes", "programmes for students with limited English proficiency" (SLEP), and any other programmes whose main purpose is to teach language for specific purposes (LSP) such as, for example: "English for science and technology" (EST), "English for specific purposes" (ESP), "English for academic purposes" (EAP), just to name a few (J. C. Richards / T. S. Rodgers 2001).

Bilingual (English – Polish) Glossary of Terminology of Bilingualism²⁸

bilingualism – dwujezyczność additive bilingualism – dwujęzyczność addytywna/ wzbogacająca adult bilingualism – dwujezyczność dorosłych balanced/ perfect bilingualism – dwujęzyczność zrównoważona bimodal bilingualism – dwujezyczność bimodalna coexistent bilingualism – dwujęzyczność współistniejąca complementary bilingualism – dwujezyczność uzupełniajaca complete/ full bilingualism – dwujezyczność pełna compound bilingualism – dwujęzyczność złożona/ mieszana consecutive/ successive bilingualism - dwujęzyczność sukcesywna early consecutive/ successive bilingualism – dwujezyczność wczesna konsekutywna coordinate bilingualism - dwujęzyczność współrzędna/ czysta dormant bilingualism – dwujezyczność uśpiona functional bilingualism – dwujezyczność funkcionalna individual bilingualism – dwujezyczność jednostkowa merged bilingualism – dwujezyczność połaczona natural bilingualism – dwujęzyczność pierwotna productive bilingualism – dwujęzyczność produktywna real bilingualism – dwujęzyczność rzeczywista receptive bilingualism – dwujezyczność receptywna simultaneous bilingualism – dwujęzyczność równoczesna early simultaneous bilingualism – dwujezyczność wczesna symultaniczna societal bilingualism – dwujezyczność społeczna subordinate bilingualism – dwujęzyczność podporzadkowana subtractive bilingualism - dwujęzyczność subtraktywna/ zubażająca transitional bilingualism – dwujezyczność ukryta code switching - przełaczanie kodu content and language integrated learning – zintegrowane kształcenie przedmiotowojęzykowe creole/ creole language - (język) kreolski diglossia – dvglosja dominant language – język dominujący double illiteracy – podwójny analfabetyzm double non-dominant home language without the community support – podwójny niedominujący język domowy bez wsparcia społeczeństwa English for science and technology – angielski w nauce i technologii English for specific purposes – angielski w celach specialistycznych English for occupational purposes - angielski w celach zawodowych

²⁸ Used in the text.

English for academic purposes – angielski w celach akademickich forward escape strategy - strategia ucieczki do przodu fossilisation – fosylizacja glottodidactics – glottodydaktyka heritage language programme – program oparty na języku ojczystym immersion – immersia early total immersion - immersia wczesna całkowita early partial immersion – immersia wczesna cześciowa immersion education – kształcenie poprzez immersję immigrant on-arrival programmes – programy dla imigrantów knowledge of two languages – znajomość dwóch jezyków language across the curriculum – nauczanie języka poprzez program nauczania language attrition – ścieranie się języków language convergence/ linguistic alliance - konwergencja językowa language exposure time model – model oparty na czasie kontaktu z językiem language switching – przełaczanie jezyka language for specialised purposes -jezvk w celach specialistycznych lexical borrowing – zapożyczenia jezykowe linguistics – lingwistyka applied linguistics - lingwistyka stosowana mixed language – język mieszany multilingualism – wielojęzyczność non-dominant home language - niedominujacy jezyk domowy non-dominant home language without the community support – niedominujący jezyk domowy bez wsparcia społeczeństwa one person – one language – jedna osoba – jeden jezyk parents share the same native language – rodzice posługują się tym samym językiem ojczystym pidgin/ pidgin language – (język) pidżynowy plurilingualism – różnojęzyczność programs for students with limited English proficiency - programy dla uczniów z ograniczoną znajomością języka angielskiego pseudobilingualism - pseudobilingwizm school bilingual education – dwujezyczność szkolna semilingualism - semilingwizm skills – umiejętności bidialectal skills - umiejętności dwudialektalne biscriptual skills - umiejętności dwuskryptowe submersion - submersja weaker language – jezyk słabszy

Bilingualism: Review of Research

Introduction

This part, after defining bilingualism and juxtaposing additive bilingualism with subtractive bilingualism, quotes some facts related to the history of bilingualism in general. In the further course, there follows an overview of the state of research in bilingual education.

Again, this text is not intended to make a comprehensive description of the subject matter, but to signal it because in light of indisputable redundancy, it is difficult to refer even to the most important research as well as recommendations and conclusions that emerge in the optics of individual researchers of bilingualism.²⁹

Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a complex concept encompassing a number of different elements from the teaching and learning sphere. In my considerations, when attempting to synthesise some definitions and descriptions of the concept of bilingualism found in the literature (which, as a matter of fact, are very numerous, but also quite convergent indeed with common key concepts easily found), I follow the viewpoints of such linguists as: L. Bloomfield (1933), F. Grucza (1981), F. Grosjean (1982), S. Döpke (1992), E. Bialystok (2001), T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (2004), A. Lam (2006), I. Kurcz (2007), E. Peal and W. E. Lambert (2007), E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012), E. Lipińska (2013), S. Grucza (2013) or M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013a, 2013b); I shall not summarise them here again³⁰. It is worth adding here that pioneering research on the development of bilingualism is begun by a French psychologist J. Ronjat, and later also W. Leopold; in both cases it is carried out in the first half of the last century (in 1913 and 1939–1949, respectively).

Without any doubt, the concept of immersion (or additive bilingualism)³¹, *videlicet* immersion in a new language, is equally important in bilingual education; works on the subject are initiated by W. Penfield and W. E. Lambert in the early 1960s (E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 1962). They linguistically test English-speaking children living in Montreal; the initial results of the children tested in both languages are rather poor (compared to the results achieved by their monolingual peers). It is only later indeed (at the age of 11) that the children begin to achieve comparable results (in

²⁹ For research on autochthonous environments see e.g. J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008).

³⁰ Irrespective of who their authors are (as per the country of their origin) and what language(s) they refer to, all these definitions emphasise knowledge of two languages (native and second) acquired adequately to one's age and social status.

³¹ The division into additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism is made by W. E. Lambert (1975).

several tests in English they are even better than their English-speaking colleagues). The implications drawn from this study are significant since they prove positive effect of bilingual education on the child's native language which gets enriched (but also on intelligence³² and cognitive functioning). They are subsequently published by E. Peal and W. E. Lambert (1962).

The opposite of immersion is submersion (subtractive bilingualism) that is absorbing the mother tongue by the second language³³. One speaks of submersion when the child representing an ethnic minority using a low social prestige native language learns school subjects with his/ her native peers. Consequently, this leads to loss of the mother tongue, i.e. lack of full linguistic competence³⁴. For the above-mentioned reasons, many psychologists in the past century believe that bilingualism is detrimental to the child's cognitive and intellectual development³⁵.

History of Bilingualism

The history of bilingualism according to C. Baker and S. P. Jones (1998) is derived from the history of linguistic contacts, the basis of which lies in exploration and exploitation and relations between people speaking different languages – contacts between people using different languages constitute a source of demand, for example, for bilingual interpreters or bilingual translators able to communicate with both language groups. Over the last hundred years, however, the development of mass communication increases indeed the number of linguistic contacts. Another contemporary source of it, as the authors state (1998), is omnipresent mobility in the labour market or emergence of all kinds of bilingual education programmes. It is in the seventies of the previous century that all sorts of educational initiatives emerge, initiatives propagating teaching content through language such as, for example: LAC, ImE, programmes for SLEP or any other programmes, the main objective of which is to teach LSP such as, for instance: EST, ESP, EOP or EAP, to address a few (J. C. Richards/ T. S. Rodgers 2001).

It is a mistake, however, as emphasised by C. Baker (2006), not to differentiate between bilingual education conceived as a phenomenon of the twentieth century supported by: a. birth of the above-mentioned educational programmes in the United

³² Cf. also research results by: K. Hakuta and R. M. Diaz (1985) or R. M. Diaz (1985).

³³ The opposite of submersion-based bilingual education model is the heritage language programme or the language exposure time model (A. Lam 2006).

³⁴ It may also happen that the child does not achieve full language competence in the second language either.

³⁵ According to F. Genessee (1987, 1994), for immersion not to be transformed into submersion, the following conditions should be met: a. the child is a native speaker of the mother tongue which is the majority language and has a high social prestige, b. teachers and the school maintain this prestige, c. the child himself/ herself values his/ her mother tongue and, finally, d. the child, the school and parents are all interested in acquiring necessary skills in the second language by the child.

States in the sixties and seventies, b. emergence of the first experimental class at a kindergarten in St Lambert (Montreal) in 1965, c. establishment of the Free State of Ireland in 1922, d. establishment in 1939 of the first primary school in Wales, in which the means of communication is Welsh, and bilingualism in general. The latter has existed in one form or other for five thousand years (C. Baker 2006 following: W. F. Mackey 1978)³⁶ so it is important not to detach contemporary bilingual education from its historical roots examined in the context of past immigration or political movements.³⁷

P. Ó Riagáin and G. Lüdi (2003) argue that in the nineteenth and the twentiethcentury Western societies, being a bilingual or a multi-lingual person is perceived rather as a burden. The researchers (2003: 5) give an example of a certain famous nineteenth-century professor who writes: "[i]f it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances." In addition to that, the dominant ideology of nationalism assumes that national boundaries are "naturally" convergent with territories inhabited by monolingual speakers, and being a citizen of two nations gives rise to suspicions of lack of credibility, which, in turn, may result in possible betrayal of a given community – based on the belief that human beings are inherently monolingual and that multilingualism is perceived as a divine curse imposed on mankind since the construction of the Tower of Babel (P. Ó Riagáin/G. Lüdi 2003). The above considerations stand in contradiction with, for instance, the statement by E. Lewis (1977: 22) that bilingualism and multilingualism constitute "a very early characteristic of human societies, and monolingualism a limitation induced by some forms of social change, cultural and ethnocentric developments".

Review of Research

In this part I ponder over some specific examples of research and (meta)analyses conducted on bilingual education over the last decade; they are presented in a chronological order³⁸.

³⁶ Cf. also E. G. Lewis (1977, 1981).

³⁷ Since the beginning of the 1970s, and in the context of works on migration in Western Europe (and with respect to minority languages), the Council of Europe adopts two Conventions and several Recommendations – e.g. *The framework convention for the protection of national minorities, The European charter for regional or minority languages, Recommendation no. R (98)6 of the committee of ministers.* In the last decade, they are accordingly expanded to include national minorities. Interesting data on linguistic preferences of the Europeans (as of December 2005) are included in a special edition of *Eurobarometer* (2006) commissioned by the European Commission. On the role of Latin in bi-/ multilingual Europe see e.g. J. Bloemendal (2015). Of great value are also articles by, e.g.: J. Fitzgerald (1993), C. J. Ovando (2003) or D. Nieto (2009) – they all present an overview of the history and contemporary state of bilingual education in the United States.

³⁸ Some review fragments are adopted from: M. Łączek (2014).

As the very first example quoted here, a meta-analysis of programme effectiveness research on the English language learners by K. Rolstad, K. Mahoney and G. V. Glass (2005) is referred to. Its main aim is to compare "effects of instructional programs for ELL students in an effort to clarify 'the big picture' in this debate". The study recognises the significance of bilingual education and, as its authors say (2005: 572), it turns out that "bilingual education is consistently superior to all-English approaches, and that developmental bilingual education programs are superior to transitional bilingual education programs are superior to transitional bilingual education programs." The researchers (2005) address as many as five analyses most frequently repeated in the policy-related issues and, subsequently, divide them into two categories – that is narrative reviews with the examples being the studies by: K. Baker and A. A. de Kanter (1981), C. H. Rossell and K. Baker (1996) and R. E. Slavin and A. Cheung (2003), and then also former meta-analyses by: J. P. Greene (1998) and A. C. Willig (1985).

As for the first, K. Baker and A. A. de Kanter (1981) choose 28 of more than 300 studies issued between 1968 and 1980 which they take into account, and which examine effects of the language of instruction. Their goal (1981) is to contrast transitional bilingual education (TBE) which they understand as "a program in which subject matter is taught in the children's home language until their English is strong enough for them to participate in an all-English classroom" (in: K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 575) with the following three options: submersion, English as a second language (ESL), structured immersion (SI).

The English as a second language approach is characterised as "a program in which children are placed in regular (not sheltered) English-only classes for most of the day, and provided with concentrated instruction aimed at teaching English as a second language during part of the day" (in: K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 575), and structured immersion is associated with "a specially structured version of the regular curriculum so that students may acquire the language of instruction while simultaneously learning content; in SI, the teacher knows the children's home language; however, it is rarely or never spoken by the teacher in the classroom" (in: K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 575).

All in all, K. Baker and A. A. de Kanter's study (1981) recommends that any programme be first selected and only then developed accordingly. C. H. Rossell and K. Baker's (1996) analysis continues in a similar vein but for their number of studies which amounts to 72; despite that, however, their conclusion is that TBE is not a first-class choice when it comes to English improvement in the case of limited English proficiency children. Finally, R. E. Slavin and A. Cheung's (2003) research emphasises the importance of methods of reading to ELL students "comparing the practice of teaching ELLs to read in their native language first (a bilingual education strategy) with that of teaching them to read in English first (an immersion strategy)" (in: K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 578) with its results supporting the notion that bilingual approaches predominate over immersion approaches.

As for the latter – *videlicet* the aforementioned meta-analyses, by imposing stricter selection criteria, A. C. Willig (1985) following K. Baker and A. A. de Kanter's (1981) narrative review, and then also J. P. Greene (1998) working on the basis of C. H. Rossell and K. Baker's (1996) narrative review find in their meta-analyses

"positive effects for bilingual programs" (in: K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 579), which, it should be noted, is consistent indeed also with R. E. Slavin and A. Cheung's (2003) conclusion.

In turn, more than 300 studies published in 1985 – that is after A. C. Willig's (1985) meta-analysis – or later fall within the scope of K. Rolstad, K. Mahoney and G. V. Glass' study (2005) of which 17 are recognised to meet the authors' criteria. Once reviewed, they are identified to include such categories as: study identification, characteristics of programme, characteristics of students, characteristics of teachers, characteristics of research design, and effect size variables. The entire code characteristics of the studies by K. Rolstad et al. (2005) as per table 1.

Study identification	Author's last name Year of publication Study identification number Publication form
Characteristics of program	Bilingual program type Use of native language Source of L1 support Model of L1 support Criteria used for LEP classification Length of time program continues in years L1 support used for content areas
Characteristics of students	Average grade level Percentage female Percentage male SES Ethnicity First language
Characteristics of teachers	Credentialed in bilingual education Proficient in student's language Years of experience teaching
Characteristics of research design	Type of group assignments Type of teacher assignments Control for SES Internal validity Number of comparisons in this study
Outcome measure characteristics	Sample size Mean Standard deviation Score form Instrument used for outcome measure Language of outcome measure Academic domain Source of means Calculation of effect size

Table 1. K. Rolstad, K. Mahoney and G. V. Glass' coded characteristics of the studies (2005: 582).

The authors (2005) use probit transformations "based on the very simple assumption that if 84% of a normally distributed Group A is above some point, and 50% of a normally distributed Group B is above that same point, then the means of Groups A and B must differ by one standard deviation" (K. Rolstad et al. 2005: 583) so as to derive a standardised mean difference. By doing so, they arrive to similar to A. C. Willig's (1985) conclusions, namely that bilingual education is more beneficial for ELL students than any other approach. In a similar vein, K. Rolstad et al. (2005: 590) surmise that "programs designed to develop children's academic use of both languages (DBE) are superior to programs that aim to use children's home language to transition them to all-English instruction (TBE)". In actual fact, the studies contrasting the two ELL groups indicate a positive effect of .23 on the side of bilingual education – these different perspectives of effect size results are shown in table 2.

Grouping	N of ES	M ES	SD of ES
All outcome measures	67	.08	.67
Reading (in English)	16	06	.61
Math (in English)	15	.08	.42
All outcomes in native language	11	.86	.96
Without Gersten studies	58	.17	.64
Without Medrano studies	64	.07	.69
Without Medina studies	44	.17	.76
Language minority students vs.	14	.05	.28
Language majority students			
Language minority students vs.	22	.23	.97
Language minority students			
All TBE studies	35	01	.45
All DBE studies	30	.18	.86

Needless to say, the finding above makes, according to K. Rolstad et al. (2005), the ban imposed on the use of the native language for instructional purposes in some American states clearly incomprehensible.

The study by K. Rolstad et al. (2005) takes into account the needs of those English language learners who are enrolled in American public education institutions. There is, however, a study of J. Mathews-Aydinli (2008) which, in turn, analyses the literature (from 2000 onwards) on those ELLs who study in non-academic contexts – in government sponsored or community-based English language programs. J. Mathews-Aydinli (2008) seeks relevant adult ESL data in two academic indexes, that is: *EBSCOhost* (which includes Academic Search Premier, ERIC and Educational Abstracts) and *Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts*. The data, which consist of 41 works (23 published articles and 18 unpublished dissertations), are divided into the following categories: 23 ethnographic works, 12 teacher-related studies and 6 SLA studies. They are, subsequently, restricted to ESL situations' studies (in contrast to EFL contexts only) in North America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland or Australia – J. Mathews-Aydinli's distribution of study types is shown in table 3.

	Ethnographic	Teacher-based	SLA
Published articles	Bemat (2004) Butlaro (2001, 2004) Derwing (2003) Gault (2003) Gordon (2004) Hubenthal (2004) King (2000) Menard-Warwick (2005b) Schomburg (2004) Skilton-Sylvester (2002) Washel (2004)	E. M. Ellis (2002, 2004) Gunn (2003) Hird et al. (2000) Kim(2005) Morgan (2004) Wu & Carter (2000)	Brindley & Slatyer (2002) Izumi & Izumi (2004) Panova & Lyster (2002) Reder et al. (2003)
Dissertations	Warhol (2004) Carpenter (2005) Hwang (2003) Hyman (2002) Jeon (2005) Kristjansson (2004) UBelle (2005) McVay (2004) Menard-Warwick (2005a) Palacios (2002) Warriner (2003) Yeh (2005)	Bonissone (2003) Gault (2004) Gilbertson (2000) Maum (2003) Shono (2005)	Adams (2005) Lee(2000)
Total	23	12	6

Table 3. Distribution of study types by J. Mathews-Aydinli (2008: 202).

As for the first type – ethnographic studies, J. Mathews-Aydinli (2008: 204) makes a point that "[n]otable in particular among studies about adult immigrant ESL learners is an emphasis on practical issues, such as the importance of providing these students with physical, financial, and consulting help to improve their chances of success in learning English" as is a need to diversity recognition and issues of identity and socialisation, too. The second category (concentrating on teaching practices, experiences and impressions), although varied to a great extent, still has one thing in common, and that is, as J. Mathews-Aydinli (2008: 207) puts it: "a particular sensitivity toward the students' cultural backgrounds." Finally, the third category includes "those studies in which adult ESL students were the participants but not necessarily the focus of the research" (2008: 208), and its aim is "to show the effectiveness of a particular teaching tool on improving communicative competence" (J. Mathews-Aydinli, 2008: 209).

To take yet another example, W. H. Teale (2009) is also of the opinion that bilingual instruction does not produce any negative consequences as far as students' academic achievement in the English language is concerned. In the further course of his study, he (2009) provides his readers with explicit examples of beneficial English

language teaching, to which he includes: assessment and instruction, clear learning objectives, instructional routines, authentic practice (in reading and writing), and student engagement. Taking into account different kinds of instructional accommodations (such as: extended explanations and visual cues, key and difficult vocabulary identification and clarification, content familiarity texts, text knowledge consolidation, extra practice with reading and writing, broad linguistic interactions and strategic use of students' first language by the teacher), W. H. Teale (2009: 702) finally concludes that "[i]t is clear from research that reading instruction in L1 helps in learning to read English, that L1 instruction contributes positively to academic achievement in L2, that good literacy instruction for ELLs looks very much like good literacy instruction for students in general".

To conclude, on Polish grounds, there exists a monograph by M. Olpińska-Szkiełko $(2013b)^{39}$ who describes and analyses three different projects devoted to bilingual education⁴⁰. The results of the first project called "English for children" reveal that children's progress is quite slow but for English pronunciation which is very good indeed. The second project's name is "Meeting English at a nursery school", and it is an example of early partial immersion; children participating in this programme particularly develop their receptive skills in the second language. Finally, the third project is named "Immersion in English": English is the only language of communication here (this programme is an instance of early total immersion) – in a very short time, they manage to develop perfectly both their receptive and productive skills in the English language. M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b) proves that early contacts with a language other than one's mother tongue can positively affect the child's linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development (provided that certain conditions are met)⁴¹.

Conclusions

Pioneering research on bilingualism is begun in the first half of the last century by J. Ronjat (1913); one must also note achievements made in this area by W. F. Leopold (1939–49) or works of W. Penfield and W. E. Lambert, collected and published by E. Peal and W. Lambert (1962). Subsequent studies, many of which are case studies of idiosyncratic states or societies highlighting the recognition of history, politics or demography, postwar migration, postcolonial language policy, propagation of humanistic and egalitarian ideologies (A. Lam 2006), respectively, confirm that

³⁹ *Quod vide*: E. Lipińska (2013), *Polskość w Australii. O dwujęzyczności, edukacji i problemach adaptacyjnych Polonii na antypodach* [transl. Polishness in Australia. On bilingualism, education and adaptation problems of Polonia in the Antipodes].

⁴⁰ All the projects took place in German-speaking nursery schools in Vienna; the children's age varied from 3 to 6.

⁴¹ In her other work (2013a) M. Olpińska-Szkiełko also presents her arguments in favour of bilingual education, and the final conclusion that she reaches (2013a: 147) is that "bilingual programmes constitute a very good alternative to traditional forms of foreign language learning".

bilingual children do not differ from their monolingual peers, except that they know two languages, and not one (W. Klein 1986). As a matter of fact, as E. Bialystok (2009) states, (bi- and multiculturalism and) bilingualism can both be an extremely valuable stimulus to the intellectual development of the child and a burden that, in extreme cases, leads to sociopathic behaviour and delays in his/ her cognitive development.

The metaanalysis by K. Rolstad, K. Mahoney and G. V. Glass (2005) recognises the importance of bilingual education – the authors (2005) come to a similar conclusion as A. C. Willig (1985), namely that bilingual teaching is more beneficial (here: in the case of students learning the English language) than any other approach. They (2005) also see the superiority of bilingual education programmes over those that promote the use of one's mother tongue as a transitional medium in the development of academic skills in the use of two languages. J. Mathews-Aydinli's (2008) research results show that among the studies devoted to learning English as a second language by immigrant adults, much emphasis is placed on practical or identity and socialisation issues as well as a need to recognise diversity or sensitivity directed at students' cultural background.⁴² Said that, from the point of view of W. H. Teale (2009) bilingual education does not produce any negative consequences when it comes to students' progress in learning English either. Finally, M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013a, 2013b) or E. Lipińska (2013) share a similar standpoint.

The conclusions drawn from the presented research overlap with the key findings of other authors whose similar studies produce similar results⁴³. Research on the relation between bilingualism and cognitive development is conducted, among others, by S. E. Duncan and E. A. De Avila (1979), B. Bain and A. Yu (1980), K. Hakuta and R. M. Diaz (1985), R. M. Diaz (1985) or K. Hakuta, B. M. Ferdman and R. M. Diaz (1987); the work of the latter is based on the following typology of bilingualism: cognitive, socio-psychological and social. The study by M. Paradis (2000, 2004), in turn, demonstrates that the brain of a monolingual person is no different from the brain of a bilingual person, and that potential differences are only a consequence of the degree to which the brain is used. Numerous studies are also devoted to metalinguistic awareness of learners which is more developed in the case of bilingual children – see e.g. A. Ianco-Worrall (1972), S. Ben-Zeev (1977), J. Cummins (1978). Bilingualism *per se* can be probed from an ethnographic (e.g. J. J. Gumperz 1982), sociological (e.g. J. A. Fishman 1971) or psychological (e.g. R. C. Gardner 1983) perspective, too.

Finally, one ought to be aware that during a careful analysis of the subject literature, its apparent division into two periods is sketched: the literature of the early period which depicts negative effects of bilingualism and the most recent literature concentrating on positive effects of bilingualism on the development of either

⁴² Q.v.: "Combating Unemployment via Adult Education. Polish Ethnic Minority in London Borough of Ealing".

⁴³ Critical voices also appear in the area of research methodology, e.g. with respect to the criterion of group selection (monolingual versus bilingual persons); potential allegations are related to lack of legitimacy as per direct comparability of the said groups – see e.g. G. L. MacNab (1979), R. M. Diaz (1985), K. Hakuta and R. M. Diaz (1985).

individuals or societies. This contrast is particularly evident in the following descriptions of the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence cited by K. Hakuta et al. (1987: 287) – the index texts are published at a decade interval only:

- a. [t]here can be no doubt that the child reared in a bilingual environment is handicapped in his language growth. One can debate the issue as to whether speech facility in two languages is worth the consequent retardation in the common language of the realm. (George Thompson 1952: 367),
- b. a youngster whose wider experiences in two cultures have given him advantages which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually his experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, a more diversified set of mental abilities (...). In contrast, the monolingual appears to have a more unitary structure of intelligence which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks. (E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 1962: 20).

On Minority Languages (with Particular Consideration of Welsh)

Introduction

In this text, after presenting the most fundamental legal acts dealing with minority languages and assumptions concerned with bilingual education, I outline the current state of research on minority languages. There are several reasons why it is worthwhile focusing on the subject matter – the most important ones, from the point of view of J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008), are: greater popularity of minority languages in the world, contribution of minority languages to exploration of the main research areas of applied linguistics⁴⁴.

The above is shown with special emphasis put on the Welsh language. Again, the reasons for this are twofold: the first is the factor connected with its strictly historical background. The said language, as confirmed by J. Davies (1993: 12), is the oldest of all the languages spoken by the British today dating back to 2 500 years (and, perhaps, 4 000 years) compared to the fifteen centuries of existence of English or (Scottish/ Scots) Gaelic. The second reason is the unquestioned position of Wales in bilingual education, and, in particular, the establishment at the University of Bangor in 2006 of the first UK-based research centre: *ESRC Centre for Research on Bilingualism in Theory and Practice*.

Legal Conditioning

Since the beginning of the 1970s, in the context of works on migration in Western Europe, and with regard to minority languages, the Council of Europe undertakes a number of initiatives aimed at preserving and promoting historical regional and minority languages in Europe⁴⁵. Among the most important ones, there are conventions/ charters/ recommendations/ treaties such as: *The framework convention for the protection of national minorities, The European charter for regional or minority languages, Recommendation no. R (98)6 of the Committee of Ministers, The treaty of Lisbon.* In the last decade they also focus on national minorities although it is yet in 1983 that the European Union adopts an action plan for promotion and

⁴⁴ F. Grucza writes extensively on applied linguistics in, e.g., *Lingwistyka stosowana*. *Historia – zadania – osiągnięcia* [Applied linguistics. History – objectives – achievements] (S. Grucza et al. 2017).

⁴⁵ Interesting and useful information is available at *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights* (http://fra.europa.eu/en/tags/minorities).

protection of minority and regional languages and culture: *The action line for the promotion and safeguard of minority and regional languages and cultures*⁴⁶.

Other equally important documents on European strategy for multilingualism also include: first published in 2005 (and updated in 2011) *A new framework strategy for multilingualism* or *Council resolution of 21 November 2008 on a European strategy for multilingualism*, which, *inter alia*, confirms that linguistic⁴⁷ and cultural diversity is an inherent part of European identity, and that promotion of rare European languages is essential for multilingualism:

- linguistic and cultural diversity is part and parcel of the European identity; it is at once a shared heritage, a wealth, a challenge and an asset for Europe,
- the promotion of less widely used European languages represents an important contribution to multilingualism,
- significant efforts should still be made to promote language learning and to value the cultural aspects of linguistic diversity at all levels of education and training, while also improving information on the variety of European languages and their dissemination across the world (*Council Resolution of 21 November 2008 on a European strategy for multilingualism* 2008: 1–2).

Interesting data are also published in A. F. Atger's report (2009): *Education and political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the* EU^{48} whose aim is to present a general outline concerning evolving of the ways of combining participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in education and politics with support from the European Union. *The Council Directive* 77/486/*EEC on the education of children of migrant workers* of 1977 is the first legally binding instrument in which this kind of connection appears at all; as the author (2009) notes, however, its implementation, thirty years later – according to the European Commission – is still not satisfactory⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ In 2003 European Commission adopts *The action plan promoting language learning and linguistic diversity*. On Polish grounds the issue in question is regulated by *Act on national and ethnic minorities and regional language* of 6th January 2005 (Law Gazette No 17, item 141, as amended). I would also recommend *Socjologia narodu i konfliktów etnicznych* [transl. Sociology of nation and ethnic conflicts] by M. Budyta-Budzyńska of 2010 (Warszawa).

⁴⁷ D. Crystal (2000) writes on benefits of maintaining linguistic diversity.

⁴⁸ Valuable information is also included in, i.a.: *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (2008), *Multilingualism: between policy objectives and implementation* (2008), *Policy recommendations for the promotion of multilingualism in the European Union* (2011), *Protecting and developing historical linguistic minorities under the Lisbon Treaty* (2011).

⁴⁹ Classes in the minority language, viz. the mother tongue for migrant workers in the countries belonging to the European Union are recorded in the *Council Directive* 77/486/EEC of 25th July 1977.

From Bi-/ Multilingualism to Plurilingualism. Ethnic Diversity

It is difficult to quote, even briefly, the most popular definitions of bilingualism found in the literature because it is a complex concept encompassing a number of different elements from the teaching and learning spheres. The following quotation by M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013: 50) provides proof of this indisputable redundancy⁵⁰:

[a]ctually each of the authors dealing with the problem of bilingualism creates his own terminology or uses the terms proposed by other researchers, understanding them, though, in a different manner and 'filling them in' with other meanings. This can lead to many misunderstandings, and therefore one should be aware of these inaccuracies at the beginning of their deliberations.

In contrast to "bilingualism" and "multilingualism", and as a result of works carried out by the Council of Europe implying a change in the approach to linguistic education, the concept of "plurilingualism" is ultimately introduced. The purpose of a plurilingual user is no longer to achieve perfection in a given language/ given languages following the example of an ideal native user, but, merely, to develop language competence in accordance with the assumption that

an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact (*The common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching assessment* 2003: 4).

E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 28–29) address the need to distinguish bilingualism from: a. knowledge of two languages (which is a broader term) that assumes that "one's mother tongue is not acquired according to one's age and social status (...) and competence achieved in the other language does not diverge from linguistic skills of native speakers of same age and same social status", and b. diglossia perceived as a skill of using two varieties of any language; a distinction can be made here between its low version (the contact or regional-contact variety used in the home environment) and high version (the national language). The example of the first language is Polonia, and the second – Polish. Yet another example may be the combination of Arabic and Malaysian (E. Bialystok 2001). What is more, an individual may possess two-dimensional (bidialectal) or biscriptual skills, too; an example of both can be Chinese (A. Lam 2006).

An "ethnic group" (*ethnos* in Greek means a "nation"), as defined by *Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ethnic group* 2016), is a social group or a category of a given population that stands out within a larger (viz. more populous) society, and

⁵⁰ M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b), in her work devoted to the linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development of children, presents the most vital results of scientific research on speech acquisition, bilingualism and bilingual education (taking into account historical features of these studies and paying simultaneous attention to Polish achievements in the field).

which is related to common race, language, nationality or culture. Ethnicity is identical with language, culture and traditions; citizenship though (as an opposing concept) posits political loyalty with respect to some territorial state (E. Lipińska 2013 following: U. Płatek 2007). Being heritage of earlier territorial conquests, ethnic diversity is one of the forms of social complexity that is present in most modern societies. It is manifested by forced, induced or volitional acculturation, which, by identifying phenomena occurring at the border of two or more cultures between individuals and/ or groups⁵¹, takes form of one of four different strategies defined by a Canadian psychologist J. W. Berry (1997), i.e.: assimilation, integration (inclusion), marginalisation and separation (isolation) – all with reference to the host society.

E. B. Ryan and H. Giles (1982) refer to four variants of assessing prestige of the mother (dominant) language and the second (minority) language, and solidarity with one's own or alien group by representatives of the majority and minority group, where: a. variant 1 assumes universal preference for the dominant language (both in terms of language prestige and solidarity with the group that speaks it), b. variant 2 implies identification of speakers of the minority language with their own group and maintaining their language in mutual relations (the majority language is superior in prestige though), c. variant 3 posits equality of the minority language compared with the dominant language (the minority language enjoys high prestige indeed), d. variant 4 assumes solidarity of both groups (in everyday usage there is a dominant language, but both groups solidify with the minority language as a standard (model) language⁵².

Another way of dealing with ethnic diversity is to develop a certain form of pluralism understood as a combination of tolerance, interdependence and separatism as in the case of Switzerland or Canada (as per the first, the three major ethnic groups are concentrated in independent cantons within a democratic federation; as per the latter – federal pluralism is less stable).⁵³ I. Kurcz (2007) draws attention to the fact that we deal with other specificity of the problem if the local group remains in the majority, and with another when their roles are reversed and, consequently, the majority of the population is foreign. As instances of the states where two or more languages are equal, she (2007) mentions: Switzerland (French, German, Italian and Rhaeto-Romance), Belgium (French, Flemish and German) and Canada (English and French). The author (2007) also quotes an example of India and other newly-emerged African states whose inhabitants use the language of their former coloniser as their

⁵¹ That is acquisition and acceptance of language, system of values and social norms of the country of settlement (R. Laskowski 2009).

⁵² R. Laskowski (2009) among factors influencing fate of any minority language includes: status, cultural distance (religion), demography and institutional support; among social factors, however: dispersion versus concentration, cultural origin, level of education, evaluation and self-assessment, symbolic status, employment (qualified/ unqualified/ self-employed).

⁵³ One variant of directed acculturation is, more or less voluntary, assimilation known under the term "Americanisation"; for European ethnic groups (and not racial minorities) residing in the United States is a matter of individual or family choice – not conquest or slavery (*Acculturation. Anthropology* 2016).

official language in order not to distinguish (i.e. privilege) any of existing languages or dialects.

On Minority Languages (with Particular Consideration of Welsh)

According to M. P. Jones⁵⁴ (2013), there are currently six/ seven thousand languages spoken in the world⁵⁵ of which: 97% of the population speaks 4% of the world's languages, and only 3% of the population speaks one of the remaining 96%. Moreover, indigenous languages of Europe, estimated at 255, represent only 3% of all the world's languages; for comparison, the inhabitants of Asia use about 2 165 languages⁵⁶. In the European Union (although many other languages are spoken), 24 languages are officially recognised as working languages, and 5 of more than 60 indigenous regional and minority languages – i.e. Catalan, Galician, Basque, (Scottish/ Scots) Gaelic and Welsh – semi-official languages. All other languages do not hold any official EU language status. It ought to be noted that, worldwide, there are around 2 000 languages spoken by less than 1 000 users.

Talking of languages of a weaker status than the main European languages, M. P. Jones (2013: 21) proposes their following typology: a. constitutional, b. regional and smaller state languages (CRSS), c. regional and minority languages (RML), d. lesser used languages, e. autochthonous, f. cross border and g. non-territorial languages. With regard to legal position of languages less commonly used in the European Union, this classification is further extended (depending on the status granted to them) and, thus, we can distinguish between:

- 1. official and working languages of the EU which are also spoken by the minority in an adjoining state, e.g. Swedish in Finland,
- 2. languages that have a degree of official recognition in the member states or in a part of the member state where they are spoken e.g. Catalan, Basque and Galician in Spain,
- 3. languages that have no official recognition at an EU level.

It is worth noting here that the terms: "regional language" and "minority language" are adopted for classification of indigenous European languages which are not official languages of any given country. In *The European charter for regional and minority languages* (1992: 2) they are defined as "traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population and different from the official language(s) of

⁵⁴ The report does not deal with migrants' languages which they use in Europe, and which may also be at risk.

⁵⁵ The exact number is unknown since there are discrepancies in the definition of the term "language" *per se* (as opposed to a "dialect") (M. P. Jones 2013: 14). R. G. Gordon (2005), for example, says that this number amounts to 6 912 (including different variants or dialects).

⁵⁶ According to J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008), 40% of the world's population speaks as their first language one of the eight most widely used languages in the world, i.e. Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic and Russian.

that State^{"57}; with simultaneous reservation that "it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants". J. Cummins (2008: 1), with regard to "unique minority languages"⁵⁸, writes that: "[t]hese languages have little functional utility beyond their immediate territorial zone and are seldom even required within that zone because virtually everyone is fluent in the dominant language." Regional and minority languages can be classified into four categories (M. P. Jones 2013: 21–22):

autochthonous languages which are indigenous but not state languages –

[a]utochthones languages are languages that originated in a specified place and were not brought to that place from elsewhere. Autochthones languages are spoken usually within a part or parts of a member state, but are not the majority language of that state or even the region, for example Welsh in Wales;

 autochthonous and cross border, which are indigenous and exist in more than one state, but are not state languages

[a]utochthones languages which are also cross border are languages which are not the main state language, for example Basque in Spain but are also spoken across the border in another member state, where they are not the main state language there either e.g. Basque in France, and North Sami in Sweden and Finland;

 cross border languages which exist as a state language in one state and a minority language in another

[c]ross border languages are languages spoken by a minority language group in one member state, but the language exists also in another state. The crossborder language is often the majority language in the neighbouring state;

non territorial languages such as Roma

[t]he fourth category is the non-territorial languages such as Roma and Yiddish. Romani is incontestably the most widespread non-territorial language in the world. It is sometimes treated as seven languages; Carpathian Romani, Kalo Finnish Romani, Baltic Romani, Balkan Romani, Sinte Romani, Welsh Romani and Vlach ('Vlax') Romani, but the Romani dialects preserve a remarkable degree of unity, which has led to the current treatment of Romani as a single language. Both Roma and Yiddish are included as endangered languages in the Atlas, and these languages receive little support from European or member state sources.

⁵⁷ The above definition, as J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008) state, is derived from the one provided in *Special rapporteur Capotorti* of 1979 (in: J. Cenoz and D. Gorter 2008: 5), and which defines any minority as: "a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious, or characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language."

⁵⁸ This name is used by the editors of *AILA Review* Volume 21: J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008).

Atlas of the world's languages in danger ⁵⁹ prepared by UNESCO (Ch. Moseley 2010) contains information on 128 languages in the European Union that are identified at risk of extinction, and any given language, according to the author (2010), is threatened with extinction when: speakers of the language cease to use it or they use it in a constantly decreasing number of areas of communication or it ceases to be passed down from generation to generation, which means that there are no new users of this language – neither adults nor children. Also, there are six degrees of language vitality and endangerment distinguished with regard to intergenerational transmission (five of which refer to endangered languages): 1. safe, 2. stable yet threatened, 3. vulnerable, 4. definitely endangered, 5. severely endangered, 6. critically endangered, 7. extinct (Ch. Moseley 2010). Of 128 languages, some are:

- vulnerable 22, for instance: Basque or Welsh,
- definitely endangered 40, for instance: Karelian, Friulian or Sorbian,
- severely endangered 41, for instance: Kashubian, Scots, Sami or Breton,
- critically endangered 10, for instance: Livonian⁶⁰ or Cornish,
- extinct ⁶¹ 11, for instance: Mozarabic, Kemi Sami or Alderney French (M. P. Jones 2013 following: Ch. Moseley 2010).

On Polish grounds, it is quite interesting to note:

- languages included in the *Charter for minority and regional languages*: Armenian, Belorussian, Czech, German, Hebrew, Karaim, Kashub, Lemko, Lithuanian, Romani, Russian, Slovak, Tatar, Ukrainian and Yiddish,
- languages left outside from the *Charter for minority and regional languages*: Silesian,
- languages in the World's atlas of languages in danger [sic!]⁶²: Belorussian, Kashubian, Low Saxon, Polesian, Romani, Rusyn, Slovinician [sic!]⁶³, Vilamovian and Yiddish (M. P. Jones 2013).

Finally, very interesting remarks in light of current deliberations, and especially on ambiguity of the word "language" (i.e. differences in its definition), are presented by F. Grucza (S. Grucza et al. 2017). According to him (S. Grucza et al. 2017), the term "natural (living) human language" (disambiguated by the corresponding "adjectival enclosure") is less ambiguous than the word "language" alone. This does not mean, however, that the expression referred to can be considered as unambiguous because it can refer to human language in general, understood as a common component of all languages (in terms of the whole human species). More than that:

⁵⁹ *The red book of endangered languages* published by UNESCO in the 1990s is replaced by *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*; all languages, recognised as separate languages, and not dialects, have their own ISO code.

⁶⁰ According to the information available under *Livonian* on "Wikipedia", this language is declared extinct, and the last person for whom it serves as a mother tongue is Ms Grizelda Kristia who dies at the age of 103 on 2nd June 2013 in Canada (URL https: //pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C4%99zyk_liwski). [Date of access: 5 Jul 2017].

⁶¹ Since 1950.

⁶² Atlas of the world's languages in danger.

⁶³ Slovincian.

(...) semantic domain of the word 'language' may include various – of varying quantity and quality – collections of existing means and ways of interpersonal communication – from a collection used by any single person, to begin with, to the one that can be called an all-encompassing collection. It is this sequence of collections that is taken into account when languages of different ethnic (e.g. tribal or national), social, occupational, etc., groups or communities or languages of different groups spatially- (geographically) and/ or temporally- (historically)-oriented are distinguished. On the other hand, in an indistinct differentiation of various meanings of the word '(human) language' there lies – I believe – the main reason for the dispute whether language of a particular group of people, especially a community, is a dialect of some 'broader' language, that is language of a certain bigger community (e.g. national) or a separate, independent language (compare, in this respect, for example, the well-known dispute over the status of Kashubian). The question of whether a dialect, jargon, and the like variants of language realisation are languages or not, and if they are (are not), then in what sense they are (or are not), just requires a more thorough consideration (S. Grucza et al. 2017: 46).

More than that, according to the author (S. Grucza et al. 2017), there are two other reasons for ambiguity of the expression "natural (living) human language". Hence, what is sometimes called "language", in yet other circumstances can be called "speech"/ "speaking"; one can also use this name for oral or written statements in the form of a sentence or text/ texts. At the end of these considerations, F. Grucza (S. Grucza 2017) states that the third type of ambiguity of the expression "natural (living) human language" comes from the fact that unambiguous is neither the word "human" nor the word "natural" since, in human communication, people use different means and ways (not only those specifically human, but also those that are attributes of some animals).

The Welsh Language

Welsh (*Cymraeg* or *y Gymraeg*) is a member of the Brittonic branch of the Celtic languages⁶⁴, and its name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word *Wealas* (i.e. "foreign"); that is the word used to name the Celts. It is spoken natively in Wales, England and Argentina. Historically, it is also known in English as "Cambrian", "Cambric" or "Cymric" (*Welsh Language* 2017). The earliest traces of language identified with Welsh – called "the Primitive Welsh" – date back to the sixth century; they are followed by "the Old Welsh period" from the ninth to the eleventh century. The consecutive period, according to some historians of language (A. Baugh / T. Cable 2002), is "the Middle Welsh period" from the twelfth to the fourteenth century (language in this form is understandable for the contemporary Welshperson)⁶⁵. It is followed by the era of "the Modern Welsh period" in its dichotomy: "Early Modern

⁶⁴ Similarly to Breton, Cornish, Irish, (Scottish/ Scots) Gaelic or Manx.

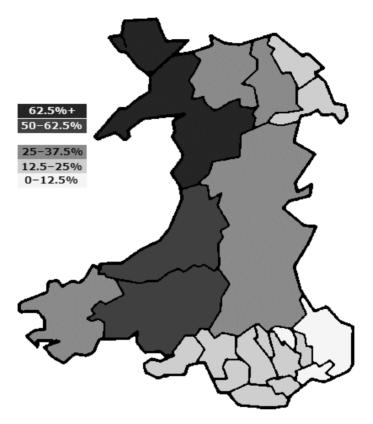
⁶⁵ As a result of Wales' colonisation by England at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Welsh, following subsequent Anglicisation, becomes a minority language. In addition to that, in 1536 the English parliament under *Act of Union* incorporates Wales into England, highlighting that lack of English is a disqualifying factor from holding any public post (A. Baugh / T. Cable 2002).

Welsh" (from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century) and "Late Modern Welsh" (begun in 1588, the year in which W. Morgan completes his translation of the Bible).

According to the data from the National Census of 2011, the Welsh language is used by slightly more than 560 000 people (i.e. about 18% of all citizens); in turn, 14% of the population can read, write and speak in the said language – and/ or in one of its four main dialects: *Y Wyndodeg* (the language of Gwynedd), *Y Bowyseg* (the language of Powys), *Y Ddyfedeg* (the language of Dyfed) and *Y Wenhwyseg* (the language of Gwent and Morgannwg). It is noteworthy that the number of people using Welsh decreased from 30% in 1891 to only 2% in 1950 (A. Baugh / T. Cable 2002). Currently, Welsh is subject to legal protection under *Welsh Language Act* of 1993.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Equally interesting results are drawn from other research – for comparison purposes only, see for instance: J. Cenoz (2008), Achievements and challenges in bilingual and multilingual education in the Basque country, (in:) "Multilingualism and minority languages. AILA Review" 21; F. Vila i Moreno (2008), Language-in-education policies in the Catalan language area, (in:) "Multilingualism and minority languages. AILA Review" 21; J. Harris (2008), The declining role of primary schools in the revitalisation of Irish, (in:) "Multilingualism and minority languages. AILA Review" 21; D. Gorter/ C. van der Meer (2008), Developments in bilingual Frisian-Dutch education in Friesland, (in:) "Multilingualism and minority languages. AILA Review" 21; B. Kurmanowa, Współczesna językowa i etnojęzykowa sytuacja w Kazachstanie i jej wpływ na kształtowanie dwujęzyczności w nauczaniu (na przykładzie ośrodków naukowych Aktiubińskiego Okręgu Republiki Kazachstanu)/ Current state of language and ethnolanguage situation of Kazakhstan and its influence on formation of bilingual education, (in:) "Lingwistyka Stosowana/ Applied Linguistics/ Angewandte Linguistik" 1/2009, 141-149; R. Johnstone, Review of research on language teaching, learning and policy published in 2007, (in:) "Language Teaching. Surveys and studies" 42 (3)/2009, 287-315; R. Rubdy/ T. R. F. Tupas, Research in applied linguistics and language teaching and learning in Singapore (2000-2007), (in:) "Language Teaching. Surveys and studies" 42 (3)/2009, 317-340. Worth attention are also works of AILA Africa research network launch 2007: Research into the use of the African languages for academic purposes – their first symposium takes place on 30th June 2007 at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Figure 1. Number of people speaking the Welsh language in Wales (in percentage terms) (Język walijski 2017).



In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s there is an increase in the choice of education in the Welsh language for children of non-Welsh speaking parents; this education is based on the principles of linguistic immersion (C. Baker 2006). According to statistical information presented by the *Welsh Assembly Government* in 2007, there are 466 primary schools whose pupils use Welsh; as a result, the proportion of students communicating in Welsh increases: from 24.6% in 1987 to 36.5 in 2007. When it comes to secondary education, more than 15% of students in Years 7-11 learn Welsh as their first language (and nearly 84% – as their second language).

Conclusions

Pioneering research on bilingualism is begun in the first half of the last century by J. Ronjat (1913)⁶⁷. Subsequent studies, many of which are case studies of idiosyncratic states or societies highlighting the recognition of history, politics or demography, postwar migration, postcolonial language policy, propagation of humanistic and

⁶⁷ Achievements made in this area by W. Leopold or works by W. Penfield and W. Lambert are also interesting – later collected and published by E. Peal and W. Lambert (1962).

egalitarian ideologies (A. Lam 2006), respectively, confirm that bilingual children do not differ from their monolingual peers, except that they know two languages, and not one (W. Klein 1986). It is not a revealing constative that "(...) bilinguals (and multilinguals) have a unique form of language competence that is not necessarily comparable to that of monolinguals because learning a second or additional language has an influence on the whole cognitive system. Second language users possess unique forms of competence, or competencies, in their own right and should not be seen as the sum of two monolinguals" (J. Cenoz 2008: 27 following: V. Cook 1995, 2002). Benefits of knowing two or more languages are unquestionable – both in terms of an individual, an organisation, and whole societies. Among them, there is one concerned with financial gratification: a study (A. Henley/ R. Jones 2000 in: M. P. Jones 2013) on the example of Wales shows that bilinguals earn an average of 8 to 10 percent more.

It is a mistake, however, as it is emphasised by C. Baker (2006), not to differentiate between bilingual education conceived as a phenomenon of the twentieth century supported by: a. birth of various educational programmes in the United States in the sixties and seventies, b. emergence of the first experimental class at a kindergarten in St Lambert (Montreal) in 1965, c. establishment of the Free State of Ireland in 1922, d. establishment in 1939 of the first primary school (*Ysgol Gymraeg*) in Wales (in Aberystwyth) in which the means of communication is Welsh, and bilingualism in general. The latter has existed in one form or other for five thousand years (C. Baker 2006 following: W. F. Mackey 1978)⁶⁸ so it is important not to detach contemporary bilingual education from its historical roots examined in the context of past immigration or political movements. Besides, "(...) teaching the [unique minority, M. Ł.] language as a subject generally produces disappointing results in comparison to immersion or bilingual programs. If the teaching of the language is not developing expertise, then students do not experience identity enhancement" (J. Cummins 2008: 2).

⁶⁸ See also: E. G. Lewis (1977), *Bilingualism and bilingual education: the ancient world of the Renaissance*, (in:) B. Spolsky/ R. Cooper (eds.) Frontiers of bilingual education. Rowley, MA or E. G. Lewis (1981), *Bilingualism and bilingual education*. Oxford.

Acculturation of Polish (E/ Im)migrants⁶⁹ – United in Diversity?⁷⁰

Introduction

The focus of attention of this text is (e/ im)migration, after the definition of which there follows a distinction between an "immigrant", "refugee" and "asylum-seeker". In the further course, I analyse intrapersonal psychological processes which help immigrants determine their own (cultural) identity which, in turn, can be manifested by compulsory, induced or voluntary acculturation – realised via assimilation, integration, marginalisation or isolation in relation to the receiving society.

Towards the end, a reference is made to the data on the number of Polish citizens (Polish ethnic minority) residing in countries other than Poland (here: particularly Great Britain) as well as the results of a survey conducted by *YouGov UK* whose goal is to diagnose attitudes of British citizens towards different groups including: a. ethnic/ national groups, b. age groups, c. gender. In the said questionnaire, respondents are asked to attribute five positive and five negative characteristics to representatives of each of these groups' members. Finally, equally interesting are also results on perception of young Poles by the British Islands' inhabitants.

Ethnic Minorities⁷¹: (E/ Im)migrants versus Asylum-Seekers and Refugees

At the beginning of this chapter, it is worth mentioning instances of the most rudimentary terms excerpted from E. Lipińska's monograph (2013) devoted to adaptation issues in a new environment (based on Poles residing in Australia). It is also worth paying attention to the fact that in the case of adults (parents) leaving their homeland, E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012) use the term "emigrant generation", in the case of children, however – constituting a group of forced emigrants – born in Poland and/ or in the country of settlement: "the first Polonia generation". In the latter case (i.e. children who are bilingual due to relocation – especially forced relocation), as E. Bialystok (2001: 5) points out, despite acquired proficiency, a sense of

⁶⁹ E. Lipińska (2013: 7 following: P. Boski 2009: 109) uses the term "(e/ im)migration" which is a combination of two different perspectives, i.e.: emigration and immigration of the same, but superior, phenomenon of migration.

⁷⁰ United in Diversity is a motto of the European Union used for the first time in 2000, and referring to values such as peace and prosperity enriched by continental cultural and linguistic diversity and traditions (*The EU motto* 2015).

⁷¹ This chapter does not deal with features that exist between ethnic and national minorities. See, for example: *Act on national and ethnic minorities and regional language* of 6th January 2005 (Law Gazette No 17, item 141, as amended) or *Socjologia narodu i konfliktów etnicznych* [transl. Sociology of nation and ethnic conflicts] by M. Budyta-Budzyńska of 2010 (Warszawa).

repugnance for language used by the new society may appear⁷². In addition to that, referring to the results of studies conducted in Australia (M. Clyne 1991), E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 48) find that when both parents are Polish or of Polish origin, the Polish language is preserved by emigrant generation at the level of 73.3%, the first Polonia generation at the level of 39.3%, and the second Polonia generation at the level of 13.6%; as per mixed marriages, these figures are: 13.6%, 7.5% and 0.8%, respectively.

Depending on classification criteria (the most common "pushing" and/ or "attracting" factors are: economics, politics, religion and education; others may include: family ties, individual curiosity of the world, voice of the heart or "escape"), E. Lipińska (2013: 11–14) notices further, migration may result in voluntary or forced, permanent or temporary (seasonal) (e/ im)migration; in the first case, we take one's intentions into consideration, in the second – criterion of time⁷³. Equally important is a criterion of place reflected in the outflow/ influx of people to European (continental) or overseas countries resulting in their partial re-emigration.

An "ethnic group" (*ethnos* in Greek means "nation"), following *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (*Ethnic group* 2016), is a social group or a category of a given population that stands out within a larger (i.e. more populous) society, and which is related to common race, language, nationality or culture⁷⁴. Ethnicity is identical with language, culture and traditions; citizenship though (as an opposing concept) assumes political loyalty with respect to some territorial state (E. Lipińska 2013 following: U. Płatek 2007).

According to Ministry of the Interior and Administration in Poland, an "immigrant" is "a foreigner who comes (...) from abroad for temporary or permanent residence, and who obtains an appropriate administrative permit resulting from their

⁷² R. Laskowski (2009) among factors influencing fate of any minority language includes: status, cultural distance (religion), demography and institutional support; among social factors, however: dispersion versus concentration, cultural origin, level of education, evaluation and self-assessment, symbolic status, employment (qualified/ unqualified/ self-employed).

⁷³ The latter may result in "reconnaissance re-emigration" (which is a concept introduced by E. Nowicka 2010: 193 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 13) understood as a trial return preceded, for instance, by "electronic re-emigration" (this notion is introduced by R. Dębski 2009: 209 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 13).

⁷⁴ This text does not address issues of autochthonous ethnic minorities at all; see, e.g., J. Cenoz and D. Gorter (2008). I. Kurcz (2007) draws attention to the fact that we deal with other specificity of the problem if the local group remains in the majority, and with another when their roles are reversed and, consequently, the majority of the population is foreign. As instances of the states where two or more languages are equal, she (2007) mentions: Switzerland (French, German, Italian and Rhaeto-Romance), Belgium (French, Flemish and German) and Canada (English and French). The author (2007) also quotes an example of India and other newly-emerged African states whose inhabitants use the language of their former coloniser as their official language in order not to distinguish (i.e. privilege) any of existing languages or dialects.

fulfilment of statutory requirements"⁷⁵. For comparison, a "refugee", in turn, is a person "who stays outside his or her country of origin and has legitimate fear of persecution in their own country on account of race, religion, nationality, political view or belonging to a particular social group" (*Kim jest imigrant, a kim uchodźca?* 2015)⁷⁶. It is yet worth mentioning here a definition of an "asylum-seeker" perceived as an individual who, based on *The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees*, for well-grounded fear of persecution in their own country on account of race, religion, nationality, political view or belonging to a particular social group, awaits appropriate decision. The difference between an asylum seeker and a refugee is that the application of the latter is successful⁷⁷ (*The distinction between asylum seekers and refugees* 2006).

Interpersonal Psychological Processes: Establishing One's Own (Cultural) Identity

The term referring to intrapersonal psychological processes as well as to interpersonal social functions is "ethnic identification", also called "(cultural) identity" (E. Lipińska 2013). Interesting results of multidimensional research (sociological, psychological and linguistic) conducted in 2010 among students from Polish schools in the area of Chicago, and related to their ethnic identification, are shown by E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012). Other aspects considered also include: general characteristics of research participants, level of knowledge of Polish and English (according to their self-assessment), attitude towards English and Polish, language of communication with parents and siblings, attitude towards their Polish school and future plans.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ According to the British government estimates, one immigrant arrives in the country every minute, and a new British passport is issued every three minutes. Moreover, every seven minutes it is necessary to build a new home for immigrants in England – this will continue for the next twenty years. Finally, more people come to the United Kingdom in one year (here: based on 2010) than in the entire period from 1066 to 1950, excluding war time. Net migration of non-British citizens, in the past ten years, amounts to 2.8 million (*Our case* 2012).

⁷⁶ Awarding refugee status within the territory of the Republic of Poland is effected on the basis of the provisions of *Act on supporting foreigners* of 13th June 2003 in accordance with *The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees* of 28th July 1951 ratified by Poland in 1991.

⁷⁷ In a broader context, the refugee may be a person fleeing from, for instance, civil war or natural disaster, but not necessarily afraid of being persecuted for whatever reason listed in the aforementioned *Convention* (1951) (*The distinction between asylum seekers and refugees* 2006).

⁷⁸ Cf.: Wielojęzyczność a wykorzystanie różnorodności kontekstów europejskich w nauczaniu szkolnym. Wyniki badań w dzielnicy Grunwald w Poznaniu oraz w powiecie słubickim na tle innych okręgów europejskich [transl. Multilingualism and the application of European diversity contexts in school education. Research results in the district of Grunwald in Poznań and in Słubice county versus other European districts] (Poznań 2007).

According to W. Miodunka (1987, 1999 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 32): "[p]roblems concerned with establishing one's own identity may arise in terms of both foreign (new) language and culture as well as native." "Valence" is an identity constituent (including personality) which may emerge in one of these attitudes: a. univalence – understood as possessing one culture (integral national identity), b. bivalence – understood as possessing two cultures (double national identity), c. polyvalence – understood as possessing three or more cultures (national identification: cosmopolitanism) and d. ambivalence – understood as experiencing more than one culture resulting in uncertainty and confusion (national identity: uncertain) (A. Kłoskowska following: U. Płatek 2007: 22 in: E Lipińska 2013: 32).⁷⁹

Adaptation Problems: From Assimilation through Integration and Marginalisation to Isolation

Being heritage of earlier territorial conquests, ethnic diversity is a kind of social complexity that is present in most modern societies. It is manifested by forced, induced or volitional acculturation, which, by identifying phenomena occurring at the border of two or more cultures between individuals and/ or groups⁸⁰, may result in one of four different strategies defined by a Canadian psychologist J. W. Berry (1997) – i.e. assimilation, integration (inclusion), marginalisation and separation (isolation), with reference to the host society.

E. Lipińska (2013) speaks of four types of adaptation: 1. bicultural, 2. ethnic, 3. Angloassimilation and 4. alienation. She (2013) also suggests dividing (e/im)migrants into four groups based on their adaptation type: a. rejection of the native language and culture, identification with the target language and culture, b. rejection of the target language and culture, identification with the native language and culture,

⁷⁹ More on the role of language in shaping one's identity (especially as regards children), see: E. Bialystok (2001).

⁸⁰ That is acquisition and acceptance of language, system of values and social norms of the country of settlement (R. Laskowski 2009). Primary socialisation, i.e. "inculturation", the author (2009), in turn, defines as the child's absorption of the system of values and fundamental norms of social behaviour that takes place in their family. This, as a matter of fact, stays in harmony with the position of J. Hamers and M. Blanc (1989: 71-72) according to whom: "[i]n the process of socialization the child internalizes the system of social values and norms pertaining to language as his own and constructs his social representations of language. Socialization is a complex set of learning processes by which the child learns to become a member of his group and through which he builds social representations. The social representation of language comprises shared meanings, social scripts, and the internalization of social values, which plays an essential role in the development of cultural identity (...). Shared meanings, shared representations, scripts, and cultural identity are the outcome of the mechanisms. They are begun in primary socialization, which normally occurs in the family, and continued during secondary socialization. In primary socialization cultural forms for expressing basic social behaviour are internalized (...) and become the only conceivable world for the child."

c. inability to identify freely with neither the native nor the target language and culture, d. identification with the native and the target language and culture. Lastly, in terms of adaptive behaviour models, E. Lipińska (2013) proposes their following typology: 1. assimilants (me – here – now), 2. marginalists/ nihilists ([not] me – not here/ not there – not now/ not before), 3. integralists (me – here/ there – now/ before), 4. separatists/ traditionalists (me – there – before).

Another way of dealing with ethnic diversity is the development of pluralism understood as a combination of tolerance, interdependence and separatism (*Ethnic group* 2016) – as is the case in Switzerland or Canada (as per the first the three major ethnic groups are concentrated in independent cantons within a democratic federation; as per the latter federal pluralism is less stable).⁸¹

It is worth presenting in more detail the above-mentioned manifestations of adaptation efforts – which often give rise to (e/ im)migrants' behavioural changes, acculturation stress and even acculturation shock (Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudnienia i ograniczania bezrobocia 2007 in: E. Lipińska 2013) – aimed at establishing one's own identity (identification) from the side of representatives of diverse ethnic background, and indicating their relationship with the host society. R. Laskowski (2009) points out that worse educated (Polish) emigrants can experience "the cultural inferiority complex", which may result in abandoning (or limiting) interaction in the Polish language at home, and choosing instead the language of the country of settlement (here: Swedish). As a result, this type of behaviour, called by the author (2009: 18–20) "the forward-escape strategy", may lead to loss of (active knowledge, i.e. speaking for the purpose of passive control, i.e. listening) of the mother tongue and cultural contact with the homeland as well as disturbances in secondary socialisation. Indeed, the forward-escape strategy "undermines the development of the child's personality, depriving him/her of the key to understanding the surrounding world, to interpreting people's behaviour and to internalizing the norms of the dominant society" (R. Laskowski 2014: 31). On a similar note writes C. Baker (2011: 127):

[c]hildren quickly learn which language has prestige, power and preference. They soon understand that there are differences in language, behavior, ethnicity and culture, and some children, and particularly teenagers, may come to perceive their minority language and culture as undesirable. Students quickly perceive what helps them belong and become accepted in mainstream society.

E. B. Ryan and H. Giles (1982) propose four variants of assessing prestige of the mother (dominant) tongue and the second (minority) language, and solidarity with one's own or alien group by representatives of the majority and minority groups⁸², where: a. variant 1 assumes universal preference for the dominant language (both in

⁸¹ One of the variants of directed acculturation is, more or less, voluntary assimilation known under the term "Americanisation"; for European ethnic groups (and not racial minorities) residing in the United States is a matter of individual or family choice – not conquest or slavery (*Acculturation. Anthropology* 2016).

⁸² Cf. also: "Multiculturalism as a challenge for contemporary preschool and elementary school education. Journal of preschool and elementary school education" (Kraków).

terms of this language prestige and solidarity with the group that speaks it), b. variant 2 implies identification of speakers of the minority language with their own group and maintaining their language in mutual relations (the majority language is superior in prestige though), c. variant 3 assumes equality of the minority language compared with the dominant language (the minority language enjoys high prestige indeed), d. variant 4 posits solidarity of both groups (in everyday usage there is a dominant language, but both groups solidify with the minority language as a standard (model) language.⁸³

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica (E. P. Pauls 2016) "assimilation", in anthropology and sociology, is a process during which individuals or social groups of different ethnic background are absorbed by the dominant culture of a given society (here: the host society) to such an extent that these individuals or groups assimilated become socially indistinguishable from other members of a given society (here: the assimilating society)⁸⁴. Assimilation is, therefore, the most extreme form of acculturation in which aspects such as religion, food, preferences or proxemics are most resistant to change (E. P. Pauls 2016). Another strategy is "integration" or "inclusion" understood as "such a relationship between culture characteristics that they form a separate whole" (Słownik etnologiczny 1987: 163 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 22) or there emerges a new cultural amalgam (Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudnienia i ograniczania bezrobocia 2007 in: E. Lipińska 2013). As a consequence of such actions, "the immigrant maintains elements of his/ her culture, religion and language, that is to say, the individual sphere, but in other areas, for example political, economic, educational and professional, he/ she is incorporated into the host country system" (E. Lipińska 2013: 22). The third strategy of cultural adaptation is "marginalisation", i.e. exclusion from participation in the social life of individuals because the migrant, whether consciously or not, rejects culture of the host country, and culture of the country of origin; at the level of intergroup relations we can speak of social/ systemic exclusion (P. Boski 2009). Finally, "separation" ("isolation") assumes no contact between the individual/ group and the host society on the cultural plane, which may occur in two dimensions: 1. when the individual or group separates from the community or 2. when one is rejected by the environment; the first is called "endogenous isolation", the latter - "exogenous isolation" (Slownik etnologiczny 1987: 165 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 24).85 The attitude that leads to endogenous isolation is called by R. Laskowski (2014: 32) "the besieged-fortress strategy", and it consists in "rejecting the language and culture of the dominating society, which are regarded as strange, or even hostile, corrupt and contemptible."

⁸³ Heritage language lessons for migrant workers in the European Union are included in the *Council's Directive* 77/486/EEC of 25 July 1977 (on migrant workers' training).

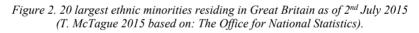
⁸⁴ E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012) note that children who are ashamed of their origin may head toward full assimilation, resulting in their native culture and mother tongue being eventually lost.

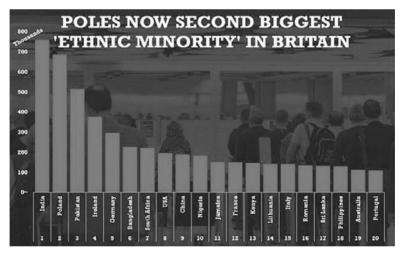
⁸⁵ Endogenous isolation, which assumes lack of bond with the new country, may take the form of "neurotic protection of one's own culture and language" (E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012).

How Are We Seen? (Polish Ethnic Minority in Great Britain)

Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004-2013 [transl. Information on the extent and directions of emigration from Poland in the years 2004–2013] (Z. Kostrzewa 2014) includes data showing an estimated number of the inhabitants of Poland, i.e. the extent of, so-called, "immigration resources" temporarily residing in other countries (continental and overseas) at the end of the year dependent on, *inter alia*, immigration resource size at the end of the previous year and the number of departures and returns in a given year.

The Central Statistical Office of Poland estimates that at the end of 2013 about 2 196 000 Polish citizens live temporarily outside Poland, and in Europe alone this number reaches about 1 891 000 people. The vast majority, i.e. about 1 789 000 stays in the EU member states – the largest number in: Great Britain (642 000)⁸⁶, Germany (560 000), Ireland (115 000), the Netherlands (103 000) and Italy (96 000). As per Great Britain, the figures for 2004–2012 oscillate around: 150 000 (2004), 340 000 (2005), 580 000 (2006), 690 000 (2007), 650 000 (2008), 595 000 (2009), 580 000 (2010), 612 000 (2011)⁸⁷, 625 000 (2011), 637 000 (2012) (Z. Kostrzewa 2014). On the basis of the figures quoted, an assumption can be made that from around 2006 an estimated number of Polish people living in Great Britain remains at the level of around 600 000. Taking the above data into consideration, Poles are, nowadays, the second (after the inhabitants of India) largest ethnic minority in Great Britain (T. McTague 2015).





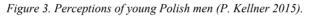
⁸⁶ No data available for the UK; for differences between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the British Isles refer, for example, to J. O'Driscoll (1995).

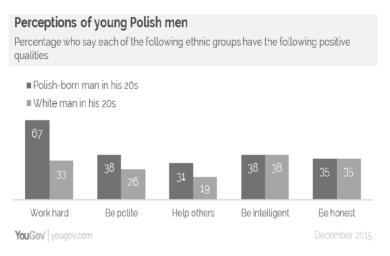
⁸⁷ The data obtained during the National Census.

According to the data obtained during the 2011 England and Wales Census, London Borough of Ealing is the area most densely populated by people of Polish origin with the rate of 13.18% (those from India make up 15.82%, Ireland – 4.70%, Pakistan – 4.51% and Nigeria – 0.87%). Two other boroughs with a high rate of residents born in Poland are: Haringey (9,56%) and Hounslow (9,42%), respectively (*London: Census Profile* 2015).

P. Kellner (2015) quotes interesting results of research conducted by *YouGov UK*, the aim of which is to diagnose attitudes of the British to forty-eight different groups; combinations involve eight ethnic/ national groups, three age groups (twenty-year-olds, forty-year-olds and sixty-year-olds) and two sexes. Respondents are asked to assign five positive attributes (such as intelligence and honesty) and five negative ones (such as violence and drunkenness) to representatives of each of those groups. To avoid politically correct responses, resulting in favouring compatriots (in comparison with other groups), 48 separate questionnaires are used – one for each group.⁸⁸

The results show that gender is more important than ethnicity (five of six upper places are occupied by women; five of six lower places – men), and, analysing the data, it comes out that it is white twenty-year-old males who have the worst reputation (from all forty-eight groups), which is presented in figure 3^{89} .





Conclusions

According to J. Schumann's (1978) "acculturation hypothesis", the amount of language available to those (immigrants) learning the second language in natural

⁸⁸ Cf., for instance, W. E. Lambert and D. M. Taylor's research on assimilation of one's own culture or maintenance of one's own cultural heritage by various national minorities residing in the United States (*Coping with cultural and racial diversity in urban America* 1990).

⁸⁹ The table presenting all data concerning prejudice in Great Britain is available on: https://yougov.co.uk/news/2015/12/14/prejudice-data/

environments is reduced due to social and psychological distance. In turn, L. Beebe and H. Giles' (1984) "communication accommodation theory" (CAT) puts forward socio-cultural distance between members of the same (minority) community and representatives of the host society: those who are not native speakers, but remain positive towards the majority group, subconsciously stick to linguistic forms used by native interlocutors, and those who wish to manifest their own identity and negative attitude towards the language of the host society tend to favour (fossilisation of) interlanguage forms. P. Lightbown and N. Spada (1993), on the other hand, stress that members of the minority group represent different attitudes and follow different motivations when learning the language of the majority than representatives of the majority group acquiring the language of the minority.

With the above considerations in mind, more emphasis has to be placed on promoting in the (British) pluralistic society social cohesion and multiculturalism: "the ideal of equal, harmonious, mutually tolerant existence of diverse languages, and of different religious, cultural and ethnic groups" (C. Baker 2003: 402). The role of British educational institutions (whether state or private) or, in the context of Polonia education, Polish Saturday schools is not to be underestimated either; in fact, there are no *differentia specifica* between the above-mentioned schools when it comes to implementation of this particular task⁹⁰.

In addition to that, Polish Saturday schools are perceived as a symbol of ethnicity where the Polish language is cultivated, Polish customs and traditions observed and access to Polish culture enabled. Also, their role in spreading the Catholic faith is of paramount importance, too (the very first Polonia schools, as a matter of fact, are opened at parishes), and religion seems to be an integrating and building value of (or one that helps to build) cultural identity:

[t]he value identified with Polishness has been, for several centuries, the Catholic religion. The Polish prayer, Polish religious song, Polish sermons, church services, customs are considered by the majority of Poles an important component of their Polishness strengthening Polish ritual; however, on emigration they are the last, and longest defended, redoubt of Polish ethnicity (B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa 1991: 17–18 in: E. Lipińska and A. Seretny 2012: 91).⁹¹

And last but by no means least, the Internet, nowadays, plays a crucial role in the process of identity formation, too; indeed, it performs the function which "for a long time in emigrant communities has been played by ethnic food stores and cultural centres", H. Jenkins observes (2007: IX in: P. Kajak 2008: 293).

⁹⁰ The obligation to promote social cohesion by schools is imposed on 1st September 2007 by *Education and Inspections Act* of 2006 by adding a relevant item: 21(5) to, adopted in 2002, *Education Act*.

⁹¹ The results of E. Nowicka's research (1993) distinguish the following factors that determine what it is that constitutes being a Pole (according to the Polish): feeling of being a Pole, good-working knowledge of the Polish language and knowledge of the Polish history and culture, observance of Polish customs, the Catholic faith, services for the Polish country and being born in Poland.

Polonia Education in an Exolingual Environment (based on the UK). From *Polska Szkoła Parafialna* [Polish Parochial School] to *Polish Abroad Saturday School*

Introduction

This section, after probing contexts of teaching the native versus the other (i.e. second or foreign) language on the example of English, and also Polish, presents some issues connected with Polonia education in an exolingual environment (based on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

After quoting figures of, so-called, immigrant resources, the data concerning the United Kingdom are excerpted; I analyse then the names of Polonia schools which, for circa 60 years, are supported by *Polska Macierz Szkolna*⁹² – and, in particular, the names assumed by the "[traditional] Polish parochial school". Quite a few remarks are also made regarding the choice of the said schools' patron, to which they most often refer. Only then I might draw some general conclusions about the specific nature of activity of educational establishments concerned.

Contexts⁹³ of Teaching the Native Language⁹⁴ versus the Other (Based on English)

⁹² Polish culture and education-oriented organisation set up in 1906 in the Kingdom of Poland.
⁹³ Linguists focus on investigating "context" in the early 70s of the former century. A. Duranti/
Ch. Goodwin (1992) propose, for instance, its following typology: setting, behavioural environment, language and extrasituational. J. Harmer (1995), in turn, speaks of: students' world, outside world and formulated information, while J. Cutting (2008) of: situational, background knowledge, cultural, interpersonal, social and co-textual context.

⁹⁴ E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny (2012) perceive the term "mother tongue" (*język macierzysty*) as superior to the concept of "native language" (*język ojczysty*) (in the sense: of one's own) which, as they (2012) say, stands in opposition to "the other", "not one's own".

As per language teaching and learning⁹⁵ contexts (here: on the example of English), one has to refer to "the sociolinguistic model of present-day Englishes"⁹⁶ propagated by B. B. Kachru (1985, 1992)⁹⁷ who, in "the inner circle", marked number 1 on the diagram (M. Gliński⁹⁸ 2012 following: G. Cook 2003), distinguishes six monolingual countries whose inhabitants use the English language as their mother tongue: the United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland⁹⁹, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Republic of Ireland. The inhabitants of countries such as – just to name a few: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Kenya, the Republic of South Africa, Philippines, Malaysia or Singapore (postcolonial countries), marked number 2, situated in "the outer circle", often use English in its institutionalised form as their second language. Where the communicative role of English is not formally recognised, it is used as a foreign language on the economic, cultural or scientific plane – "the expanding circle"¹⁰⁰ is marked number 3.

As accurately pointed out by J. Majer (2003), English as a target language can be taught: a. in a monolingual society of its native speakers, b. in a multilingual society (in which English functions as an auxiliary language or intra-community lingua franca), c. in a monolingual or multilingual society (in which English functions as an

⁹⁵ Another way of mastering any language is its acquisition – see S. D. Krashen (1981). S. Grucza (2013a) terms language "learning" or "acquisition", on the basis of the anthropocentric theory, its "reconstruction", both in terms of reference to one's general and specialised idiolect. According to him (2013a: 106): "[r]econstruction of specialised idiolect, similarly to reconstruction of general idiolect, is based on linguogenerative (biological and genetic) properties of speakers-listeners." More than that, "real languages (idiolects) of specific individuals, and, thus, real specialised languages (idiolects) of specific professionals are not something given to anyone 'in advance', that every man has to produce ('acquire') his own language (idiolect) and only he can develop it himself. Second, 'language acquisition' is a process in which every man 'produces' (his own) real language learning 'involves' the process of generating linguistic knowledge about the world – the process of getting to know the world, that, yet at this level, human languages 'fulfil' important cognitive functions. Human languages fulfil important cognitive functions in general, and specialised languages in particular" (2013a: 145).

⁹⁶ One of the critics of the subject model concept is, among others, R. Quirk, who joins the discussion on passing over the standards and, thus, allowing English to "drift far away from the main linguistic values of standard Global English." (D. Clayton 2011).

⁹⁷ See also B. Kachru/ C. L. Nelson (1996).

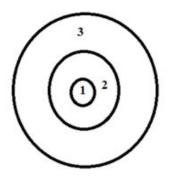
⁹⁸ In his publication, the author does not mention all the monolingual countries. Worse still, with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in mind, he uses too much of a "simplification" here (as a matter of fact: politically inaccurate), and refers exclusively to Great Britain.

⁹⁹ For differences between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the British Isles refer, for example, to J. O'Driscoll (1995).

¹⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that B. Kachru (1985, 1992) does not indicate any place for pidgin English or creole (P. C. Nichols 1996).

international lingua franca), d. at any school (where English functions as a subject – without any special status awarded).

Figure 4. Sociolinguistic model of present-day Englishes by B. B. Kachru (1985, 1992) (M. Gliński 2012 following: G. Cook 2003).



Bearing the above division in mind, there is no doubt that the idea of English as a pluricentric language which has "more than one acceptable standard and a set of norms for [expressing, M. Ł.] creativity" (B. B. Kachru/ C. L. Nelson 1996: 71) is recognised, which results in English becoming an international (and intranational)¹⁰¹ language (EIL) or *lingua franca* (ELF). In actual fact, as pointed out by D. Crystal (2000: 117) nobody owns it either:

[t]here comes a point in the spread of a language when no one can be said to own it – in the sense of having a recognized right to direct its development. No one 'owns' English now.

It is worth mentioning yet another classification. Namely, A. Holliday (1994a, 1994b) uses the acronyms: "BANA" – British (including the Republic of Ireland¹⁰²), Australian and North American, and "TESEP" – tertiary, secondary and primary (education) in reference to language teaching methods *per se*; the first refers to private sectors and the second – public ones (of those countries where English is taught as a second or foreign language). Said that, H. Komorowska (2006: 111) draws attention to a conflict that can be observed between the pragmatic goal of calling for unity of the lingua franca – a means of communication between people who speak other mother tongues and intercultural and socio-political languages; this unity, according to her (2006), can only be achieved through a diversity of languages in multicultural contexts.

In fact, the way any language is taught depends on a number of factors and perspectives such as: socio-cultural, historical, political, educational, economic, technological, linguistic or geographic, to name a few. It should be remembered that

¹⁰¹ Cf.: L. E. Smith (1981).

¹⁰² J. Majer (2003) pays attention to the fact that due to the omission of "the Republic of Ireland" in the acronym in question and/ or its inclusion under the letter B (= Britain), BANA becomes a politically troublesome reference.

context in a formalised teaching and learning environment may stand for, *inter alia*: instructions set in didactic materials (A. Niżegorodcew 2007), any school class (a truly social context indeed) or a single lesson that, as reported by S. Walsh (2006: 16), might represent a number of interrelated contexts:

[a]ny second language lesson can be viewed as a dynamic and complex series of interrelated contexts, in which interaction is central to teaching and learning. Rather than seeing the classroom as a *single* social context, as is so often the case, the view taken here is that participants in classroom discourse, teachers and learners, co-construct (plural) contexts. Contexts are constructed through the *talk-in-interaction* in relation to specific institutional goals and the unfolding pedagogic goals of a lesson.

Equally important alike are environmental conditions that can either accelerate or delay the process of language acquisition (R. Ellis 1988). And the distinction, *sui generis*, between English as one's first language and English as one's second language can be undermined in a situation where English is detached from its historical roots. What is more, the term "English" can be challenged, too, and replaced by the term "world Englishes" instead. One can also speak of "English native speaker" versus "English non-native speaker" juxtaposition (R. Carter / D. Nunan 2006). But now to the main issue as the point of the foregoing discussion is the Polish school in an exolingual environment.

Contexts of Teaching the Native Language versus the Other (Based on Polish)

In reference to the above considerations regarding blurring of the boundaries between English as the first language and English as the second language, it is worth noting that the dichotomy *per se* of (didactics of) the mother tongue and foreign language in the context of didactics of the mother tongue as a second language¹⁰³ which "placing itself between their two poles can even constitute a certain bridge between them" (E. Lipińska – A. Seretny 2012: 89) breaks down, too. According to the authors (2012: 89):

[p]eculiarity of the heritage language causes its teaching to be a special case in which aims of teaching language either as *foreign* or *native*, usually perceived as divergent, permeate and overlap.

J. Nocoń (2012) is of a similar point of view and, based on results of the contemporary psycho- and neurolinguistic studies, advocates searching for related points and consequent merging of both didactics (i.e. of the first and second language).

¹⁰³ The concept "the native language as a second language" is first used by E. Czykwin and D. Misiejuk (in: E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012: 27) in the context of teaching Ukrainian to Ukrainian children in Poland.

In their work, E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 19–31) accomplish a solid but, at the same time, synthetic review of terminology applied to Polish studies¹⁰⁴ glottodidactics¹⁰⁵ with simultaneous explanation of context-dependent (viz. either endolingual or exolingual environment) terminological nuances. The authors (2012) analyse terms such as: "the mother tongue", "the first language", "the native language", "the primary language", "the ethnic language", "the national language", "the inherited language", "the output language", "the target language", "the foreign language" or "the second language". Following J. Cieszyńska (2006: 53) who names the process of displacing the Polish language by the language of the country of settlement (on the example of Polish children in the United States) "gradual emergence of L2 as the first functional language", they (2012) develop their own definition of one's second language, which reads as follows:

[i]f the SECOND LANGUAGE is an EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE,

it becomes a FUNCTIONALLY FIRST LANGUAGE¹⁰⁷.

With the above definition in mind, for Polish children, who attend British schools, English is their first functional language, while Polish is their mother tongue as a

¹⁰⁴ E. Gębal (2008: 86), delving into reflections initiated by W. T. Miodunka (2006) – in "Metodyka, dydaktyka i pedagogika a nauczanie języka polskiego jako obcego" [transl. Methodology, didactics and pedagogy versus teaching Polish as a foreign language", introduced in E. Lipińska and A. Seretny's volume (2006) *Z zagadnień dydaktyki języka polskiego jako obcego* [transl. From the issues of Polish as a foreign language didactics] – points to "an increasingly visible movement of interdisciplinary Polish studies glottodidactics towards pedagogy".

¹⁰⁵ I perceive glottodidactics, following F. Grucza (2013a: 221-228), as a field that, first and foremost, concentrates its research interests on scientific comprehension of the processes that operate in the glottodidactic system during the process of language learning. S. Grucza (2013b: 6), in turn, following the above definition, makes a note that glottodidactics, which is established as an independent field of study in the second half of the twentieth century, focuses on foreign language teaching, foreign language learning and foreign language teachers' education. It is worth adding that according to yet another distinguished Polish linguist: W. T. Miodunka (2009: 77-78) "the term glottodidactics works with one limitation: it refers to teaching foreign languages, and not to teaching languages in general (including the mother tongue, as it is originally suggested by Prof F. Grucza). "Linguodidactics", in turn, deals with the school acquisition process, the development and improvement of linguistic and communicative competence in the mother tongue/ first language (J. Nocoń 2012).

¹⁰⁶ The closest equivalent of the concept "heritage language" is, as reported by E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 21), "home language". However, the authors also indicate that it does not reflect *au fait* "the historical-cultural-emotional depth inherent in the meaning *heritage* (heritage – tradition – identity)"; similarly to the names recalled above: "home background speakers" may well be used in Australia, and "heritage language speakers" – in Canada and the USA. It is noteworthy that N. Van Deusen-Scholl (2003 in: E. Lipińska – A. Seretny 2012: 21) instead of "speakers" uses "language learners".

¹⁰⁷ As per original spelling.

second language, and French or Spanish¹⁰⁸ – foreign languages. In the work in question, there also appears a distinction between teaching the Polish and Polonia language (in the form of, for example, Polonia dialect or Polonia sociolect). In the opinion of the authors (2012: 22):

[t]he term 'the Polish language', excluding the territory of Poland, may refer both to Poles as well as other nationalities, 'the Polonia language' – only to people of Polish origin.

Coming back to the notion of "the mother tongue", it is worth remembering the standpoint of M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b: 77 following: N. Denison 1984: 1) who draws attention to the fact that some linguists use: "the mother tongue" and "the native language"¹⁰⁹ in a rather unfortunate manner – that is as synonyms of "the first language", "the dominant language" or "the stronger language". M. Olpińska-Szkiełko recalls the viewpoint of T. T. Skutnabb-Kangas (1987: 15) who identifies "the mother tongue" with a given language, culture and community or other opinions identifying the concept in question with the language of the child's mother, and "the first language" – with the language acquired as the first in the child's life. As M. Olpińska-Szkiełko confirms further (2013b: 77): "[i]t does not have to be automatically the language of his mother. This may be, for example, the language of the majority of the social group in which the child is brought up and which, as the child develops, eventually becomes his dominant language."

Emigration from Poland (2004–2013)

Before I briefly refer to the document titled *Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2013* [transl. Information on the extent and directions of emigration from Poland in the years 2004–2013], published by the Department of Demographic Research and Labour Market of the Central Statistical Office of Poland (Z. Kostrzewa 2014), names of the most rudimentary terms excerpted from E. Lipińska's publication (2013) devoted to adaptation issues in a new environment (on the example of Poles residing in Australia) should be paid attention to. E. Lipińska (2013: 7 following P. Boski 2009: 109) uses the term "(e/ im)migration" which is a combination of two different perspectives, i.e.: emigration and immigration of the same, but superior, phenomenon of migration. Depending on classification criteria¹¹⁰, as E. Lipińska (2013: 11–14) notices further, migration; in the first case, we take one's intentions into consideration, in the second – criterion of time. The latter may result in "reconnaissance re-emigration"¹¹¹ understood as a trial

¹⁰⁸ The most popular foreign languages taught at British schools.

¹⁰⁹ Used interchangeably; in Polish – this may vary.

¹¹⁰ The most common "pushing" and/ or "attracting" factors are: economics, politics, religion and education; others include: family ties, individual curiosity of the world, voice of the heart or "escape" (E. Lipińska 2013: 11).

¹¹¹ The notion introduced by E. Nowicka (2010: 193 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 13).

return preceded, for instance, by "electronic re-emigration"¹¹². Equally important is a criterion of place reflected in the outflow/ influx of people to either European (continental) or overseas countries resulting in their partial re-emigration.

Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2013 (Z. Kostrzewa 2014) includes data presenting an estimated number of the inhabitants of Poland¹¹³, viz. the extent of, so-called, immigration resources temporarily¹¹⁴ residing in other countries (continental and overseas)¹¹⁵ at the end of the year, dependent on, i.a., immigration resource size at the end of the previous year and the number of departures and returns in a given year¹¹⁶. The Central Statistical Office of Poland estimates that at the end of 2013¹¹⁷ about 2 196 000 citizens live temporarily outside Poland, and in Europe alone this number reaches circa 1 891 000 people. The vast majority, i.e. about 1 789 000 stays in the EU member states, the largest number in: Great Britain (642 000)¹¹⁸, Germany (560 000), Ireland (115 000), the Netherlands (103 000) and Italy (96 000). Bearing the above results in mind, it should be added that an increase in the number of Poles is observed in Germany (by 60 000, i.e. by 12%) and Great Britain (by 0.8%) as well as the Netherlands and Norway. A decrease in the number of Polish emigrants is, in turn, recorded in Spain (by -8.1%), Ireland (by -2.5%) and Greece.

As per Great Britain, the figures for 2004-2012 oscillate around: 150 000 (2004), 340 000 (2005), 580 000 (2006), 690 000 (2007), 650 000 (2008), 595 000 (2009), 580 000 (2010), 612 000 (2011)¹¹⁹, 625 000 (2011), 637 000 (2012) (Z. Kostrzewa 2014). On the basis of the figures quoted, an assumption can be made that from around 2006 an estimated number of Polish people living in Great Britain remains at the level of around 600 000.

¹¹² The notion introduced by R. Dębski (2009: 209 in: E. Lipińska 2013: 13).

¹¹³ Some Poles may be of dual nationality or keep permanent resident status in Poland, which makes this analysis difficult (Z. Kostrzewa 2014).

¹¹⁴ The data for 2007-2013 include persons temporarily staying abroad for more than 3 months, the data up to 2006 – over 2 months. According to Z. Kostrzewa (2014), the period of absence criterion, determined individually by particular countries, is introduced into statistical surveys in Poland in 2006 in accordance with the amendment of *Act of 14th July 2006* on entry into the territory of the Republic of Poland, stay and departure from this territory of citizens of the EU member states and their family members (Law Gazette 06.144.1043, as amended). Moreover, according to estimates of the Central Statistical Office of Poland (Z. Kostrzewa 2014), more than 75% of temporary emigrants from Poland stay abroad for at least 12 months (so-called "long-term emigrants") and, together with citizens who emigrate permanently, they (as residents of host countries) should be included in population estimates of the countries concerned.

¹¹⁵ The figures presented concern the "old EU-15" countries (except Luxembourg) and also those that join the EU after 2004: the Czech Republic and Cyprus. In addition to that, as per non-EU countries, Norway is referred to, too (as a country comprising the EEA though) (Z. Kostrzewa 2014).

¹¹⁶ Estimated results, as a rule, do not include Poles' seasonal emigration (Z. Kostrzewa 2014). ¹¹⁷ In 2013 there is an increase in the number of Poles immigrating to other countries (in fact, this number increases by 69 thousand compared to 2012). It is noteworthy that in 2008-2010, there is a noticeable decrease in the number of Polish citizens temporarily staying abroad (Z. Kostrzewa 2014).

¹¹⁸ No data available for the UK.

¹¹⁹ The data obtained during the National Census.

Polonia Education in an Exolingual Environment (based on the UK)

Polonia education in an exolingual context (of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland¹²⁰), on the institutional plane, is implemented via Polish schools supported for nearly 60 years by *Polska Macierz Szkolna* (hereinafter: PMSz)¹²¹. The roots of PMSz go back to the period of the Partitions of Poland although its formal establishment eventually comes into force (because of historical conditions at that time) on 28th April 1905. Henryk Sienkiewicz becomes the first chairman of the PMSz Council. The organisation is active in the interwar period, and only the outbreak of World War II ceases its operation – as a result of efforts of, among others, General Władysław Anders, it is re-established in 1953 on the territory of Great Britain (*Polska Macierz Szkolna* 2015).

The specificity of teaching and learning at schools abroad is in many aspects different from the specificity of teaching and learning at schools located in the homeland. E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 85–86) to the most important differences include: lesser number of hours, factors that support linguistic development – i.e. home and environment (so called: primary and secondary socialisation environment, respectively) – function in a different manner, varied preparation of teachers for their profession, discrepancies of pupils' Polish and differentiated pupils' language competences.

A relatively large number (N = 127^{122}) of Polish schools is located in the United Kingdom (their arrangement as per Map 1). This fact, in turn, translates into richness of functioning names – here is a proof of this indisputable redundancy¹²³ (frequency of occurrence indicated in brackets):

- 1. "polska szkoła sobotnia" [Polish Saturday school] (52)¹²⁴,
- 2. "polska szkoła" [Polish school] (21)¹²⁵,

¹²⁰ One of the schools is situated on the island of Jersey which is a dependency of the British crown; dependency is a form of dependence on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland of "territories (quasi-states) formally not being dependent territories, but, de facto, dependent on the UK (which is because of tradition, not by law)" (*Wikipedia* 2015).

¹²¹ On PMSz website ("About us"), we can read that it supports Polish education in Great Britain. The list of schools though ("For parents: find a Polish complementary school in your area") unquestionably includes Northern Ireland, too.

¹²² On PoloniaUK website (2015), there is information on 68 schools operating under auspices of *Polska Macierz Szkolna* in Great Britain (the list actually includes 72). According to its author (2015), this is the *status quo* of 26th November 2007, which indicates over 80% growth in the number of settings established since then. On the other hand, the register on Central Statistical Office of Poland website lists just 18 Polonia schools operating in Great Britain (GUS 2014).

¹²³ Except one, the text does not involve a chrematonimic view.

¹²⁴ Two names from the list contain a typographical error: "szkola" instead of "szkoła" [school]; on the website of one of them, the entry is correct – the website of the other does not work.

¹²⁵ Two names from the list contain a typographical error: "szkola" instead of "szkoła" [school]; on one website, the entry is correct, whereas on the other - it is not. What is more,

- "polska szkoła przedmiotów ojczystych"¹²⁶ [Polish school of native subjects] (14),
- 4. "polska sobotnia szkoła" [Polish Saturday school] (10),
- 5. "szkoła" [school] (3),
- 6. "polska sobotnia szkoła przedmiotów ojczystych" [Polish Saturday school of native subjects] (3),
- 7. "szkoła przedmiotów ojczystych" [school of native subjects] (3),
- 8. "polska szkoła nauczania przedmiotów ojczystych" [Polish school of teaching native subjects] (2),
- 9. "szkoła polska" [Polish school] (2)¹²⁷,
- 10. "szkoła ojczysta" [native school] (1),
- 11. "integracyjna szkoła sobotnia" [Saturday integrating school] (1),
- 12. "Polish educational centre" $(1)^{128}$,
- 13. "Polish abroad Saturday school" (1),
- 14. "polska społeczna szkoła" [Polish public school] (1),
- 15. "polska szkoła uzupełniająca" [Polish complementary school] (1),
- 16. "polska szkoła parafialna" [Polish parochial school] (1),
- 17. "polska szkoła ojczysta" [Polish native school] (1),
- "szkoła języka polskiego i kultury" [school of the Polish language and culture] (1),
- 19. "szkoła polska języka i kultury ojczystej" [Polish school of native language and culture] (1),
- 20. "sobotnia polska szkoła przedmiotów ojczystych" [Saturday Polish school of native subjects] (1),
- 21. "sobotnia polska szkoła" [Saturday Polish school](1),
- 22. "polska akademia" [Polish academy] (1),
- 23. "polska katolicka szkoła sobotnia" [Polish Catholic Saturday school] (1),
- 24. "polska szkoła weekendowa" [Polish weekend school] (1),
- 25. "polska słoneczna szkoła" [Polish sunny school] (1)¹²⁹ (Polska Macierz Szkolna 2015).

attention is drawn to, so remarkable in this context, citation: "...bo Polacy nie gesi i swoj jezyk maja..." [typographical errors throughout; "that the Polish are not geese, have a tongue of their own" – an excerpt from a poem by a 16th century Polish poet and prose writer Mikołaj Rej].

¹²⁶ In 2010 the Ministry of National Education issued *Podstawa programowa dla uczniów polskich uczących się za granicą* [transl. The rudimentary programme for Polish students learning abroad] constituting "a basis for creating local syllabi with respect to the Polish language, history, culture, geography and knowledge on contemporary Poland as well as didactic materials for education in these fields" (*Polska Szkoła* 2010).

¹²⁷ One name from the list contains a typographical error: "szkola" instead of "szkoła" [school]; the entry on the institution's website is not correct.

¹²⁸ The school has two official names: English and Polish ("polska szkoła").

¹²⁹ E. Lipińska (2013: 89) provides instances of names most often met in Australia: "szkoła polonijna" [Polonia school], "szkoła polska" [Polish school], "sobotnia szkoła polska" [Saturday Polish school], "niedzielna szkoła polska" [Sunday Polish school], "sobotnia

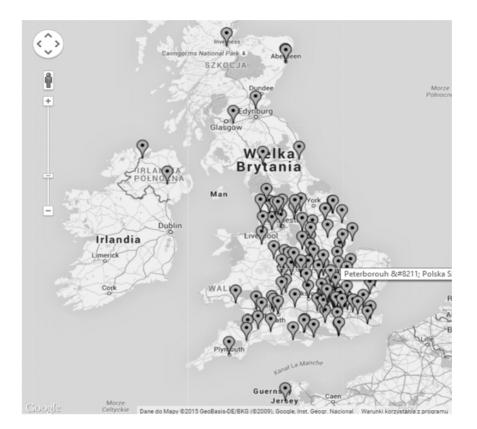


Figure 5. Polish schools in the UK (Polska Macierz Szkolna 2015).

Upon applying the frequency of occurrence criterion, I am personally convinced that it is justified to use "polska szkoła sobotnia" [Polish Saturday school] in reference to any Polonia education setting operating in an exolingual environment of the United Kingdom.

Of the above-mentioned 127 schools, governing bodies of the majority of them $(N = 68)^{130}$ commemorated in their name (i.e. by making a direct reference to the name and surname or just the surname of) patrons belonging to the group of Polish¹³¹

szkółka polska" [Saturday Polish school; "szkółka" is a diminutive of "szkoła"], "niedzielna szkółka polska" [Sunday Polish school], "szkoła etniczna" [ethnic school] with reservation that "Sunday" is eventually replaced with "Friday". As most relevant, she (2013) proposes: "sobotnia szkoła polska" (SSzP) which she translates as "Polish Saturday school". In my opinion, though, a more accurate English equivalent would be: "Saturday Polish school". ¹³⁰ Of 59 remaining schools, some refer to a place name or there is no reference at all.

¹³¹ The author, at the time of writing, is unable to assign Mr Tadeusz Czuchnicki to any of the categories presented.

- a. blessed or saints (28): im./pw. Św. Stanisława Kostki [St Stanisław Kostka] (6), im. św. Józefa [St Joseph], im. Jana Pawła II [John Paul II] (12¹³²), im. św. Bernarda [St Bernard], im. Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej [Black Madonna of Częstochowa], im. Św. Franciszka [St Francis], im. Maksymiliana Marii Kolbe [Maksymilian Maria Kolbe] (2), im. Bł. Franciszki Siedliskiej [blessed Franciszka Siedliska], im. Św. Kazimierza [St Casimir], im. Prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego [Primate Stefan Wyszyński], im. Świętej Rodziny [Holy Family],
- b. poets and writers (17): Jan Brzechwa (3), Adam Mickiewicz (3), Julian Tuwim (3), Wisława Szymborska, Maria Konopnicka (3), Mikołaj Rej, Henryk Sienkiewicz (2), Jan Kochanowski,
- c. people of science and technology (5): Mikołaj Kopernik (3), M. Skłodowska (2),
- d. national activists (5): Gen. Sikorski, Gen. Wł. Anders, T. Arciszewski, Karol Chodkiewicz, Tadeusz Kościuszko,
- e. musicians and composers (4): Fryderyk Chopin (3), Majka Jeżowska,
- f. social and charity activists (2): Irena Sendlerowa, Janusz Korczak,
- g. representatives of royal families (2): Królowej Jadwigi [Jadwiga of Poland], Dąbrówka [Doubravka of Bohemia],
- h. national heroes (1): im. Powstańców Listopadowych [the November Uprising],
- i. actors/ actresses (1): Helena Modrzejewska,

although there are also references

- j. expressed by adjectival attributes (2): słoneczna [sunny], weekendowa [weekend],
- k. related to names of literary heroes (1): Pan Kleks [Mr Inkblot] or ones
- 1. that could be placed under the "other" category (1): Polonia¹³³.

¹³² London Croydon-Crystal Palace – Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych im. Karola Chodkiewicza pod patronatem bł. Jana Pawła II) [London Croydon-Crystal Palace – Karol Chodkiewicz School of native subjects under the patronage of Blessed John Paul II] refers to not just one, but two figures.

¹³³ "Polonia" ("Poland" in Latin) from the onomastic perspective is a name motivated by a place name. "Onomastics" (or "nomenclature") is an interdisciplinary field with a linguistic inclination in the area of interest of which are "onyms" (viz. proper names or *nomina propria*) referring to particular objects (and not their class) such as, for example, names of: persons, animals, plants, towns/ cities or places in spatial topography. An onym is synonymous with a proper name, and the term "onymia" stands for a collection of onyms. By analogy, we speak of: "anthroponym", "thoponym" and "chremathonym", and: "anthroponymia", "thoponymia" (personal names), 2. "thoponyms" (local/ geographical nomenclature) – the first two types of names belong to the category of *nomina propria* and 3. "chremathonyms" (culture-related nomenclature) belonging to the area of interest of such onomastic fields as:

Finally, it should be borne in mind that Polonia education is implemented by *Ośrodek Rozwoju Polskiej Edukacji za Granicą* (ORPEG) [The Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad] alike via: schools at Polish diplomatic missions, public schools, schools of foreign education systems, KEN schools in ORPEG in Warsaw or European schools (*ORPEG* 2015).

Conclusions

To conclude, I must emphasise that Polonia schools are a true value *per se* and their role cannot be overestimated. Also, there are no *differentia specifica* as per the way their day-to-day activities are run.

The results of my analysis, which focus on probing school names, allow for some cautious generalisations, that is they indicate that most appropriate, in an exolingual institutionalised context (on the example of the UK), is to speak of teaching the mother tongue as a second language at any "polska szkoła sobotnia" [Polish Saturday school] – a symbol of ethnicity where the Polish language is cultivated, Polish customs observed and access to Polish culture enabled. One of the school's name is in English, which, personally, I read either as a *signum temporis* indicating evolving towards (smooth) integration or a sign of (new) *air du temps* implemented via (progressive) assimilation¹³⁴.

The role of Polish Saturday schools in spreading the Catholic faith is also of paramount importance. This factor and the fact that the first Polonia schools are opened at parishes are reflected in the results of my second analysis where it turns out that the largest percentage of schools refer, *de facto*, in their names to the Catholic religion associations. Religion seems to be an integrating factor and a value that is building (or helping to build) cultural identity:

[t]he value identified with Polishness has been, for several centuries, the Catholic religion. The Polish prayer, Polish religious song, Polish sermons, church services, customs are considered by the majority of Poles an important component of their Polishness strengthening Polish ritual; however, on emigration they are the last, and longest defended, redoubt of Polish ethnicity (B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa 1991: 17–18 in: E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012: 91).

Last but not least, the above findings stay in line with the results obtained by E. Nowicka's research (1993); subsequently, the following factors that determine what it is that constitutes being a Pole (according to the Polish) are distinguished: a. feeling of being a Pole, b. good-working knowledge of the Polish language and knowledge of the Polish history and culture, c. observance of Polish customs, d. the Catholic faith, e. services for the Polish country and f. being born in Poland.

[&]quot;anthroponomastics", "thoponomastics" and "chremonthomastics", respectively. Other sections of onomastic studies include, for example, "hydro-onomastics" or "media-onomastics" as well as "socio-onomastics", "psycho-onomastics", "cultural onomastics", "literary onomastics" and others (A. Gałkowski 2011).

¹³⁴ On "assimilation", "integration" and "isolation", see, for example: E. Lipińska (2013).

Facilitative Function of English Educational Policy with Regard to Ethnic Minorities: Milton Keynes LEA

Introduction

After outlining the major assumptions of English (and European) educational policy for pupils belonging to various ethnic minorities. I ponder on different ways of supporting newly-arrived students developed by Ethnic Minority Achievement Support Service (EMASS) staff working at Milton Keynes¹³⁵ local education authority in cooperation with most schools located in the area, special educational needs department and other local education authorities.

This chapter is not intended as a comprehensive and exhaustive description of the subject matter. What is more, possible deviations as per some of the issues raised may be the result of a particular school's policy in one aspect or another, in one or more key stages (KS), i.e.: KS1 (5-7 years), KS2 (7-11 years), KS3 (11-14 years), KS4 (14-16 years) and KS5 (16-19 years)¹³⁶.

Major Assumptions of *Education and Inspections Act* (vs Assumptions of **European Policies**)

The system of education in England and Wales is regulated by Education and Inspections Act of 8th November 2006 (Education and Inspections Act 2006: 1). It replaces the then *Education Act* of 2002^{137} , and it is

[a]n Act to make provision about primary, secondary and further education and about training; to make provision about food or drink provided on school premises or in connection with the provision of education or childcare; to provide for the establishment of an Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills and the appointment of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education, Children's Services and

¹³⁵ Ethnic minorities constitute 14.5% of school population in Milton Keynes, of which 8.5% are students for whom English is an additional language (EAL)) (Guidance on the assessment of EAL pupils who may have special educational needs 2004). According to England and Wales Census of 2011, Ealing is the most densely populated area by persons of Polish origin - i.e. 13.18% (London: Census Profile 2015). Nett migration has tripled in Europe from 1960 (The study on educational support to newly arrived migrant children 2013 following: Migrants in Europe. A Statistical portrait of the first and second generation 2011).

¹³⁶ Cf.: M. Łączek (2006).

¹³⁷ The same system of education of all the countries belonging to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland applies only to England and Wales, which stems from the introduction of the same curriculum for primary and secondary schools in 1998: the National Curriculum. The scope of the author's interest in this publication is, specifically, the area of England – for differences between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the British Isles refer, for example, to J. O'Driscoll (1995).

Skills and make provision about the functions of that Office and that Chief Inspector; to provide for the amendment of references to local education authorities and children's services authorities; to amend section 29 of the Leasehold Reform Act 1967 in relation to university bodies; and for connected purposes.

The legally binding Act consists of ten parts: 1. Education functions of local authorities, 2. Establishment, discontinuance or alteration of schools, 3. Further provisions about maintained schools, 4. Schools causing concern: England, 5. Curriculum and entitlements, 6. School travel and school food, 7. Discipline, behaviour and exclusion, 8. Inspections, 9. Miscellaneous, 10. General and eighteen annexes: a. Amendments related to section 6, b. Proposals for establishment or discontinuance of schools in England, c. Amendments relating to school organisation, d. Disposals and changes of use of land, e. Funding of maintained schools, f. Governing bodies consisting of interim executive members, g. Amendments relating to schools causing concern, h. Travel to schools etc.; meaning of "eligible child", i. School travel schemes, j. Further amendments relating to travel to schools etc., k. The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, I. The Chief Inspector and other inspectors etc., m. Interaction with other authorities, n. Minor and consequential amendments relating to part 8, o. Transitional provisions and savings relating to part 8, p. Powers to facilitate innovation, q. Miscellaneous amendments relating to Wales, r. Repeals.

There is no reference in the *Act* as per education of ethnic minority students *sensu stricto. Sensu largo*, though, there is a regulation concerning the necessity of promotion of community cohesion in part 3: "Further provisions about maintained schools" in article 33 in section 1,6 and in article 38 in section 1,5 (b) and in part 8: "Inspections" in chapter 7 "Miscellaneous and supplementary" in article 154 "Duty to report on contribution of certain schools to community cohesion". This is imposed on school governing bodies as of 1st September 2007¹³⁸. Besides, in part 9: "Miscellaneous" of the *Act* in question, articles 173 and 174 are devoted to: "Special educational needs co-ordinators" and "Time limits relating to statements of special educational needs", respectively. Obligation to propagate social cohesion is already emphasised in the following report issued in 2001 by the European Commission: *The concrete future objectives of education systems*: "[t]hey [member states] also stress the role which the education systems must play in developing social cohesion, and in attracting people with difficulties or from minorities into learning so that they can be enabled to play their full part in society" (2001: 4).

In the context of the above-mentioned European policy¹³⁹, there exists a report that deserves broader attention, namely: *Study on educational support for newly*

¹³⁸ Schools are legally obliged to actively promote racial equality in accordance with *Race Relations (Amendment) Act* of 2000. In response to R. MacPherson's report, a new school subject is introduced to all public schools in England and Wales in 2002: Citizenship Education (CE).

¹³⁹ Since the beginning of the 1970s and in the context of works devoted to migration-related issues in Western Europe (and those relating to minority languages in particular), two

arrived migrant children. Final report (2013), the aim of which is twofold -1, to analyse policy and provide guidance on support for newly-arrived migrant students (NAMS) in the education process and 2. to provide examples of good practice in support of newly-arrived migrant children in the education process. As pointed out by its authors, especially those practices that are evaluated and are, therefore, likely to be propagated further. The report (2013) consists of six chapters: 1. Research context (with subchapters being: a. Newly arrived migrants as a distinctive category in education studies, b. Factors affecting the integration of NAMS into formal education, c. Educational support for newly arrived migrant children), 2. Methodology (a. Framework for analysis, b. Scope of the study, c. Research design). 3. Educational support for newly arrived migrant students in europe (sic!)¹⁴⁰: comparative analysis (a. Targeting of NAMS in education, b. Education system design characteristics), 4. Educational support models, 5. Performance of educational support models (a. Reaching objectives of better NAMS inclusion, b. Other factors explaining country differences in integration of NAMS), 6. Towards an effective comprehensive and inclusive model (a. Framework conditions - education system characteristics, b. Thematic support policies¹⁴¹, c. Monitoring and policy implementation).

The authors of *Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children*. *Final report* (2013) develop three main recommendations that policy makers should take into consideration when designing, through education, an integration policy for newly-arrived migrant children: 1. integrated approach in the inclusion process, 2. identification of newly-arrived migrant children as a specific target group in education is not a prerequisite for having a good and inclusive integration policy, 3. discretion and supervision should be provided for implementation of policies at the national level to be successful. At present, unfortunately, there are differences in realisation of national priorities at the regional and local level although most European countries recognise importance of integrating newly-arrived children of migrants in the education system at the European level (some countries have a long history of immigration, while others experience an unprecedented, in this respect, growth in the last decade only)¹⁴². As a consequence, the following typology of educational support systems for newly-arrived migrant children is identified in the report (Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children. Final report 2013: 7–8):

conventions and a few recommendations are subsequently adopted – see e.g. *The framework convention for the protection of national minorities, The European charter for regional or minority languages, Recommendation no. R (98)6 of the Committee of Ministers*; in the last decade they are enriched by sections concerning national minorities.

¹⁴⁰ Europe.

¹⁴¹ The topics analysed are: linguistic support, academic support, parental and community involvement, intercultural education.

¹⁴² In the academic year 2009/2010 the proportion of pupils in Austrian schools with the first language other than German is 17.6% (*Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children* 2013).

• comprehensive support model (e.g. Denmark, Sweden) –

[c]omprehensiveness of the support implies that all four types of support are well developed and education systems are in other ways inclusive. Countries representing this model provide continuous support to development of linguistic skills, teaching support and assistance in transferring students to higher levels of education. Decentralised education and high school autonomy goes together with strong focus on outreach to parents and local community. Intercultural learning is mainstreamed into education. Countries pay a lot of attention to creating a positive school environment through trained teaching staff and various intercultural initiatives;

non-systematic support model (e.g. Italy, Cyprus, Greece) –

[t]he model is characterised by randomness of the support provided. Countries that are attributed to this group have no clearly articulated policy on the national level to support the integration of newly arrived migrant children or such policy exists, but is not effectively resourced and implemented. The support provided at regional, local and/or school level is highly fragmented as teachers, parents and local communities are largely left to their own devices;

compensatory support model (e.g. Belgium, Austria) –

[t]he model includes all types of support policies with only academic support being a rather weak aspect that is further undermined by early ability tracking and streaming systems. Countries provide ongoing teaching of the host language as a second language and the mother tongue to the largest groups of migrants (e.g. Austria in regular schools). Parents of NAMS are encouraged to cooperate with schools through the provision of resource persons and interpretation services. The support provided is essentially compensatory – aiming to correct the 'differences' between immigrant and native students, rather than tackling the initial disadvantage;

integration model (e.g. Ireland) –

[l]inguistic support is not a central focus of this model as it stops after several introductory years and no mother tongue teaching or teaching English as a second language is offered continuously throughout the schooling process. The systems for welcoming NAMS, arrangements for assessment of prior schooling and support programs for underachieving students are well developed. Particular strengths of this model are well developed outreach and cooperation and intercultural education policies. Liaison between school, parents and local community is systematic, while intercultural learning is well integrated into the curricula and promoted in school daily life;

centralised entry support model (e.g. France, Luxemburg) –

[t]he focus of the model is on the centralised reception of migrant children and the provision of academic support as the main driver of educational inclusion. Both countries provide a centralised reception desk, assessment of prior schooling and welcoming arrangements for NAMS. Targeted support programmes for underachieving students are well developed. Linguistic support and outreach to migrant parents/communities are also rather well developed.

Recommendable is also A. F. Atger's report (2009): *Education and political* participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the EU whose aim is to show a

general outline concerning evolving of the ways of combining participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in education and politics with support of the European Union policy. *The Council Directive* 77/486/*EEC on the education of children of migrant workers* of 1977 is the first legally binding instrument in which this kind of connection appears at all; as the author (2009) notes, however, its implementation, thirty years later – according to the European Commission – it is still not satisfactory¹⁴³.

For broader comparison - viz. on Polish grounds, I would yet like to mention two documents: 1. prepared by a team of experts and published in 2010 by the Polish Ministry of National Education Podstawa programowa dla uczniów polskich uczących się za granicą [transl. The rudimentary programme for Polish students learning abroad] and 2. supported by the European Commission Socrates research programme of 2007 – Actions 6.1.2 and 6.2. "Wielojezyczność a wykorzystanie różnorodności kontekstów europejskich w nauczaniu szkolnym. Wyniki badań w dzielnicy Grunwald w Poznaniu oraz w powiecie słubickim na tle innych okręgów europeiskich" [transl. Multilingualism and the application of European diversity contexts in school education. Research results in the district of Grunwald in Poznań and in Słubice county versus other European districts]. The above-quoted programme is coordinated by Unité d'analyse des systèmes et des pratiques d'enseignement (Université de Liège, Belgium) with its partners being: Σχολή Ανθρωπιστικών Σπουδών [Ecole des Sciences Humaines] (Ελληνικό Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο [Hellenic Open University], Greece), Educational Measurement and Applied Cognitive Science (Université du Luxembourg, Luxemburg), Abt. Didaktik der romanischen Sprachen (Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Germany) and Institute of Romance Philology (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland). Part 3 of the index document: "Ogólny opis polskiego kontekstu badania" [transl. General description of Polish research context], and more specifically chapter 3: "Charakterystyka ekonomicznodemograficzna" [transl. Economic and demographic characteristics], contains a subchapter (3.3): "Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce" [transl. National and ethnic minorities in Poland] devoted to education of children and youth belonging to national minorities or ethnic groups. Finally, monographs of E. Lipińska (2013) and R. Laskowski (2009, 2014) also deserve attention; the first deals with bilingualism, education and adaptation problems of Polonia in Australia, the second – acquisition of Polish in the context of Polish-Swedish bilingualism.

It is not a revealing constative that any given act becomes legally binding law generally applicable in a given country; equally important for the purpose of the ongoing analysis are assumptions of local educational policies, too – implemented through appropriate documentation, including intraschool documentation. In the further part of this paper, attention is turned to *Guidance on the assessment of EAL pupils who may have special educational needs* (2004) developed by Milton Keynes local education authority although it is worth noting here the existence of yet another document called *The national literacy strategy* (1999, with further amendments) and

¹⁴³ Equally interesting and useful information is available on *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*: http://fra.europa.eu/en/tags/minorities.

especially (compatible and complementary) sections such as, for instance: "Supporting pupils learning English as an additional language" or "Learning and teaching for bilingual children", both in conformity with *Children Act* (1989).

Ethnic Minorities in the lens of Local English Educational Policy: Milton Keynes Local Education Authority

Children and teenagers who are members of ethnic minorities remain until their completion of English schools¹⁴⁴ under supervision of school-based units called special educational needs departments or English as an additional language departments (depending on the internal structure of a given school, the latter are often subject to coordinators of the first). It should be borne in mind that pupils (at least in theory because as per practice – this may differ, which the author of this publication experiences indeed throughout his 5-year stay and work as a teacher¹⁴⁵ in English educational institutions) for whom English is not their mother tongue should not be seen as pupils with special educational needs unless they experience other difficulties such as, for instance: dyslexia, dysgraphia, dysorthography, hearing loss, visual impairment or emotional disturbance. *Guidance on the assessment of EAL pupils who may have special educational needs* (2004)¹⁴⁶ consists of 12 parts:

- Introduction, in which, among other things, following Special educational needs code of practice (2001), it is emphasised that the term "special educational needs" implies in this context solely "special linguistic needs" of students who use English as their second language because "[a] pupil is not to be taken as having a learning difficulty solely because the language (or form of language) in which he is, or will be, taught is different from a language (or form of language) which has at any time been spoken in his home" (2004: 4)¹⁴⁷. What is more, as the authors of Guidance on the assessment of pupils with English as an additional language who may have special educational needs (2004) state, the document in question focuses on cognitive needs of students using English as their additional language rather than physical or sensory.
- 2. Histories of bilingualism and their impact on educational achievement, in which the authors, among other things, following works of T. Skuttnab-Kangas (1984) and T. Cline (2001) refer to the typology of bilingualism

¹⁴⁴ The compulsory school age is 16.

¹⁴⁵ I attain qualified teacher status (QTS) for England and Wales in 2006 (TRN: 0631731).

¹⁴⁶ This document (2004) is in force in the vast majority of schools (also from other counties) in which the author of this article works. Hounslow Language Service Ltd of 32 boroughs of Greater London is also very popular (http://www.ealhls.org.uk/).

¹⁴⁷ Of particular interest are the results of a five-year study conducted by Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS), according to which ethnic minority representatives are more likely to continue tertiary education compared to white middle-class Britons (*Ethnic minorities 'more likely to go to university' than white working-class British children* 2015).

(together with its characteristics) and distinguish between: a. elite bilingualism, b. majority bilingualism, c. family bilingualism and d. minority bilingualism¹⁴⁸.

- 3. Challenges faced by minority bilingual pupils in schools¹⁴⁹ where, among other things, it is stressed that within the period of two years students develop basic "survival" language, thanks to which they are able to function at the playground or any social environment, and the full mastery of reading and writing skills (so that they can successfully operate in terms of their school curriculum) takes from five up to seven years.
- 4. Social and educational needs of EAL learners, in which its authors quote, among other things, a couple of strategies from which students learning English as an additional language can make use of.
- 5. The legal position where, among other things, there is a direct reference to *The SEN code of practice* (2001), and in particular one of its fragments which confirms that "[l]ack of competence in English should not be equated with learning difficulties, but when pupils who have EAL make slow progress it should not be assumed that their language status is the only reason they may be having learning difficulties".
- 6. Identification and assessment, in which the authors enumerate particular challenges that students learning English as an additional language have to face, that is: a. lexis, b. syntactic knowledge, c. culture-based references, d. inference and e. idioms.

This part also consists of a number of further subsections which are devoted to issues such as: a. Triggers for cause for concern, b. Language or learning need, c. Collection of background information, d. Language acquisition level (Milton Keynes LEA adopts a system of assessment of English acquisition known as Northern Association of Support Services for Equality and Achievement (NASSEA) based on which students are marked in the area of the following four skills: listening and comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, e. First language assessment, f. Teaching strategies employed in school, g. Formative and summative assessment, h. Standardised assessments.

- 7. Cause for concern where one makes a distinction between different grounds of situations that can contribute to concern.
- 8. Individual education plans devoted to such sections: a. A co-ordinated response to SEN provision and b. Guidance for supporting EAL pupils on the SEN register¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ In my considerations I follow such linguists as, among others: T. K. Bhatia/ W. C. Ritchie 2004, E. Bialystok 2001, L. Bloomfield 1933, S. Döpke 1992, F. Grosjean 1982, F. Grucza 1981, S. Grucza 2013, I. Kurcz 2007, A. Lam 2006, E. Lipińska 2013, E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012, E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 2007 or M. Olpińska-Szkiełko 2013a, 2013b.

¹⁴⁹ In the "List of contents", the title of this part is: "Challenges faced by minority ethnic pupils in schools".

¹⁵⁰ In the "List of contents", the title of this part is: "Guidance for supporting bilingual pupils on the SEN register".

- 9. Ways forward.
- 10. Appendices consisting of 9 annexes; a. Background information. Addendum to the school admission form for minority ethnic pupils; it contains within itself sections such as: family information, pupil's use of language, previous schooling, support for learning, dietary and health issues, support for parents and carers, b. Class teacher consultation of language or learning need, c. Pupil consultation of language or learning need, d. Needs observation, e. Parent consultation of language or learning need, f. NASSEA EAL assessment system - each of its four skills (listening and comprehension, speaking, reading and writing) is marked on a seven-grade scale: step 1 (S1), step 2 (S2), threshold (S3), secure (S4), consolidating (S5), competent (S6), independent (S7), g. A comparison between NASSEA steps and National Curriculum levels – which is, basically, a comparison of four key stages, that is: KS1, KS2, KS3 and KS4 (hence, primary versus high school level), h. Example of first language assessment (key stage 1), in which the following sections are distinguished: narrative. sequencing, relating personal experience. comprehension, following verbal instructions, memory, comments by the assessor, i. Strategies for supporting pupils with English as an additional language.
- 11. Sources of information.
- 12. Acknowledgements.

The "individual education plan" mentioned in point 8 is the last step in the process of identifying difficulties in teaching/ learning (by) the student who belongs to a given ethnic minority – a distinction is made between his or her language-based difficulties, and any other difficulties. In the case of the first, an "individual language plan" (ILP) is drawn up, most often a table divided into 9 parts: 1. general information: name, stage of English, year/ class, area(s) of concern, class teacher, start date, review date, supported by, proposed support, support began, 2. targets to be achieved, e.g. to understand different texts 3. achievement criteria, e.g. can answer questions about the text, 4. possible resources/ techniques, e.g. use of pictures and diagrams to support text comprehension, use of bilingual dictionary, 5. possible class strategies, such as identifying keywords and main content of the text, filling in the gaps, 6. ideas for support assistant, e.g. identifying the main content of the text, asking questions, 7. outcome, 8. parent/ carer contribution, 9. student's contribution¹⁵¹.

Conclusions

Children and adolescents growing up in heterogenic linguistic and cultural contexts (here: Polish students attending English high schools) face numerous expectations concerning their linguistic and cultural development compared to monolingual children and teenagers reared in the context of the home country only (here: in Poland). These different expectations (and educational experiences) can lead to

¹⁵¹ The ILP referred to is an internal document of Barnfield South Academy in Luton.

different developmental outcomes in relation to their ability to regulate emotions or social interactions, and they can influence their present (and further) education (including their linguistic, social or emotional) development, too. Early school years are the time of shaping reasoning abilities or new levels of mutual competition (M. Jankowska 2015), and newly-arrived pupils who represent various ethnic minorities are undoubtedly a great challenge for the local community as well as an extremely stimulating factor, creating – *de iure* and *de facto* – opportunities to learn different languages, cultures and religions, bringing along a sense of freshness.

In order to understand the concept of linguistic development and linguistic competence, one needs to remember that before J. Piaget's (1926) theory of the development of thinking and talking, it is commonly believed that children's development does not, in actual fact, take place, and it is only after children start to talk that they develop. The representative of the latter standpoint is, for instance, L. Vygotsky (1989) – and not to undermine the role of N. Chomsky's (1986) writings regarding creative character of children's language which is considerable indeed.

The main goal of the present text is to diagnose the condition of English educational policy (based on Milton Keynes local education authority) and the ability and scope of applying it with regard to students who belong to different ethnic minorities, and who are at different proficiency levels in English as their second/ additional language. In light of the above analyses, it seems that further studies devoted to the process of education of ethnic minorities are necessary – the author of this publication is currently conducting pilot studies, the results of which are to provide us with the following kind of knowledge:

- 1. if and to what degree the application of the mother tongue/ inherited language (based on Polish) results in higher achievements of students' development of their linguistic competence in their second/ additional language (based on English),
- 2. if and to what degree factors such as e.g. teaching and learning environment or social factors (e.g. parents' education, parents' profession, parents' nationality and period of residing in the UK) determine students' development of verbal creativity in the mother tongue/ inherited language (here: Polish) and second/ additional language (here: English).

The above will result in these publications: "Efektywność języka ojczystego w rozwijaniu kompetencji językowej w zakresie angielskiego jako języka drugiego na przykładzie polskich uczniów w angielskich placówkach oświatowych" [transl. The effectiveness of the mother tongue in the development of linguistic competence in English as a second language on the example of Polish EAL learners in English educational settings] and "Czynniki społeczne determinujące rozwój kreatywności werbalnej na przykładzie polskiej mniejszości etnicznej w Zjednoczonym Królestwie" [transl. Social factors determining the development of verbal creativity based on Polish ethnic minority in the United Kingdom], respectively. As a matter of fact, we shall then see the extent to which the facilitative function of English educational policy in the field of educating pupils who belong to ethnic minorities is developed in practice.

To conclude, let me refer to research results presented in *Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children. Final report* (2013) which show that not all newly-arrived migrant children have equal access to high quality education in Europe, which is one of the main challenges that they and their parents face following arrival to the host country. What is more, newly-arrived children of migrants and immigrants¹⁵² do not participate to the very same degree in the education process in Europe as their peers. These factors, in turn, make migrant children often unable to cope with school duties so well as their native peers do and, as a result, make them more vulnerable, and they leave school earlier. The latter, because of legal conditioning, does not pose a serious threat in the case of English schools.

¹⁵² E. Lipińska (2013: 7 following P. Boski 2009: 109) uses the term "(e/ im)migration" which is a combination of two different perspectives, i.e.: emigration and immigration of the same, but superior, phenomenon of migration.

The British Polish – the Polish British. Achievements of the Younger Generation of Emigrants in their Mother Tongue: General Certificate of Secondary Education (Polish)

Introduction

The aim of this unit is to diagnose achievements of the younger generation of emigrants in the mother tongue based on an analysis of General Certificate of Secondary Education (Polish). In light of the research conducted, it seems that it is necessary to undertake long-term studies devoted to the development of the inherited language by Polish children and teenagers in an exolingual environment (here: on the example of England) as this phenomenon (though to a lesser degree) still remains a peculiar *terra incognita*.

After addressing some differences existing between bilingual education and Polish studies glottodidactics, I subsequently juxtapose additive bilingualism (i.e. language immersion) with subtractive bilingualism (i.e. language submersion). In the further course of the present text, its focus shifts towards English system of education, with particular reference to examinations sat by key stage 4 (KS 4) students. The GCSE Polish exam analysed, which involves seven KS 4 (i.e. year 10 and year 11)¹⁵³ students (N = 7), takes place in May 2008 at Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA) examination centre No 15249¹⁵⁴. Finally, I also quote the results of mock GCSE Polish exam conducted in March of the same year.

Glottodidactics versus Bilingual Education

Glottodidactics, according to F. Grucza (2013a: 221–228), is a field that concentrates its research interests on, first and foremost, scientific comprehension of the processes that operate in the glottodidactic system during the process of language learning. S. Grucza (2013b: 6), following the above definition, notes that it focuses on foreign language teaching, foreign language learning and foreign language teachers' education. It is worth adding that according to yet another distinguished Polish scholar, namely W. T. Miodunka (2009: 77–78) "the term glottodidactics works with one limitation: it refers to teaching foreign languages, and not to teaching languages in general (including the mother tongue, as it is originally suggested by Prof F. Grucza)", and it is linguodidactics that deals with the school acquisition process, the development and improvement of linguistic and communicative competence in the mother tongue/ first language (J. Nocoń 2012).

In my considerations aimed at selecting a definition of bilingualism that would stay closest to my personal beliefs, I follow the views of such linguists as, among others: T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (2004), E. Bialystok (2001), L. Bloomfield

¹⁵³ More information on English system of education is in subchapter 2.

¹⁵⁴ That is the then author's workplace.

(1933), S. Döpke (1992), F. Grosjean (1982), F. Grucza (1981), S. Grucza (2013), I. Kurcz (2007), A. Lam (2006), E. Lipińska (2013), E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012), E. Peal and W. E. Lambert (2007) or M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013a, 2013b); the one developed by E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012), in my opinion, reflects its character the most.

Equally important in bilingual education is the notion of "immersion" (or "additive bilingualism") which simply denotes immersion in a new language for the child, i.e. his/ her second language¹⁵⁵. Immersion-oriented education is implemented through specially developed programmes based on which monolingual children are taught, and the language of instruction of which, in all school subjects, is their second language. Teachers, on the other hand, are native speakers of the (second) language who also possess certain knowledge of their students' mother tongue and cultural background (M. Swain 1978). It should be noted that in the case of immersion, the second language does not pose any threat to the first language, be it in terms of its social prestige or scope of use. Moreover, the subject literature distinguishes between "total immersion" constituting full immersion in the second language which in the case of minority groups learning the dominant language can lead to the risk of submersion, and "partial immersion" where the proportion of use of the native language and the second language in all communicative situations amounts to 50%¹⁵⁶.

"Submersion", also termed "subtractive bilingualism", denotes, in turn, absorbing one's mother tongue by his/ her second language. One speaks of submersion when the child representing an ethnic minority using a low social prestige native language learns school subjects together with his/ her native peers. In consequence, this leads to loss of the mother tongue, i.e. lack of full linguistic competence. It may also happen that the child does not achieve full linguistic competence in the second language either. For the above-mentioned reasons, many psychologists in the past century believe that bilingualism is detrimental to the child's cognitive and intellectual

¹⁵⁵ Works on the subject begin in the early 1960s and are initiated by Canadian scholars: a neuropsychologist – W. Penfield and a social psychologist – W. Lambert, who linguistically test English-speaking children living in Montreal (it is worth pointing to the fact that at that time, it is French which is much less prestigious). The initial results of the children tested in both languages are rather poor compared to the results achieved by their monolingual peers, and only later (at the age of 11) the children begin to achieve comparable results – in several tests in English, they are even better than their English-speaking colleagues (E. Peal/ W. E. Lambert 1962).

¹⁵⁶ One may also distinguish between "early total immersion" constituting full immersion in the second language, which in the case of minority groups learning the dominant language can lead to the risk of submersion, and "early partial immersion" where the proportion of use of the native language and the second language in all communicative situations amounts to 50%. Methodological bases developed in studies on linguistic immersion result in the "content and language integrated learning" (CLIL) approach proposed by D. Marsh (1994) (*quod vide* D. Marsh / A. Maljers / A. K. Hartiala (2001), *Profiling European CLIL Classrooms. Languages Open Doors*, Jyväskylä) or "content-based instruction" (CBI) propagated by D. M. Brinton, M. A. Snow and M. B. Wesche (1989).

development. The opposite of bilingual education model based on submersion is the heritage language programme which assumes that the non-dominant language is not used as a means of instruction, but is still valued as a target language or the language exposure time model in which the user's native language is valued as a target language and also used as a means of instruction in teaching certain school subjects (A. Lam 2006).

An extremely reliable but, at the same time, synthetic review of terminology employed in Polish studies glottodidactics¹⁵⁷ with simultaneous explanation of context-dependent (i.e. endolingual or exolingual environment) terminological nuances is drawn up by E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 19–31). The authors (2012) analyse terms such as: "the mother tongue", "the first language", "the native language", "the primary language", "the ethnic language", "the national language", "the inherited language", "the output language", "the target language", "the foreign language" or "the second language". Moreover, they also point to the fact that the dichotomy: the mother tongue (as a second language) versus foreign language didactics breaks down, while "peculiarity of the heritage language causes its teaching to be a special case where aims of teaching language either as *foreign* or *native*. usually perceived as divergent, permeate and overlap" (E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny 2012: 89). Indeed, according to the authors of *Między językiem ojczystym a obcym*. Nauczanie i uczenie się języka odziedziczonego na przykładzie chicagowskiej diaspory polonijnej [transl. Between the mother tongue and foreign language. Teaching and learning the inherited language based on the Polonia diaspora from Chicago]: "if the second language is an educational language, it then becomes the first functional language" (2012: 26)¹⁵⁸.

Hence, in the case of Polish children and teenagers who attend English educational settings, English is their first functional language, Polish is their mother tongue as a second language¹⁵⁹, and French or Spanish – foreign languages. It should be emphasised that E. Lipińska/ A. Seretny (2012) treat, in the Polish language context, "the mother tongue" (*język macierzysty*) as superior to "the native language" (*język ojczysty*) (in the sense: of one's own), which stands in opposition to "the other", "not

¹⁵⁷ E. Gębal (2008: 86), delving into reflections initiated by W. T. Miodunka (2006) in "Metodyka, dydaktyka i pedagogika a nauczanie języka polskiego jako obcego" [transl. Methodology, didactics and pedagogy versus teaching Polish as a foreign language", introduced in E. Lipińska and A. Seretny's volume (2006) *Z zagadnień dydaktyki języka polskiego jako obcego* [transl. From the issues of Polish as a foreign language didactics] points to "an increasingly visible movement of interdisciplinary Polish studies glottodidactics towards pedagogy".

¹⁵⁸ J. Cieszyńska (2006: 53) contributes to the above-mentioned constative by describing the process of displacing the Polish language by the language of the country of settlement (on the example of Polish children in the United States) "gradual emergence of L2 as the first functional language".

 $^{^{159}}$ The concept "the native language as a second language" is first used by E. Czykwin and D. Misiejuk (in: E. Lipińska – A. Seretny 2012: 27) in the context of teaching Ukrainian to Ukrainian children in Poland.

one's own". M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b: 77 following N. Denison 1984: 1) draws attention to the fact that some linguists use "the mother tongue/ the native language"¹⁶⁰ in a rather unfortunate manner – *videlicet* as synonyms of "the first language", "the dominant language" or "the stronger language". She also recalls the standpoint of T. T. Skutnabb-Kangas (1987: 15) who identifies "the mother tongue" with a given language, culture and community or other opinions identifying the concept in question with the language of the child's mother, and "the first language" – with the language acquired first in the child's life. As M. Olpińska-Szkiełko indicates further (2013b: 77): "[i]t does not have to be automatically the language of his mother. This may be, for example, the language of the child develops, eventually becomes his dominant language."

Children and adolescents growing up in heterogenic linguistic and cultural contexts (here: Polish students attending English high schools) face various expectations concerning their linguistic and cultural development¹⁶¹. As indicated by M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b), early contact with any language other than the mother tongue may have (providing that certain conditions are met) a very positive effect on the linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development of the child¹⁶². Equally important here is also the fact that, according to the author (2013b: 20), the child's linguistic development is identical with the development of the child in general, and as per language - it is a solely human property (here: of a particular child) that cannot be considered apart¹⁶³. Newly-arrived pupils who represent various ethnic minorities are undoubtedly a great challenge for the local community as well as an extremely stimulating factor creating - de iure and de facto - opportunities to learn different languages, cultures and religions, bringing along a sense of freshness¹⁶⁴. Children and teenagers who are members of ethnic minorities until the completion of English schools remain under the care of school-based special educational needs departments or English as an additional language departments (depending on the internal structure of the school: the first are often subject to coordinators of the latter). It should be borne in mind that students (at least in theory because as for practice – and that is my

¹⁶⁰ Used interchangeably – the Polish context may vary.

¹⁶¹ Compared to monolingual children and teenagers reared in the home country only (here: in Poland).

¹⁶² In her work devoted to the linguistic, cognitive, emotional and social development of children, M. Olpińska-Szkiełko (2013b) presents the most vital results of scientific research on speech acquisition, bilingualism and bilingual education (taking into account historical features of these studies and paying simultaneous attention to Polish achievements in the field). ¹⁶³ The above is proved by F. Grucza (2013a, 2013b) in his works on the anthropocentric theory. The anthropocentric theory, S. Grucza (2013a: 106) writes, posits that there indeed exist only real languages (idolects) of real people.

¹⁶⁴ Schools are legally obliged to actively promote racial equality in accordance with *Race Relations (Amendment) Act* of 2000. In response to R. MacPherson's Report, a new school subject: Citizenship Education (CE) is introduced in all state schools in England and Wales in 2002.

experience gathered from my nearly 5-year work as a teacher in English educational settings – it may somewhat be different) whose learning problems arise as a result of their country of origin (i.e. English is not their mother tongue) should not be seen as pupils with special educational needs unless they experience other difficulties such as, for instance: dyslexia, dysgraphia, dysorthography, hearing loss, visual impairment or emotional disturbance.

Polish ethnic minority students can gain knowledge of the language and culture of the country of their origin in several ways. Polonia education in the exolingual context of the United Kingdom, in its institutional dimension, is mainly realised by Polish Saturday schools (N = 127) supported for circa 60 years by the charity organisation called Polska Macierz Szkolna. Polish education is also implemented through The Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad (Ośrodek Rozwoju Polskiej Edukacji za Granica, ORPEG) (that is: schools at Polish embassies, social schools, schools of foreign education systems, ORPEG schools in Warsaw or European schools)¹⁶⁵. The specificity of teaching and learning at schools abroad is in many aspects different from the specificity of teaching and learning at schools located in the homeland, E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012: 85–86) among the most important differences include: lesser number of hours, factors supporting linguistic development function in a different manner, i.e. home and environment (so called primary and secondary socialisation environment, respectively), varied preparation of teachers for carrying out their profession, discrepancies in pupils' level of the Polish language or pupils' different linguistic competences.

An important role in language learning is also played by one's attitude (with respect to language(s)) or linguistic preference, which is demonstrated in a study by A. Rabiej (2008) addressed to younger students, i.e. pupils aged 8–12 at American Polonia schools. Of 398 children taking part in this survey: 166 are from England, 68 from Australia and 164 from the United States; altogether, a total of over 1,000 respondents (pupils, parents, teachers and headteachers) from six schools in England, four schools in Australia and two schools in the United States participate in this diagnostic survey. In general, they recognise the value of knowing two languages, including the ethnic one. In A. Rabiej's words (2008: 481): "[t]he results obtained from the survey are limited because of the quantitative nature of the survey, the size of the sample and the fact that the situation of Polonia education is very different. Notwithstanding those facts, they may still be indicators of certain trends in Polish-speaking schools abroad."

E. Lipińska and A. Seretny (2012), to give a different example, discuss the results of the questionnaires conducted in 2010 among older students (Years from 9 to 11) from several schools in the Chicago area. The surveys in question focus on sociological, psychological and linguistic issues – those analysed by the authors in their monograph concentrate, however, on: a. ethnic identification, b. level of knowledge of Polish and English (self-assessment), c. attitude to English and Polish,

¹⁶⁵ Heritage language lessons for migrant workers in the European Union are included in the *Council's Directive* 77/486/EEC of 25th July 1977 (on the training of migrant workers).

d. language of communication with parents and siblings, e. attitude towards Polish school, f. future plans.

There exists another study by E. Lipińska (2013) whose aim is to check the level of mastering a new language (here: English) and the mother tongue (here: Polish) by an eleven-year-old boy after three years of his stay in Australia (his first language and second language are compared). This research is based on performance-like tests strongly related to the school/ course curriculum, and measures the level of mastery of the material discussed; the content of the said tests is, therefore, consistent with the content of the curriculum¹⁶⁶.

And last but by no means least, of interest may also be the results of a five-year study conducted by Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) according to which ethnic minority representatives are more likely to continue tertiary education than white middle-class British people (*Ethnic minorities 'more likely to go to university' than white working-class British children* 2015). On the other hand, some conclusions from *Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children*. *Final report* (2013) can be recalled which show that not all newly-arrived migrant children have equal access to high quality education in Europe, which is one of the most important challenges that they and their parents need to respond to following arrival to the host country. What is more, newly-arrived children of migrants and immigrants¹⁶⁷ do not participate, to the very same degree, in the education process in Europe as their peers. These factors, in turn, cause that migrant children are often unable to cope with school duties so well as their peers and, as a result, are more vulnerable to leave school earlier. The latter, because of legal conditioning, does not pose a serious threat in the case of English schools.

General Certificate of Secondary Education (Polish). Achievements of the Younger Generation of Emigrants in their Mother Tongue

The same system of education in the countries belonging to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland applies only to England and Wales, which results from the introduction of the same curriculum in primary and secondary schools in 1998. This system is governed by *Education and Inspections Act* of 8th November 2006 – the aforementioned law replaces the then *Education Act* of 2002. The area of my interest in this publication is only the area of England, and the penultimate of the

¹⁶⁶ There is a study devoted to the language of adult Polish people, that is, so called, Polonia dialect (E. Sękowska 2010) in which not only the Polish language elements occurrence and/ or its territorial and social varieties are distinguished, but also elements of the language of the country of settlement (in this case the United Kingdom). Large scale research on the specificity of the language of Polish-English bilingual children is conducted by, for instance, E. Haman et al. (2017), M. Marecka et al. (2015).

¹⁶⁷ E. Lipińska (2013: 7 following P. Boski 2009: 109) uses the term "(e/ im)migration" which is a combination of two different perspectives, i.e.: emigration and immigration of the same, but superior, phenomenon of migration.

five key stages: KS1 (from 5 to 7 years), KS2 (from 7 to 11 years), KS3 (from 11 to 14 years), KS4 (from 14 to 16 years) and KS5 (from 16 to 19 years).

It is important to know that after the pre-school period, five-year-olds take their first steps to primary schools where they remain until the age of eleven. The next stage in their educational career is studying at the secondary school/ academy¹⁶⁸ which ends at the age of 16¹⁶⁹ with a GCSE or NVQ examination; the latter applies to vocational school students only. Future university students (from the age of 18), before choosing the most suitable higher educational setting for them, at the age of 17 and 18 continue to study for their GCE Advanced Level/ A-Levels, GNVQs or edexcel (formerly BTEC) examination; as per institutions belonging to the last-mentioned form of education, these include colleges and adult education institutions (*Education system in the UK* 2012).

The most frequently chosen examination board is AQA – an independent charity operating in the field of education, and, to be more precise, specialising in preparation and validation of examinations such as GCSE and A-Levels (GCSE Polish is, needless to say, just one of them) as well as awarding appropriate qualifications.¹⁷⁰ The exam results to be analysed in the further course of the present publication come from 2008 edition, and individual components have the following reference numbers: 3686/L, 3686/R, 3686/S and 3686/W¹⁷¹. The time limit is set, respectively, at: 45 minutes (+ 5 minutes to read the content just before the start of the test), 75 minutes, 10–12 minutes and 80 minutes, and the maximum score for each of the above components is: 60, 65, 40, 62 (order maintained as in the table); the total number of points then amounts to 227¹⁷².

It is worth mentioning that *GCSE specification Polish* (2012) contains a list of grammatical structures and lexis, the knowledge of which is necessary to obtain one of the grades according to an eight-level scale, i.e.: A^* , A, B, C, D, E, F, G. Candidates who do not meet indispensable – viz. the minimum – requirements for G grading are not classified, which is equal to getting the U mark (i.e. unclassified). The main topics which the GSCE Polish examiners take into account while preparing individual tasks are:

- My world
 - \checkmark 1A Self, family and friends
 - ✓ 1B Interests, hobbies and leisure
 - ✓ 1C Home and local environment

¹⁶⁸ Academies are independent schools financed by public funds. *The Academies Programme* is first introduced in 2000. *Academies Act* is adopted in 2010.

¹⁶⁹ The compulsory school age is 16.

¹⁷⁰ According to the information published on its website, AQA handles about half of all GCSE and A-level examinations sat annually (*AQA. Realising potential* 2017). I am an AQA examiner: Polish (as of 2009).

¹⁷¹ In 2012 changes to examinations are announced to take place as of 2014; new GCSE Polish examinations are assigned the following reference numbers: 46851 (Polish listening), 46852 (Polish reading), 46853 (Polish speaking) and 46854 (Polish writing).

¹⁷² This score is not converted in accordance with UMS (uniform mark scale).

- ✓ 1D Daily routine and home life
- ✓ 1E Healthy living
- Holiday time & travel
 - ✓ 2A Travel, transport and finding the way
 - ✓ 2B Tourism, incl. customs and traditions
 - ✓ 2C Accommodation
 - ✓ 2D Holiday activities
 - ✓ 2E Services
- Work & lifestyle
 - ✓ 3A School and future plans (up to age 18)
 - ✓ 3B Careers and future plans
 - \checkmark 3C Part-time jobs and work experience
 - ✓ 3D Shops and shopping
- The young person in society
 - ✓ 4A Character and personal relationships
 - \checkmark 4B The environment
 - ✓ 4C Social issues, choices and responsibilities
 - ✓ 4D National heritage

The GCSE Polish examination analysed¹⁷³ takes place in May 2008 at AQA examination centre marked with the reference number 15249. Six male students and one female student (N=7) of KS4 (i.e. Years 10 and 11) are awarded the following personal identification numbers: 4079, 4119, 4135, 4141, 4142, 4158, 4159. Their results sent in the AQA report dated June 2009 are presented in table 4.

Candidate	3686/L	3686/R	3686/S	3686/W	Total	Mark ¹⁷⁴
	-					
4079	37	41	31	44	153	С
4119	53	52	39	57	201	А
4135	54	51	38	53	196	А
4141 ¹⁷⁵	0	0	37	0	37	G
4142	53	50	38	55	196	А
4158	51	52	40	54	197	А
4159	45	45	39	60	189	В

 Table 4. GCSE Polish results at examination centre No 15249 of June 2008

 (own study, M. L., following: Component marks report. General Certificate of Secondary Education.

¹⁷³ Because of their wide typology, it is impossible to quote here in a synthetic manner all components and tasks included in particular components. Those interested, please visit AQA website: http://www.aqa.org.uk/

¹⁷⁴ Mark scale based on UMS scale: A * (320-360), A (280-319), B (240-279), C (200-239), D (160-199), E (120-159), F (80-119), G (40-79). The candidate is not classified if his/ her score is less than 40 (0-39).

¹⁷⁵ The candidate present only during the oral part of the examination (i.e. 3686/S). As a result, his overall score is not taken into account at all.

As one can see from the above table, the candidates cope best with tasks that are part of the following components: speaking (3686/S) – 93.75%, writing (3686/W) – 86.82%, listening (3686/L) – 81.38% and reading (3686/R) – 74.61%¹⁷⁶. The analysis of the results of GCSE examination 2007 (General Certificate of Secondary Education Polish 3686. Report on the examination. 2007 examination – June series 2007) highlights important factors that may lower ethnic minority students' individual examination scores, and which, as it might be expected, their native peers do not have any problems with. The first is poor knowledge of English which serves as the language of instruction in all examination tasks. Indeed, as the authors of the index report (2007) confirm: "[s]ome [candidates, M. L] were entered by their secondary schools with very little, or no preparation, based on the assumption that they are fluent in Polish. It is clear, however, that these students need time and professional expert support in preparing for this examination, as for any other". Another factor could be lack of discernment as per the typology of examination tasks used in general. Obviously, this is not the case in March 2008, because, under the supervision of the author of this text, the students (with the exception of the candidates numbered 4079 and 4158) successfully pass their mock. This time, though, they achieve the highest scores in tasks that are part of the following components: reading (3686/R) – 88.92%, writing (3686/W) – 82.58, speaking (3686/S) – 82% and listening (3686/L) – 79.66%. These results are presented in table 5.

Candidate	ndidate 3686/L		3686/S	3686/W	Total	Mark	
40-0177							
4079^{177}	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	
4119	57	63	30	48	198	Α	
4135	47	58	32	50	187	В	
4141	43	53	36	52	184	В	
4142	49	63	32	50	194	А	
4158 ¹⁷⁸	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	b.d.	
4159	43	52	34	56	185	В	

Table 5. GCSE Polish mock results at examination centre No 15249 of March 2008 (own study, M. Ł.).

¹⁷⁶ For any score to be translated into percentages, scores of individual students are added up (for instance: in the case of speaking that amounts to 225). The result obtained is used to get a percentage on the total number of points earned for each component by all candidates (in the case of speaking that amounts to 240 because, as it is indicated in the text, the maximum number of points to be achieved for this component by any individual candidate is 40, therefore, 6 x 40 = 240); hence: 93.75%.

¹⁷⁷ The student is late, which results in him being excluded from taking the test.

¹⁷⁸ The student is absent.

Conclusions

It is hard to draw some far-reaching conclusions from the achieved results. I hope, however, that the ones excerpted below contribute to further reflection and discussion:

- 1. reading (3686/R), with which the students cope best in the mock, comes last in the proper exam,
- 2. the disproportion between reading (3686/R) and speaking (3686/S) in the proper exam is significant because it oscillates around 20%,
- 3. it is interesting to note that writing (3686/W), two times in a row (i.e. both in the mock and the proper exam), comes second,
- 4. a minor change of place *in plus* from fourth (in the mock) to third (in the proper exam) belongs to listening (3686/L),
- 5. the disproportion between listening (3686/L) and reading (3686/R) in the mock oscillates around 10%,
- 6. a significant change of place *in plus* from third (in the mock) to first (in the proper exam) belongs to speaking (3686/S).

Bearing the above findings in mind, it seems that further studies devoted to the process of education of ethnic minorities are necessary – the author of this publication currently conducts pilot studies, the results of which will provide us with the following answers: a. if and to what degree the application of the mother tongue/ inherited language (based on Polish) results in higher achievements of students' development of their linguistic competence in the second/ additional language (based on English), and b. if and to what degree factors such as e.g. teaching and learning environment or social factors (e.g. parents' education, parents' profession, parents' nationality and period of residence in the UK) determine students' development of verbal creativity in the mother tongue/ inherited language (here: Polish) and the second/ additional language (here: English).¹⁷⁹ They (and especially the first studies) will also help provide answers to the question why receptive skills (i.e. listening and reading) present a challenge because the students' overall scores are quite low compared to the results achieved in tasks checking the level of mastery of productive skills (i.e. speaking and writing).

One of the hypotheses, when seeking answers to the above-posed questions, may be the fact of reflection of the types of exposures to Polish in the case of these students. Another hypothesis may be that the cause lies somewhere else and, for example, analyses of particular tasks within particular components could explain the observed trends. I do not take up in this publication (to my great regret indeed) the issues

¹⁷⁹ That is: "Efektywność języka ojczystego w rozwijaniu kompetencji językowej w zakresie angielskiego jako języka drugiego na przykładzie polskich uczniów w angielskich placówkach oświatowych" [transl. Effectiveness of the mother tongue in linguistic competence in English as a second language development on the example of Polish EAL learners in English educational settings] and "Czynniki społeczne determinujące rozwój kreatywności werbalnej na przykładzie polskiej mniejszości etnicznej w Zjednoczonym Królestwie" [transl. Social factors determining verbal creativity development based on Polish ethnic minority in the United Kingdom].

concerned with acquiring two systems simultaneously, which, as a matter of fact, is inextricably linked to their mutual interaction, that is transfer (often in both directions) from one language to another in terms of: vocabulary, phonological system, morphosyntactic structures. I devote more attention to analyses of interlanguage impact, based on available data from particular examination components (especially oral and written texts), in the first of the two articles currently prepared.

Combating Unemployment via Adult Education. Polish Ethnic Minority in London Borough of Ealing

Introduction

This chapter, after defining "the unemployed" and quoting the unemployment rate both in Poland and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland¹⁸⁰, focuses on adult education realised through adult education institutions (AEIs). An educational offer prepared by Ealing Adult Learning, and directed at adults (here: including members of Polish ethnic minority) living in London Borough of Ealing as a way of combating unemployment is presented. The selection of the borough is not accidental because, according to the information obtained during the Census of 2011 in England and Wales, this is the area most densely populated by people born in Poland.

Definition of the Unemployed. Unemployment in Poland and the UK

According to *Act on promotion of employment and labour market institutions* of 20th April 2004^{181 182} (hereafter: the *Act*), the unemployed is "a person referred to in article

¹⁸⁰ For differences between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the British Isles, see e.g. J. O'Driscoll (1995).

¹⁸¹ Law Gazette 2004 No 99 item 1001. Consolidation of 19th October 2015.

¹⁸² The Act regulates implementation of the following European Directives:

⁻ *Directive 68/360/EEC* of 15th October 1968 on the abolition of restrictions on movement and residence of workers from Member States and their families in the Community ("EEU Official Journal L 257" of 19th of October1968),

⁻ *Directive 90/364/EEC* of 28th July 1990 on the right of residence ("EEU Official Journal L 180" of 13th July 1990),

⁻ *Directive 90/365/EEC* of 28th July 1990 on the right of residence of employees and selfemployed who have ceased their professional activity ("EEC Official Journal L 180" of 13th July1990),

⁻ *Directive 93/96/EEC* of 29th October 1993 on the right of residence of students ("EEC Official Journal L 317" of 18th December 1993),

⁻ *Council Directive 2000/43/EC* of 29th June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin ("EC Official Journal L 180" of 19th July 2000, p. 22; "EU Official Journal Polish special edition", chap. 20, vol. 1, p. 23),

⁻ *Council Directive 2000/78/EC* of 27th November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation ("EC Official Journal L 303" of 2nd December 2000, p. 16; "EU Official Journal Polish special edition", chap. 5, vol. 4, p. 79),

[–] European Parliament and Council Directive 2006/54/EC of 5th July 2006 on implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women with regard to employment and occupation ("EU Official Journal L 204" of 26th July 2006, p. 23).

1 section 3 item 1 and 2 letters a – g, letters i, j, l, and a person referred to in article 1 section 3 item 2 letter h and who immediately, before the registration as an unemployed person, is employed continuously for the period of at least 6 months on the territory of the Republic of Poland, and a person referred to in article 1 section 3 items 3 and 4, not in employment and not performing any other paid work, capable and ready to undertake full-time employment as applicable in a given occupation or a given service or other paid work or if he is a disabled person capable and ready to take up part-time employment amounting to at least 50% of this employment, not attending school, except for adult education or taking an extracurricular exam in accordance with that school's or college's curriculum where he studies part-time, registered at the county employment office appropriate for his place of permanent or temporary residence and looking for employment or other paid work."

The *Act* defines further the conditions that the unemployed person should fulfil, i.e.: be over 18 years of age (the *Act* differentiates between the unemployed up to the age of 25 and the unemployed over the age of 50), not be at the age of retirement, not be in right to obtain retirement pension or disability pension, not be in ownership – whether self-owned or dependent – of agricultural property, not obtain taxable income from special branches of agricultural production, not have submitted an application for entry into the register of business activity, not be a person temporarily detained or serving a custodial sentence, not receive a monthly income in excess of half the minimum wage, not receive permanent allowance as per social care regulations, not receive post-employment training allowance, not be subject on the basis of separate regulations to social insurance except for farmers' social insurance or on the basis of provisions regarding determination and payment of care allowance to caregivers.

The law consists of 23 chapters – in this order: 1. General regulations, 2. Labour market policy, 3. Labour market institutions, 4. Public employment services, 5. Voluntary Labour Corps, 6. Employment agencies, 7. Training institutions, 8. Social dialogue and labour market partnerships, 9. Unemployed and job-seekers registration and forms of assistance offered, 10. Labour market services, 11. Labour market instruments, 12. Allowances applicable to farmers who are made-redundant, 13. Local and regional labour markets support (repealed chapter), 14. Instruments devoted to human resources development, 15. Unemployment benefits, 16. Taking employment abroad with foreign employers by Polish citizens and performing work in the Republic of Poland by foreigners, 17. Public employment services employees, 18. Labour fund, 19. Supervision and control, 20. Liability for offenses against the provisions of the law, 21. Changes to the rules in force, 22. Transitional provisions and 23. Final provisions.

According to the Central Statistical Office of Poland (2015), the unemployment rate falls to 9.9% in August, and in September – to 9.7%. The last time a one-digit figure is recorded is in May 2008 (9.8%). The British equivalent of the said office,

Publication details of the European Union acts published in this Act with the date of accession of the Republic of Poland refer to publication of these acts in the "Official Journal of the European Union" special edition.

that is Office for National Statistics (2015) announces that the unemployment rate for the period from July to September of the same year amounts to 5.3%, which is the lowest index since 2008. The Central Statistical Office of Poland also estimates that at the end of 2013 about 2 196 000 citizens live temporarily outside Poland, and in the United Kingdom alone this number reaches circa 642 000 (Z. Kostrzewa 2014). Unfortunately, the Office for National Statistics of Poland¹⁸³ does not possess any information on the unemployment rate among Polish immigrants¹⁸⁴ in the UK. It is worth noting that the EU regulations on coordination regarding work search and the possibility of receiving unemployment benefit focus on three issues:

- 1. the principle of summing up periods of employment and insurance from the territory of different member states once a person applies for unemployment benefit,
- 2. the principle of transfer of allowance once the unemployed looks for work in a member state other than that in which he is awarded the said benefit,
- 3. the regularity of granting unemployment benefit to unemployed workers who are employed in a member state other than their place of residence (article 71 of Regulation 1408/71/ article 65 of Regulation 883/2004) (*Zasiłki dla bezrobotnych* 2015).

In Poland unemployment benefit is granted on the basis of Polish regulations and paid in the amount stipulated under the Polish law, and vice versa: to give an example, in Great Britain¹⁸⁵ the lower age limit for getting jobseeker's allowance is 18, but it may well be 16 or 17¹⁸⁶ under some circumstances; the upper – below the statutory retirement age (*Jobseeker's allowance* 2015).

Education System in England and Wales¹⁸⁷

After the pre-school/ early years period, which is optional for children up to the age of five, five-year-olds go to the primary school where they remain up to the age of 11. This is followed by their period of studying at the secondary school/ high school/ academy¹⁸⁸ which ends at the age of 16 with taking their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) or National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ)

¹⁸³ Office for National Statistics Social Survey (2015).

¹⁸⁴ E. Lipińska (2013: 7 following P. Boski 2009: 109) uses the term "(e/ im)migration" which is a combination of two different perspectives, i.e.: emigration and immigration of the same, but superior, phenomenon of migration.

¹⁸⁵ These regulations apply indeed only to England, Scotland and Wales.

¹⁸⁶ 16- and 17-year-olds are asked to contact Jobcentre Plus individually.

¹⁸⁷ The same system of education of all the countries belonging to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland applies only to England and Wales, which stems from the introduction of the same curriculum for primary and secondary schools in 1998: the National Curriculum. England is the scope of the author's interest in this publication.

¹⁸⁸ Academies are independent schools financed by public funds. *The Academies Programme* is first introduced in 2000. *Academies Act* is adopted in 2010.

examination¹⁸⁹; the latter applies to vocational school students. At the age of 17 and 18 students undertake further education aimed at preparation for General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (GCE Advanced Level/ A-Levels), General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs) or Business and Technology Education Council (edexcel – formerly: BTECs) at one of the institutions of further education (*Education system in the UK* 2012)¹⁹⁰. These comprise colleges (FE colleges: general FE colleges, tertiary colleges, sixth form colleges, specialist colleges) and adult education institutions (AEIs)¹⁹¹ which, as a matter of fact, are the major focus of attention of the present text (*Education system in the UK* 2012)¹⁹².

The discipline concerned with adult education is "andragogy" characterised both as art and science helping adults learn (M. S. Knowles 1973)¹⁹³. This term, first used by A. Kapp in 1833 (J. Davenport 1987), and propagated since the 1920s in the United States and in Europe, on a large scale begins to be used in the 1960s mainly in the Netherlands, France and Yugoslavia. It is derived from Greek aner (andros) meaning "man" ("adult") and ago: "to lead". "Pedagogy" has Greek roots alike: paidagogos stands for "leading the child" – it denotes the art and learning by children (M. S. Knowles 1973). It is worth noting that in the eighties of the last century R. S. Knudson (1980) introduces the concept of "humanogogy" (being an alternative approach combining both pedagogy and andragogy), and P. M. Mohring (1989), coming to the conclusion that both these terms are etymologically inaccurate¹⁹⁴, proposes "teliagogy" (teleios in Greek is an "adult")¹⁹⁵. In its report dated 1970, the National Institute of Adult Education in England and Wales comes up with the following definition of adult education: "any kind of education for people who are old enough to work, vote, fight and marry and who have completed the cycle of continuous education, [if any] commenced in childhood", and such a typology:

- 1. education for vocational, technical, and professional competence,
- 2. education for health, welfare, and family living,
- 3. education for civic, political, and community competence,
- 4. education for "self-fulfilment",
- 5. remedial education: fundamental and literacy education (*Adult education* 2015).

¹⁸⁹ The compulsory school age is 16.

¹⁹⁰ There are five key stages (KS): KS1 (5-7), KS2 (7-11), KS3 (11-14), KS4 (14-16) and KS5 (16-19).

¹⁹¹ This kind of education is monitored by Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (as of 2009); the other – Department for Education.

¹⁹² Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 transforms polytechnics into universities.

¹⁹³ The definition of "andragogy" by M. S. Knowles (1980) highlights the role of adult learner in the education process with regard to his/ her independence, experience, development and knowledge.

¹⁹⁴ Pedagogy is limited to children; andragogy – focusing on adult males – might be said to decrease, as a result, the role of women.

¹⁹⁵ Cf.: R. Grupa (2013).

Ealing Adult Learning

In this part, educational offer for the academic year 2015–2016 by Ealing Adult Learning and aimed at adults living in the said London borough (here: from the point of view of Polish ethnic minority) is presented. The selection of the borough is not accidental because according to the data obtained during the 2011 England and Wales Census, this is the area most densely populated by people of Polish origin¹⁹⁶ with the rate of 13.18% (those from India make up 15.82%, Ireland – 4.70%, Pakistan – 4.51% and Nigeria – 0.87%).¹⁹⁷ Compared to 2001, the number of residents from Ealing Council born outside the UK increases in 2011 by 50 917¹⁹⁸ (*London: Census Profile* 2015).

¹⁹⁶ Polish is the second (after English) most widely used language by London residents: 147 816 people representing 8.6% of its total population. Following are: Bengali (114 267, i.e. 6.6%), Gujarati (101 676, i.e. 5.9%) and French (84 191, i.e. 4.9%).

¹⁹⁷ Two other councils with a significant percentage of inhabitants of Polish origin are: Haringey (9,56%) and Hounslow (9,42%), respectively (*London: Census Profile* 2015).

¹⁹⁸ In 2001 it amounts to 112 311, and in 2011 to 163 228 (London: Census Profile 2015).

Figure 6. Five biggest ethnic groups residing in London in 2011 (London: Census Profile 2015).

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Waltham Forest											
Sutton											
Richmond upon Thames											
Redbridge											
Merton											
Kingston upon Thames											
Hounslow											
Hillingdon											
Havering											
Harrow											
Greenwich											
Enfield											
Ealing											
Croydon											
Bromley											
Brent											
Bexley											
Barnet											
Barking and Dagenham											
Outer LONDON											
Westminster											
Wandsworth											
Tower Hamlets											
Southwark					14			India			
Newham				1				Polan	d		
Lewisham								Irelan	d		
Lambeth								Nigeri	a		
Kensington and Chelsea	111							Pakist	tan		
Islington	100							Other			
Haringey							Co	untry	of Birtl	h	
Hammersmith and Fulham											
Hackney											
City of London											
Camden											
Inner LONDON											

In the academic year 2015–2016, adult education in Ealing is provided by 28 different settings: 1. Acton Library & Everyone Active Acton, 2. Brent Lodge Park, 3. Brentside High School, 4. Dominion Centre, 5. Ealing Central Library, 6. Ealing School of Languages, 7. Fashion & Development Centre, 8. Greenford Community Centre, 9. Greenfields Children's Centre, 10. Gunnersbury Manor House, 11. Perivale Children's Centre, 12. Perivale Community Centre, 13. Petts Hill Primary, 14. Southall Library, 15. Perceval House, 16. Twyford High School, 17. The Rickyard, 18. Christ the Saviour Church, 19. Havelock Children Centre, 20. Alec Reed Academy, 21. Redwood Skills, 22. Norwood Hall, 23. Northolt Library, 24. Hanwell Library, 25. Dormers Wells Junior School, 26. Gifford Primary School, 27. South Acton Children's Centre and 28. Hambrough Primary School (*EAL course guide* 2015)¹⁹⁹.

In total, they offer over 200 courses $(N = 203)^{200}$ grouped into such categories and subcategories²⁰¹:

- 1. adults with learning difficulties & disabilities: a. absolute beginners IT, b. animal care workshop, c. animal care, d. getting a good night's sleep, e. being better at managing stress, f. managing anxiety, g. numeracy & literacy, h. wellbeing workshops (N=8),
- arts, crafts, textiles, history & philosophy: a. art history: all the 'isms', b. art vs religion, politics and philosophy, c. cake decorating beginners, d. cake decorating sugar flower arrangement, e. cake decorating sugar flower spray, f. cake decorating improvers, g. cup cake decorating beginners, h. cushions, curtains and runners, i. drawing and painting landscape, j. drawing and painting portrait, k. drawing and painting still life, l. film studies, m. floristry workshop, n. floristry workshop: Christmas wreaths & table decorations (workshop), o. garment construction, p. how to draw absolute beginners, q. how to draw beginners, r. how to draw improvers, s. introduction to sewing, t. introduction to crochet, embroidery and tapestry, u. life drawing beginners, w. life drawing experienced, z. philosophy for everyone, aa. sari wrapping, ab. sugarcraft patchwork, ac. creative writing, ad. journalism intermediate, ae. journalism introduction (N=30),
- computing: a. book-keeping, b. computing absolute beginners, c. computing – beginners guide, d. introduction to ICT, e. computing – intermediate guide, f. hack the libraries, g. internet, internet security, email & shopping on-line,

¹⁹⁹ On London Borough of Ealing website 18 such settings are listed: Alec Reed Academy (formerly West London Academy), Brent Lodge Park, Brentside High School, Dominion Centre, Ealing Central Library, Ealing School of Languages, Fashion Development Centre, Greenford Community Centre, Greenfields Childrens Centre, Longfield House, Northolt Library, Perivale Primary Children's Centre, Perivale Community Centre, Petts Hill Primary, PM Gallery & House, Perceval House, Twyford High School and Hanwell Community Centre (*Adult Learning* 2015).

²⁰⁰ EAL Course Guide (2015) contains information on over 250.

²⁰¹ Original spelling retained throughout (*EAL Course Guide* 2015).

h. Lego robotics, i. MS Office skills, j. MS Office skills intermediate, k. perfect pictures for that special occasion, l. Sage 50 beginners (N=12),

- 4. health & beauty: a. aromatherapy, b. basic colouring, c. basic cutting, d. eye treatments, e. facials, f. false lashes, g. get polish (Gellux, Shellac), h. hair care & styling, i. homeopathy, j. henna for beginners, k. Indian bridal makeup, I. Indian bridal make-up for beginners, m. Indian head massage, n. keep fit/ Bhangra dance ladies (beginners), o. keep fit/ Bhangra dance mixed (beginners), p. long hair styling, q. make-up, r. makeup and skincare, s. manicure & pedicure, t. pedicure and nail art (all levels), u. Pilates beginners, w. Pilates progression, v. plating techniques, x. reflexology, y. reiki, z. spray tanning, aa. tai chi beginners, ab. tai chi for all, ac. threading workshop, ad. waxing, ae. yoga beginners, af. yoga for all, ag. 1 day emergency first aid at work, ah. 2 day first aid at work: refresher, ai. 2 day paediatric first aid, aj. 3 day first aid at work, ak. using a defibrillator (N=37),
- 5. hope & wellbeing project: a. understanding depression, b. introduction to mindfulness, c. being better at managing stress, d. strategies to improve your thinking, e. getting a good night's sleep, f. understanding anxiety (N=6),
- languages: a. Sign Language for parents & carers introduction, b. Sign Language for parents & carers progression, c. Sign Language for work, d. Sign Language introduction, e. Sign Language progression, f. Spanish for beginners, g. Spanish progression, h. Polish for beginners, i. Polish progression, j. French for beginners, k. French progression (N=11/71)²⁰²,

²⁰² Full list of language courses includes: Arabic – beginners stage 1, Arabic – beginners stage 2, Arabic – beginners stage 3, French – beginners stage 1, French – beginners stage 2, French - post beginners stage 1, French - post beginners stage 2, French - post beginners stage 2, French – post beginners stage 3, French – lower intermediate stage 1, French – lower intermediate stage 2, French – lower intermediate stage 3, French – higher intermediate stage 1, French - higher intermediate stage 2, French - higher intermediate stage 3, German beginners stage 1, German - beginners stage 2, German - beginners stage 3, German - post beginners stage 1, German – post beginners stage 2, German – post beginners stage 3, Hindi – beginners stage 1, Hindi – beginners stage 2, Hindi – beginners stage 3, Italian – beginners stage 1, Italian – beginners stage 1, Italian – beginners stage 2, Italian – beginners stage 2, Italian – beginners stage 3, Italian – post beginners stage 2, Italian – post beginners stage 1, Italian - post beginners stage 3, Italian - lower intermediate stage 1, Italian - lower intermediate stage 2, Italian – higher intermediate stage 1, Italian – advanced 1, Italian – advanced stage 2, Italian - higher intermediate stage 2, Italian - advanced stage 3, Italian higher intermediate stage 3, Italian – lower intermediate stage 3, Japanese – beginners stage 1, Japanese – beginners stage 2, Japanese – beginners stage 3, Japanese – post beginners stage 1, Japanese – post beginners stage 2, Japanese – post beginners stage 3, Mandarin – beginners stage 1, Mandarin - beginners stage 2, Mandarin - beginners stage 3, Polish - beginners stage 1, Polish – begineers (sic!) stage 2, Polish – post-beginners 3, Portugese (sic!) – stage 1, Portugese (sic!) – beginners stage 2, Portugese (sic!) – beginners stage 3, Spanish – beginners stage 1, Spanish – beginners stage 2, Spanish – beginners stage 3, Spanish – post beginners stage 1, Spanish – post beginners stage 2, Spanish – post beginners stage 3, Spanish – lower intermediate stage 1, Spanish – lower intermediate stage 2, Spanish – lower intermediate stage

- music & dance: a. ballroom waltz, b. ballroom waltz progression, c. belly dancing – absolute beginners, d. belly dancing – beginners, e. belly dancing – improvers, f. contemporary music choirs, g. guitar – all levels, h. guitar – beginners, i. salsa – absolute beginners, j. salsa – beginners, k. salsa – improvers, l. singing beginners, m. singing improvers (N=13),
- business, skills & enterprise: a. animal care introduction, b. basic DIY bricklaying, c. basic DIY – carpentry and joinery, d. basic DIY – plumbing, e. bike maintenance, f. business & enterprise – an introductory toolkit (N=6),
- 9. qualifications for employment & skills: a. English entry level, b. GCSE English, c. GCSE Maths, d. introduction to ICT, e. childcare level 1, f. childcare level 2, g. health & social care level 1, h. supporting teaching & learning level 3 (N=8),
- 10. family learning (N=1) (EAL Course Guide 2015).

As shown by the above-quoted data, the most widely represented subject area for courses offered by Ealing AEIs in the academic year 2015–2016 is modern foreign languages. Second comes health and beauty. Surprising as it can be, the last place on the podium is occupied by arts, crafts, textiles, history and philosophy. Mindful of that. in the academic vear 2013–2014 1 635 citizens of Polish origin study at London's state universities and colleges²⁰³, which accounts for 30% of all Polish students living in the United Kingdom (1 205 are undergraduate students and 430 – postgraduate, i.e. master's students). Taking into account all the nationalities (except the British). Poland ranks 20th amongst the countries whose inhabitants study in London. That said, in the academic year 2013–2014 the five most frequently chosen fields of study by Polish students at London's public universities (both on under- and postgraduate studies) are: business and administration (N = 300), creative arts and design (N = 265), social studies (N = 155), languages (N = 150) and communication and mass documentation (N = 120). If this criterion adheres to master's studies only, these data present as follows: creative arts and design, business and administration, social sciences, languages and medicine and dentistry (Mayor of London. GLA Intelligence $2015)^{204}$.

Conclusions

The aim of this part is to show how adult education institutions (seen through the lens of Polish ethnic minority – on the example of Ealing Adult Learning) via their course guides contribute to combating unemployment. The data show that the widest selection of courses offered by AEIs at Ealing Council in the academic year 2015–2016 belongs to the category "modern foreign languages". In my opinion, this is

^{3,} Spanish – higher intermediate stage 1, Spanish – higher intermediate stage 2, Spanish – higher intermediate stage 3, Spanish – advanced stage 1, Spanish – advanced stage 2, Spanish – advanced stage 3 (*EAL Course Guide* 2015).

²⁰³ No reliable data regarding private colleges (*Mayor of London. GLA Intelligence* 2015).

²⁰⁴ The source of the data referred to is: *Higher Education Statistics Agency*.

perfectly justified and understandable – especially bearing in mind the high rate of Ealing residents who belong to different ethnic minority groups. It is interesting to note, though, that Ealing Adult Learning does not include any English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)/ English as a Second Language (ESL)/ English Language Learners (ELL) courses whose syllabus would not only recognise the significance of second language acquisition²⁰⁵, but also provide practical assistance when it comes to the process of adjustment in a completely new cultural environment. The conclusion is that Polish (and other) citizens living in London Borough of Ealing are either people who communicate effortlessly in English or the didactic material of this kind is included in the category "qualifications for employment and skills", sub-category: "English entry level" and "GCSE English". In a similar vein, it is worth noting the introduction of the Polish language courses, too. Second comes "health and beauty", which reflects the ongoing boom (also in Poland) in this sector of services. The third place, in turn, is occupied by "art, crafts, textiles, history and philosophy".

I would recommend conducting market research that would point to the scale of demand for professionals with some rather "exotic" qualifications (compared to course offers available on the Polish market). Otherwise, one should look for another justification. One of these may be that the challenges (be they social, pedagogical or professional) faced by members in such linguistically and culturally varied environments differ from those faced by people who are raised in endolingual contexts only; in an exolingual environment, they also affect, to a different degree, however, further social interactions, social (including emotional), linguistic or professional development. To put it in simple terms, one can surmise (following: M. S. Knowles 1980) that the aim of adult education is (should be) factors of self-fulfilment, and the learning process includes (should include) the whole emotional, mental and intellectual existence.

 $^{^{205}}$ More on the second language as a functionally first language and the mother tongue as a second language see in: E. Lipińska – A. Seretny (2012).

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