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C O P E

# 500 LAT HISTORII GLOTTODYDAKTYKI POLONISTYCZNEJ

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# TEACHING POLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE WITHIN THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH LANGUAGE

(THIS ARTICLE WAS TRANSLATED FROM POLISH BY JAKUB WOSIK)

**Keywords:** history of Polish, Polish as a native language, Polish as a foreign language, foreign language teaching, multilingualism, multiculturalism

**Abstract.** This article presents a synthesis of the history of Polish as a foreign language, which has previously been omitted in historical and linguistic studies. The author analysed all existing studies published in book form on the history of the Polish language focusing on the indications and discussions of handbooks, dictionaries and grammar compendia of the Polish language intended for foreigners. She stresses that in the Middle Polish age such resources were written not by Poles but foreigners (Germans and the French). In the text, she also includes information on the expansion of the Polish language in the 17th and 18th centuries onto the eastern and northern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and outside its borders. The author concludes her article with a general outline of a future monograph devoted to the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language.

#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

It is important to know the history of a domain of science, as it enables one to see the development of the thoughts, and methods, and the extent, of former studies. It also helps present-day people appreciate earlier achievements more, as it is often the case that what one considers an innovation was invented and implemented earlier and one only failed to realise that. Therefore, by knowing the achievements of one's predecessors, one gains humility. Additionally, it brings pride and contentment if one knows that what one is interested in has long been

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the subject of study of various, often renowned, people. That is why it is important for every discipline to know its history – to know, e.g., that the subject of our study has long seemed as interesting to others as it has to us, and to have a better sense of the significance of the studies undertaken. Moreover, as Władysław Miodunka posited: "by viewing works we thought we knew well after some time, we can discover previously missed aspects and appreciate them more as time passes" (Miodunka 2016, p. 228). [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

The need to conduct historical studies within the teaching of Polish as a foreign language has not vet been discussed. Anna Maria Harbig argued the need for a study "into the history of the teaching of foreign languages in Poland" (Harbig 2010) from the point of view of the history of education, a re-evaluation of that which might had been presented erroneously, a discussion of the core teaching content, and the obvious continuations of the achievements of previous generations. The author did not take into account the history of the teaching of Polish as a foreign language nor of classical languages (Harbig 2010, p. 68). Władysław Miodunka stressed the need to write a history of the teaching of PFL<sup>1</sup> in his recently published monograph *Glottodydaktyka polonistyczna*. He posited there that the history of the teaching of Polish as a foreign language is longer than the 200-yearlong history of teaching it as a mother tongue (Miodunka 2016, p. 228). That alone could be a reason to undertake the task of discussing the history of the teaching of PFL. The author indicated that little attention has been paid to the history of teaching languages within the history of Polish and modern language-focused studies. He also mentioned the works by Zenon Klemensiewicz and Bogdan Walczak who wrote about the acquisition of Polish by Germans, Ruthenians, Lithuanians and Latvians, as well as the Tatars and Armenians, which resulted in the expansion of Polish, extending its group of users (Miodunka 2016, p. 229). In the Middle Polish and, initially, Modern Polish ages, the position of Polish was strong enough for it to be eagerly learnt by foreigners without any encouragement from Poles.

In the article *Kto, gdzie, kiedy i dlaczego uczyl (się) języka polskiego jako obcego?* Anna Dąbrowska gathered the basic details on the locations and schools where Polish was taught as a foreign language, the most commonly used handbooks, and major teachers, and she divided the history of the teaching into its main periods (Dąbrowska 2012). The same author in the extensive article *Byli przed nami, uczyli przed nami*, (2018) wrote, about the multinational society of the former Polish Republic and the related multilingualism, about the nationalisation of foreigners who accepted the Polish language and culture as theirs (second or another, from which the multilingualism and multiculturalism naturally stemmed). She indicated the impact of foreigners on Polish science and culture stressing that they were the first persons to discuss Polish and write various textbooks for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This is an abbreviated form of *Polish as a foreign language* [JPJO in Polish]. It is commonly used in the teaching of Polish as a foreign language and it will also be used in this text.

teaching PFL. *Polonicae grammatices institutio*, the first grammar compendium of Polish written by Statorius-Stojeński, a Frenchman, in Latin was developed two hundred years before the first grammar compendium of Polish written by a Pole for Poles (Walenty Szylarski in 1770).

Foreigners entered the history of Polish in the Middle Polish age, at the beginning of the 16th century. Therefore, the documented portion of the history of the teaching of Polish as a foreign language began in a period when Polish existed not only in its oral form, but also in writing and in print. The latter was particularly significant for the discussion as an exceptionally valuable, and virtually the only, source of data on teaching foreigners in past centuries are grammar compendia, textbooks, phrasebooks, wordlists, dictionaries and other collections intended for teaching Polish printed for them (and often written by them as well).

To indicate how the impact of foreigners on the development of the knowledge of Polish, its description and teaching, has been approached, it is necessary to analyse the existing studies into the history of Polish to establish whether they have considered the achievements of foreigners. And if so, to what extent. There are a few books devoted to the history of Polish. The first one, Historia języka polskiego by Antoni Kalina, was published in 1883. The following studies include those by Aleksander Brückner (1906), Jan Łoś (1915; 1927), Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1922), Stanisław Słoński (1934), Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński (1947), Zenon Klemensiewicz (1961–1972; 2nd edition 1974), Jan Mazur (1993)<sup>2</sup>, Bogdan Walczak (1996), and, finally, Stanisław Borawski (2000). These were analysed in terms of their references to former works (grammar compendia, textbooks, and dictionaries) intended for foreigners who learnt Polish. The reason for that was that for two centuries there was no grammar compendium of Polish written for native speakers of the language. Since the first such study was published (1770), there have appeared both those intended for foreigners and those devised for native users of Polish. Both kinds have existed in parallel, though today it would be difficult to imagine there could exist a grammar compendium for foreigners not related to any publication for Poles.

## 2. INDICATIONS AND INFORMATION ON TEACHING PFL IN EXISTING HISTORICAL STUDIES OF POLISH. AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

Before I discuss the studies devoted to the history of Polish, I would like to highlight the extensive text by Józef Kazimierz Plebański (1862) on the history of grammar<sup>3</sup>. That long encyclopaedia article discussed various grammar compendia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I was granted access to this rare publication by The Polish Language and Culture Centre for Poles Abroad and Foreigners, for which I am extremely grateful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> An encyclopaedia entry in *Encyklopedia powszechna* by Orgelbrand. A detailed reference is provided in the bibliography.

from antiquity, and proceeded to focus on the grammar compendia of Polish. The author indicated the innovative approaches of some of the works and criticised those which carried only a practical and not an academic focus. He also stated that in Prussian schools (in Toruń, Elblag and Gdańsk), Polish was taught better than in Jesuit schools. He devoted a total of eight pages to "the Polonised French of Thionville", i.e. Piotr Statorius-Stojeński, the author of the first grammar compendium of Polish. Among other authors of grammar compendia intended for foreigners he listed Mikołaj Vockmar, Jan Karol of Jasienica Woyna, Piotr Michael (Michaelis - A.D.), Adam Stylla, Jeremiasz Roter, Michał Kuschius, Jan Ernesti, Franciszek Mesgnen-Meniński, Maciej Dobracki, Jan Moneta, Aleksander Raphaelis, Stanisław Malczowski, Jan Ernest Müllenheim, Jerzy Schlag, K. Fr. Müller, Johann Christian Krumbholz, Ignacy Trabczyński, Krzysztof Celestyn Mrongowiusz. He also mentioned Tobiasz Keller, Adam Adamowicz, Stanisław Stawski, Andreas Polsfus, Jan Ludwik Cassius, Natan Bucki, Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, Marciński, Szrzeniawa, Pohl, K. F. Kampmann, Wincenty Kraiński, and Kaspar Wilhelm Smith. Clearly, there were many. In the case of some, he also made remarks on the academic (less often practical) value of a given compendium. I give this information from 1862 to indicate that the authors of the works discussed below were theoretically able to acquire the basic details on the grammar compendia of Polish intended for foreigners. However, as the literature overview indicates, not all used the compendia indicated in Plebański's text.

In 1833, Antoni Kalina announced a work on the grammatical forms of Polish upto the end of the 18th century entitled *Historya języka polskiego*, which could be considered the first historical grammar (internal history) compendium of Polish. According to the author's intentions, it offered a discussion of the development of the grammatical forms of Polish with indication of sources. *Skrócenia źródeł* [Summary of sources] included at the beginning of the book do not mention Middle Polish grammar, *eo ipso* no grammar compendium intended for teaching PFL.

In 1906, Alexander Brückner published *Dzieje języka polskiego* (which was re-released several times without any changes). In the *Introduction* to the 4th edition of 1960, Witold Taszycki wrote about the undeniable value of the pioneering work despite the fact that it was of a popular-scientific nature. In *Dzieje języka polskiego*, Brückner approached lexis as a mirror which reflects the history and culture of a nation. The work was written vividly, in lively and colourful language, and it offered much information on the history of individual words. The author indicated his position clearly. He added grammatical and historical details to individual lexical forms as if in passing, and they did not constitute a separate part of the book. In the foreword to the 1st edition, Brückner wrote explicitly: *I based this work mostly on my own studies. Therefore, quoting any literature would be unnecessary* (Brückner 1960, p. 12). That is why the work did not include a bibliography. After reading the text one might assume that the author did

not use any grammar compendia or textbooks for teaching PFL, and he did not mention the fact that foreigners learnt Polish. Significantly for my discussion, though, he stressed the expansion of Polish eastwards: to Rus', Lithuania, Moldova, and Moscovite Rus' (Brückner 1960, p. 146). He also indicated that Poles learnt German:

People did not like Germans. They separated from them. They knew well how unwillingly they approached the national language, how difficult it was for them to learn it, and they never achieved a good command of it<sup>4</sup> (...) in spite of that, their language was extremely popular, just like in Czech; relationships were stronger than animosity (Brückner 1960, pp. 94–95).

Thus, without naming the phenomena, he introduced multilingualism and multiculturalism to the history of Polish.

In 1922, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay published the short *Zarys historii języka polskiego*. In that book of over a hundred pages, he mainly discussed the history of phonetics (phonology) and the history of morphology or, more precisely, declension and conjugation, while omitting syntax and the "history of meanings" (Baudouin de Courtenay 1922, p. 16). In his discussion, he travelled from the Proto-Indo-European era, through the Proto-Slavic era, to the Polish era. Nowhere in his publication is there any reference to historical texts, which means he did not use any learning or teaching aids for foreigners.

In *Krótka gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego* of 1927, Jan Łoś discussed the literary language. It is a university coursebook written "to meet the needs of university students (...) it can also be used as a summary study for professional teachers of Polish" (Łoś 1927, p. XIV. This grammar compendium did not specify the sources of quotations)<sup>5</sup>. Źródła i dzieła pomocnicze (p. 374 and the following) mentioned four previous grammar compendia written for foreigners who learnt PFL. Those included: Mesgnen, *Grammatica seu institutio Polonicae linguae*, Dantisci 1649; Roter Jeremiasz, *Klucz do polskiego i niemieckiego języka*, Wrocław 1616; Stojeński-Statorius, *Polonicae grammatices institutio*, Cracoviae 1568; Woyna, *Compendiosa linguae polonicae constitutio*, Dantisci 1690<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, Jan Łoś used in his book grammatical studies with a practical focus (no other types existed at that time).

Stanisław Słoński published *Historia języka polskiego w zarysie* (1934) and in the first sentence explained that it was a popular outline which he intended

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This opinion from over a hundred years ago should be revised.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The authors of *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego* (Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk) of 1965 saw some of the shortcomings of the book as a result of simplifications due to the book's didactic purpose. That mainly applied to material limitations, a lack of exhaustive bibliography, and references to individual researchers (Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1965, p. 15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I quoted after J. Łoś who did not indicate full names or omitted them altogether.

for students, teachers and "the entire educated population." Therefore, the book lacked any exact quotations or "extensive literature which in other circumstances would be useful to quote" (Słoński 1934, pp. 3–4). Thus, readers were deprived of any information on the sources of the examples which illustrated specific phonological and grammatical processes. One could not learn whether the author used to any extent any of the former grammar compendia by foreigners.

In *Język polski*, which Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński wrote during the Second World War, without access to libraries or sources, the author indicated that it was not a study for professionals but for "the average reader" (Lehr-Spławiński 1947, p. 5). The author was aware of the fact that his study was not comprehensive (Lehr-Spławiński 1947, p. 5). The purpose of the book was "to present the grammatical and lexical development of the written language" without any stylistic discussion. Therefore, he forecast that eventually, when the study of style develops more, it would be possible to offer a more comprehensive presentation of the history of the language. As for clues to the history of teaching PFL important for me, the publication offered a few. The author included remarks on the expansive nature of Polish between the 16th and the 18th centuries. He also clearly indicated the relationship between the strength of a language and the strength of the state where the language is dominant. He wrote:

The lowering of the level of the proper use of language during the second half of the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century was accompanied by the weakening of its expansive force which reached its peak in the late-16th century and in the first half of the 17th century. In that period, it was not only the case that Polish was still strong in Silesia despite political relationships being severed, and the Duchy of Prussia and Königsberg were areas of lively Polish language movement (reformative), but also that our language continued to grow in significance in the eastern lands of the Polish Republic where not only political, but also cultural and linguistic Polonisation was progressing quickly. Not only the gentry of Rus' but also the urban population and even the Orthodox clergy in Red Ruthenia, Volhynia, Podolia, and Ukraine used, just like in Lithuania, Polish to a large extent (Lehr-Spławiński 1947, pp. 289–290).

He goes on: "our language had at that time a great attractive force in those lands and it continued to gain new areas there. That was directly related to the extremely strong impact of Polish on written Ruthenian of that time" (Lehr-Spławiński 1947, p. 292).

Even in the north-west of Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia so saturated with German (...) Polish slowly yet consistently continued to gain new areas. It was taught in increasing numbers of local cities and towns, e.g., in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Königsberg, which was reflected in the many publications for Germans of Polish grammar compendia, e.g., by Wojna, Meniński, Guthalter-Dobracki (original spelling), and more. It was clearly the peak period of the expansion of our language; yet it did not last long. (Lehr-Spławiński 1947, pp. 292–293).

Lehr-Spławiński did not write explicitly about teaching PFL, but he mentions the underlying cause of the expansion of Polish onto neighbouring lands: its strength.

Certainly, the most extensive and the most detailed study was Zenon Klemensiewicz's seminal *Historia języka polskiego*. An interesting aspect of how it came to be was indicated in a remark by Irena Bajerowa in the introduction to the 1974 edition. She wrote that: "The Author himself considered that the work stemmed from a series of lectures entitled *Zarys historii języka polskiego*, which he delivered at summer courses for foreigners and Poles in Kraków in August 1939" (Bajerowa 1964, p. 11). Therefore, the Polish language and culture summer courses for foreigners offered at the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University served as the basis for a later, excellent history of the Polish language, written during the Second World War and after it. The book often mentions the role of foreigners in the description of the Polish language, promoting its beauty and sufficiency, and the fact of writing textbooks for teaching PFL and grammar compendia for foreigners. Even more so considering the fact that for nearly three centuries, that was done solely by foreigners and rarely by people for whom Polish was their mother tongue.

Similarly important are the indications by Klemensiewicz of the phenomenon of Polish-other bilingualism in various historical periods and in various areas: in towns where Germans were the patriciate group (e.g. Kraków, Gdańsk and Wrocław) and Poles were the common folk, the dominant form was German-Polish bilingualism; in the areas of Rus' and the Borderlands when they belonged to the Polish Republic, where people used Ruthenian and Polish, there existed Ruthenian-Polish bilingualism. Latin also played a significant role in the development of bilingualism, as for centuries it was the basis of school education; thanks to it, or rather because of it, there emerged Latin-Polish bilingualism so impactful on the development of Polish. "An educated Pole used two languages" (Klemensiewicz 1974, p. 385). In the second half of the 18th century when higher social groups were largely influenced by the French language, it would be difficult to talk about balanced bilingualism. French was dominant while the knowledge of Polish was poor, and sometimes the language was not taught in Polish homes at all. The phenomenon of bilingualism was common and varied considerably throughout the history of Poland. It is worth remembering, as indicated by Klemensiewicz<sup>7</sup>, that in the history of the Polish language there were periods when it was expansive. That applied to Ruthenian and literature written in Polish by Rus' writers, Lithuanian in Lithuania, and Pomerania and Silesia where Polish was learnt by the local population of Germans. The period of expansion of Polish was the period from the mid-16th century to the mid-18th century. In the 19th century, some Jews

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Section "Wpływ polszczyzny na inne języki" [Impact of Polish on other languages], pp. 350–352.

became Polonised and the Jewish community, through a process of assimilation, learnt Polish, which was why rabbis introduced Polish classes in Cheders. Thus, another ethnic group was becoming bilingual.

Clearly, the time (the Middle Polish era), its beginning and peak in particular, was aligned with the period of the grandness of the Polish Republic, its strong political, economic and cultural position. With the downfall of the Polish Republic, the strength of Polish and its impact on neighbouring languages decreased rapidly. However, the history of the teaching of Polish as a foreign language did not end there, as it was taught for various reasons in many locations throughout Europe.

Believers of various faiths exiled from their intolerant states seeking peace in the Polish Republic were usually people of excellent levels of education. In Poland, they additionally learnt Polish, thus becoming not bilingual but multilingual, and, quite importantly for us, they gained knowledge of the Polish language, which in turn resulted not only in their becoming translators, but they were also the first to create Polish grammar compendia, which today are the source of knowledge of the language of those times, and in those times they were used for learning PFL. During the Reformation, and later during the Counter-Reformation, it was extremely important to utilise the native language of a population for promoting faith. Protestants were the most successful as they translated the Bible into national languages, they printed many hymnals, catechisms and collections of sermons in those languages, and they introduced native languages to service. That was also the case with Polish. Bilingual border towns dominated by Protestants, i.e. Wrocław, Gdańsk, Toruń, Königsberg and Elblag, established schools where students could learn Polish. That opportunity was seized by German townspeople who appreciated the need for future traders and craftsmen to have a good command of the language. In those schools Polish was taught by foreigners who first learnt the language and later taught it.

Zenon Klemensiewicz had considerable knowledge on teaching PFL in the Middle Polish age, which he might have derived from the studies available at that time by Władysław Pniewski (about Gdańsk), Aleksander Rombowski (about Wrocław), and Stanisław Tync (about teaching Polish in Toruń). In his discussion of the history of Polish he mentioned the grammarians and authors of books for teaching PFL referenced in those studies.

The first Polish grammar compendium (*Polonicae grammatices institutio...*, Kraków 1568), which was written in Latin, as it was intended for foreigners who wanted to learn the Polish language, was written by a Frenchman by the name of Piotr Statorius-Stojeński, a fact which continues to surprise outsiders to the field.

When recording the phonetic and stress phenomena of the Middle Polish age, Klemensiewicz used the Polish grammar compendia written by foreigners: Franciszek Mesgnen-Meniński (1649), Jeremiasz Roter (1616), Piotr Statorius-Stojeński (1568), Jan Ludwik Cassius (1797), Ernst Müllenheim (1717), Jan Moneta (1720), Georg Schlag (1734), J. T. Keller (1701), Jan Karol Woyna (1690), and Maciej Guthäter-Dobracki (1669). The details included in those grammar compendia also proved necessary for discussing the changes which occurred in Polish inflection. Once again, Klemensiewicz relied on Mesgnen-Meniński, Roter, Woyna, Guthätter-Dobracki and Schlag, whose studies have become the sources of knowledge on the development of the Polish grammatical system. He also considered the dictionaries intended for the foreign learners of the Polish language. Thus, in *Compendiosa linguae Polonicae institutio* (1690), Jan Karol Woyna included words which were going out of use at that time, which offered a valuable indication for later researchers. Klemensiewicz also used Volckmar's dictionary *Dictionarium trilingue*... (1596), which was mainly intended for Gdańsk-based Germans learning Polish. When writing about the enriching of the Polish lexical system, Klemensiewicz did not omit Polish-foreign phrasebooks. He wrote:

Lexis and phraseology were enriched by various phrasebooks in Polish and other languages used as learning aids. They also shed new light on how Poles were interested in foreign languages and the foreigners' need to become familiar with the Polish language (Klemensiewicz 1974, p. 357).

In that context he mainly mentioned German-Polish phrasebooks: read fragments of *Ksiqżeczki polskie* from the early 16th century, Volckmar's phrasebook of 1616, and Schlag's phrasebook of 1736 – all intended for Germans learning Polish or for Poles learning German. Klemensiewicz also wrote about Polish-Latin phrasebooks which were used solely for learning the latter.

The status of a language is certainly influenced by the judgements of its users and the opinions of foreigners who know it or who have only heard it. Klemensiewicz referred to the judgements of Poles, e.g. Mikołaj Rej, Piotr Kochanowski and Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, yet he mainly used the opinions of foreigners which were expressed in the forewords to Polish grammar compendia and other teaching aids or sometimes in speeches as, in the case of Jan Rybiński who, when taking the position of Polish teacher at Gdańsk's Academic Secondary School, delivered a speech in Latin on the benefits of learning languages in general, and Polish in particular. Later, Klemensiewicz wrote about the positive attitude towards the Polish language of Piotr Statorius-Strojeński, the author of the first Polish grammar compendium, who indicated the rules present in the Polish language, a fact which had been rejected by some. A similar opinion was offered by Mesgnen-Meniński who argued that Polish was very noble and had grammatical patterns. Polish was also discussed in positive terms in grammar compendia for Germans by Maciej Guthätter-Dobracki, Alexander Raphaeli, and Müllenheim.

Regarding the so-called validity of the use of words, Klemensiewicz, apart from referring to statements by Poles, used judgements expressed by the authors of grammar compendia for foreigners, some of whom opposed the use of Silesian dialect elements (e.g., Friede condemned Jeremiasz Roter's dialect elements). In *Compendiosa Linguae Polonicae Institutio* (1690), Jan Karol Woyna indicated that many established elements of Latin or Greek origin used to have Polish synonyms, and he rebuked Volckmar for introducing many germanisms in his phrasebooks (Klemensiewicz 1974, p. 394). Those statements proved the grammarians' sensitivity to the purity of the Polish being taught. They also indicated that those grammarians cared deeply for grammatical correctness as they indicated which of the inflection forms they provided were more common and recommendable. That was done by Mesgnen-Meniński, Jan Karol Woyna, and Mikołaj Volckmar.

In the Middle Polish age, several dozen Polish grammar compendia were published in print. That influenced the solidification of inflection, orthographic and orthophonic standards of the Polish language. One characteristic of those studies was the fact that they were written mainly by Polonised foreigners, and their grammar compendia were extremely practical: they were used to teach Polish to foreigners, mainly Germans. Due to the fact that most of the authors were not native users of Polish, their evaluations of the condition of the language should be taken with some caution, however undefinable its level may be. One should also remember that the arrangements of all the indicated grammar compendia depended on Latin grammar compendia, which were the models for modern languages.

Klemensiewicz discussed seven Middle Polish studies, which are considered (not always justifiably) as grammar compendia. For example, it would be difficult to talk about grammatical information in *Wokabularz*... (*Polskie książeczki*), which mainly included "sentencye" (or phrases) and inferior fragments of inflection<sup>8</sup>. Then Piotr Statorius-Stojeński's compendium of the Polish language Polonicae grammatices institutio (1568) was undoubtedly a grammar compendium. It is evaluated highly even today. The author possessed extensive theoretical knowledge which enabled him to find regularities and patterns in the previously undescribed language. He offered a "fundamental description of the Polish grammatical system and thus laid the foundation for all later discussions of its historical development" (Klemensiewicz 1974, p. 413). Another work discussed by Klemensiewicz was Compendium linguae polonicae by Mikołaj Volckmar (1594). It showed (quite understandably) references to the description of Latin grammar, and to Statorius's book. After discussing Volckmar, Klemensiewicz proceeded to a work by another foreigner, Franciszek Mesgnen-Meniński, entitled Grammatica sue Institutio Polonicae linguae (1649). His study was more detailed than those by Statorius or Volckmar. The author, who spoke many languages and was a specialist in the languages of the Orient, was well-prepared for writing a Polish grammar compendium. Jan Karol Woyna, the first Pole to write a Polish grammar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Klemensiewicz did write that "only chronological order" encouraged him to write about "an attempt at a textbook on the beginnings of the Polish language", yet it was a work which he discussed in his overview of grammar compendia (Klemensiewicz 1974, p. 411).

compendium for foreigners, wrote *Compendiosa Linguae Polonicae Institutio* (1690) in Latin and *Kleiner Lustgarten...* in German (1690). The latter was an abridged version of *Compendiosa...*, supplemented with a phrasebook, a small dictionary and a collection of proverbs.

Klemensiewicz briefly discussed *Enchiridion polonicum* by Jan Moneta (1720), a textbook which had a total of 19 editions.

In summary, one might state that Zenon Klemensiewicz had a good knowledge of the publishing activities of the teachers of PFL who operated in Gdańsk, Wroclaw and Königsberg between the 16th and the 18th centuries. He highly appreciated their contributions in the description of the language in the Middle Polish age, as he knew that without them all the information on the linguistic system of the Polish language of those times would have to be extracted from old texts.

In the Modern Polish age, Klemensiewicz stressed the contributions of Krzysztof Celestyn Mrongowiusz, a teacher of Polish as a foreign language in Königsberg and at the Academic Secondary School in Gdańsk and the author of grammar compendia and textbooks for teaching Polish to Germans. He worked in a very difficult period (the 19th c.), when the intention to learn Polish was not so common as before, and the Prussian policy hampered such activities considerably.

In the Modern Polish age, grammar compendia written by foreigners continued to be a source of knowledge about Polish, yet it was a period when there appeared Polish grammar compendia written by Poles, some (like Józef Mroziński's) highly esteemed. Although Klemensiewicz derived information on the condition of Polish from books by, e.g., I. C. Krumpholz (1794) and Adreas Polsfus (1797), references to such grammar compendia were much fewer than in the previous period. In a section devoted to grammar textbooks of the Modern Polish age, there once again appeared works by foreigners, mainly as a backdrop to grammar compendia written in Polish by Poles. The case was different with Mrongowiusz, who was referenced as a grammarian who wrote Polish grammar compendia in German for Germans. When writing about Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, Klemensiewicz did not mention his grammar compendium for Germans, limiting himself to a critical remark on Bandtkie's dictionary. Additionally, the author discussed Gramatyka polska dla Litwinów uczących się języka polskiego (1833) by Franciszek Marciński. He did not remark, though, on the many such publications for Germans, Czechs and speakers of English. That indicates that materials for teaching PFL from the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were not known to Klemensiewicz and that comes as no surprise as they have never actually been studied. That glaring gap is most visible in *Historia jezyka* polskiego.

References to foreign authors of Polish grammar compendia and other teaching aids for foreigners and for persons engaged in teaching PFL in Klemensiewicz's work are summarised in Table 1.

No.	Name and surname	Number of references
1.	P. Statorius-Stojeński	35
2.	F. Meniński-Mesgnen	24
3.	J. K. Woyna	22
4.	M. Dobracki	17
5.	J. Schlag (Szlag)	15
6.	M. Volckmar	15
7.	J. Roter	11
8.	J. Moneta	10
9.	K. C. Mrongowiusz	8
10.	J. E. Müllenheim	8
11.	J. Rybiński	7
12.	J. A. Cassius	5
13.	I. C. Krumpholz	4
14.	B. Ruttich	4
15.	J. Gadebusch	3
16.	S. J. Malczowski (Malczarski, Malczewski)	3
17.	J. S. Bandtkie	2
18.	A. Polsfus	2
19.	F. Marciński	1
20.	P. Michaelis	1

 Table 1. References to Polish grammar compendia by foreigners in "Historia języka polskiego"

 by Z. Klemensiewicz

Source: own study based on Historia języka polskiego by Z. Klemensiewicz (1974)

I collected the data for the table from the index at the end of Klemensiewicz's monograph *Historia języka polskiego*. They indicate that eight Polish grammar compendia written in Latin or German for foreigners and by foreigners as well as texts by teachers of PFL were an important source of information for him, while the remaining twelve were of lesser importance. The general summary also shows that the contributions of foreigners to the knowledge of the condition of Middle and Modern Polish should be highly appreciated.

Zenon Klemensiewicz used publications related to teaching PFL to create a history of the Polish language as a mother tongue. His monograph lacked any second stream, somewhat parallel to the main one, i.e. of the history of Polish as a foreign (second) language. It is high time for such a study to be created to offer a comprehensive historical perspective: of Polish as a mother tongue and as a second language.

In 1993, Jan Mazur published in German Geschichte der polnischen Sprache. It is the only work of that type intended for foreign readers, and that fact influenced its shape. It was written in an accessible manner, it contains many historical, literary and cultural facts necessary as the background for the development of the Polish language. Strictly linguistic details were offered in a clear and synthetic manner, using graphic material, and they often came from previous publications by other authors. In the publication, Jan Mazur often indicated the historical circumstances thanks to which the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was a multilingual and multicultural state. Obviously, he also mentioned the impacts of the Reformation and the Counter--Reformation on the development of Polish. Mazur also discussed the development of education in the Middle Polish age, thanks to which authors published grammar compendia and textbooks for teaching Polish as a foreign language. The author considered the following three as the most important grammar compendia of the Middle Polish age: Piotr Statorius-Stojeński's Polonicae grammatices institutio, Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński's Grammatica seu institutio polonicae linguae, and Mikołaj Volckmar's Compendium linguae polonicae (Mazur 1993, pp. 267-268). All three were written by foreigners. The situation eventually changed in the Modern Polish age. The major grammar compendia of the period were written by Poles and intended for Poles, mainly as school textbooks. In his study, Jan Mazur also stressed the role of Polish in Central and Eastern Europe when he wrote about the Polonisation of Russians, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians (Mazur 1993, p. 371), as well as the role of Poland as an intermediary between Western and Eastern Europe (Mazur 1993, p. 272).

In the very popular *Zarys dziejów języka polskiego* of 1995, Bogdan Walczak mentioned a dozen or so times foreigners who played major roles in the development of the Polish language. In the part devoted to the Old Polish age, there was only one mention of them, i.e. of the author of the first grammar compendium. The discussion concerned the phenomenon of mazuration, which was described by Statorius-Strojeński. Walczak did not mention the author's name at that point, but he stated that the grammar compendium "will be discussed later on" (Walczak 1995, p. 95).

During the Middle Polish age, one of the factors which influenced the development of Polish, apart from the development of the Renaissance culture, the heyday of literature in national languages, scientific and educational progress, and the development of printing and gentry democracy, was the Reformation, and later the Counter-Reformation. "The development of the Polish language was very favourably influenced by the Reformation and the related religious rivalry and polemic..." (Walczak 1995, p. 110). That was the case mainly because Protestants introduced the national language into polemics with the Catholic Church and to which the supporters of Catholicism responded. Both sides tried to reach major social groups and to that end they had to use their national languages.

Dissenter (non-Catholic) school education played a major role in the development of the knowledge of Polish and in teaching it as a foreign language because in cities and towns with mixed German-Polish populations and (at some point in history) in Kievan Rus', Polish as a foreign language was taught. Dissenter schools usually offered a high level of education (e.g. the secondary schools in Raków, Pińczów, and Leszno). The author mentioned an important role of schools in the areas of mixed Polish-German populations (Pomerania and Silesia), where in schools Polish as a foreign language was taught, something which did not exist in ethnically Polish areas. In his study, he mentioned Toruń, Gdańsk, Włocław and "other towns." As a result of the teaching of PFL many dictionaries, German-language Polish grammar compendia phrasebooks and textbooks for teaching PFL were published in Gdańsk, Königsberg, Wrocław, Brzeg, and Oleśnica (Walczak 1995, p. 115).

In Zarys... Walczak briefly mentioned Statorius-Stojeński, the author of the first Polish grammar compendium entitled *Polonicae grammatices institutio*, yet he omitted the detail that he was not Polish (Walczak 1995, p. 114). He discussed the trilingualism of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the south--eastern crown voivodships on page 143. In those areas, educated people used Polish, Ruthenian and Latin. Many elements of the Polish language permeated into Ruthenian as a result of the expansion of the Polish language eastwards and the Polonisation of the higher social groups. The Ruthenian language of the Orthodox religion was for many too detached from everyday colloquial language, and the formal language of the Grand Duchy could not meet the needs resulting from general development. Thus, new notions were referred to using Polish terms. "The Polish language became the formal language of the state of the Grand Duchy in the final years of the 17th century" (Walczak 1995, p. 150). In Ruthenian writings, both secular and religious, Polish appeared even earlier. Walczak listed Ruthenian writers who wrote in Polish: Łazarz Baranowicz, Janusz Galatowski, Barlaam Jasiński, Stefan Jaworski, Leoncjusz Karpowicz, Zachariasz Kopysteński, Teofan Prokopowicz, Melecjusz Smotrycki (Walczak 1995, p. 150). He also mentioned Piotr Mohyl and Sylwester Kosow.

In a chapter devoted to grammar compendia and Old Polish dictionaries, he mentioned, among others, *Dictionarium trilinguae ad discendam linguam latinam, polonicam et germanicam accomodatum* by Mikołaj Volckmar (Gdańsk 1596). He also wrote about minor dictionaries attached to grammar compendia and Polish-German and German-Polish phrasebooks in Pomerania and Silesia

(Walczak 1995, p. 165). When writing about Michał Abraham Trotz and Samuel Bogumił Linde, mainly as the authors of major dictionaries, he also mentioned their teaching careers in Leipzig.

He dated *Polskie książeczki* – "Wietor print intended for Wrocław school pupils" to 1541 (Walczak 1995, p. 167).

Proper grammar textbooks appeared in the 16th century and their numbers grew in the 17th and the 18th centuries (by the mid-18th century around forty had been published). All had a practical purpose and nature: they were used by foreigners, mainly Germans, to learn Polish. Their authors were mainly Polonised foreigners (Walczak 1995, p. 167).

On the following page, he wrote about Statorius-Stojeński, praising the "French scholar." According to his words, M. Volckmar's *Compendium linguae polonicae* (Gdańsk 1594) grammar compendium

opened the extensive list of grammar compendia and other textbooks (dictionaries, phrasebooks, letter templates, etc.) intended for Pomeranian Germans learning Polish. The need in that respect within the bilingual area was best indicated by the fact that by the 1770s (though mainly in the 17th century), nearly one hundred such textbooks had been published! (Walczak 1995, p. 168).

Just as Volckmar's work did in Pomerania, *Klucz do polskiego i niemieckiego języka* by Jeremiasz Roter (Wrocław 1616) opened the list of Polish grammar compendia in the other bilingual area, Silesia. There, too, the market was very receptive, which was why in terms of the numbers of various textbooks Silesia was not much inferior to Pomerania (Walczak 1995, p. 168).

Further on, the author limited his discussion to referencing grammar compendia "in the most exclusive meaning" and listed: Michał Kuschius's *Wegweiser zur polnischen Sprache – Przewodnik do języka polskiego* (Wrocław 1646), Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński's *Grammatica seu institutio polonicae linguae* (Gdańsk 1649), which he evaluated as "an outstanding work, in many aspects surpassing Statorius's work", Maciej Dobracki's *Goniec gramatyki polskiej seu Curier der polnischen Sprachlehre* (Oleśnica 1668), Jan Karol Woyna's, the first Polish author of a Latin textbook of Polish grammar, *Compendiosa linguae polonicae institutio* (Gdańsk 1690), Bartłomiej Kazimierz Malicki's *Tractus ad compendiosam cognitonem linguae polonicae* (Kraków 1699), Jan Ernest Müllenheim's *Neuertörte polnische Grammatica* (Brzeg 1717), Jerzy (original reference) Moneta's *Enchiridion Polonicum oder polnisches Handbuch* (Gdańsk 1720), Jerzy Schlag's *Neue gründliche und vollstaendige polnische Sprachlehre* (Wrocław 1734), Karol Fryderyk Müller's *Polnische Grammatik* (Królewiec 1750), etc. (Walczak 1995, p. 169).

The first author to write a Polish grammar compendium in Polish for Poles was Walenty Szylarski, who wrote *Początki nauki dla narodowej młodzieży, to jest gramatyka języka polskiego* in 1770 (Walczak 1995, p. 186). As stated by

Walczak, "(...) Szylarski's grammar compendium did not, however, become widely appreciated or popular, and soon it was obscured by Kopczyński's textbook" (1995, p. 232). And as he wrote earlier

Most difficult was the struggle for Polishness and the mother tongue in Silesia, Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria, areas which had long been bilingual, with a more or less significant addition of old German settlements; lands which were treated by the Prussian partitioner as German from time immemorial (Walczak 1995, p. 195).

Stanisław Borawski wrote *Wprowadzenie do historii języka polskiego. Za-gadnienia historiozoficzne* and devoted his work to discussing the history of the use of Polish, i.e. to the communicative approach (p. 157, 169). It seems that for Borawski, teaching aids for teaching PFL would have been "the primary sources", i.e. ones which constituted "records of old communications, which contained patterns of linguistic behaviour and applications thereof considered as appropriate at various levels of communicative communities" (Borawski 2000, p. 206). Those included, e.g., memoirs, diaries, journals, participatory accounts, and similar documents (Borawski 2000, p. 207). Therefore, neither phrasebooks for foreigners nor letter templates were considered as behavioural patterns. Which was unfortunate. In Borawski's work, devoted mainly to the methodology of history of language and the modes of thinking about the historical process (cf. *Introduction*), by definition there was no place for discussing information on the condition of the language provided by old grammar compendia and textbooks for teaching PFL.

The above overview of the existing historical compendia of the Polish language indicates that since the 1880s, the approach to that history has been evolving. That seems obvious if one considers the element of time. The interesting references made by the researchers of the history of language to old publications intended for foreigners who learnt PFL were not common for all the authors. That was probably caused by their initial assumptions, and, possibly, by their unfamiliarity with those sources, even more so as monographic studies devoted to the teaching of Polish in cities and towns with mixed German-Polish populations began appearing shortly before the Second World War (the first ones in 1938). Additionally, the history of the Polish language was generally considered as the history of the mother (national) tongue without considering the fact that for several centuries it was the second language of a portion of the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its fieldoms, as well as for certain groups of the inhabitants of neighbouring states. An analysis of the indicated monographs of the history of Polish indicates that sources intended primarily for foreigners were used by Zenon Klemensiewicz who knew and used the works of at least twenty authors. The second researcher was Bogdan Walczak whose Zarys dziejów... also, though to a smaller extent due to the smaller size of his work, included information on teaching PFL to foreigners, and on the textbooks and grammar compendia intended for foreigners. Among the analysed old studies, only the authors of two, Józef Kazimierz Plebański and Jan Łoś, provided more precise (in particular, the former) information or only references in a supplementary bibliography (the latter) to grammar compendia which had been used for teaching PFL.

It should also be mentioned that all of the indicated authors omitted 19thcentury grammar compendia and other publications (textbooks, text selections, etc.) intended for foreigners. That was presumably due to the fact that within that period (i.e. the 19th c.), there already existed many good or very good grammar compendia written by Poles which approached Polish as the mother tongue. Since those written earlier by foreigners were usually omitted, they should be considered when writing the history of the teaching of PFL. Even more so as the number of nationalities of the people who learnt Polish in the 19th century grew considerably when compared to the Middle Polish age.

In the later period, the researchers of more specific notions and not the general landscape of the history of Polish used the 19th-century grammar compendia for foreigners as the sources of their study material. Thus, grammar compendia written for foreigners were identified as a separate type of grammar compendia by Anna Czelakowska (2010, p. 19). It is not surprising that in a work devoted to the 19th-century grammar compendia Mirosław Skarżyński (2001) also referenced grammar compendia written for foreigners (by F. Marciński, T. Kurhanowicz, F. G. Kampmann, K. C. Mrongowiusz, R. Rykaczewski, J. Popliński, M. Suchorowski, and T. Szumski). When writing about the Polish literary language of the 18th century, Irena Bajerowa (1964) included among the sources publications intended for foreigners: grammar compendia by J. K. Woyna, B. K. Malicki, J. E. Müllemheim, J. Moneta, G. Schlag, S. Dąbrowski, I. Trąbczyński, I. C. Krumpholz, K. C. Mrongowiusz, A. Adamowicz, and T. Szumski. Then, Wanda Decyk-Zieba wrote that "in the 19th century, school and popular grammar compendia were prevalent (...) a small group of those constituted Polish grammar compendia for foreigners." She mentioned S. Bandtkie's Polnische Grammatik für Deutsche... (Wrocław 1808), and Tomasz Kurhanowicz's Przewodnik do praktycznej nauki języka polskiego dla Rosjan (Warszawa 1865), and indicated the rarely mentioned culture-forming function of grammar compendia:

written for persons who do know (who learn) Polish, they constituted a bridge (a carrier of values) between the Polish culture and the West European culture, they responded to specific social needs, such as the need to talk and write in Polish by Germans, Italians and the French." (Decyk-Zięba 2014)

The nationalities listed by Decyk-Zięba should be supplemented with Czechs, Lithuanians, Jews, and Russians and thus one should talk about a bridge between the Polish and European cultures. Those examples of various studies indicate that the researchers of the grammatical history of the Polish language intentionally relied on grammar compendia written for, and sometimes by, foreigners. In some cases that seemed obvious as there were no other Polish grammar compendia at that time, while the authors of textbook historical grammar compendia (Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Ubrańczyk 1965; Rospond 1973) did not refer to former teaching aids for the teaching of PFL. They did not use them as sources or witnesses to linguistic phenomena observed by their authors during their careers. That, however, was a question of choice.

# 3. WHAT SHOULD THE HISTORY OF POLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE LOOK LIKE?

The discussion of the history of PFL must, in principle, exceed the framework of the history of Polish as a mother tongue, both internal and external. When talking about a language as foreign, one should mention the methods and locations of teaching it (organisation of the education system, teaching methods applied in the period), which includes in the discussion the history of education and upbringing, both domestic and European. Another domain related to teaching foreign languages has for many centuries been the economy: near and far trade, and the everyday buying and selling of various goods in the local market. Such situations were clearly reflected in some of the old Polish textbooks for foreigners. The motivation related to trade (so also better income) was a major factor contributing to the opening of schools with teachers of Polish.

The historical approach to Polish as a foreign language should be presented in a broader context, i.e. in combination with culture and the conditions of community and political life. Thus understood, history is no longer a story of the development of a linguistic system and the research emphasis shifts towards cultural linguistics. Today, it is clear that a language cannot be taught as a foreign language without reference to the broadly understood culture (including popular culture) of the country where it is the dominant and official language<sup>9</sup>. It is important to focus on the foreigners' need to know the Polish language not only for economic reasons, but also religious (acquisition of new followers, e.g. of Protestant faiths), political (fulfilling various political functions in the fiefdoms of the Polish Republic), and cultural (the strength of a well-developed Slavic language which Polish was in the period from the 16th c. to the second half of the 18th c.).

An important issue which should also be considered was the multilingualism and multiculturalism of some of the extensive areas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the spreading of the Polish culture onto neighbouring lands, as a result of which Polish, as the second or further language (not the mother tongue), extended its territory of usage and increased the number of its users.

When discussing the later Modern Polish period, if one was to use Zenon Klemensiewicz's periodization, it would be necessary to indicate the language

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The matter was discussed by Anna Burzyńska (2002) in reference to old teaching aids.

policies of partitioners, who in different periods approached the teaching of Polish as the mother tongue and as a foreign language differently. In the 20th century (after 1918), one should consider the language policy of Poland with a differentiation based on the political system in place and the degree of political independence. Also, for that period, one should also discuss the teaching of PFL outside Poland.

A history of PFL must possess an organising nature, it should be divided into periods of the teaching, one should discuss it in territorial (where the Polish language was learnt) and community (which social groups did that) terms, and indicate the motivations for learning the language. That organisation would also apply to a list of teaching aids used throughout the centuries and a more detailed discussion of some of those (descriptions of selected textbooks, that is).

It would also be necessary to discuss the merits of the teachers of Polish (mainly foreigners) as the promoters of the Polish language and as the authors of textbooks, and, of course, as the teachers of the language.

The history of the teaching of PFL should encompass the entire documented period, starting with the early-16th century, and through the following five centuries it should reach contemporary times. Within that extensive period, it would be necessary to describe and analyse the institutions engaged in the teaching of PFL, persons who engaged in such activities (not always teachers), and students. One should also reconstruct<sup>10</sup> the teaching methods, analyse teaching aids (cf. above), and indicate the changing motivations for learning the Polish language.

One should analyse the contents of selected textbooks (phrasebooks, dictionaries, grammar compendia, and letter templates) which offer extremely interesting information on the everyday life in the towns of the bilingual borderlands (Silesia, Prussia/Pomerania). Such information should be verified against historical studies to check whether the image of everyday life depicted in phrasebooks matched the reality<sup>11</sup>. One should also analyse selected textbooks to define their internal relations, often quite extensive. That would indicate the routes of the propagation of some teaching ideas, and the preferred models.

Using selected examples, one should discuss which vocabulary items were part of specific lexical and semantic fields, and how many of those were introduced to the old textbooks for PFL, and compare that with selected 20th and 21st-century textbooks. Thus, one could acquire information not only about the lexical stock which foreigners learning PFL were supposed to acquire, but also how it differed from our contemporary assumptions of teaching Polish as a foreign language, and how they are similar<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Reconstruct as usually they were not written down (only some descriptions survived). The surviving teaching materials could serve as the basis for the reconstruction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Existing studies indicate that that was the case. That was indicated in master's theses written under my supervision.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> I do not mean lexis related to objects, institutions and activities which no longer exist as those are no longer present in texts younger by several centuries.

All teaching aids for teaching PFL are proof of intercultural and interlinguistic contacts, they show the openness of neighbouring nationalities, and the strength of Polish. Some grammar compendia/textbooks were written both for learners of Polish as a foreign language, and for Poles learning German. That was the pragmatic approach of, e.g.: the uncredited *Wokabularz* (1539), and *Klucz do polskiego i niemieckiego języka…* by Jeremiasz Roter (1616). Those are textbooks considered by German historians of the teaching of German as a foreign language (Glück 2002). Therefore, those works are treated as common, belonging to both cultures and both systems of teaching a language as a foreign language, elements linking the histories of the neighbouring languages: Polish and German.

The history of the teaching of PFL should indicate the strength of Polish which impacted the users of neighbouring languages in such a way that they not only learnt the Polish language, but also wrote works of literature in it or became Polish teachers and the authors of various teaching aids. The expansion of the Polish language was most emphatic in the second half of the 16th century and in the 17th century. The high position of Polish was the reason why it was learnt by the upper social classes of the Rus' and Lithuania or Moscovite Rus' (Lehr-Spław-iński 1947; Walczak 2015). Germans living in Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia, Silesia and Livonia learnt Polish for different reasons. These groups of learners, along with the Polish learners of German and Ruthenian languages, were the reasons why the areas became multilingual, and the languages which remained in contact with one another influenced each other, traces of which are still visible. The cultural permeation and multilingualism were discussed or at least mentioned in some of the works analysed in the first part of this article<sup>13</sup>.

It would be necessary to discuss bilingual dictionaries or dictionaries of more languages as the sources of knowledge on the lexical stock used in teaching Polish as a foreign language.

One should consider the level of the language of the authors of selected teaching aids (e.g., the issue of German, Czech or Ruthenian elements). Such studies have already been conducted to some extent (the language of M. Volckmar, Gdańsk-based grammar compendia, *Książeczki polskie...*, various Polish-foreign language dictionaries).

The history of Polish as a second language should indicate the contributions of foreigners in the description of the language, in the collection and definition of vocabulary, and the documentation of its usage. Five centuries later, one should give due consideration to the large group of foreigners who assumed the Polish language and culture as their own, and who did much for their promotion. That indicates the intertwining and mutual linguistic influences in Central and Eastern Europe, and the major role which Polish played in the process. In such an approach, one could not omit the history of Polish as a foreign language. It is the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In this context, it is worth mentioning the work by A. Kłoskowska (2005).

fundamental stream without which Polish as a foreign language would not exist at all. It is also a domain which has not been previously studied or discussed.

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

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#### NAUCZANIE POLSZCZYZNY JAKO JĘZYKA OBCEGO W HISTORII JĘZYKA POLSKIEGO

Słowa kluczowe: historia języka polskiego jako ojczystego i jako obcego, glottodydaktyka, wielojęzyczność, wielokulturowość

Streszczenie. Artykuł przedstawia syntetycznie historię języka polskiego jako obcego, dotychczas pomijaną w opracowaniach historycznojęzykowych. Autorka przeanalizowała wszystkie istniejące opracowania książkowe dotyczące historii języka polskiego, zwracając uwagę na wzmianki i omówienia podręczników, słowników oraz gramatyk języka polskiego przeznaczonych dla cudzoziemców. Podkreśla, że w dobie średniopolskiej takie opracowania pisali nie Polacy, lecz cudzoziemcy (Niemcy i Francuzi). W tekście znalazły się też informacje dotyczące ekspansji języka polskiego w XVII/XVIII wieku na ziemie wschodnie i północne Rzeczpospolitej Obojga Narodów, także poza jej granicami. Na końcu artykułu autorka przedstawia ogólną ideę przyszłej monografii poświęconej historii nauczani języka polskiego jako obcego.