Section 7:
Country Report 1. Languages of education in the Russian Federation

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TEACHING NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN RUSSIA

Introduction

The language situation in Russia is rooted in its historical and cultural traditions. The latest population census (2002) found that 80 out of the 160 languages of the RF have the status of a standardized language. Such languages are protected by the Federal Law "On languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation". For the first time in Russian history, the Russian language has become the state language. And today Russia is in the process of defining its language policy and language planning on a legal basis.

1. The linguistic situation in the RF

Language policy is a major component in the formation of any state. This country is the homeland of 160 various nationalities. In the RF, the language policy is aimed at realizing the right of all peoples to use their native languages. Russians account for slightly over 80%, and other nationalities and ethnic groups for about 20%. About 60 numerically

small peoples live in Russia. They mainly inhabit the Caucasus and the North. The most numerous of them are Nenets (more than 430,000) and the Evenks (30,000); some other peoples being a lot less numerous, for example, the Akhvakhtsi number merely about 5,000. There are peoples hardly reaching a thousand people – among those are Aleuts, Kumandintsi Oroks, and Tofalars.

Among the peoples in the RF there are all titular nationalities of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries (and the Baltics). Over recent years, the influx of migrants has led to an increase in the number of Armenians (from 0.53 million to 1.13 million people), Azerbaijani (from 0.34 million to 0.62 million people), and Tadjiks (from 0.04 million to 0.12 million people) and so on.

Various ethno cultural associations and organisations function in many regions of the RF. In the Ryazan region alone, there are around 20 ethno cultural and ethno religious organisations. There are more than 100 national-cultural associations operating in Moscow. One of the most common and important goals of all diasporas and associations is to preserve their native tongue in Russia. Among these are such well-known organisations as the Assembly of the Peoples of the Russian Federation, the Union of Diasporas of Russia, the All-Russian Azerbaijani Congress and the federal ethno cultural autonomy "Ukrainians of Russia".

2. The language policy of the state

The native languages of the peoples of the RF and the CIS are today in the focus of public attention and state concern, which contribute to restoring the ethnic values. Under the current laws on languages or the appropriate articles of constitutions of the RF republics, 30 languages have the status of state language and five languages have the status of official languages (Dolgan, Chukchi, Evenk, Even, Yukagir). Compared with previous years, the use of state languages of the RF has significantly expanded, and many of them have become languages of education for the first time. The social prestige of native languages is growing. Programmes are being developed to promote the learning of native languages by those who have found themselves outside their native territories.

The languages of numerically small peoples have also received their share of attention. In recent years alphabets for many of them have been

developed and programmes and textbooks have been prepared in their native languages. Thus, in 1991, the Agul alphabet was created, a Tsahur language primer has recently been produced, and so on. It is obvious that each language has its own value as an object of research. It is also obvious, however, that by far not all the languages exercise similar social functions and therefore some languages are used only for everyday communication.

Russia has historically developed as a multicultural state, whose unity greatly depends on the inculcation of Russia's spiritual and cultural values within the Russian education system. It is common knowledge that it is in the school years that the basic worldview is developed. In this country the concept of "worldview" comprises Russian national and ethnic self--identity, tolerance towards other languages and cultures, native and non--native customs and traditions. Not less significant is the mastering of mother tongues and other languages functioning in a specific linguo-socio-cultural sphere.

3. Contact of the Russian language with other languages of the RF

In many cases, contacts between the Russian and other languages of the peoples of Russia have a long history that goes many centuries back. Thus, the interaction of Russians (or rather Eastern-Slavs) with some of the Turkic languages of Russian peoples goes back over 1500 years, with the Komi-Permyak language at least 7–8 centuries, while the Evenk-Russian language contacts began as early as the 16th century. The results of a lengthy period of contacts have manifested themselves at different levels: phonetic, lexical and grammatical. Thus, under the influence of Russian, the Komi-Permyak and some other languages of RF peoples acquired a lot of features they did not previously have. The results of these contacts are evident in the Russian language as well. Prof. Vinogradov, a prominent Russian linguist and philologist, noted that "throughout its history the Russian language borrowed a great deal of words and expressions from other languages, adapting them to and assimilating them with the Russian language system."

The Russian language has, above all, been influenced by the genetically related Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages. But other

languages of Russia's peoples (Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Roman, and so on) also added to the vocabulary of the Russian language; lexical contributions include terms used in everyday speech as well as in the industry, economy, culture and arts.

There are also wide contacts among other national languages of neighbouring peoples of the RF.

4. On Russian mentality

Russia's multicultural and multilingual situation, which has developed for many centuries, enables those studying *intercultural* communication (i.e. the theory of contacts within a state) to speak of the phenomenon of *Russian national mentality*. This concept of mentality in a way overlaps with the concept of "national character." There are some traditional methods to study this phenomenon: direct polling of various population groups (for instance, focusing on the hierarchy of basic values – law, success, family, income level, etc.), followed by analysis of the results and their interpretation. In the process mentality is viewed as a psychological category. However, the "collective subconscious" which shapes our mentality does not lend itself to direct observation and can be studied through language. We define mentality as the linguo-cultural content of consciousness (individual and collective) made up by verbally expressed cognitive units. *Russian mentality* is to a great extent deprived of a prevalent ethnic colouring, it has developed as a result of interaction of various ethnic mentalities.

The Russian Language Research Center of MSLU makes use of linguistic methods to study the new type of interaction of languages and cultures of the peoples of Russia – at the level of interaction of mentalities. This approach makes for a multitude of research dimensions that cannot be ignored, especially development of Language Portfolios for the RF languages, which lends it a special significance. First and foremost, the 160 languages of Russia are socio-linguistically different (the factors that are known as the external system of a language – alphabet, dialects, literature, native tongue teaching, developed mass media and so on).

There exist different models of interaction between ethnic languages and the state language, hence the difference in the interaction between various mentalities. The theory of 'Euroasianism', developed already in

1927 by the outstanding Russian philologist N. Trubetzkoy remains relevant. The basic concept is that of 'Personality', applying both to single persons and to groups of people, the so-called 'Symphonic Personality'. In his terms, every nation is a "symphonic personality" made up of "single-person personality", "many-person personality", "single-nation symphonic personality" and "many-nation symphonic personality". This theory applied to the Russian Federation helps both to understand and shape our approach to maintaining and building a national self-consciousness while at the same time encouraging the different peoples in the country to be proud of their heritage, culture and language.

5. National education policy within the system of general education

The content of education and upbringing of the younger generation is based upon the awareness of the "native" cultural tradition as a system-forming factor. According to official data, in 2003/2004 academic year, the Russian Federation had 6260 general education institutions with native (non-Russian) languages of instruction (9,9% of the total number of schools), and in 10404 schools the native (non-Russian) languages were taught as separate disciplines (16,4%).

The most widely used (after the Russian) languages are the Tatar, Bashkir, Chouvash. The least used languages are Latvian, New Greek, Georgian, Estonian, Kazakh, Polish, as well as languages of some indigenous numerically small peoples of the RF. Today, about 20% of Russian education institutions teach monoethnic students in their native (non-Russian) tongue. Within the structure of Russia's education system these schools, traditionally described as "national", represent a specific and independent type of education institutions that have a basic common feature, bilingualism and biculturalism.

Bilingual teaching process provides for five models of such schools:

- **Model 1.** "National schools" where instruction is provided in the native tongue from 1st to 11th grades, and the Russian language is offered as a separate subject (Tatarstan, Bashkiria, Sakha (Yakutia)).
- **Model 2.** "National schools" where instruction is done in the native tongue up to the 7th or to the 9th grades, and where the Russian

makes up a separate subject, with senior classes instruction in the Russian language (the rural school of Touva, Buryatia, Chouvashia, Kalmykia, the school in the North Caucuses and the urban schools of Tataria and Bashkortostan).

- **Model 3.** "National schools" where instruction is done in the native tongue up to 4th grade, the Russian language is offered as a subject, and a further transition to the Russian language as the language of instruction (the urban schools of Touva, Kalmykia, Adygeia, North Ossetia-Alania, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachaevo-Cherkesssia, Mariy-El, Mordovia and others).
- **Model 4.** "National schools", where instruction from the 1st to the 11th grades is done in the Russian language, and where there is a more profound study of the native tongue and culture (Karelia, Mordovia, Mariy-El, Udmurtia, Komi, Komi-Permyak Administrative District, schools where children of indigenous numerically small peoples of the Far North, Siberia and the Far East study).
- **Model 5.** "National schools", where instruction from the 1st to the 11th grades is done in the native tongue, with a further transition to the Russian language as the language of instruction (traveling schools beyond the Polar Circle, traveling family schools of Yamalo-Nenetski Administrative District and other territories). The acquisition of new functions by minority languages as the state languages of some constituent regions of Russia in the 1990s has resulted in greater bilingualism in national schools.

Currently the instruction in the RF educational institutions is conducted in *31 written languages,* with 12 languages used in secondary schools, 6 languages at the compulsory stage of 9-year school, and 13 in the primary school. It should be noted that only large ethnic groups with a developed native tongue have been able to take advantage of the new opportunities to learn their native tongues from 1st to 11th grades. In the rest of the ethnic groups the native tongues are taught only as a school subject or an optional course (45 native tongues). Thus, 76 native tongues of the RF peoples are learned in the RF education system.

Conclusion

The complex linguistic landscape of the Russian Federation described above brings into focus the need for a new and more specified vision of the goals of the national education policy, of its priorities and targets as well as mechanisms of their implementation. In this context, the work of the Council of Europe on a framework document of reference for languages of school education deserves special support and attention.

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GENERAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT NATIONAL CURRICULA IN RUSSIAN AS A LANGUAGE OF SCHOOL EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction

The Council of Europe's current project on languages of school education can turn fruitful for Russian researchers, language teachers, curriculum designers and ministry authorities in several aspects: to exchange experience and work out common terminology for language education at school in different countries; to discuss ways to raise efficiency of teaching both Russian, non-Russian and foreign languages.

Modern Russia has a population of 145 million people. Russians make up the most numerous ethnic group, their number is ca. 116 million (80% of all inhabitants of the country). However, Russia is a multi-ethnic state where people speak more than 160 languages.[1] According to the Languages Law of 24.07.1998 (rev. Law of 25.10.1991), the State provides to citizens of the Russian Federation conditions to learn and to teach their mother tongue and other languages of the peoples of Russia (Art.10.1). The Law also grants to the Republics of the Russian Federation the right to establish their own state languages besides Russian. About 30 mother tongues are in use in Russian schools as medium of instruction, and 45 mother tongues are learnt as subjects.

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[1]   www.perepis2002.ru (accessed 27.3.2007).

Russian as the state language of the Russian Federation is learnt in all institutions of general or professional education (Languages Law of 24.07.1998, Art.10.2; Language Law of 01.06.2005, Art.5.1.1).

Depending on the principal language of instruction several models of schools can be sorted out:

1) Schools with a native (non-Russian) language of instruction (for example, such schools in Bashkortostan, Tartarstan, Sakha-Yakutia, Komi, Tyva a.o. where Russian language is learnt as the official state language alongside with one's mother tongue language, native literature, Russian and world literature and a foreign language);

2) Schools with Russian (non-native) language of instruction (for example, schools in Buryatia, Chuvashia, Khakassia a. o. where Russian is used as a medium of education, and native language, native, Russian and world literature and a foreign language are learnt as subjects);

3) Schools with native Russian language of instruction (native Russian-speaking areas where Russian language, Russian and world literature and a foreign language are learnt as subjects).

The level of Russian language proficiency depends on the model (type) of school which is in its turn related to the specific language situation in this or that region, cultural and historical traditions, and individual motivation in language learning. For example, Russian language proficiency is lower in rural schools with a native (non-Russian) language of instruction, especially in a compact monoethnic environment (Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, Sakha-Yakutia, Komi, Tyva). Also in some areas in Russia (for example Buryatia, Khakassia, Mountainous Altai) which are too remote from native Russian-speaking environment and industrial centres Russian language proficiency is lower in schools with a Russian (non-native) language of instruction than in other areas.

Besides geographical location, other reasons of this phenomenon include reduction of social mobility of population, broadening of spheres of use of mother tongues as complimentary official languages. Consequently, one may speak about reduction of ethnic/Russian bilingualism both in quantity and in quality and lowering of Russian language proficiency in a number of areas of Russia. The change of centuries has also witnessed a fall of Russian language culture, especially in mass-media, and loss of prestige of Russian as a school subject throughout the country. The Russian society blames a. o. the school for it, not without grounds (See, for example, *Kontseptsiya yazykovoi politiki...*, 2000).

1. Language education terms and regulations

The Council of Europe language policy documents have always been intent on matter of terms. For example, the workshop No.15/96 focused on the question of what is the equivalent in participants' languages to "mother tongue", "first language", "family language" etc., equally for "national language", "official language", "common language", etc. The participants mainly focused on questions of language use within the education system (Languages and learning in multilingual schools, 1998: 9-10).

The term "standard" language is not recognised in Russian pedagogical literature as applied to mother tongue education (MTE). It belongs rather to research literature in stylistics. "Standard" has a negative connotation in Russian like "deprived of originality", "banal", "clichéd" etc. "*Литературный язык*" ("*literary language*") is used instead as a common term in Russian schools. Basically, the term has two meanings: a) language of belles-lettres; b) codified form of a language. These two meanings do not coincide. Each of them may be broader than the other one. On the one hand, literary language comprises not only language of belles-lettres but also language of journalism, science, public administration, business, oral presentations, colloquial speech, etc. On the other hand, language of belles-lettres may include elements of dialects, city half-dialects, jargons, etc. which are not taught at school (for details of interpretation see Khruslov 1995: 290-308).

Language education in general is regulated by the state educational Standard of general education (*государственный стандарт общего образования*).[2] Paradoxically, we don't use the term standard language but we use a Standard to teach it. Initially the Standard was meant to become a federal law but then it became an Order of the Ministry of Education of 5 March 2004, ą 1089. This is the so-called "transitional" Standard of the first generation. The Standard is made up of federal and regional (or ethnic/regional) components, and only the former is the prerogative of the federal centre. Schools may also introduce schools' and pupils' components of education to provide optional and individual studies.

In educational institutions the state Standard is being realised through sample programmes (*примерные программы*) in each separate subject

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[2]   www.edu.ru (accessed 27.3.2007).

and basic curriculum (*базовый учебный план*) for each stage of school education. The obligatory teaching of Russian as one's mother tongue in common Russian schools covers 735 hours, including 210 hours in grades V-VI, 140 hours in grade VII, 105 hours in grade VIII, 70 hours in grade IX. Teaching Russian in common ethnic schools covers 630 hours, including 140 hours in grades V-VII, 105 hours in grade VIII-IX (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of 7 July 2005, ą 03-1263).

Goals for non-Russian mother tongue education in native schools as a part of the ethnic/regional component of the Standard aim at communicative, linguistic and ethnic/cultural competencies of school children. To design this component is a competence of local educational authorities. They must not, however, exceed the maximum load for learners of each grade.

2. The structure of the Educational Standard

In 2002 a group of experts under the guidance of the former Minister of Education Eduard Dneprov designed a draft federal component of a state Standard for general education. Competence approach was a prerequisite of that work. Key (or basic, universal) competencies had to be formed as a result of education, such as cognitive, social, labour activity, everyday sphere and cultural competencies (*Projekt federal'nogo komponenta…*, 2002: 10).

The work on federal component in Russian in basic general education (grades V-IX) was carried out under the guidance of Svetlana L'vova and Elena Bystrova. The Russian Language Standard (both in its draft and final version) has three parts:

- Goals of language learning;
- Obligatory minimum of content of basic educational programmes;
- Requirements to the level of graduates' proficiency.

General goals of Russian language education as a part of the federal component for all types of schools are defined as follows:

Draft version	Final version
- To master Russian as a means of communication in everyday life and professional activity; to develop ability in spoken interaction and mutual understanding;	- To educate for citizenship and patriotism, love for Russian language; conscious attitude to language as spiritual value, means of communication and reception of knowledge in various spheres of human activity;
- To develop and educate school children as personalities (including language personalities), to socialize them; to develop intellectual qualities, ability in self-evaluation and evaluation of other people;	- To develop speech and intellectual activity; communicative skills and habits providing free mastering of Russian literary language in different spheres and situations of communication; readiness and ability in spoken interaction and mutual understanding; demand for speech self-perfection;
- To give schoolchildren access to culture and literature of the Russian people, to achievements of world science and culture, to teach them to perceive language as cultural and aesthetic value;	- To acquire knowledge on Russian language, its structure and functions in different spheres and situations of communication; stylistic resources, basic norms of Russian literary language and speech etiquette; enrichment of vocabulary and broadening the range of used grammar means;
- To form general educational skills and habits: organisational, informational, intellectual;	- To form abilities to recognize, analyze, classify language facts, to evaluate them from the point of view of norm usage, correspondence to the sphere and situation of communication; to carry out informational search, to extract and transform the necessary information;
- To teach the skill to live in a multiethnic country in tolerance; to understand self-value of culture, way of life, traditions of peoples and ethnic groups of Russia.	- To apply the acquired knowledge and abilities in one's own speech practice.
(Projekt federal'nogo komponenta…, 2002: 87-88)	(Federal'nyi component…, 2004: 71)

These general goals of Russian language education irrespective of the type of school are to be achieved during formation and development of communicative, linguistic and cultural competencies of the learner. Specific content of education for both types of school (with Russian and non-Russian as language of instruction) has been formulated. And here is where the dispute begins on "one curriculum for all learners" (see Aase, this volume).

Many pedagogues in Russia are in favour of having a common content of education in Russian for all types of schools. They require the same level of literacy for all school graduates throughout Russia, providing them with equal opportunities for entering a university (with an obligatory written examination in Russian). Their opponents are the so-called "Russian in ethnic school" pedagogues who stress the specific features of that kind of tuition.

The role of the State Educational Standard in this dispute may be decisive. I want to give an example how significant a single line in the text of the Standard can be. The crucial question for school teaching is what are language norms? Do they belong to linguistic or communicative competence of a speaker or to both? Evidently to both because a normalised language implies both linguistic codification and use of codified language means in accordance with a communicative situation. The draft Standard and the Standard itself say that communicative competence of learners is to be achieved through teaching speech communication, distinction between oral and written speech, dialogue and monologue, spheres and situations of speech communication, etc. Linguistic competence implies general data about language and language system. Cultural competence deals with teaching how culture and history of people are reflected in their language. However, the Russian school section, communicative competence subdivision, does not have integrated topics on the notion of Russian literary language and its norms (cf. the non-Russian school section in: *Federal'nyi component…*, 2004: 77). The Russian school section does have separate items on norms of Russian literary language in the linguistic competence subdivision (*Ibid:* 74, 75, and 76).

Treating norms of a language in a split way (phonetics, vocabulary, morphology etc.) from the linguistic point of view might not be appropriate for language teaching. For example, the misuse of Russian numerals in oral speech – a headache for teachers – is a combination of phonetic, lexical and morphological reasons. When using the phrase "In the year of…+ numeral" the right way to say would be "в две тысячи шестом (пятом, четвертом…) году". While declining compound ordinal numerals only the last word is being changed. The common mistake would be "в двухтысяче шестом (пятом, четвертом…) году". The same is true for phrases denoting a year of the last century "в (одна) тысяча девятьсот девяносто девятом году", not "в тысячу…" (Financial and legal documents directly require the use of this seemingly abundant "одна").

Colloquial phonetic variants "в тыщу…", "в две тыши…" etc. may be in use, too, depending on the register. Linguistically, from the articulation point of view, it is only a change of the dental sound 'c' for the palatal sound 'щ'. However, the actual use of these forms in speech is not sheer morphology or phonetics but a matter of culture of speech and communicative expediency (Khruslov 2004: 31). Background knowledge is that there are specific cases of matching numerals which are different lexemes, like "один" ("one") – "первый" ("first"); "два" ("two") – "второй" ("second"). Items like that have to be explained and treated in a complex way.

As early as a quarter of century ago an expert of the Council of Europe stressed that the communicative skill should indeed be the primary objective of language learning: "…by giving precedence, educationally, to building up communicative competence, we declare that the formal system characteristic of a particular language is, from the didactic point of view, of only secondary importance" (Porcher 1980: 9). These days it is a commonplace.

Once a paragraph is formulated in such an official document as the Standard it becomes a "must" for teachers and course-designers. If you argue with a teacher whether a strictly linguistic approach to norms is appropriate or not for language education in schools she or he would say, "But that's how it's put in the Standard. I just follow it!" – And that would be the final argument.

Requirements to the level of graduates' proficiency, according to the Standard, are higher for schools with Russian language tuition than for schools with a native (non-Russian) language of tuition. For example, the former must "adequately understand information of an oral or written message"…, "freely use linguistic dictionaries", etc. (*Federal'nyi component…* 2004: 82) whereas the latter must "understand information presented for hearing in a normal (sic!) tempo"…, "use dictionaries of different types", etc. (Ibid: 84). Judging from the content of education, the graduates' proficiency in non-Russian schools has to be close to native graduates' proficiency in Russian schools. Orientating beforehand one (native) group of school population to more 'adequate' and 'free' language proficiency as compared with the other (non-native) group is hardly reasonable.

3. Questions & Prospects

The basic questions as regards Russian language teaching in schools in Russia are as follows:

1) How to raise Russian language proficiency of school-graduates (in both Russian and non-Russian schools)?
2) Should the goals and the volume of Russian language tuition in ethnic schools be the same as in Russian schools? If not, what should be common and what should be different?

There is not any answer ready to the first question on raising language proficiency. Constant efforts are being made to improve the situation (linguistic and pedagogical research, new course-books design, teacher training, improvement of teaching methods, social events, such as contests, festivals, etc.).

As for the second question on goals and volume of Russian language education, my opinion is that basically the federal component should prescribe the same volume of Russian language tuition within the whole country for all types of schools. However, the ethnic/regional component should take into account local setting; for example, different social patterns of communication (both verbal and non-verbal) accepted by these or those people of Russia. Culturally, the ethnic school should teach skills to render in Russian information about children's native land, customs and traditions.

Under discussion there is an acute problem of integrating school subjects "Russian Language" and "Russian Literature" into a single subject "Russian *Slovesnost'*" (from Rus. "*slovo*" – "*word*").[3] "Russian *Slovesnost'*" discipline aims at spending school time in a more efficient way and developing not only communicative and linguistic competencies but also competencies in literary criticism, aesthetics and morals, teaching rules to comprehend and generate texts of any complex character. The approaches differ greatly how and when to teach this subject. Some authors suggest a new course synthesizing Russian language, literature, poetics and Russian studies and make it for the advanced stage of education in grades X-XI (see, for example, Shansky in: *Filologicheskoe obrazovanie v sovremennoi shkole* 1999: 32). Some suggest reconstructing the lost parts of Russian school philological knowledge (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and claim that this reconstruction should go

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[3]   Cf. Ongstad, this volume.

in a back chronological order, from junior to senior stages (see, for example, Zarif'yan, 1990: 50-51).

Thus, the Russian school of today faces many unsolved problems of language education of which I have mentioned just a few. International co-operation between practicing teachers, researchers, ministry's officials from different countries including Russia would be very much welcome.

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Section 8:
Country Report 2. Teaching Polish in Poland

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LEARNING THROUGH LANGUAGE TO DEVELOP CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Introduction

The idea expressed in the title refers to the role of the native language as a school subject (LS), and is the essential feature of a pedagogic concept realised by a series of curricula and textbooks for Polish language for grades 4–6 of the primary school, 1–3 of lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*) and 1–3 of upper secondary school (*liceum*), the three stages of education into which the Polish school system was divided by the 1999 reform.

These curricula, along with the student's and teacher's books – all entitled *To lubię!* – were created and written by a team of authors working for an independent, grass-roots project that came into being in response to a logical need. It was the product of a cultural analysis of contemporary life, teachers' knowledge, and a sense of professional responsibility in a situation of political and cultural flux. The project has produced a full set of materials: in addition to the textbooks mentioned above, there are also books designed to guide teaching of communication through writing – the textbooks *Sztuka pisania* for grades 4–6 of primary school and 1–3 of lower secondary school – as well as a series called *Metodyczna Biblioteka „To lubię!"*, devoted to reading methodology, educational drama, and the contemporary communicative environment; and a bimonthly periodical, *Nowa Polszczyzna*.

1. The project

The project *To lubię!* was launched in 1992, long before the reform of the Polish school system was announced. After the official announcement of the reform in1999, the team made the necessary modifications to the entire project, had the curricula and the textbooks recertified, and developed additional elements for the upper secondary school stage. The 2005 school-leaving examinations (18+) were the first sat by students who had worked with the *To lubię!* upper secondary school curriculum. At present work is underway on updating the primary school and lower secondary school parts of the cycle.

Each of the three curricula in the cycle follows the same concept and is based on the same educational philosophy, which facilitates a long-term approach to the topics covered and the phenomena analysed, and processual design of activities designed to foster a range of skills. The reason for the adoption of such solutions is the belief in a need for educational continuity – after all, it is the same child progressing through the successive levels of education.

Nevertheless, each of the three curricula can be treated as a separate whole and can function at a given level of education irrespective of the curricula followed "before" and "after". This prevents a situation whereby students and teachers are "pinned" to the curriculum.

2. The concept

The pedagogical concept of the *To lubię!* series is based on the following main principles:
1. A human being does not exist outside culture (Pasierb). As such, in a humanist education, culture (irrespective of the definition adopted) is a superior concept.
2. A human being is a *dramatic being* (Tischner), which means he/she is part of space (his/her "stage"), time (history), and a system of relationships with others / the Other.
3. The way in which the self experiences its own *drama* depends on the quality and form of a person's participation in culture, i.e. on his/her cultural competence. In the field of education, this

implicates the need to develop an awareness of *conditio humana* and a sense of cultural identity by *reading the world* (Eco).

4. The primary task of Polish as a school subject (LS) at all levels of school education is to develop this cultural competence.

5. So defined, its practical application is to work on developing the abilities and skills to participate in culture, above all through language. This involves developing linguistic competence as a unique tool aiding, building and capable of expressing cultural competence in a range of areas and on a range of levels. Specifically, this means teaching reception and creation of linguistic texts of varying degrees of complexity.

6. Language is the core of cultural identity, which in one sense is the sum of various types of affiliation, including affiliation with a cultural tradition.

7. This is not so much about the structure or the description of the structure of a language, but more about the nature of the language and how the many ways it is used in shape the culture of the community or society that uses it.

8. It is also about what kind of a person one becomes by using a particular form of language in a particular way, what kind of cultural discoveries one achieves, what comprehension of the human condition one can claim, and how, through the medium of language, one functions (Austine, Searle).

9. In this sense, literature is a certain way of using language.

10. Treated as a "laboratory of thought experiments" (Ricoeur), literature enables the reader to experience, *per procura*, a variety of situations and events. It offers first emotional insight and subsequently also, through interpretative processes, the facility to explore issues of the human condition on an intellectual level.

This educational concept is the practical application of the idea of a general humanistic cultural education. It is devised in the form of two closely correlated and complementary threads: (1) cultural-linguistic, and (2) cultural-literary. This is reflected in the dominant overarching spiral organisation of the textbooks, which is developed in either concentric or linear progression as necessary:
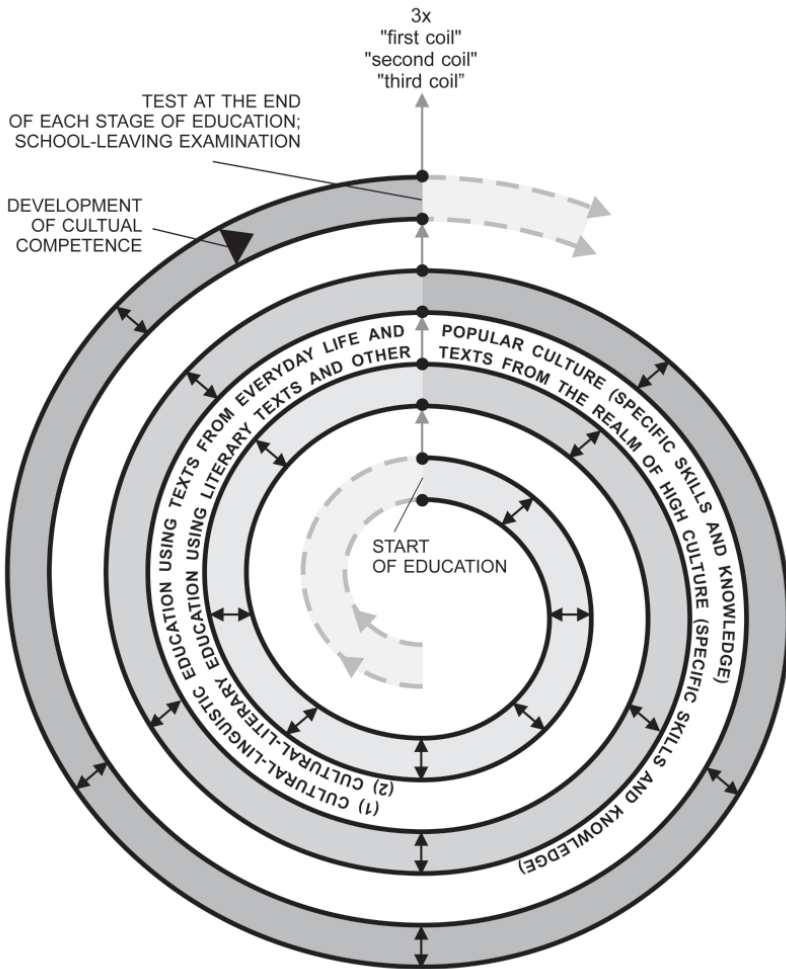
Figure 1: Spiral organisation of the textbooks in the To lubię! *series.*

This system ensures parallel work on: (1) developing basic linguistic skills by observing various acts of speech and subjecting language to experiments in a range of acts of speech (Searle) related to everyday situations and texts of "everyday use" (linguistic and pictorial), and using these activities as a point of departure for reflection on language [Thread 1: cultural-linguistic textbook], and (2) reading literary texts as testimony to a particular form of linguistic organisation, artistic creativity that

reveals other important aspects of every issue and demands a different register of conversation and different contexts [Thread 2: cultural-literary textbook]. These two threads of work are correlated to enable the results of each one to enhance and support the other, and also in order to grade levels of difficulty. Points of convergence, indicated on the diagram by double-ended arrows, are chapters with the same titles in both students' books. This structure is repeated in the books for every class and at every level of education (primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary).

This system means that from grade 4 onwards we are essentially returning again and again to the same issues, but at deepening levels of reflection, developing the ability to express them linguistically (in the cultural-linguistic area), and pointing to other aspects of them and implanting them in other contexts by reading and studying new and different texts (in the cultural-literary area of the teaching).

In the context of this curriculum, identifying the fundamental issues that form the concept of the human condition means addressing questions that create mental order, problems of prime significance to humanity, issues that form a hierarchy of values. It means first, at the elementary level, identifying them as issues and raising questions about them. Thereafter, these issues remain a constant tacit presence as we progress to other questions; and gradually new contexts are exposed as we read other texts and encounter other situations, other points of view, of increasing complexity. What it does not mean is forming conclusions set in stone, or dictating definitions to be learned by rote. It is about building self-awareness.

3. Some implementation scenarios

3.1. For instance, we start in grade 4 of primary school with various ways of introducing ourselves. We pick up on this theme, ideal for 10-year-olds, by reading excerpts from Tove Jansson's *Spring Song* in order to start talking about finding a name for a nameless creature and the consequences of this act. We then look at the wider question of the meaning of names, nicknames, surnames, putting them in alphabetical order; we discuss business cards, initials, aliases. We then turn to the conjugation of verbs, and look at the form of the first person singular and plural. All this is exposing symbols of the cultural and linguistic identification of the self

and individuality (*Me*), and also cultural and linguistic affiliation (*Us*). At the same time we are practising basic skills and gathering basic information on a subject that in this way becomes a permanent element of discussions on the situation of a human being in the world. It is in relation to the self that one looks at the stage on which one exists and acts, on which one experiences one's own personal time and one's time in history, and one's relations with others (people) and the Other (God).

From this point on we will systematically return to looking at ways in which the self is revealed in various texts. The "next time round" (cf. the spiral), these elementary observations will be the point of departure for reading Biblical naming scenes, which draws attention to the universality of the act of identification by naming and adds another shade of significance. And later, in subsequent "rounds", there will be repeated opportunities to ponder and broaden our reflections on the cultural senses of identification, marking, roots, deprivation, disinheritance and the emergence of the self *per se*, including through the name, and, for instance, through the acts of praise and boasting. In this thread there will be time to talk about the exhibitionism of internet blogs and other examples of narcissism in contemporary culture, such as the creation of affiliative language to underline an exclusive social standing, and the related cultural rules and consequence, linguistic taboos, types of euphemisms, etc.

Perhaps sometime, and perhaps never, some of these young people will mature to reading Joseph Ratzinger's *Introduction to Christianity*, to read about how with a name God gains personal attributes, because we can call on Him/Her, cry out to Him/Her, make requests of Him/Her, address Him/Her like a person, and this clears the way for communication.

In every respect the path of this reflection in *To lubię!* is marked out along the lines of a humanistic education. The world, the stage on which one exists, the signs of the times, and the "you", "he/she", "You", "He/She" – and hence also "others"/"the Other" – gain their meanings from the perspective of the self, which needs dialogue. The way we talk about this depends on what is possible at a given level, and we plumb increasing depths of reflection, both in categories of functional grammar – i.e. by demonstrating the means that language possesses for denoting singularity and community – and in psychological and sociological categories, in categories of ephemeral events and historical events, in categories of philosophy and theology, and in the context of everyday texts and literary texts, including poetry.

The assumed increase in cultural competence is equivalent to the growth in awareness and knowledge of a given issue, and it also indicates the increasing ability to recognise and comprehend certain ideas and express certain questions. Examinations are important milestones on this path, but they do not mark the end of all education, indeed, just as grade 4 does not mark its beginning.

3.2. Another example: in grade 4 of primary school we read texts about "home". This is not solely because small children's world is very small and their lives are as yet centred on home, which means that the topic is familiar. This is part of the reason, but this is not simply just a "small" problem for "small children". On subsequent coils of this spiral we point students towards discoveries that will subsequently enable them to comprehend the archetypal nature of the house/home image, to discover its philosophical and religious aspects, to discover that it is impossible to talk about people without some kind of reference to the concept of home and the home community. For it is by no accident that we refer to our native country, or our Earth as our home, or that we speak of "our Father's house", that the loss of a home is treated as a catastrophy, the loss of a base, a centre. But it is not about reeling off an endless number of texts that address the house/home motif; it is about a systematic exploration of the experiences that make up the concept of home – a concept that contributes to the definition of the bounds of man's status in the world – settling in or uprooting, alienation and abandonment.

The treatment of other issues may proceed in a similar way. The repertoire and hierarchy is the basic canon of universal human problems and their treatment as it emerges from analysis of fundamental cultural texts such as folk tales, myths, the Bible – i.e. texts that have stood the test of time to form a reservoir of basic issues and the figures representing them. The rest is derivative.

3.3. The issues so defined have an obvious and fundamental significance also for our own time, and this is also clear to the students for whom these textbooks are intended. This means that students can see their own world reflected in their textbooks and so understand the sense in spending time on these views. At the upper secondary school level, for instance, the Year 1 textbooks open with activities and iconographic material that address the question of dress as an element of self-creation, self-characterisation, an expression of a declared identity or a symbol of concealing the identity (as elements of manifestation of the self among football supporters, for instance, or young people rebelling against the mistakes of the world and of adults, or young people

demonstrating membership of exclusive clubs). These reflections are continued and deepened through texts including Sławomir Mrożek's *Krawiec* [The Tailor], where cultural issues are examined from the perspective of a tailor's workshop and its Tailor-dictator, and this opens the door to examination of the relationships between culture and nature, dress and nakedness, culture and barbarians, and cultural symbolism and literalism (the cultural-literary textbook), also in a historical perspective. Parallel to this the course offers activities and materials that enable students to observe and explore issues connected with identity as manifested through language, including school slang, bestowing meanings on language that reflect the way we see the world, and succumbing to fads in language, linguistic barbarity and purist leanings (the cultural-linguistic textbook).

4. The formative purpose

Our conception does not cultivate the delusion that the information it contains, which constitutes the content of the school subject, is exhaustive, or that it corresponds in simplified miniature to the respective academic subject. Its purpose is to provide a framework for collecting and ordering the impressions that the world offers, recognising what is important, exchanging views on this with others, and learning to interpret the world. It does not provide any ready interpretations of itself, and does not neglect to provide thorough practice of basic skills that facilitate judicious learning about anything and judicious living.

It is a formative concept. The formation takes place through activities that activate and map out students' cultural experiences, and demand recognition, description and judgement. Other fundamental aspects are deliberate creation and "experiencing" of linguistic behaviours in connection with a broad range of areas of culture through communication with others and on the principle that "the more language, the less alien" the world is.

Another aspect of this formation is authentic reading of texts that can offer a point of reference, support, and the "luxury of recognising" one's own problems in the reading. Such texts will usually form part of the "Great Time of Culture" (Bakhtin), and will constitute a reservoir of figures prefiguring the human lot and metaphoric characters of "long

duration" (Braudel). They are arranged in contexts that confront different ideas, attitudes and views on the same issues. The issues to be worked on are immersed in pupils' experience and in observation of the world around them, and attention paid to them becomes an element of the realisation of what they are experiencing. This realisation of what one is experiencing is the same as naming, and constitutes an element of the intellectualisation of the issue. Intellectualisation of cultural experience involves the use in the educational process of methods appropriate: (1) to pupils' age, (2) to the material being worked on and (3) to the civilisational context.

Our approach is rooted in the conviction that school must offer an education that creates order (Bauman). Although this is part of the definition of school, it places today's school in opposition to the random nature of contemporary culture. At the same time, however, this programme stresses that the school's proposition of an ordered image of the world must not be presented as the expression of the only possible and right order. It must be open and comprise a proportionate blend of three elements – it must: (1) transmit tradition, (2) facilitate a comprehension of contemporary culture and the elementary communication skills necessary to function within it, and prepare students for their future life in society, and (3) promote students' personal development.

The authors of this concept recognise that remembering is a function of emotion and the result of the facility to place new information in an already familiar context. The practical demonstration of this is the fact that the issues being explored are immersed in students' immediate experience and priorities as seen from their perspective.

In our concept, we attempt to avoid forcing categorical "either-or" choices in the approaches, materials and methods of working (literature or culture, high culture or popular culture, knowledge or skills, "on a plate" or "test and discover" methods, activity or contemplation, creativity or reproduction, reception or expression, subject or object, experience or intellectualisation). It is founded on respect for the subjectivity of both students and teachers, and this entails authenticity in many aspects – gradation of difficulty, adequacy to interests and abilities, motivation, choice of texts, and ways of reading, discovering and expressing. Thoroughly reached classic solutions are immersed in the context of contemporary civilisation and culture.

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STANDARDISATION OF TEACHING GOALS AND EXAMINATION REQUIREMENTS FOR POLISH TAUGHT AS MOTHER TONGUE

Introduction

In the 1960's, the linguistic education in Poland was focussed on the knowledge about the system. Structuralism constituted its theoretical foundations. The very linguistic knowledge played a role of the reference point while defining and evaluating students' progress. The introduction of functional grammar into linguistic education later on made it possible to pay attention to text-creating and communicative functions of the particular elements of the language system. It meant that linguistic didactics finally became receptive to new ideas, namely pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The next step was to define student's linguistic competence in terms of ability and skill in listening and speaking, writing, and reading. Apart from educational aims and content, the national *Core Curriculum (Podstawa Programowa),* which was written at that time, also included specifications of predictable and desired achievements of students. A list of such achievements became the basis of examination standards used as a tool in measuring educational results at primary and post-primary level. It took the form of an official examination procedure. An analysis of the framework, standards and examination procedures shows an aspiration to define universal linguistic competence.

1. The issue of standardisation

Standard and *standardisation* are terms frequently encountered in modern texts and educational context. In a linguistic definition a standard is a model, a matrix corresponding to particular requirements:

Standard means in accordance with adopted norms, not different from adopted norms, standardisation, to standardise is to introduce particular norms into practice, to unify something (Dunaj 1996: 543).

The term „standard" becomes the basis for the definition of educational aims, methods and results. It is assumed that the main aim of linguistic education in teaching Polish as a school subject is to equip students with appropriate linguistic competence (grammatical, pragmatic and sociolinguistic). The basis for the definition of standards is represented by the system description of education, in particular:

- presentation of assumptions referring to knowledge and abilities; definition of educational aims;
- definition of content;
- formulating „the base" in the shape of the Framework Programme, students' achievements that can be described by means of standards;
- examination requirements, (examination standards) that include specifications of educational content and students' achievements;
- evaluation.

Modern school education stretches between two totally different demands. The first one focuses on detailed definition of students' achievements at the particular levels of their education, within particular subjects, that is the standardisation of knowledge and abilities. The latter one reminds us about the need to individualise teaching and support students' and teachers' creativity.

At first it seems that educationalists and teachers face a difficult task of uniting these opposites. However, the real matter looks different. Aiming at the unification of requirements within projecting and programming, followed by checking and evaluating whether and to what extend these assumptions have been fulfilled creates a certain general, standardizing frame. This frame is stable to a great extend. Thus, it creates boundaries but, at the same time, opens new possibilities and areas for

creativity when it comes to organising and interpreting educational content and choosing appropriate methods. This explanation of the relations seems justified when one takes into account not a necessarily explicitly positive connotation of both terms mentioned at the beginning, key terms in this discussion – standard and standardisation. That is because they are also associated with scheme and schematization, with simplification, with using some kind of matrix. And this may raise some doubts when one takes into consideration anthropocentric, individual treatment of subjects (students) taking part in that didactic process. Therefore, it is not difficult to justify reserve towards all concepts including unification and using only one kind of tool to measure results achieved. That misunderstanding can be also easily explained by the fact that educational tradition is familiar with the phenomena of standard and standardisation, which appeared in school theory and practice earlier than their names.

2. Historical background

Let us trace the history of Polish linguistic education and find the foundations of standardisation within its boundaries. One may risk a statement that it has always existed in its initial shape. At least, it has existed since the time of syllabi that defined why students should learn a given part of educational material and what results, that is abilities, or, using a modern terminology, competence that process should bring about. Naturally, over centuries, measures, ways of measuring and measure results interpretation, not to mention tools used, have changed. Similarly, social consequences of assumed achievements and shortcomings have varied as well. However, the main principle has stayed unchanged. In the case of teaching a mother tongue, it has always been important to make students use it skillfully and properly thanks to appropriate didactic methods. What is more, it has also mattered to define exponents and essential elements of students' competence acquired at school.

The foundations of linguistic education in Poland were developed in the interwar period (1918-1939). They assumed its double dimension: theoretical and practical. Learning about the Polish language and learning to use the mother tongue were perceived as complementary processes. Attention was also drawn to the natural connection between the two

areas. However, at the same time people started to contrast them. As a result, on the one hand, we had the general term 'grammar' covering both meanings, and, on the other hand, there were its two varieties in use: 'theoretical grammar' and 'practical grammar'.

Linguists and educationalists working in the 1950's and 1960's adopted the abovementioned theory and focused their attempts on overcoming the rift between acquiring knowledge about a given language and developing skills of using the language itself by introducing the so-called exercises in speaking and writing. There, they unanimously agreed that school education must emphasize learning language „as a means of social communication and the tool of learning about the present and the future (of the world, society, culture)" (Bartnicka, Jaworski 1968: 30).

Learning about the language system was strongly connected with the issue of accuracy, that is fighting mistakes and preventing them. Certainly, the norms of the system were taken as the measure. The system itself constituted the point of reference at which educational results were defined and evaluated, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. On the basis of grammatical competence the effectiveness of learning about the language was defined, which is logical. However, this competence was put on a par with linguistic competence. This view survived even longer. For example, in the syllabus for the Polish language for the 6th grade of primary school, written in 1982, linguistic skills are to be shown in operations performed inside the language system on its elements (Program 1982: 13, 14). The issue of the main educational goal behind it is not addressed in this document yet. Among the skills mentioned above there are: concretisation of terms referring to parts of speech and sentence, morphology, and recognising and analysing linguistic phenomena. Although practical skills and linguistic behaviour were also taken into account, using particular linguistic tools and obeying rules of correctness were emphasized.

3. New approaches

The school, bearing in mind individual experience gained by a particular student, used to build on their knowledge about the language and equate it with the knowledge about text material. It was done mainly from the point of view of the morphological characteristics of texts. The

school tried to equip its students with proficiency in dealing with system elements, combining and connecting them. Only the achievement of this ability was subject to control and evaluation. The question: what for?, understood pragmatically, was not posed then. It appeared first when the linguistic didactics of the school adapted views characteristic for functional linguistics (Kowalikowa 2004). At the same time, the communicative approach to foreign language use was adopted. There, two concepts of linguistic education met: the L1 dimension – a mother tongue (language as subject), and the L1' dimension – language treated instrumentally (language for communication). Both factors led to essential redefinition of didactic norms, which brought about the change in their character. It was visible at all levels: programming and projecting (content and aims), performing (concepts and teaching methods), control and evaluation. The emphasis was put on language use. Only language use justified the interest in the system itself. The so-called students' communicative competence became the subject of observation. Its quantitative and qualitative dimension became expressed in points.

The redefinition mentioned above led to noticeable neglect in students' knowledge about the system. What is more, a new opinion emerged, according to which students did not need to study grammar as they actually used it. While one can agree with the first part of this statement, the second one rises doubts and objection. Negligence, which was the result of popularizing the abovementioned opinion both among teachers and language educationalists, had a negative impact on the attitude towards functional grammar and generally towards the knowledge about the system treated as an indispensable condition of proficiency at speaking, writing, reading and listening. Focus on persuasiveness and effectiveness of speech overshadowed care about language culture. A new communicative norm practically challenged traditional norms of correctness.

4. The new Core Curriculum

In 1999, a new Core Curriculum was written in Poland and it was preceded by the division of the whole educational process into three levels of education: primary, lower secondary and upper secondary. There, one can find a very characteristic introductory text which explicitly

defines the role and position of language both in the document itself and in its implementation:

Man gains knowledge above all through language. Teaching a mother tongue creates a foundation for general development of a given student, helps in forming their personality, constitutes the main reference point of the whole school education – upbringing and teaching. (Podstawa 1999, Law Gazette No 14, p 588).

The new emphasis put on the mother tongue forced the formulation of educational achievements right after defining educational aims. It meant focusing on the effectiveness of teaching in four areas of linguistic activity and communicative performance: speaking, listening, writing and reading. We can assume that it was the first step towards preparation of standards defining the teaching of the Polish language. Requirements that were to be met by students had the following form, e.g.:

Achievements:
[…]1. Speaking, listening, reading and writing:
a} forming oral and written utterances […]
b} recognizing and forming utterances that inform, describe, evaluate and express one's views, persuade and justify one's opinions
c} using different registers of Polish […] depending on the situation;
d} performing deliberate editing activities […]
 (Core Curriculum 1999, Upper secondary level)

Content and aims formulated in such a way forced the change in the attitude towards linguistic education practically at each educational level. Teachers knew now what to teach and what aim to achieve. They could also check what their students could do, whether they had linguistic and communicative competence characterised by the presence of the following elements: sociolinguistic, linguistic and pragmatic.

5. Assessment

In 1999, a new evaluation system was introduced into the Polish educational system (Janus-Sitarz 2004). Apart from the old internal system of evaluation, there is a system of external exams run by Local

Examination Boards. In the sixth grade of primary school, there is an external competence test checking pupils' skills in reading, writing, and making use of information. At this last point, tasks frequently coincide with PISA[1] scheme concerned with the evaluation of students' skills in the field of knowledge application. External exams are also compulsory at the end of gymnasium (lower secondary level) and are used in the so-called New Matura (upper secondary level). To create comparable conditions and equal chances for all learners, unified standards of examination requirements were created. For teachers, they constitute the basis for the evaluation of their didactic activities.

Standards of examination requirements (1999, 2003) for students in gymnasium define which skills they should develop in reading and understanding of culture texts, e.g.:

> *The student:*
> *- reads culture texts, interprets them, looks for information included in various culture texts, notices means of expression and defines their function, performs deliberate operations on the text itself […]*
> *- poses problems, argues, presents ways of their solution, draws conclusions, expresses their opinion on a problematic situation […]*
> (www.cke.edu.pl [accessed 24.02.2006])

The New Matura examination taken at the end of upper secondary school includes an oral part – assessed internally, given at the school by an examination board representing a given subject, and a second part – written, marked and graded by external experts employed by local examination boards. The results decide about one's admission to university level education.

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[1]   See Martyniuk, this volume.

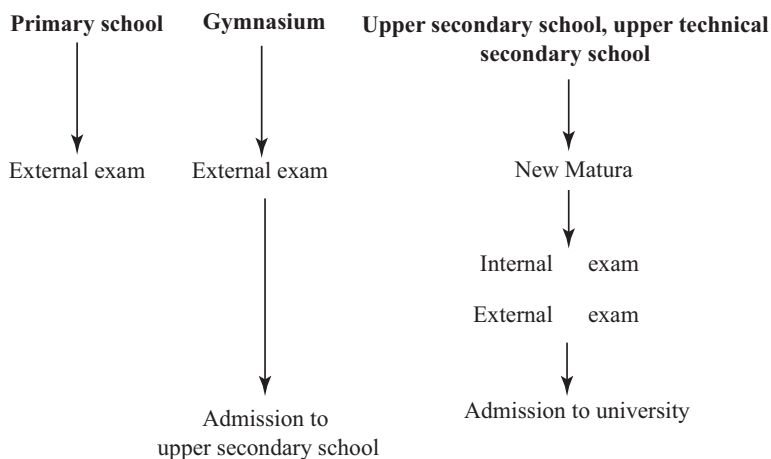| Primary school	Gymnasium	Upper secondary school, upper technical secondary school
↓	↓	↓
External exam	External exam	New Matura
		↓
		Internal exam
		External exam
		↓
	↓	Admission to university
	Admission to upper secondary school	

Figure 1. Examinations in Polish schools

Matura examinations may be taken on two levels: standard and extended. Examination requirements for the Polish language on the standard level (2003) include:

1. information and comprehension: the candidate knows, is familiar with, comprehends […]
2. using information: the candidate can, e.g. recognize different marks in culture texts, point to particular inflected forms, different parts of speech, distinguish a correct text from an incorrect one, define important characteristics of spoken and written language, recognise in a given text expressions of persuasion and manipulation, name text functions, recognise loan words, differentiate between various intentions of speech acts, recognise style characteristics, find explicit and implicit information, notice universal and national values, etc.
3. creating messages: the candidates can speak and write correctly, express themselves bearing in mind the intention of their utterances, speak in public, behave according to the rules of linguistic etiquette, persuade their listener, interpret others' utterances, compare different works, summarise, paraphrase, comment, draw conclusions, justify, formulate and justify their opinions, etc.

A content analysis of these standards points at the emphasis on students' activity challenging them to present particular abilities and skills. Unfortunately, in reality at the Matura examination we only deal with text comprehension and creation of students' own texts. Assessing communicative and pragmatic competence has been lost „on the way" although it could be assessed e.g. by asking candidates to perform linguistic behaviour adequate to a given situation. What is more, it is worth pointing to the fact that the examination standards for Polish are entirely of a functional character; at the Matura there is no reference to the so-called factual knowledge. However, the examination itself assesses whether students can use it while dealing with information and creating their own texts. This situation noticeably corresponds to the general concept of the linguistic didactics of the school. At the same time, there is an impression that linguistic education – essential for the whole human life – is absent at the Matura exam. Showing text comprehension and knowledge of literature is not enough to state with clear conscience that students who are to take their school-leaving exams will be also effective speakers, listeners, utterance authors in real life. Let us pose a question here then, whether in order to reliably evaluate the candidates' communicative competence we should not also check grammatical accuracy of all their utterances, their listening comprehension, their linguistic behaviour in particular situations, their ability to create functional texts. Maybe these aspects of communicative competence should be included into the so-called internal Matura examination, instead of students' oral presentations, not always prepared on their own, imitative, often even directly „downloaded" from the Internet.

6. Polish standards and Council of Europe recommendations

The next question refers to the compatibility of the Polish standardisation and evaluation system with the relevant documents and recommendations of the Council of Europe. The recent documents issued by the Council of Europe – specifically the ones outlining and discussing the possible content of a common European framework of reference for languages of school education – constitute very important guidance for our work. Firstly, they bring together mother tongue teaching and foreign language teaching. They may also produce a useful common basis for defining the scope and the approach of assessment.

Similarities between the European and the Polish approach are rooted in pragmatic and functional language treatment, in the emphasis on language use, and in the perception of language user as a speaking, writing, and text comprehending subject. However, there is no full overlapping. Linguistic education should equip students with exemplified and applicable linguistic competence. It is necessary then, not only to standardise knowledge and skills at each level for L1, L1', and FL, but also to identify standard elements needed to achieve a general minimal linguistic competence. And that is lacking in Polish linguistic education. While we can find some traces of it in the standards set for Polish as L1 and L1', there is no connection with the standards set for Polish as a FL (cf. Państwowe Egzaminy 2003).

Let us have a closer look at the different approaches to language education.

Firstly:
- when it comes to mother tongue teaching (L1: language as subject), defining standards should be accompanied by a **synthetic--analytic-synthetic approach**. A student possessing certain linguistic and cultural competence applies a functional approach to linguistic issues and develops further his/her comprehension, writing and speaking skills.

Secondly:
- when it comes to mother tongue education treated instrumentally (L1': language for communication), there is **an analytic-synthetic approach**, which emphasizes effectiveness and fluency of communication in different situations – formal and informal – while playing different social roles, maintaining the identity and axiological language dimension.

Thirdly:
- in case of glottodidactics – foreign language teaching (FL) – the process has an **analytic-synthetic** character: while teaching we equip students with particular declarative knowledge (grammar, culture, literature) and develop certain skills and habits.

The three approaches should lead to the development of a universal linguistic competence (Figure 2).
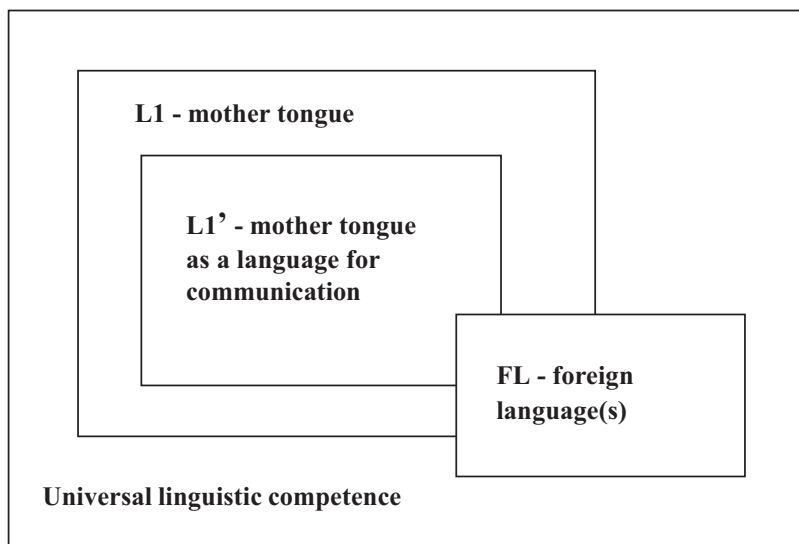
Figure 2. Universal linguistic competence

Conclusion

We reject the assumption about two different competence types in L1 – mother tongue and FL – a foreign one. A language user has just one plurilingual and pluricultural competence, although the way of its acquisition and consolidation may be different for one's mother tongue in L1 and L1' dimension, and different in case of a foreign language. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is obvious. If we want to build one plurilingual and pluricultural competence, we have to change our attitude towards setting standards and specifying assessment requirements – not separating but connecting the use of L1 and L1' and the use of L2, L3, ….

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