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Parental Support of Bilingualism in Children Attending Schools and Kindergartens with the Polish Language of Instruction in Zaolzie

Introduction

The subject of the research is the issue of bilingualism of the Polish national minority in the Czech part of Teschen Silesia. The study focuses on the development of bilingualism in children attending a nursery school and elementary school with Polish teaching language in the Czech Republic, particularly in the Czech part of Teschen Silesia called Zaolzie. The study is devoted to the view of the parents of these children on bilingualism and its advantages and, above all, focuses on how these parents develop bilingualism in their children together with the often connected biculturalism.

In connection with this topic, it is necessary to define the term bilingualism at the very beginning of this text.

Bilingualism in Zaolzie

The definition of bilingualism, as most definitions, is based on idealised about the subject they attempt to define. According to M. Morgenstern, L. Shullová, and L. Schöll,¹ the definition of a bilingual person is someone who speaks two languages perfectly at the level of native speakers and he or she learned those two languages

¹ M. Morgenstern, L. Shullová, L. Schöll: *Bilingvismus a interkulturní komunikace*. Praha: Wolters Kluwer Česká republika, 2011.

in a natural way. We are inclined to use his definition in this study. Another approach to bilingualism is found in the works of linguists who perceive it in terms of frequency of use of the given languages rather than the proficiency in each of them (Grosjean,² Skutnabb-Kangas³). Bilingualism and upbringing in two cultures can be a great benefit for a child.⁴

Zaolzie as a research area is significant because the local population declaring Polish nationality usually uses in different variations three language variants: Czech, Polish, and the local dialect. We can say that the dialect is primarily used by members of the Polish national minority. The population of Czech nationality uses it to a lesser degree. People claiming Czech nationality and using the local dialect belong to the indigenous population, which mostly includes people living in the villages, the older generation, specifically people born in the late 1960s and earlier.⁵ On the other hand, members of the local Polish community use it regardless of their place of residence, age, or education and prefer it over Polish in informal communication.⁶

A frequent phenomenon of code-switching was recorded during the empirical survey.

Another important feature of the people living in this region is the change of national identity throughout their lives. Some of the people surveyed who currently claim Czech nationality in the census are graduates of elementary school with the Polish language of instruction, but they have often continued their education at Czech secondary or vocational school. These people often identify as neither Czechs nor Poles, according to their testimonies; they have a strong regional identity and a sense of belonging to the region in which they were born and have spent their entire lives. In informal communication, they most frequently use the local dialect. A large percentage of people from Zaolzie who do not feel to be either Czechs or Poles was reported already in the results of the surveys by Alina Szczurek-Boruta and

² T. Skutnabb-Kangas: *Bilingualism or Not: the Education of Minorities*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 1981.

³ F. Grosjean: *Bilingual: Life and Reality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.

⁴ B. Baumgartner: *Przeżyć dwujęzyczność: jak wychować dziecko dwujęzycznie*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo "Harmonia", 2008.

⁵ K.D. Kadłubiec, W. Miler ski: *Cieszyńska ojczyzna polszczyzna*. Czeski Cieszyn-Cieszyn: PROPrint, 2001, pp. 52-53.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 53.

Barbara Grabowska,⁷ Alina Szczurek-Boruta⁸, Jolanta Suchodolska⁹, and Magdalena Ćmiel.¹⁰

Characteristics of the Research Survey Methodology

The research study encompasses the border region of Karviná, a region in which Polish and Czech influences have coexisted for centuries. The research was carried out during the school year 2017/2018.

The main research question is "How do parents stimulate the development of bilingualism in their children?" This question creates additional partial research questions: "Which language or languages do the parents use to talk with their children?," "What determines the choice of language, when the parents use one language or another or a dialect in everyday communication?," "What other ways do the parents use to develop bilingualism of their children?," "What advantage do the parents see in bilingualism?," "What were the reasons for the parents to choose a bilingual school for their children?"

Two research methods have been used to answer the research questions, namely a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews.

Questionnaire survey

The questionnaire included 35 closed questions. As many as 193 questionnaires were filled in. Each parent completed one questionnaire, which means that two questionnaires were filled in per one family.

⁷ A. Szczurek-Boruta, B. Grabowska: *Dynamika kształtowania się tożsamości młodzieży – ku tożsamości wzbogaconej*. In: *Poczucie tożsamości i stosunek młodzieży do wybranych kwestii społecznych – studium z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego*. Eds. B. Grabowska et al. Cieszyn-Warszawa-Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2009.

⁸ A. Szczurek-Boruta: *Poczucie tożsamości kulturowej młodzieży i edukacja międzykulturowa na pograniczu polsko-czeskim*. In: *Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako klucz do tożsamości pogranicza polsko-czeskiego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Eds. H. Rusek, A. Pieńczak, J. Szczyrkowski. Cieszyn: Offsetdruk i media sp. z o.o., 2009.

⁹ J. Suchodolska: *Identyfikacja z regionem a plany młodzieży Pogranicza*. In: *Społeczności młodzieżowe na pograniczu*. Ed. T. Lewowicki. Cieszyn: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, 1995.

¹⁰ M. Ćmiel: *Tożsamość dwóch pokoleń Zaolzian w wywiadach biograficznych*. Český Těšín: Sekcja Ludoznawcza Polskiego Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego w Republice Czeskiej, 2016.

This option was chosen because the view on the issue may differ between a father and a mother. Respectively, 95 questionnaires were filled in by fathers and 98 questionnaires by mothers.

Research sample

The respondents were parents of children attending an elementary and nursery school with Polish as the language of instruction located in the town of Karviná. These parents live in Karviná and the surrounding villages. They come mostly from families that have been living in the region for several generations. Most of them attended elementary or even high school which used Polish as the language of instruction. In each family, at least one parent attended an elementary school with Polish as the language of instruction. Families where both parents are of Polish nationality make 39.9% of the research sample, mixed marriages predominated the survey at 60.1%. Mothers, to a greater extent than fathers, claimed Polish nationality. As many as 75.6% of the mothers and 50.2% of the fathers claimed Polish nationality. Based on the composition of the research sample, we can say that the mother's nationality plays a greater role in the choice of elementary school than the father's. This stands in contradiction with the results of the research by Tadeusz Siwek,¹¹ who found that children of mixed nationality marriages in which the father is of Polish nationality claim Polish nationality more frequently than children who come from mixed marriages in which the mother is of Polish nationality.

Semi-structured interview

The results of the questionnaire survey are supplemented by the results of the semi-structured interview. The length of which was in the range of 30–60 minutes; they were recorded for easier transcription and subsequently analyzed by free coding, followed by the categorization process. The resulting categories were marked with terms.

Research sample

The research sample was selected based on the results of the questionnaire survey.

¹¹ T. Siwek: *Małżeństwa Polaków w Republice Czeskiej*. "Zwrot" 1995, nr 9 (27).

The interviews were conducted with 10 families, that is, 20 parents (10 mothers and 10 fathers) selected by deliberate selection, with the aim of having different types of families represented in the research sample.

The following types of bilingual families were represented in the research sample (each family type was represented by one family):

1. A family in which both parents claim Polish nationality, grandparents also claim Polish nationality. They are the indigenous population of the region. The members of this family talk in the local dialect to each other and also in Polish.
2. A family in which the father claims Polish nationality, the mother is of Czech nationality. The father in informal communication speaks mainly Polish and local dialect, the mother uses Czech. The grandparents on the father's side claim Polish nationality and speak the local dialect and Polish at home. The grandparents on the part of the mother claim Czech nationality. The grandparents on the mother's side speak Czech at home.
3. A family in which the father claims Polish nationality, the mother claims Czech nationality. In informal communication, the father uses predominantly Polish and the local dialect; the mother mainly speaks Czech and occasionally in the local dialect. Grandparents on the father's side claim Polish nationality. They speak at home in the local dialect and Polish. The grandparents on the part of the mother report Czech nationality. The grandparents on the mother's side speak at home mostly in the local dialect.
4. A family where the mother is a Polish national, the father claims Czech nationality. In informal communication, the mother speaks mostly Polish and the local dialect; the father mainly Czech and occasionally the local dialect. The grandparents on the mother's side claim Polish nationality and speak the local dialect and Polish at home. The grandparents on the father's side are of Czech nationality and at home they speak Czech.
5. A family where the mother is a Polish national, the father claims Czech nationality. In informal communication, the mother speaks mostly Polish and the local dialect; the father uses Czech and the local dialect. The grandparents on the mother's side claim Polish nationality and speak the local dialect and Polish at home. The grandparents on the father's side are of Czech nationality and they speak the local dialect at home.
6. A family where the father is of Polish nationality, the mother claims Czech nationality, the mother's parents live in a mixed Polish-Czech marriage, the parents of the father declare Polish na-

tionality. Family members, both parents and grandparents, prefer the local dialect in ordinary communication.

7. A family where the mother is of Polish nationality, the father claims Czech nationality, the father's parents live in a mixed Polish-Czech marriage, the parents of the mother declare Polish nationality. Family members, both parents and grandparents, prefer the local dialect in ordinary communication.
8. A family where the mother is a Polish national, father claims Czech nationality, and the parents of the mother live in a mixed Polish-Czech marriage. The father speaks Czech in informal communication, the mother uses the local dialect and Polish. Grandparents on the mother's side tend to use the local dialect in informal communication. Grandparents from the father's side speak Czech in informal communication.
9. A family in which the father claims Polish nationality, the mother claims Czech nationality, and the parents of the father live in a mixed Polish-Czech marriage. The mother speaks Czech in informal communication, the father uses the local dialect and Polish. The father's parents use the local dialect in informal communication. The parents of the mother speak Czech in informal communication.
10. One of the parents is of Polish nationality and has Polish citizenship, the other parent is of Czech nationality. The family lives in the Czech Republic and the parents work there. One of the parents speaks Polish, the other speaks Czech.

Results of the research

In the families studied, the development of bilingualism is a natural phenomenon, as is the case with families living in bilingual and multilingual communities, an issue which they mostly approach intuitively. Children acquire a second language in these families in a completely natural way.

Bilingual communication in the family

As the results of this questionnaire survey show that parents most frequently speak at home in the dialect; 68.9% of parents speak in the local dialect at home. Mothers speak in the dialect more frequently than fathers according to the research findings; 71.4% of mothers and 65.0% of fathers use the local dialect at home. The questionnaire survey

showed that 31.0% of the parents speak Polish at home, with the Polish language being used more frequently by mothers (40.8%), while only 21.0% of fathers do so. However, later in the semi-structured interviews, mothers and fathers clarified that they were using the Polish language for school preparation at home with children. Parents who speak Polish at home only for school preparation with children did not state in the questionnaire that they spoke Polish. As the results of this questionnaire survey show, only parents of Polish nationality who use Polish to a larger extent, namely, prefer Polish to the local dialect, marked themselves as Polish speakers. As the results of this questionnaire survey show that 30.5% of parents speak Czech at home, more frequently the Czech language is used in communication with the family by fathers (42.1%), while the mothers stand at 19.3%. The fact that these parents stated in the questionnaire that they speak Czech at home does not imply that they speak only Czech. Marking themselves as Czech speakers were the parents of Czech nationality who used the Czech language to a great extent, that is, preferred the Czech language over the local dialect.

Table 1

Which language or languages do the parents use to talk to their children?
(*N* = 193)

Language	Relative frequency [%]	Absolute frequency [<i>N</i>]
Czech	30.5	59
Polish	31	60
Dialect	68.9	133

The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that parents use one of the available languages (Czech, Polish, the dialect) at home, depending on the situation. Most parents report that they speak Polish in the day-to-day preparations for school, but use the local dialect in other, informal situations. However, there are some families where the parents living in nationally mixed marriages use their respective tongues, both in conversations with the child or children, and when talking to each other. They give similar answers to the one provided by this mother:

I'm a Pole and my husband is Czech, so I speak Polish with the children and my husband uses Czech, we also use our own language when talking to each other.

It is more common that the parent of Czech nationality speaks mostly in Czech with the children and the parent of Polish nationality predominantly uses Polish. During the semi-structured interviews, the parents revealed that they sometimes speak with a child or children in the local dialect, and use a single language code in a common conversation with each other, and that is the local dialect. These families have a story similar to this mother:

I speak Polish with the children, and my husband speaks in Czech with them, together we speak the dialect – the Cieszyn variety of Silesian dialect and sometimes we use the dialect even when talking with our children.

One of the parents speaks Czech, the other Polish – each parent uses their own language when talking to each other. Both parents fully understand the language of their spouse.

The qualitative research conducted as the semi-structured interviews shows that parents whose native language is Polish, are also proficient in the Czech language. Parents whose mother tongue is the Czech language, are at minimum able to understand Polish, but the more common option is that they also speak Polish to some extent, albeit with mistakes. Each parent then uses their mother tongue in normal communication with their child. Usually, both parents help their children with school preparation, but not always in identical portions. However, it is not the case that the parent whose mother tongue is Polish is more likely to help children with home preparation for school with the Polish language of instruction; rather it is the parent who spends more time with the children. When assisting their children in school preparation, both parents use the Polish language.

The qualitative research conducted as the semi-structured interviews shows that even parents whose mother tongue is Czech use Polish for school preparation with their children, even though they realize that they make mistakes when speaking Polish. These parents admit that, due to the school preparation with their children, they learn new Polish words themselves, most frequently in the field of natural sciences. Parents with Czech as their mother tongue, however, rely on their Polish-speaking husband/wife when preparing for school with children when they cannot help a child with homework, because they do not know some words, for example; then they wait for the Polish-speaker to come home and help the child. Help of the grandparents is frequently mentioned as well.

I don't know Polish very well, but it's enough to be able to help children with school. There are sometimes tasks, especially in environmental education, when I don't understand some words. Fortunately, there is Google. And if that doesn't help us, we wait for my husband to return from work in the evening (a mother of two children attending the first and third grades of elementary school).

I usually learn with my daughter because my husband is at work well into the evening. We usually manage, sometimes my husband's parents help, as they live with us (a mother of a daughter attending second grade).

As the results of this questionnaire survey show, parents of Czech nationality living in these mixed Polish-Czech marriages do not encounter significant problems with the use of the Polish language as 89.0% of the parents speak Polish, 100.0% of the parents fully understand colloquial Polish, 89.0% of the parents can easily read a text written in Polish, and 83% of the parents can write in Polish.

Table 2

Polish language skills of parents of Czech nationality

Language skills	Relative frequency [%]	Absolute frequency [N]
Can speak Polish	89	53
Fully understand Polish	100	59
Can easily read a text written in Polish	89	53
Can write in Polish	83	49

Source: own work

Both parents alternate between Polish and the local dialect; the Cieszyn variety of Silesian dialect, at home.

The qualitative research conducted as the semi-structured interviews shows that these parents speak most often in the dialect with each other and also with their child or children. These parents speak also in Polish with their child or children, especially in situations connected with the school. With grandparents, these parents speak almost exclusively in the local dialect. The qualitative research conducted as the semi-structured interviews shows that the child or children in this family learn Czech by interacting with their environment.

As the results of this questionnaire survey show that this variant is most represented in families where both parents declare Polish na-

tionality, have Czech citizenship and are the indigenous inhabitants of the local region.

One of the parents alternates between Polish and the local dialect and the other parent alternates between Czech and local dialect; the other parent talks with their child or children sometimes in Polish and sometimes in the local dialect, the Cieszyn variety of Silesian dialect.

As the results of this questionnaire survey show that the parents primarily use the local dialect when speaking to each other. This variant is represented in families in which one of the parents declares Czech nationality, the other one claims Polish nationality and both are indigenous inhabitants of the region.

The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that in these families again, both parents participate in helping children with school preparation, although not always to the same degree. While preparing with their children for school, both parents use the Polish language, although parents whose mother tongue is the Czech language use Polish with mistakes. The parent who spends the most time with the children helps them with school preparation, regardless of their mother tongue. It is, however, usual that a parent whose mother tongue is Czech relies on the help of the partner whose native language is Polish since homework sometimes involves situations where the parent does not understand the assignment. Help of the grandparents is frequently mentioned as well.

One of the parents speaks Polish, the other alternates between Czech and the local dialect.

As the results of this questionnaire survey show that this variant was only represented once in the survey sample. It is a marriage in which the mother is a citizen of the Republic of Poland and the father is of Czech nationality. The parents have lived and worked in the Czech Republic.

Developing bilingualism by exploring Polish and Czech cultures

Books reading

As the results of this questionnaire survey show, all the parents consider bilingualism to be very important and beneficial for their children and their future success on the labour market, and therefore they try to develop it in their children. They most often do it by reading books (100% of the parents read Polish and Czech books to their children in the evening). In this case, the parent whose mother tongue is

Czech (24.4%) usually reads Czech-written books to the child or children. However, it is not the rule; we encountered 12.4% of the parents whose mother tongue is Czech, who read books written both in Czech and Polish to their child or children.

The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that usually, parents with Czech as their native tongue who also speak and use Polish for various reasons, either at work or in day-to-day school preparation with children, read in both the languages. Another reason why parents with the Czech as mother tongue read children's books in Polish and prepare for school in Polish with the children is that the other parent, whose mother tongue is Polish, is not present every day at home or is only present late during the evening hours.

As the results of this questionnaire survey show, the majority of parents (92.0%) visit a library with the children, especially the Centre for Polish Literature in Karviná-Fryštát. This library cooperates with the elementary school attended by the children of the parents surveyed, organizes many events that they promote through the school, children sometimes visit the library during school activities, and use the available books or magazines in homework preparation.

Watching TV programmes

Another way in which the parents develop bilingualism in their children is by watching both Polish and Czech television programmes. As the results of this questionnaire survey show, this method is also used by all of the queried parents. The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that the parents report that they are selecting TV shows not according to their language but based on their content. In particular, even parents with Czech as their mother tongue choose programmes on Polish television that their child or children find interesting, and vice versa, because all parents enjoy a high level of receptive language skills.

We watch various fairytales [cartoons] that the girls like, and we don't care whether they are in Polish or Czech. It's not about the language, it's about whether we like it or not and whether they are violence-free (mother of three daughters who attend nursery school, and 3rd and 5th grades of elementary school).

Other ways of developing bilingualism and biculturalism

As shown by the results of this questionnaire survey, other ways in which parents develop bilingualism in their children include listening to music containing Czech and Polish lyrics (49.0%), attending

theatre – both the Czech and Polish scene (41.9% of parents), trips to Poland (60.6% of parents). Parents also stated that they encourage their children to explore Czech, Polish, and regional cultures and traditions.

Developing bilingualism in children through school with Polish language of instruction

All parents of the surveyed sample send their children to a nursery or elementary school with Polish as the language of instruction. Elementary schools with Polish as the language of instruction develop the pupils' bilingualism more comprehensively. In terms of the curriculum, these schools adhere to the one called the Framework Educational Programme for Elementary Schools, all subjects are taught in Polish with the exception of the Czech language. The pupils learn the Czech language to the same extent as is common in Czech schools regarding the scope, although the number of teaching hours is lower than in the elementary school with Czech as the language of instruction.

Since all the parents of the surveyed sample have sent their children to a nursery or elementary school with Polish as the language of instruction, the research aimed to determine why they chose to do so, which is an important research question, especially when it comes to nationally mixed marriages. The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that surprisingly, parents have not argued for the importance of putting their child to a school with Polish as the language of instruction because they felt to be Poles and wanted the national identity to be further developed in their children, but rather they perceived the practical benefits of bilingual education, primarily the development of bilingualism in children and with it greater opportunities in the labour market and greater opportunities in the selection of further studies.

As the results of this questionnaire survey show, for some parents (80.3%), the decisive factor was the development of bilingualism in their child or children. This is the reason mentioned primarily by mixed marriages when choosing a nursery or elementary school for their children, but only by them. Frequently, this reason was also significant for parents who were both of Polish nationality. The qualitative research carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews also shows that these parents highlighted the advantages of bilingualism as a reason for choosing a given primary school for their child or children, and the positives clearly played a bigger role than the declared Polish nationality, since a large portion of these parents name their Polish self-identification as the last reason for selecting the school.

That my child will be able to use Polish and Czech, both in speaking and writing, will help them a lot. When choosing the future school to study they can study both in the Czech Republic and in Poland. In terms of employment, it is a fact that both Polish and Czech will be appreciated by the employers here, especially doctors, lawyers and so on. In addition, they will be able to work in Poland, so the work possibilities are expanded (3rd-grade pupil's mother).

Conclusions

The conducted research allows some partial conclusions to be drawn. According to the research findings, it has been clearly confirmed that the parents consider bilingualism as valuable skill. Bilingualism is naturally developed in families, parents often switch from one language to another, depending on the situation and on whom they are talking with. Parents also develop biculturalism in their children by exploring Polish and Czech cultures, reading Polish and Czech books, also by watching Polish and Czech television programmes, through trips to Poland and by visiting theater performances in both Czech and Polish.

School plays a major role in developing bilingualism. Parents realize that a school with the Polish language of instruction will help children become fully bilingual. The surveyed parents appreciate their children's bilingualism and are aware that it is a skill that will help their children in the future in the labour market, which is the key factor in choosing an elementary or nursery school. It has turned out that, especially in nationally mixed marriages, but frequently in other marriages as well, parents decide for elementary or nursery schools with Polish as the language of instruction, precisely because they believe that bilingualism is a great advantage especially on the labour market and that bilingual children have greater learning opportunities, especially in the region. Parents, and frequently even parents who are both of Polish nationality, do not express the sentiment that they send their children to a nursery or elementary school with Polish because they feel to be Poles but rather because they are aware of the benefits of bilingualism in their children.

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Parental Support of Bilingualism in Children Attending Schools and Kindergartens with the Polish Language of Instruction in Zaolzie

Summary: The topic of this research is the development of bilingualism of children of Polish nationality living in the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia and attending a nursery or elementary school in Karviná where Polish is the language of instruction. The main research question is: How do parents stimulate the development of bilingualism in their children? This main question creates additional partial research questions: Which language or languages do the parents use to talk to their children? What determines the choice of language, when the parents use one language or another or a dialect in everyday communication? What other ways do the parents use to develop bilingualism of

their children? What advantage do the parents see in bilingualism? What were the reasons for the parents to choose a bilingual school for their children? Two research methods were used to answer the research questions, namely a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews. Respondents included parents of children who attend a nursery and elementary school in Karviná with Polish as the language of instruction.

Keywords: Teschen Silesia, Polish national minority, bilingualism, bilingual school, communication

Lucie Zormanova

Zur Förderung der Zweisprachigkeit bei Kindern, die Schulen und Kindergärten mit Polnisch als Unterrichtssprache im Olsagebiet besuchen, durch ihre Eltern

Zusammenfassung: Den Gegenstand der in dem Artikel vorgestellten Studien bildet die Entwicklung der Zweisprachigkeit bei Kindern mit der polnischen Staatsangehörigkeit, die im tschechischen Teil Teschener Schlesiens leben und denen im Kindergarten und in der frühen Schulbildung Polnisch als Unterrichtssprache im Olsagebiet beigebracht wird. Ich habe das Hauptproblem in Form der folgenden Frage formuliert: Wie stimulieren die Eltern die Entwicklung der Zweisprachigkeit bei ihren Kindern? Um das oben genannte Problem zu lösen, habe ich folgende detaillierten Probleme formuliert: Welche Sprache verwenden die Eltern am häufigsten in der alltäglichen Kommunikation mit ihren Kindern? Was beeinflusst die Wahl der Sprache, wenn die Eltern in ihrer alltäglichen Kommunikation beide Sprachen und/oder Dialekt gebrauchen? Was tun die Eltern, um ihre Kinder zweisprachig zu machen? Was sind laut den Eltern die Vorteile der Zweisprachigkeit? Was sind die wichtigsten Gründe dafür, warum die Eltern aus Tschechien beschlossen haben, ihr Kind in die Schule oder in den Kindergarten mit Polnisch als Unterrichtssprache zu schicken? Zur Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen wurden zwei Forschungsmethoden verwendet: eine Umfrage und halbstrukturierte Interviews. Die Forschungsgruppe bestand aus Eltern von Kindern, denen Polnisch als Unterrichtssprache im Kindergarten und in der frühen Schulbildung in Karviná beigebracht wurde.

Schlüsselwörter: Teschener Schlesien, polnische nationale Minderheit, Zweisprachigkeit, zweisprachige Schule, Kommunikation