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LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: POLISH AND ENGLISH

THESIS

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The purpose of this study was to examine the Polish language of immigrants who came to the United States during or after World War II and to test two related hypotheses:

1. Speakers of Polish use a number of lexical intrusions.
2. Lexical intrusions differ in scope depending on whether those speakers had immigrated with minimal education or they received at least 12 years of schooling prior to their immigration.

The study was conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth area in January and February of 1990. The sample consisted of 16 informants whose interviews were recorded and analyzed in terms of lexical borrowings, cultural branches, and parts of speech. Findings supported the two hypotheses.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Jezyk polski przesadzony na grunt amerykanski, jezeli ma zyc nadal i rozwijac sie, musi sila rzeczy ciagnac soki zywotne z tego gruntu, na ktory go przesadzono, musi oddychac otaczajaca go atmosfera, przyswajajac sobie obce wyrazy, przerabiajac je na swoj sposob i zasilajac sie nimi [The Polish language transplanted onto the American soil in order to live, develop and grow strong must feed itself on the vital juices, breathe the surrounding atmosphere, absorb new expressions adopting them in its own way] (Doroszewski, 1938, pp. 29-30).

Polish immigration to the United States of America covers almost four centuries, from the arrival of the first Poles in Virginia in 1608 to the wave of the post-1980 immigrants (Grzelonski, 1983). They have come either individually or in small groups from all the regions in Poland. They left the country for various reasons: economic, political, and religious. Some of the immigrants simply were seeking adventure.

Each group of immigrants from Poland brought with them,

as part of their heritage, knowledge of the Polish language. However, under the influence of contact with English, their mother tongue has undergone various changes, and quite often the resulting variety does not resemble the Polish language that is spoken in Poland.

The phenomenon of English influence on Polish was observed as early as 1877 when a Polish writer (Sienkiewicz, 1988) commented that under the influence of the English language a separate Polish-English language was evolving in the United States. Sienkiewicz was appalled by the state of Polish he heard during his stay there. He lamented that the language of the immigrants was decaying.

This study examines the Polish language of immigrants who came to the United States during or right after World War II and notes in what ways and how much it "decayed."

### Hypotheses

This study reports on the results of empirical research conducted to record the Polish language as spoken today by immigrants who have lived in the United States from 40 to 48 years. More specifically, this research sets out to test two related hypotheses, both developed in more detail in Chapter II:

1. Speakers of Polish use a number of lexical intrusions.
2. Lexical intrusions differ in scope depending on whether those speakers had immigrated with minimal education or they received at least 12 years of schooling.



### Scope and Limitations

The study was conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth area during two months. The informants participated in the study on a wholly volunteer basis, and the amount of time they could be expected to contribute was, therefore, limited. Furthermore, the available sample also affected the scope of the study. There were only 16 informants, and they were divided into two separate groups depending on the education received prior to coming to the United States. Therefore, one should guard against overgeneralizing the findings of this study.

### Overview of Procedures

#### Subjects

The sample was composed of Polish immigrants who immigrated to the United States after World War II. On their arrival, they were around 16 years of age. Therefore, one could assume that they were proficient speakers of their mother tongue. As noted above, the subjects were divided into two groups depending on their education prior to their arrival to the United States.

#### Instrumentation and Data Collection

A sample of the English language spoken by the immigrants was obtained by asking them to describe a picture and to tell what they had done the day before. The samples were recorded and assessed by three native speakers of

English using the Foreign Service Institute checklist of performance factors and descriptions (see Appendix C).

The Polish language data came from recorded interviews that lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. The informants were encouraged to talk about their arrival in the United States, the problems they encountered, and their first jobs. They were also requested to talk about their place of residence.

The borrowings appearing in the obtained sample are analyzed according to the following categories:

1. words in foreign form
2. adapted words
3. structural calques
4. semantic borrowings
5. hybrids

In addition, the borrowings are divided into the three cultural branches<sup>1</sup>:

1. the social culture
2. the material culture
3. the spiritual culture

The influence of a non-native language can result in transfer on all levels of the immigrants' language. The present study concentrates on recording lexical transfer. Language borrowings present in the informants' speech are tabulated according to the following parts of speech<sup>2</sup>:

1. noun

2. verb
3. adjective
4. numeral
5. adverb
6. particle
7. conjunction

In order to obtain consistent data on extralinguistic factors regarding the informants, a questionnaire that asked for biographical information was administered (see Appendix A).

#### Overview of Remaining Chapters

Chapter II is the review of literature relevant to this study. It is comprised of subsections on the interrelation of components of speech, language choice, language contact, extralinguistic factors, types of borrowing, and the state of literature on attrition, in particular the research that presents results of research on Polish in contact with English and some other European languages.

Chapter III, Method, is a description of an entire research design, subjects, procedures of instrumentation, and the statistical procedures used.

Chapter IV, Results, is a detailed description of language loss as observed in the speech of the 16 informants.

Chapter V, Discussion, is an interpretation of the

findings, and suggestions for further research.

The Appendices include a sample of the questionnaire used, biographical data on the informants, the Foreign Service Institute checklist of performance factors and descriptions, the Foreign Service Institute weighting and conversion tables, assessment forms, and transcripts of recorded conversations with the Polish immigrants.

## Chapter I Notes

<sup>1</sup>The division of the borrowings into the three cultural branches from Szydłowska-Ceglowa, 1988.

<sup>2</sup>These are not the only parts of speech that occur in the Polish language. However, based on previous studies (e.g., Doroszewski, 1938; Dubisz, 1976; Szydłowska-Ceglowa, 1988) those were the only parts of speech that were noticed to undergo lexical transfer based on language contact.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The present chapter summarizes the literature pertaining to language contact situations. Language is viewed in relation to society, and therefore, components of speech and the interrelation among them are focused upon. In addition, such terms as "language choice," "language loss," and "extralinguistic factors" are defined. Moreover, Chapter II focuses on the state of literature on attrition, in particular, the research that presents a relationship between education of immigrants and maintenance or loss of their mother tongue.

#### Components of Speech

The study of language and its social interaction can be analyzed in terms of relations among several components. Hymes (1972) proposes the acronym SPEAKING, which covers eight components associated with the variation of verbal behavior:

1. Setting - refers to the time and place of a speech act and to situation. Situations include a family breakfast, a party, a lecture.

2. Participants - refer to people who are involved in

a speech event. They are both speaker or addresser and hearer or addressee.

3. Ends or purposes - denote intentions of the participants, their expectations imposed on the interaction.

4. Act sequence - refers to the form and the content of what is said.

5. Key - provides for the tone , manner, or spirit in which an act is done. Acts otherwise identical in setting, participants, message, and so forth may differ in key as between mock and serious or perfunctory and painstaking.

6. Instrumentalities - refer to choice of medium transmission of speech (e.g., oral, written, telegraphic) and to choice of language , dialects, registers.

7. Norms of interaction and interpretation - involve non-linguistic rules which govern when, how often speech occurs and rules for interpreting the message conveyed both verbally and non-verbally.

8. Genre - describes form of expression, that is, such categories as poem, prayer, lecture, conversation.

The eight components above correlate one with another and constitute sources of variation in language.

#### The Interrelation of Components of Speech

There is a close interrelationship among the components of speech. In daily interaction participants are constantly changing the variety of the language they use. Ervin-Tripp

writes, "A speaker in any language community who enters diverse social interactions normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift with situation" (1982, p. 197). She presents four major factors that account for change in code or variety. First, the setting (time and place) and the situation, such as a family breakfast, a party, a lecture, a date. Second, the participants in the interaction, their age, sex, occupation, socioeconomic status, origin, ethnicity, and their roles in relation to one another, such as employer-employee, husband-wife. Third, the topic (work, sports, national events), and fourth, the function of the interaction - request, offering information or interpretation, routines, such as greetings, thanks, apologies, and so forth.

The setting of a speech event may have a very definite effect on the channel which is used. School children when wishing to communicate with one another during the lesson, pass notes to their neighbors. The setting may determine the message form. In some societies certain ceremonies require that communication should be effected by the telling of tales or verse recitation.

The setting, code and topic are often interrelated. There are certain topics of conversation which are not regarded suitable during mealtimes. Setting relates to code in bilingual situations where one language is associated



with the house setting, and another with places such as government offices and law courts. Topic restrictions are related to the addresser and addressee. For example, a discussion about babies' clothes and feeding times is unlikely to take place between men.

The relationship between the addresser and addressee can also determine which code is used. In bilingual societies, one language might be employed when addressing the doctor, the school teacher and the government official, another when talking to neighbors, friends and members of the family.

The interrelation of speech variables has been demonstrated in a variety of studies:

1. Participant/function/form

A study of middle-class and working-class adolescent conversation groups in England conducted by Bernstein (1962).

2. Participant/form

A study of a style peculiar to the situation of an adult addressing an infant carried out by Ferguson (1964).

3. Function/setting

A comparison of interactions of a 9-year-old boy at camp and at home by Gump, Schoggen and Redl (1963).

4. Topic/form

A study of New England children by Fischer (1958).

## 5. Setting/form

A shift between a spoken and a superposed variety provided by Ferguson (1959).

### The Interrelation of Participant/Form/Topic

The problem of the influence of different situations on language transfer among bilinguals has been studied by Weinreich (1968), who distinguishes three kinds of situations. The first one takes place when a bilingual addressing a monolingual speaker limits his/her number of borrowings that are otherwise frequently used for fear of impeding communication. The second situation occurs when a bilingual speaker switches between the two languages depending on the subject of the conversation and the terminology that is used. Often a bilingual who in every day situations alternates between two languages, in a particular field of technology or science conducts the conversation exclusively in the language that was used as a medium of acquiring that knowledge. The third situation takes place when lexical transfer increases or decreases depending on emotional factors influencing the speech act of a bilingual.

### Language Choice

In a bilingual setting involving two or more languages, bilingual speakers can choose among varieties of a language or between two languages. Grosjean (1982) proposes a two-

stage approach to language choice in which the bilingual first decides on the base language, and then, if the interlocutor is also bilingual, whether or not to code-switch. The bilingual may also borrow words from the other language and integrate them phonologically and morphologically into the base language.

When studying language choice in bilinguals, it is also necessary to differentiate between a bilingual speaking to a monolingual and to another bilingual. A bilingual speaking to a monolingual usually stays within one language. As Haugen (1969, p. 8) writes:

Is it possible to keep the pattern of two (or more) languages absolutely pure, so that a bilingual in effect becomes two monolinguals, . . . able to reproduce in one meaning of the other without at any point violating the usages of either language? . . . . Hypothetically it is possible . . . , but in practice it is necessary to settle for less.

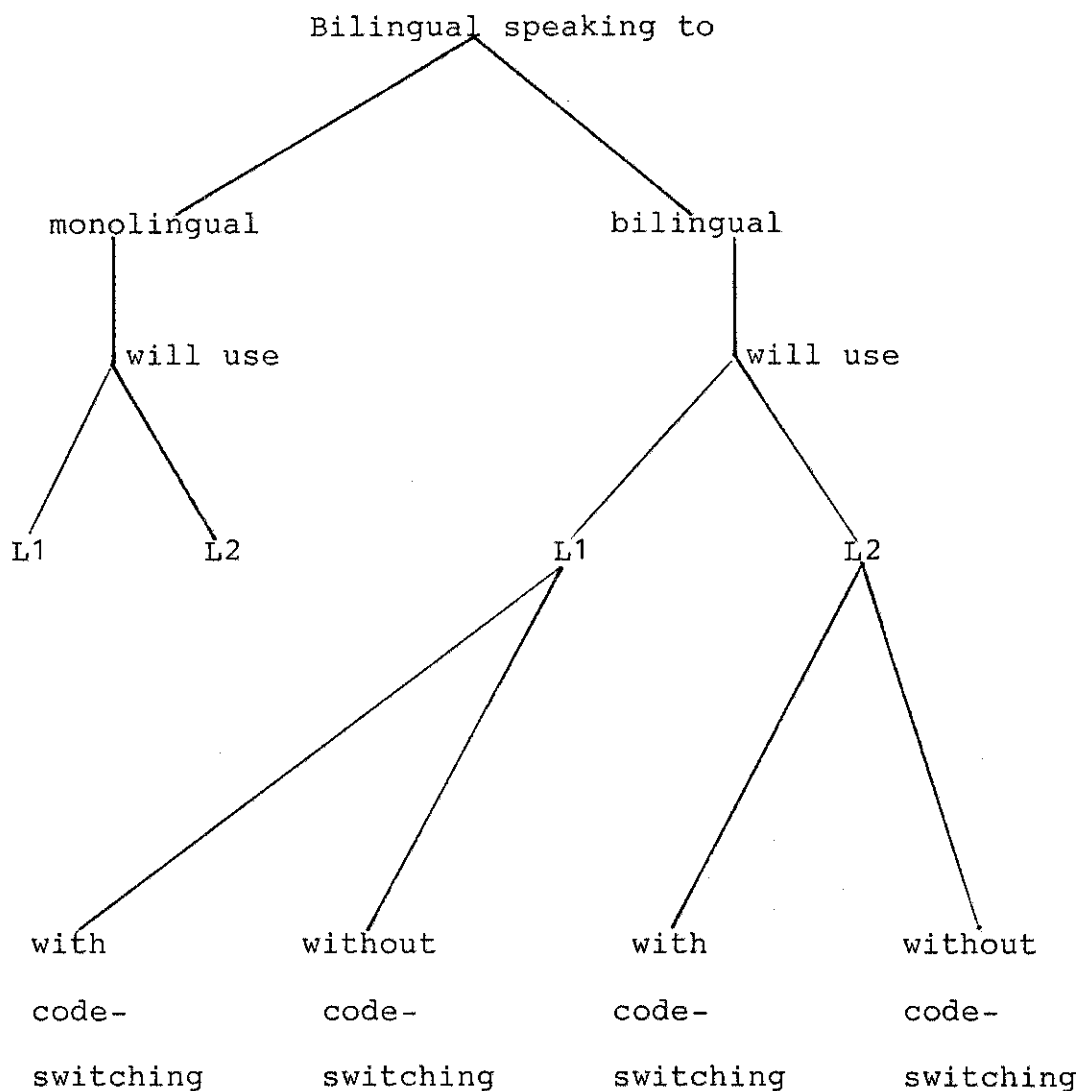
Grosjean (1982) points to three factors that are responsible for language transfer when a bilingual addresses a monolingual:

First, some bilinguals are more prone to deviations than others because of such factors as the manner of learning, mastery, and the use of the language as well as the attitudes of the bilingual and of the community

toward such deviations. Second, fatigue, stress, topic of conversation, situation, and the interlocutor will affect the frequency of deviations. Age also seems to be a factor. (p. 293)

Figure 1 shows the two-stage process underlying language choice presented by Grosjean (1982, p. 129).

Figure 1. Language choice and code-switching.



In the first stage the bilingual decides which base language to use, and in the second stage he/she determines whether to code-switch. This second stage takes place only when the bilingual is addressing another bilingual.

### Code-switching

Grosjean defines code-switching as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation" (1982, p. 145). Code-switching can involve a word, a phrase, or a sentence. It can also involve several sentences. Grosjean stresses that switching is different from borrowing a word from the other language and integrating it phonologically and morphologically into the base language. "In code-switching the switched element is not integrated; instead there is a total shift to the other language" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 146). Grosjean opts for a narrow definition of word borrowing that does not include borrowing through importation. Haugen (1950), on the other hand, incorporates borrowing through importation into the definition of the term code-switching.

Bilinguals usually explain that the reason they code-switch is that they lack facility in one language when talking about a particular topic. They report that they switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language does not have the items or appropriate translations for the vocabulary needed (Grosjean, 1982). Among other reasons for code-switching, he lists marking the group identity, conveying confidentiality, and excluding someone from a conversation.

### Language Contact

The process of language borrowing takes place when "two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT, if they are used alternately by the same persons" (Weinreich, 1968, p. 1).

It is also necessary to define the term use of language. Producing texts, that is, speaking, is the active use of language. Understanding texts, thus receiving messages, is the passive use of language. It is right to speak of the contact of languages in the case of passive use of language as well as in the case of active use. Thus, contact of languages Zawadowski calls, "the situation when somebody uses, actively or passively, two or more languages" (1962, p. 9). The phenomenon of using two different languages by a social group occurs in societies of diversified ethnic backgrounds.

Whenever two (or more) language groups come into contact, a limited number of outcomes will result, or, as Vendryes observes (1925/1979), if two languages are in contact, they will influence each other to a smaller or a greater extent. The extremes are relatively well defined. At the one extreme a language group may be characterized by what may be called language retention, a situation which has been studied by Fishman (1966). In such a case, all members of the group continue to speak their mother tongue as their

principal language of use. At the other extreme a language group may lose all its members because of linguistic assimilation to another group. In this case, language forgetting occurs. Bloomfield (1933) explains how the extinction of language is a real threat to immigrant groups:

Among immigrants in America, extinction, like borrowing, goes on at great speed. If the immigrant is linguistically isolated, if his cultural level is low, and above all, if he marries a person of different speech, he may cease entirely to use his native language and even lose the power of speaking intelligibly. English becomes his only language, though he may speak it very imperfectly. (p. 462)

#### Language Loss

Broadly defined, language loss (otherwise known as language attrition) may refer to the loss of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community. It may refer to the declining use of mother tongue skills by those in bilingual situations or among ethnic minorities in (some) language contact situations where one language, for political or social reasons, comes to replace another. Language attrition also refers to the deterioration of language skills in neurologically impaired patients and to the decline of certain types of language in the elderly. Likewise, language attrition may be used to



describe the death of an entire language, or it can be used to discuss the loss of language skills by those who have studied and then discontinued the use of a second language. The study of language loss is very wide in scope, ranging from studies that concentrate on the gradual disappearance of a language or dialect due to contact with another more dominant language to studies that focus on the individual in whom attrition is due to either pathological or natural conditions. The present study concerns itself with individual attrition under natural conditions. Furthermore, studies dealing with individual language attrition may relate to the attrition of the speaker's first language or to the speaker's second language. This paper deals with the former situation.

Some of the characteristics of language forgetting are hesitancy as the person searches for the appropriate words or expressions; code-switching is extensive, and the person borrows whole expressions from the dominant language, often without being aware of it; pronunciation is affected at the level of intonation and stress and also at the level of individual consonants and vowels; and writing skills deteriorate, too. Language comprehension suffers much less; apart from new terminology and new colloquialisms that the person may not know, he or she usually has no problems retaining a good understanding of the spoken language.

### First Language Loss

Loss of competence in one's native language, except in cases of injury or disease, generally occurs as the result of restricted use of the language. Such restriction may occur, for example, when one moves to another country and begins using the language of that country to the exclusion of one's native language, or when one learns a minority language at home but shifts to the societal language after learning it in school. The latter is a common pattern among ethnolinguistic minority children.

Whether it is a case of immigrants losing their native language (L1) or speakers whose dialect gradually shifts toward the standard language, or foreign-language learners who no longer have practice and start losing their foreign language (FL) skills, Weltens and Cohen (1989) suggest that one common objective is "the identification of factors influencing the attrition process, such as psychological factors (e.g., general characteristics of memory, intelligence), sociopsychological factors (e.g., attitudes and motivation), and linguistic factors (e.g., the relationship or distance between the language systems involved" (p. 129).

Gleason (1982) discusses the insights that child language acquisition studies might provide. Child language studies have shown that, despite the presence of important

universals in language acquisition by children, there is also great individual variation. Factors such as an individual's sex, cognitive style, tendency to rehearse spontaneously, as well as the kind of input provided by older speakers, may all affect the way a person loses language skills just as they affect the acquisition of language.

#### Lexical Transfer

The influence of a non-native language results in transfer on all levels of the immigrants' language: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and lexis. The ease of lexical borrowings is attributed to the fact that the lexicon is an open system. It should not go unnoticed that for communication, the lexicon plays a most crucial role. The acquisition of a vocabulary by bilinguals is determined not only by a need to name new or modified objects, but also by developments in the realm of work and the need for new terms. As Weinreich (1968) writes, "Lexical borrowings [to designate new things] can be described as a result of the fact that using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets" (p. 57).

It is worth noting though that lexical transfer may occur even though equivalent words exist in the L1. Haugen (1969) reports that Norwegian Americans borrowed English

words as common as "river," "fence," "cousin," despite the fact that the immigrants knew the Norwegian counterparts to these words.

In certain immigrant groups, word borrowing is also a reflection of the immigrants' wish to acculturate into the majority group, especially if the group and its language are considered prestigious. Higa (1979) reports that in the Japanese community in Hawaii, the borrowing of English words, including pronouns (me, you), kinship terms (mama, brother, sister), and expressions of quantity (thirty, some, too much) reflects group identity and demonstrates a certain degree of acculturation into American society.

#### Extralinguistic Factors

The diversified nature of factors influencing the changes within a language contact situation makes it indispensable to precede linguistic consideration with examination of extralinguistic data regarding the informants. The character of the data is either socioeconomic (comparing data on professional qualifications and the changes within them, data on the cultural life of immigrants as well as data concerning the places of habitation prior to immigration, etc.) or personal (age, level of education, and, in the case of the younger generation, sources of knowledge of the mother tongue as

well as possible contacts with today's L1, etc.)

Extralinguistic factors are crucial in explaining transfer in language contact. Vendryes (1925/1979) identifies four factors that determine language contact: economic status, political orientation, religion, and prestige. Hockett points out, "Immigrants to the United States in the last seventy-five years have drawn heavily on English for new words, partly on the prestige basis and partly for need-filling purposes" (1958, p. 406).

Weinreich (1968) discusses the following ten sociocultural variables: geographic obstacles or facilitations, indigenoussness, cultural or ethnic membership, religion, race, sex, age, social status, occupation, and rural versus urban residence. Haugen (1956) also lists many of the same categories and, in addition, family, neighborhood, political affiliation (including nationality and citizenship), and education.

Without taking into account extralinguistic factors, it is impossible to comprehend why in a particular situation not all elements of language transfer are observed in the speech of different speakers. Changes occurring as a result of language contact, as well as the directions and the speed of language change resulting in language loss, depend on social and historical factors. Those factors in a particular socio-political situation either speed or slow

down the process of transfer. Diebold, Jr., states, "My experience in dealing with bilingualism among American Indian groups in Mexico suggests to me that a description of the linguistic phenomena alone, while perhaps instructive in enriching a typology of linguistic borrowing, is an idle exercise, if left without sociological analysis" (1961, p. 97).

#### Types of Borrowing

Haugen (1950) defines borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" and furthermore states, "Since borrowing has been defined as a process involving reproduction, any attempt to analyze its course must involve a comparison of the original pattern with its imitation" (p. 212). The loan may be more or less similar to the original pattern. If the introduction of the loan takes place without changing it with respect to the original pattern so that native speakers would accept it as their own, the borrowing may be said to occur through importation. The other kind of borrowing occurs when borrowing speakers have reproduced the model inadequately by integrating it into their own language. The model in such instances becomes modified and adapted into the system that has borrowed it. Furthermore, language borrowing can result in a loan translation (calque) that is word for word translation. Closely related to the calque

is the semantic loan where a word acquires additional meaning. In reproducing the forms of another language, speakers sometimes will slip in part or all of a native morpheme for the foreign ones and such borrowing will result in creating the hybrid. The following examples present the five types of lexical borrowings:

1. words in foreign form

Polish: szlafrok i ładne pantofle

Am. Polish: bathrobe i ładne pantofle  
bathrobe and nice shoes

2. adapted words (Polish suffixes used to integrate the English words phonologically and morphologically into Polish)

Polish: oprowadzac

Am. Polish: gajdowac  
to guide

Polish: wydawac

Am. Polish: spendowac  
to spend

Polish: pudelko

Am. Polish: baksa  
box

3. structural calques (literal translations)

Polish: pralka

Am. Polish: automatyczna maszyna do prania  
automatic laundry

Polish: siec sklepow

Am. Polish: lancuchowe sklepy  
chain stores

Polish: parking

Am. Polish: miejsce parkowania  
parking place

4. semantic loans (under the influence of English a Polish word acquires an additional meaning)

Polish: tapeta

Am. Polish: papier  
(wall)-paper

Polish: nazwisko

Am. Polish: nazwa  
name

5. hybrids

Polish: przemowienie

Am. Polish: public mowa  
public speech

Polish: ogrod zoologiczny

Am. Polish: ogrod Zoo  
zoo

#### The State of Research on Language Change Among Immigrants

The linguistic literature pertaining to the description of changes which the language of Polish immigrants has undergone since the time of their settlement among people



speaking different languages is as yet not very abundant. However, interest in it started in Poland as early as the 1930's.

The forerunner of research on language contact was Doroszewski (1938), whose study presents the outcome of "the interaction of languages which are as different in their structure and character as English and Polish " (p. 157). The data were gathered during a 10-month stay in the USA in 1937. Predominantly, Doroszewski deals with the changes within the lexicon. Lexical borrowings most commonly noted were words in foreign form, and the great majority of them represented the American forms of social civilization and especially such aspects of life as financial affairs, commerce, architecture, politics, journalism, and technology. In addition, names of professions, occupations, and games were frequent. Another group of words readily borrowed from American English were slang words and expressions which Doroszewski attributed to their expressive character.

The second largest group of lexical borrowings comprised adapted words. Both structural calques and semantic borrowings occurred in the speech of the informants, too. Furthermore, Doroszewski noticed that the most easily borrowed parts of speech were nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

The author treats his sources as a uniform identity, and his analysis concentrates on listing all the differences between the Polish language in the United States and in Poland. However, Doroszewski's sources are diversified when it comes to act sequence, instrumentalities, and participants. The data were gathered from newspaper articles, books, and letters; the informants came from different social backgrounds -- intelligentsia and farmers; and both written and spoken media of transmission were used in data gathering. Therefore, extralinguistic factors cannot be taken into account in explaining any of the language borrowings that Doroszewski observed.

In 1962, Lyra prepared a dissertation on American Polish. The subjects of this investigation were Americans of Polish descent, in all 27 informants. Lyra noticed changes in the Polish language on the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels, and within the lexicon. Abundant examples of words in foreign form, adapted words, structural calques, and semantic borrowings were found. The most readily borrowed parts of speech were nouns, verbs, and adjectives. No transfer of English pronouns and numerals was noticed. Lyra also observed that in introducing words in foreign form, the informants indicated their awareness either by a short pause before the borrowed expression or by a short introductory phrase like tak zwany "so called" or

interruption of the text and insertion of comments like Musze to powiedziec po angielsku "I have to say it in English," or using both the English and the Polish equivalents successively: housekeeper - gospodarz.

It is commonly assumed that the borrowing of lexical items is a result of necessity. While this is true, it is by no means the only reason for borrowing, at least in the Polish-English contact situation. Lyra attributes language borrowings not only to the forgetting process, but also to "sheer intellectual laziness" (1962, p. 260). Neither of the above reasons seemed to motivate the introduction of words of affirmation and negation Yes and No. Lyra postulated that most probably it was purely an attraction that made speakers of Polish adapt these items so eagerly into their Polish.

Among works initiated by the Polonia Research Institute was Gruchmanowa's (1979) study of four informants who came to the States after World War II. Except for length of stay (60, 18, 17, and 11 years), English proficiency (minimal), language used at work (mainly Polish for two informants and mainly English for the other two), and socioeconomic background (immigrants from the rural areas of Poland), no other data were provided.

The data obtained showed that the two informants who used mainly English at work and spent 17 and 11 years in the

USA had 55% and 50% of lexical borrowings, respectively. The other two informants, who mainly used Polish at work and spent 60 and 18 years in the USA, had 48% and 37% of lexical borrowings. The only conclusion apparent from this study is that proficiency in English had no bearing on lexical borrowings. Gruchmanowa did provide a detailed description as to which parts of speech had undergone most changes, though she did not give a full account of types of lexical borrowings observed in the speech of the informants.

Canadian Polish is discussed by Grabowski (1975). The informants chosen from the Polish community were divided into two groups: (1) the actual immigrants, whose primary language system was Polish, and (2) first generation Polish Canadians. The frequency of lexical and grammatical borrowings turned out to be the highest in the group that came before the beginning of World War II. Grabowski attributes that finding to the fact that those immigrants had little formal education and no special linguistic awareness. The so-called "new immigration," people who went to Canada after World War II and their children, consists mainly of intelligentsia. Members of this group appear to make a conscious effort to keep the two language systems apart. Grabowski notices that the strongest influence of English is in the domain of vocabulary, with nouns forming the most important part of all loans. The

greatest number of loans pass into Canadian Polish in foreign form, or they are adapted by means of derivation or affixation. The second important group consists of semantic loans, also fairly common in the speech of especially the first generation. Grabowski concludes that in the last few years under the impact of closer contact with Poland, visits of relatives and greater availability of Polish books and papers, certain Polish speech patterns and items of vocabulary were reinforced, but probably it is temporary.

A number of articles concerning the Polish language in Great Britain also appeared in Poland. Stanecka-Tyralska (1977) notes that the total number of lexical borrowings is extensive. In particular, words that describe jobs and professions, and different terminology that is used at work are abundant which she explains by constant contact between Polish and English people in the work place. The most common types of lexical borrowing were through adapted words that at first were indicated by a different intonation pattern. However, with time that feature of signaling an imported word disappeared. Many words were adapted into the Polish system through suffixation. Stanecka-Tyralska points out that the number that can undergo the process of borrowing is practically unlimited. She also notices that even such basic and common words as samochod "car," or narzeczony "boyfriend," and so on have been substituted with

English words.

Masiewicz (1981) studied the third generation of Polish immigrants to France. The data were collected through speech samples from five informants ranging in age from 25 to 30 years with at least high school education. Masiewicz notices a very strong influence of the French language on Polish vocabulary, syntax, morphology, and phonology. Lexical borrowings were most commonly represented by words in foreign form and adaptations. Structural calques, on the other hand, were relatively rare.

Zareba (1953) presents the results of his 3-year observation of the language as spoken in Sweden by immigrants that left Poland after World War I and immigrants who came to that country in the years 1944-1945. Stembord (1964) discusses the problems of Polish spoken by Polish immigrants to Holland also from the perspective of the two-wave immigration. Both studies display abundant data on language borrowing that occurred mainly in the lexis with nouns and verbs undergoing adaptation into the Polish language system. Neither of the studies provides consistent data on the informants' socioeconomic or personal background.

The major problem with language studies conducted on language contact between Polish and other languages is that research designs that take into account extra-linguistic

factors have rarely been used. Publications on the study of linguistic borrowing have been by and large descriptive in nature. Linguists are not so much interested in behavior which accounts for the observed changes as they are in identifying and tabulating the changes themselves. Information regarding informants' age, profession, length of stay in the USA, place of birth, and language proficiency is not consistently provided, preventing any kind of comparison. Very little attention is paid to the social characteristics that in fact play a crucial role in determining the Polish language of an immigrant. Despite that shortcoming, the existing research on language contact shows that in fact a Polish ethnic minority, after some time, speaks a version of the mother tongue somewhat different from that spoken in the mother country. In addition, all the studies confirm that lexical changes are the first ones to take place in language contact situations. More specifically, nouns and verbs are the most commonly represented parts of speech to undergo the process of borrowing.

A Polish study that includes extralinguistic factors has been done by Szydłowska-Ceglowska (1988). It reports on language contact between Polish and Canadian. The data came from the dairies of Polish immigrants who wrote with the intention to reach monolingual Polish speakers in Poland.

Szydłowska-Ceglowska noted significant differences in language borrowings depending on whether the writer had education or left Poland with no education. The groups differed with respect to one more factor, namely, socioeconomic background. The informants with education came from Polish intelligentsia and were represented by an engineer, a priest, and a graduate from a vocational school. The other group was represented by a farmer and a factory worker. The analysis of the data showed that both groups borrowed from Canadian English. However, there were differences as to which types of lexical borrowings were most commonly employed among the two groups. Adapted words were much more productive within the group with little education and with a worker-peasant background, and semantic borrowings were very rare. Among intelligentsia, the least frequent were adapted words. In addition, among that group words in foreign form were very common.

Among other studies, there is no agreement on the role of education received prior to one's immigration in facilitating the retention of one's mother tongue. Nakano (cited in Okamura-Bichard, 1985), who conducted a study of the educational adjustment of children overseas and returnees in Japan, among the factors that played a role in language maintenance lists the years of schooling in the native country and age on entry into bilingual studies.



However, Okamura-Bichard's study (1985) of Japanese children does not show that the amount of schooling bears a significant relationship to the children's performance in Japanese. Haugen (1969) observes that "the cultured man, whose vocabulary is more extensive, and whose ability to form new expressions is more highly developed, will often be more successful in resisting loans than the average person" (p. 374).

As there is currently no agreement on the role of education, it seems worthwhile to pursue that aspect of research. Therefore, this study will concentrate on two related hypotheses:

1. Speakers of Polish make a number of lexical intrusions.
2. There is a negative correlation between years of education and a ratio of borrowings to different lexical types.

In other words, I expect to find that lexical intrusions differ in scope depending on whether those speakers of Polish had received at least 12 years of education prior to their immigration. More specifically, I postulate that immigrants with less education will more readily integrate English words morphosyntactically into Polish. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between those with minimal education and those with at least 12 years of education.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

As outlined in Chapter I, Introduction, the present investigation sets out to collect data concerning language loss among Polish immigrants to the United States. The hypothesis is that speakers of Polish make a number of lexical intrusions which differ depending on the amount of formal education.

#### Subjects

To follow the hypothesis, I singled out a number of immigrants who met the following requirements: (a) the immigrants left Poland during or after World War II, (b) they were at least 16 years of age when immigration took place, and (c) the informants were characterized either by very limited education received in Poland or had at least 12 years of education prior to their immigration.

As the Polish community in the Dallas-Fort Worth area is small, finding informants that would fit the requirements proved to be difficult, and therefore, the sample consisted of merely 16 informants, only six of whom were female. Table 1 shows socioeconomic and personal data of the 16 informants that participated in the study.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Subjects

	GROUP 1	GROUP 2
NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	8	8
EDUCATION IN POLAND	2-7	12-17
EDUCATION MEAN	4	14
US RESIDENCE RANGE	40-45	40-48
US RESIDENCE MEAN	43	43

## INFORMANT 1

Beata<sup>1</sup> is a female born in Poland in 1929. She left the country in 1947 to stay with her cousin in Chicago. Upon her arrival in the United States, she did not know any English at all, and her first job was for a Polish bakery. During her working career, she held different jobs and eventually picked up enough English to work in an English-speaking environment. She retired a few months prior to the beginning of this study. Beata is married to a Pole and is a proud mother of three sons and five grandchildren. Her sons are college graduates and hold white collar jobs. Although she has never returned to Poland, she has not severed her ties with the country of origin. Her close relatives still live there, and almost yearly Beata invites siblings and their children to spend

their vacation at her home.

INFORMANT 2

Jan is a male born in Poland in 1933. He dropped out of school after 3 years. Jan left the country with a group of a few other men and arrived in the United States in 1950. The beginnings in the new country were particularly hard because he barely spoke English. Nevertheless, he managed to get a job with an American company as a carpenter. Today, Jan still does not speak English very well, but after 40 years of residence in the United States, his comprehension of spoken English allows him to watch TV and enjoy it. Jan is married and has grown children. He has never returned to Poland since the day he left. However, he corresponds with his family, and they visit him in the United States.

INFORMANT 3

Maryla is a female who left Poland when she was 27 years of age and has lived in the United States for 41 years. When Maryla arrived, she had only 2 years of formal schooling and no knowledge of English. Her first jobs were as a baby-sitter and house-cleaner. Mostly, she worked for Polish families, and Polish was used on a regular basis. She recently stopped working to help out her daughter. Maryla is married and has two grown children and one grandchild. Maryla has visited Poland and her Polish family

once since she left. However, her contact with her family is close as they write letters, and Maryla's family has visited her a couple of times.

INFORMANT 4

Wojciech is a male who left Poland at the age of 16. As a reason for leaving his native country, he gave economic hardships. He arrived in the United States with his brother. Neither of them knew any English, but Wojciech managed to secure a job as a janitor in an Italian restaurant. Later on, he worked in a factory where Polish was used rarely. He retired recently and lives on Social Security. Wojciech is married to a Polish woman. They have two children and one grandchild.

INFORMANT 5

Adam left Poland in 1945 when he was 20 years old. An abusive father prompted Adam to look for a better life somewhere else. He admitted that he used to look through magazines with photographs of America and dream of setting his foot on that glamorous continent. His dream came true but did not exactly go the way he had planned it. Adam's lack of knowledge of English let him be used by some dishonest people, and while Adam thought that he was making a living, in fact, he was an accomplice in a fraud. He spent a few months in prison, and the first day out he signed up for English classes. Adam is married and has

grown children. He has never returned to Poland, but he corresponds with his family, and now and then someone comes over for a visit.

INFORMANT 6

Tadeusz (male) was born in Poland in 1925 and arrived in the United States in 1947 at the age of twenty four. He came with a group of Polish people. At first, they all stayed together, shared an apartment, and worked for the same company. Having learned some English at a community college, Tadeusz later found jobs in an English-speaking environment. Tadeusz is married and has children. He writes to his family in Poland and has visited the mother country once; his house is always open to his Polish relatives.

INFORMANT 7

Kostek (male) immigrated with his whole family in 1945. At that time he was 18. His family left Poland for economic reasons. Kostek held various jobs as a security officer, factory worker, and driver. He recently retired. As his immediate family is in the United States, he has no visitors from Poland and has never been there since his immigration. Kostek's spouse is Polish, and they have children and grandchildren.

INFORMANT 8

Barbara left Poland at the age 26. She had no knowledge of

English on her arrival, and her Polish friends helped her find her first job. Throughout her working career, she worked almost exclusively as a dressmaker. Barbara's husband is retired, and they have grown children. Barbara stays in touch with her family in Poland through letter-writing, and she also invites her relatives to visit her in the United States. She herself has never returned to Poland.

INFORMANT 9

Grzegorz (male) arrived in the United States in 1945 at the age of thirty. Originally, he had no plans of settling here permanently. However, he liked the country so much that he decided to make it his home. Grzegorz graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from a Polish university and for several years worked as an accountant. Unfortunately, his Polish credentials did not permit him to continue to work in his field in the United States. At first then, he worked on his English, and later on he enrolled at one of the American universities. After a few years he graduated with a Master of Science. Grzegorz's wife is Polish, and they have three grown children. His family stays in touch with his Polish relatives, who have already visited Grzegorz a couple of times. Grzegorz has returned to Poland once.

INFORMANT 10

Maciej (male) arrived in the United States at the age of

20. At first he did not intend to leave Poland permanently. However, he was looking for a change and an adventure, and it seemed to him that he found both in America. Maciej's first job was in a factory with some other Polish people. At night, he took English, and after some time he enrolled in a university. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science after about six years. Maciej's wife passed away recently. He has two grown children. Maciej regularly invites his Polish family to visit him, and he has returned to Poland twice since his immigration.

INFORMANT 11

Irena left Poland at the age of 22 having finished high school. The reason for her immigration was a hope for economic improvement. Irena's first jobs were baby-sitting and house cleaning for Polish families. Now she and her husband are retired. Irena corresponds with her Polish family. They visit her, but Irena has never returned to Poland since her immigration 48 years ago.

INFORMANT 12

Andrzej (male) fought during World War II as a pilot for the Polish air force and later on flew planes for the Royal Air Force in England. His closest family perished during the war, and having nobody to come home to, Andrzej stayed in England. Later on he left for the United States with a group of Polish friends. Andrzej's knowledge of English let



work as a pilot and instructor. He is retired now. Andrzej has visited Poland once since he left the country in 1939. However, his wife's family comes to the United States on a regular basis.

INFORMANT 13

Magdalena left Poland at the age of 20. Her dream was to visit other countries and taste living not only in Poland. Her first choice was to settle in England, but quite unexpectedly she ended up in the United States. She has no regrets, however. Magdalena was a high school graduate when she left Poland. With passive knowledge of English, she had to improve her language skills first, and then she took real estate courses. Magdalena helps her Polish family a lot by sending money and packages, and she has her relatives over for visits. She has visited Poland twice since leaving the country.

INFORMANT 14

Halina (female) left Poland at the age of 19. After having lived in England for about one year, she and her husband arrived in the United States. The reason for leaving England, they both agree, was the fact that they could never feel fully integrated into that society. Having picked up some English, Halina worked at fast food restaurants, delicatessens, and bakeries. Her husband had worked as an engineer in Poland, but his insufficient knowledge of

English and pressure to make a living stopped him from attending any schools in the United States. Thus he worked as a car mechanic. The couple retains strong ties with their Polish family, but they have themselves never returned to Poland.

INFORMANT 15

Adam arrived in the United States at the age of 29. During World War II he fought in the Polish army, and with the armed forces ended up in France and then in England. When the war ended and the new government in Poland was not a political continuation of the past, Adam felt betrayed and deeply disappointed and did not want to live under oppressive conditions. He admits that it was not an easy decision but after visiting Poland three times since then he is convinced that he made the right decision. Adam's wife is Polish, and they have grown children.

INFORMANT 16

Mirek (male) left Poland at the age of 22 for a very romantic reason. He had a fight with his fiancée and they broke up. Mirek became so upset that he swore to show her that he could be financially successful. He left Poland never to return. Mirek put himself through school in the United States and has worked as an engineer. Mirek corresponds with his family, and they visit him in the United States.

### The extralinguistic data.

Among the extralinguistic data that were elicited from the informants was their contact with Polish in everyday situations. As lack of contact with the language appears to be more important for L1 borrowings than the time elapsed since the immigration (Dorian, 1977; Bot and Clyne, 1989), the Polish immigrants that participated in the study were asked to fill out a questionnaire (see Appendix A) to establish frequency of the usage of the Polish language.

### Materials and Procedures

Data were gathered in the Dallas-Fort Worth area during January and February 1990. In order to minimize any bias on the informants' part, the purpose of the study was not revealed, and they were led to believe that the study was conducted in order to gather information on the life of Polish immigrants living in the United States.

The interviews, which were conducted informally at the informants' places of residence, had two aims: (a) to collect recording of representative samples of the informants' spoken Polish, and (b) to obtain information about their backgrounds. The topics of these largely biographical interviews were the informants' date and place of birth, age on entry to the United States, schooling in Poland and in the States. Also, the informants were asked about the jobs they had held and the problems they

encountered in the United States. The subjects were also asked to talk about their current place of residence. The interviews lasted about thirty to forty five minutes. The samples of spoken Polish were transcribed using Standard Polish orthography (see Appendix F).

In order to obtain samples of the informants' spoken English, they were asked to talk about what they had done the day before and to describe a photograph depicting two little girls reading a book. The recorded samples lasted about 10 to 15 minutes for each speaker. The samples of Polish and English of the 16 informants' were recorded on a portable tape-recorder, small enough to let the informants "forget" about its presence.

The English proficiency of the speakers was evaluated by three assessors holding Masters of Arts in English as a Second Language. The Foreign Service Institute checklist of performance factors was used to assess language proficiency (see Appendix C). The evaluators were familiarized with the checklist that rates language proficiency in such areas as accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. Scores for each component range on a scale from foreign (1) to native-like (6). Each assessor filled out an assessment form for each of the subjects in the study (see Appendix E). The order in which the recordings were played was determined by casting a die, and once the order was established, the

sample recordings of the 16 speakers were played in the same order to the three assessors, who did their ratings one at a time. Neither biographical data on the subjects nor the hypothesis of the experiment was disclosed to the evaluators.

#### Data analysis

The completed assessment forms of the English speech samples were tabulated according to the Foreign Service Institute weighting and conversion tables (see Appendix D), and the results are presented in Table 2, Chapter IV.

The Polish speech samples were analyzed in terms of the following (see Chapter II, Review of Literature for detailed description):

1. words in foreign form
2. adapted words
3. structural calques
4. semantic loans
5. hybrids

The occurrences of any of the five types of lexical borrowings were added up for each speaker separately. In addition, lexical borrowings were tabulated according to the three cultural branches:

1. the social culture
  - a. administration
 

Polish: podanie

Am. Polish: aplikacja  
application

b. police

Polish: deportowac, wydalic z kraju

Am. Polish: transportowac  
to transport

c. social services

Polish: renta, emerytura

Am. Polish: pensyja  
pension

d. work

Polish: zwolnic z pracy

Am. Polish: poodkladac  
to lay off

e. personal contacts

Polish: zostac zaznajomionym z kims

Am. Polish: dostac zapoznanie, znajomosc  
to get acquainted

f. entertainment

Polish: grac w filmie

Am. Polish: aktowac  
to act

g. sport

Polish: sedzia

Am. Polish: refer

referee

h. human relations

Polish: zyc bez kłopotu

Am. Polish: byc na wygodny ulicy  
to be on easy street

2. the material culture

a. foods

Polish: kartofle

Am. Polish: potatusy  
potatoes

b. home

Polish: lodowka

Am. Polish: fridz  
fridge

c. clothing

Polish: pizama

Am. Polish: pajamy  
pajamas

d. transportation

Polish: pojechac pociagiem

Am. Polish: wziasc pociag  
to take a train

3. the spiritual culture

a. education

Polish: liceum ogolnoksztalcace

Am. Polish: wyzsza szkola  
high school

b. units of measure

Polish: tysiac piecset

Am. Polish: pietnascieset  
fifteen hundred

c. health

Polish: byc zalamanym psychicznie

Am. Polish: byc w desperackim stanie  
to be desperate

d. naming

Polish: Irlandczyk

Am. Polish: Irys  
Irish

The corpus of Polish data was arranged according to the following variables:

1. dependent variable
  - a. number of borrowings
2. independent variable
  - a. subject
  - b. education
  - c. type
  - d. cultural branch

The statistical procedure used was the ANOVA. An ANOVA tells if there is a non-accidental, significant difference



between the mean scores of two groups. The confidence in ANOVA results is stated in terms of a probability that the result is not accidental. The ANOVA was conducted in order to examine whether education was the principal factor determining the structure of lexical borrowings.

Furthermore, each Polish speech sample was analyzed in terms of the parts of speech that were used: noun, verb, adjective, numeral, adverb, particle, and conjunction. The parts of speech were added up separately depending on whether they were words in Standard Polish or American Polish. The completed data were arranged according to the following variables:

1. dependent variable
  - a. use of parts of speech
2. independent variable
  - a. subject
  - b. education
  - c. part of speech
  - d. language

The statistical procedure used was the ANOVA. It was conducted in order to examine whether education played a significant role in using either Standard Polish or American Polish parts of speech.

## Chapter III Notes

<sup>4</sup>Names of the informants are fictitious to protect their identity.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

This chapter presents a description and analysis of the data collected on language loss among Polish immigrants in the United States.

#### Results Part 1

##### Ratings of Informants' English

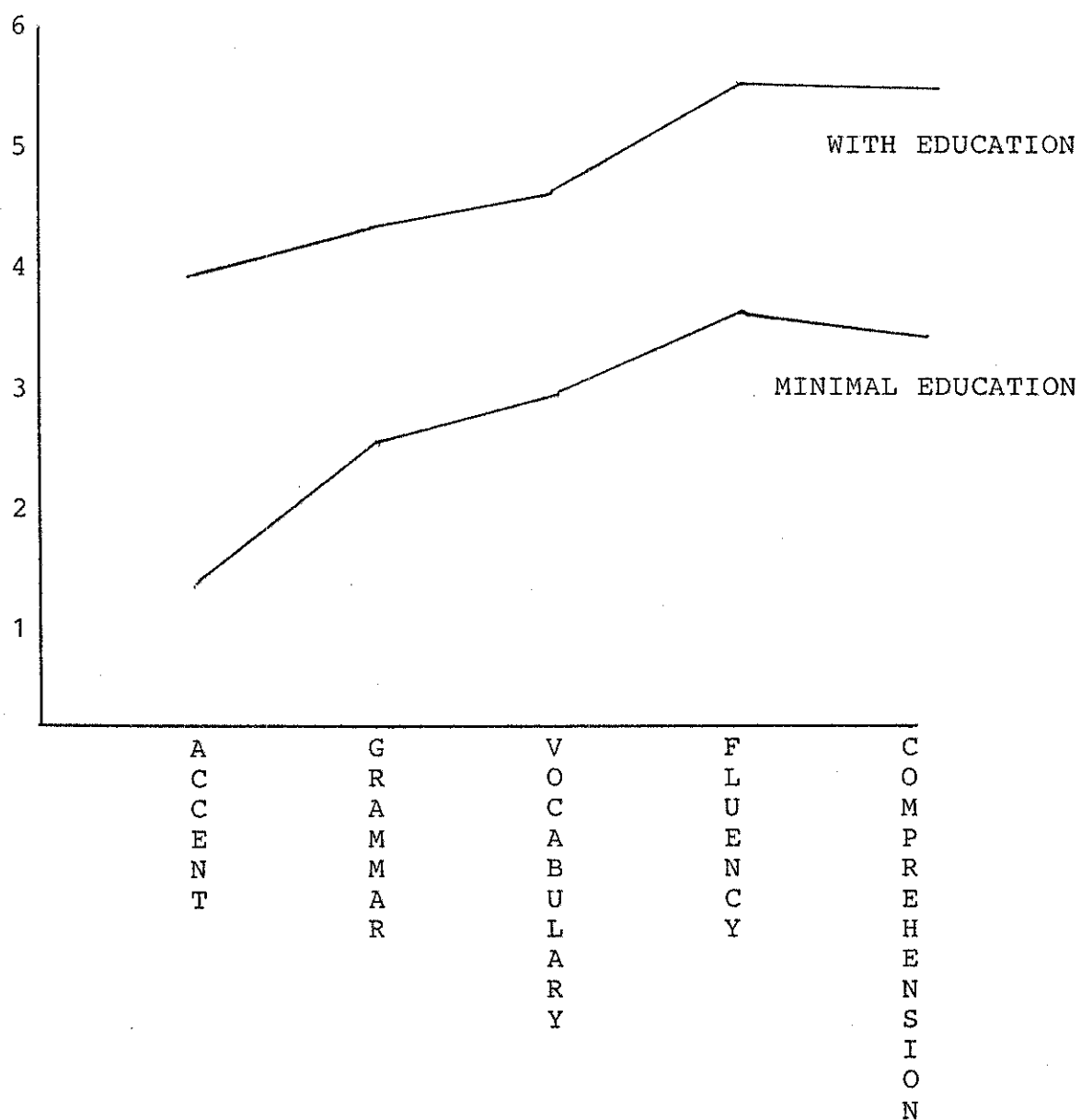
The three native speakers of English who were asked to evaluate spoken proficiency in English of the Polish immigrants who participated in the study filled out assessment forms (see Appendix E) following the FSI system for each of the informants. The results were computed using the FSI weighting and conversion tables (see Appendix D). Results for the informants with no or very little education received in Poland ranged between 1+ and 2+. Results for the informants with at least 12 years of education prior to immigration ranged between 3 and 4+. Detailed results are presented in Table 2. In addition, the mean score of all assessors was computed parameter by parameter for every informant. From these, grand mean scores for the two groups were obtained, and they are presented in Figure 2.

Table 2

Ratings of Informants' English

		RATER		
		1	2	3
SUBJECT	1	1+	2	2
SUBJECT	2	2	2	2+
SUBJECT	3	2	2	2+
SUBJECT	4	2	2	2
SUBJECT	5	2+	2	2+
SUBJECT	6	2+	2+	2
SUBJECT	7	2	2	2+
SUBJECT	8	2+	2+	2+
SUBJECT	9	3	3+	3+
SUBJECT	10	3+	4	4
SUBJECT	11	3	3+	3+
SUBJECT	12	4	4	4
SUBJECT	13	3+	4	4+
SUBJECT	14	3+	4	4
SUBJECT	15	3+	4+	4+
SUBJECT	16	4+	4+	4+

Figure 2. The group mean scores of informants' English for the five language parameters assessed by native speakers. Scale 1-6.



## Results Part 2

Informants' Contact with the Polish Language

In order to determine contact with the Polish language, the informants were asked during the interviews to elaborate on their personal lives. In addition, they were asked to fill out a short questionnaire (see Appendix A). The two sources were used to compile the data that is presented separately for Group 1 and Group 2 in Tables 3 and 4. Both groups use the Polish language on a regular basis. The noticeable difference between the two groups of informants is in their contact with newspapers and books in the native language. Group 1, characterized by minimal education received in Poland, displayed very little interest in reading Polish books and newspapers. On the other hand, Group 2, characterized by at least 12 years of schooling in Poland, clearly is more often caught with Polish books and magazines. There is also a difference in a number of visits to Poland between the two groups. A total number of visits to Poland by speakers with minimal education is four and a total number of visits to Poland by speakers with education is nine.

Table 3

Contact with Polish by Speakers with no Education

	SPEAKERS							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SPOUSE	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
CHILDREN	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
CLOSE FRIENDS	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
SHOPPING	R	R	N	S	N	R	R	A
CHURCH	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
WORK	R	R	O	R	R	N	S	S
CORRESPONDENCE	A	A	A	O	O	S	O	O
NEWSPAPERS, BOOKS	N	R	N	R	R	R	R	R
VISITORS FROM POLAND	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
VISITS TO POLAND	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0

Note. A=always; N=never; O=often; R=rarely;

S=sometimes

Table 4

Contact with Polish by Speakers with Education

	SPEAKERS								
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
SPOUSE	A	X	A	A	A	A	A	X	
CHILDREN	A	A	X	X	A	A	A	A	
CLOSE FRIENDS	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
SHOPPING	N	R	R	R	N	N	N	R	
CHURCH	X	A	A	A	X	A	X	A	
WORK	R	R	S	R	N	N	N	R	
CORRESPONDENCE	O	O	O	S	S	S	O	O	
NEWSPAPERS, BOOKS	O	S	O	O	S	O	O	S	
VISITORS FROM POLAND	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
VISITS TO POLAND	1	2	0	1	2	0	3	0	

Note. A=always; N=never; O=often; R=rarely

S=sometimes

X=widow/widower/single/no children/does not attend church

## Results Part 3

Lexical Borrowings

With regard to the number of lexical borrowings, there was a significant difference between the less educated and more educated groups ( $F=10.0832$ ,  $p=0.0017$ ) (see Table 5).



Table 5

Borrowing and Education

SOURCE	DF	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN OF SQUARES	F	PROB
EDUCATION	1	109.350	109.350	10.0832	0.0017
RESIDUAL	238	2581.05	10.8447		
TOTAL	239	2690.40			

There was a significant difference ( $F=19.6614$ ,  $p=0.0000$ ) between the types of borrowings observed in Group 1 and Group 2 (see Table 6).

Table 6

Borrowing and Type

SOURCE	DF	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN OF SQUARES	F	PROB
TYPE	4	674.608	168.652	19.6614	0.0000
RESIDUAL	234	2015.79	8.57784		
TOTAL	239	2690.40			

Lexical borrowings (described in detail in Chapter II, Review of Literature) in the Polish speech samples are tabulated separately for Group 1, characterized by minimal education received in Poland prior to immigration, and Group 2, with at least 12 years of education, and they are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Lexical Borrowings

	GROUP 1	GROUP 2
1. WORDS IN FOREIGN FORM	5	55
2. ADAPTED WORDS	210	8
3. STRUCTURAL CALQUES	13	12
4. SEMANTIC BORROWINGS	0	0
5. HYBRIDS	1	0

Words in foreign form were very scarce in the speech samples of Group 1. Group 2 resorted to that type of lexical borrowing quite commonly: Informant 9, sentence (5) domestic, sentence (8) evaluation; Informant 15 sentence (13) fine. Group 1 displayed an abundance of adapted words: Informant 1, sentence (4) spikac "speak"; Informant 4 sentence (15) strity "street"; Informant 7, sentence (4) tykiety "tickets." Group 2 used adapted words very rarely. Both groups displayed almost an equal number of structural calques: Informant 1, sentence (22) kolejowa droga "railway," (26) drugie drzwi "next door"; Informant 5, sentence (3) robic zycie "make a living"; Informant 10, sentence (5) srebrna lyzka w buzi "a silver spoon in the mouth." Semantic borrowings were noticed only in Group 1: Informant 1, sentence (24) papier polozyl "put the paper," sentence (25) zaczal ogrod "start a garden"; Informant 5,

sentence (16) transportowac "transport." Only one hybrid was observed and it occurred in the speech of Informant 7, sentence (10) sekjurity straznik "security."

In many cases, speakers from Group 2 were observed introducing either a short pause before the borrowed expression, or a phrase tak zwany "so called," interrupting the text and inserting the commentary Musze to powiedziec po angielsku "I have to say it in English," or using both the English and the Polish equivalents successively. Group 1 never employed such tactics.

The speech samples obtained from the informants presented a number of forced borrowings. They included names of towns, institutions, and proper names, e.g., Czikago "Chicago," Firestone, Dzian "John."

The borrowings were also divided into the three cultural branches: social, spiritual, and material, and the results are presented separately for Group 1 and Group 2 in Table 8 and Table 9.

Table 8

Types of Lexical Borrowings in the Three Cultural Branches  
in the Speech of Group 1

	CULTURE		
	SOCIAL	SPIRITUAL	MATERIAL
1. WORDS IN FOREIGN FORM	3	2	0
2. ADAPTED WORDS	73	27	110
3. STRUCTURAL CALQUES	6	4	3
4. SEMANTIC BORROWINGS	2	3	2
5. HYBRIDS	1	0	0

There were 9 words that did not fall into any of the established cultural branches. Out of those 9 words, 8 were adapted, and the remaining one represented a structural calque.

1. adapted words - gol "go," moderna "modern," old "old," perfekt "perfect," profity "profits," rolcze "roaches," spikowac "speak," trobl "trouble."

2. structural calque - dostac idee "get an idea."

Table 9

Types of Lexical Borrowings in the Three Cultural Branches  
in the Speech of Group 2

	CULTURE		
	SOCIAL	SPIRITUAL	MATERIAL
1. WORDS IN FOREIGN FORM	11	24	20
2. ADAPTED WORDS	1	4	3
3. STRUCTURAL CALQUES	1	8	3
4. SEMANTIC BORROWINGS	0	0	0
5. HYBRIDS	0	0	0

There were 6 more words, all of which were in foreign form, that did not fit either of the cultures: ball joints, carburetor, fine, frequent flier program, melting pot, spark plugs.

Language borrowings occurring in the sample were also tabulated according to the following parts of speech:

1. noun
2. verb
3. adjective
4. numeral
5. adverb
6. particle
7. conjunction

The analysis of the data has shown that there was a

significant difference between the use of parts of speech in Am. Polish and Polish between Group 1 and Group 2 ( $F=73.3563$ ,  $p=0.0000$ ) (see Table 10).

Table 10

Use and Parts of Speech

		SUM OF	MEAN OF		
SOURCE	DF	SQUARES	SQUARES	F	PROB
PARTS	6	9078.96	1513.16	73.3563	0.0000
RESIDUAL	49	1010.75	20.6276		
TOTAL	55	10089.7			

The analysis of the speech samples obtained from the informants confirmed the results of previous studies (see e.g., Doroszewski, 1938; Dubisz, 1976; Lyra, 1962; Szydłowska-Ceglowska, 1988) which found that a noun is the speech part most likely to undergo lexical borrowing.

## Nouns

Borrowed nouns were incorporated into the Polish declension system, and were characterized by a gender:

1. in agreement with an equivalent Polish word

Polish: rog - masculine

Am. Polish: korner - masculine

corner

Polish: ulica - feminine

Am. Polish: stryta - feminine

street

2. not in agreement with an equivalent Polish word and determined by the ending of the American word

Standard Polish: ciężarówka - feminine

Am. Polish: trok - masculine

truck

Standard Polish: stacja - feminine

Am. Polish: stejszyn - masculine

station

English nouns often got the ending -a which in Polish characterizes the feminine gender, for instance:

Standard Polish: pudełko - neutral

Am. Polish: baksa - feminine

box

In many cases, the form of the English plural was used in Polish as a singular and to this form the ending -a was added:

Standard Polish: dziewczyna

Am. Polish: girlsa

girl

Verb

The most productive of the Polish verb markers was the suffix -owac. It was attached to the American English words:

Polish: oprowadzac

Am. Polish: gajdowac

guide

Polish: wydawac

Am. Polish: spendowac

spend

### Adjectives

New adjectives were generated through two processes:

1. attaching the adjectival morpheme -y (-a, -e) directly to transferred English adjectives, e.g., italjanska "Italian," katedralne "cathedral," realnosciowy "real estate."

2. subjecting Am. English words to derivation using such affixes as -ow, -sk, e.g., ruch byznesowy "business," janitorska obsluga "janitor service."

The speech samples obtained from the Polish informants were very scarce in the number of borrowings of numerals, adverbs, and particles. Neither Group 1 nor Group 2 showed any instances of conjunction borrowing. Distribution of Polish and Am. Polish parts of speech is compiled in Table 11.



Table 11

Polish and American Polish Parts of Speech

	GROUP 1	GROUP 2
NOUN		
Polish	47.3%	83.5%
Am. Polish	52.7%	16.5%
VERB		
Polish	93.5%	100%
Am. Polish	6.5%	0%
ADJECTIVE		
Polish	91.7%	79.2%
Am. Polish	8.3%	20.8%
NUMERAL		
Polish	93.9%	96.3%
Am. Polish	6.1%	3.7%
ADVERB		
Polish	99.3%	100%
Am. Polish	0.7%	0%
PARTICLE		
Polish	92.7%	100%
Am. Polish	7.3%	0%
CONJUNCTION		
Polish	100%	100%
Am. Polish	0%	0%

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The present chapter contains an interpretation of the findings and suggestions for further research.

#### Findings Part 1

##### Ratings of Informants' English

Even Group 2, whose performance was assessed to be better than that of Group 1, had a relatively low score on parameter accent (Figure 2 in Chapter IV). This is not surprising though, as the informants from both groups came into contact with English after puberty. Native-like proficiency, especially in phonology, is rarely achieved by older learners (see Ellis, 1986).

#### Findings Part 2

##### Informants' Contact with the Polish Language

The Tables 2 and 3 (see Chapter IV) show that both groups of Polish speakers use the Polish language on a regular basis. The noticeable difference between the two groups of informants is contact with newspapers and books in the native language. Undoubtedly, such difference could play a role in understanding of printed matter. However, it seems unlikely that regular contact with the Polish books

and magazines with such variables as language contact with a spouse, children, and so on, being equal between the two groups, could influence the spoken language performance.

### Findings Part 3

#### Lexical Borrowings

In the present work, I have attempted to isolate characteristics of the Polish language as spoken today by immigrants who have lived in the United States from 40 to 48 years. The analysis of the data confirmed two related hypotheses:

1. Speakers of Polish use a number of lexical intrusions.
2. Lexical intrusions differ in scope depending on whether those speakers immigrated with a minimal education or they received at least 12 years of schooling.

The findings support the prevailing attitude of Polish educated people towards lexical borrowings, namely, that there is a stigma attached to people who "mix" languages, and that educated people consciously avoid using Polish suffixes to integrate English words phonologically and morphologically into Polish.

The analysis of lexical borrowings in the three cultural branches (see Table 8 and 9 in Chapter IV) shows that the material culture was most open to the influence of foreign elements. However, I would caution against overgeneralizing and postulating that in language contact

situations the material culture is the one to undergo the most extensive process of lexical borrowing. One should bear in mind that the topics of the interviews determined the used vocabulary. A more extensive study including interviews on very diversified topics could let one specify which of the cultural branches is most prone to integrate lexical borrowings. Undoubtedly, there could be also differences in the proportion among lexical borrowings attributed to sex, occupation, and place of residence.

#### Some Suggestions for Further Research

In order to isolate factors influencing language attrition, a study could be conducted in which components associated with the variation of verbal behavior can be modified. First, one should set up a research design in which informants are questioned by two different researchers, one bilingual, and one monolingual. Such a research design could help determine the extent of actual attrition, and the ability of informants to stay within one language. In addition to concentrating on oral instrumentalities it seems worthwhile to collect written data from the same group of informants.

One more angle of further research would be to gather informants with education and no education but all of whom would have the same social background. Both in this study and in the study conducted by Szydłowska-Ceglowska (1988)

informants with no education came from the farmer-worker background and informants with education represented intelligentsia. Therefore, there is a question of the role played by one's socioeconomic background in language borrowing.

In order to be justified in making any generalizations, samples should be large enough to minimize the role of individual differences on the obtained results. The importance of that factor in language loss or maintenance should not be ignored. One should keep in mind Dorian's study (1982) and the conclusion she came to, "There are real individual differences in the capacity to retain a once-dominant language" (p. 55).

APPENDIX A  
QUESTIONNAIRE

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Jak często używa pan/pani języka polskiego

ZAWSZE CZESTO CZASAMI ZADKO NIGDY

- a. z żoną/mezem
- b. z dziećmi
- c. z przyjaciółmi
- d. na zakupach
- e. w kościele
- f. w pracy
- g. w korespondencji

2. Jak często czyta pan/pani książki i gazety po polsku

ZAWSZA CZESTO CZASAMI ZADKO NIGDY

3. Czy ma pan/pani kontakt z ludźmi świeżo przybyłymi z Polski

TAK NIE

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How often do you use the Polish language

ALWAYS    OFTEN    SOMETIMES    RARELY    NEVER

- a. with a spouse
- b. with children
- c. with friends
- d. while shopping
- e. at church
- f. at work
- g. correspondence

2. How often do you read Polish books and magazines

ALWAYS    OFTEN    SOMETIMES    RARELY    NEVER

3. Are you in touch with newcomers from Poland

YES    NO



APPENDIX B  
PERSONAL DATA

## INFORMANTS

The socio-cultural and linguistic background of the informants was elicited orally during the interviews by means of the following questions:

1. sex
2. date of birth
3. place of birth
4. social background
5. year of arrival to the USA
6. age on arrival
7. number of years in the USA
8. schooling in Poland
9. schooling in the USA
10. visits to Poland

## INFORMANT 1

1. female
2. 1929
3. Tarnow, Poland
4. farmer - worker
5. 1947
6. 18
7. 43
8. 7
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 2

1. male
2. 1933
3. Makow, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1950
6. 17
7. 40
8. 3
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 3

1. female
2. 1922
3. Koscierzyna, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1949
6. 27
7. 41
8. 2
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 4

1. male
2. 1929
3. Lomza, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1945
6. 16
7. 45
8. 3
9. 0
10. 2

## INFORMANT 5

1. male
2. 1925
3. Zukowo, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1945
6. 20
7. 45
8. 5
9. 1
10. 0

## INFORMANT 6

1. male
2. 1923
3. Gliwice, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1947
6. 24
7. 43
8. 5
9. 1
10. 1

## INFORMANT 7

1. male
2. 1929
3. Zabrze, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1945
6. 18
7. 45
8. 3
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 8

1. female
2. 1919
3. Wisla, Poland
4. farmer-worker
5. 1945
6. 26
7. 45
8. 3
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 9

1. male
2. 1915
3. Warszawa, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1945
6. 30
7. 45
8. 17
9. 4
10. 1

## INFORMANT 10

1. male
2. 1928
3. Poznan, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1948
6. 20
7. 42
8. 12
9. 6
10. 2

## INFORMANT 11

1. female
2. 1920
3. Lomza, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1942
6. 22
7. 48
8. 12
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 12

1. male
2. 1918
3. Tychy, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1944
6. 26
7. 46
8. 15
9. 0
10. 1



## INFORMANT 13

1. female
2. 1930
3. Zabrze, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1950
6. 20
7. 40
8. 12
9. 3
10. 2

## INFORMANT 14

1. female
2. 1928
3. Tczew, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1948
6. 20
7. 42
8. 12
9. 0
10. 0

## INFORMANT 15

1. male
2. 1918
3. Opole, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1947
6. 29
7. 43
8. 16
9. 0
10. 3

## INFORMANT 16

1. male
2. 1927
3. Warszawa, Poland
4. intelligentsia
5. 1949
6. 22
7. 41
8. 15
9. 6
10. 0

APPENDIX C

THE FSI CHECKLIST OF PERFORMANCE FACTORS AND DESCRIPTIONS  
from Long and Richards (1987)

## THE FSI CHECKLIST OF PERFORMANCE FACTORS AND DESCRIPTIONS

## Accent

1. Pronunciation frequently unintelligible.
2. Frequent gross errors and a very heavy accent make understanding difficult, require frequent repetition.
3. "Foreign accent" requires concentrated listening and mispronunciations lead to occasional misunderstanding and apparent errors in grammar or vocabulary.
4. Marked "foreign accent" and occasional mispronunciations that do not interfere with understanding.
5. No conspicuous mispronunciations, but would not be taken for a native speaker.
6. Native pronunciation, with no trace of "foreign accent."

## Grammar

1. Grammar almost entirely inaccurate except in stock phrases.
2. Constant errors showing control of very few major patterns and frequently preventing communication.
3. Frequent errors showing some major patterns uncontrolled and causing occasional irritation and misunderstanding.
4. Occasional errors showing imperfect control of some patterns but no weakness that causes misunderstanding.
5. Few errors, with no patterns of failure.
6. No more than two errors during the interview.

## Vocabulary

1. Vocabulary inadequate for even the simplest conversation.
2. Vocabulary limited to basic personal and survival areas (time, food, transportation, family, etc.).
3. Choice of words sometimes inaccurate, limitations of vocabulary prevent discussion of some common professional and social topics.
4. Professional vocabulary adequate to discuss special interests; general vocabulary permits discussion of any nontechnical subject with some circumlocutions.
5. Professional vocabulary broad to cope with complex practical problems and varied social situations.
6. Vocabulary apparently as accurate and extensive as that of an educated native speaker.

## Fluency

1. Speech is so halting and fragmentary that conversation is virtually impossible.
2. Speech is very slow and even except for short or routine sentences.
3. Speech is frequently hesitant and jerky; sentences may be left uncompleted.
4. Speech is occasionally hesitant, with some unevenness caused by rephrasing and groping for words.

5. Speech is effortless and smooth, but perceptibly non-native in speed and evenness.
6. Speech on all professional and general topics as effortless and smooth as native speaker's.

#### Comprehension

1. Understands too little for the simplest type of conversation.
2. Understands only slow, very simple speech on common social and touristic topics; requires constant repetition and rephrasing.
3. Understands careful, somewhat simplified speech directed to him or her, with considerable repetition and rephrasing.
4. Understands quite well normal educated speech directed to him or her, but requires occasional repetitions or rephrasing.
5. Understands everything in normal educated conversation except for very colloquial or low frequency items or exceptionally rapid or slurred speech.
6. Understands everything in both formal and colloquial speech to be expected of an educated native speaker.

APPENDIX D  
THE FSI WEIGHTING AND CONVERSION TABLES  
from Long and Richards (1987)

## THE FSI WEIGHTING AND CONVERSION TABLES

### FSI WEIGHTING TABLES

#### Proficiency

Description	1	2	3	4	5	6
Accent	0	1	2	2	3	4
Grammar	6	12	18	24	30	36
Vocabulary	4	8	12	16	20	24
Fluency	2	4	6	8	10	12
Comprehension	4	8	12	15	19	23

Total:

### FSI CONVERSION TABLE

Total		Total		Total	
score	Level	Score	Level	Score	Level
16-25	0+	43-52	2	73-82	3+
26-32	1	53-62	2+	83-92	4
33-42	1+	63-72	3	93-99	4+



APPENDIX E  
ASSESSMENT FORM

THE ENGLISH OF POLISH AMERICANS - ASSESSMENT FORM

Please indicate your assessment of each feature by checking the appropriate point on the scale.

ASSESSOR \_\_\_\_\_

SPEAKER NO. \_\_\_\_\_

1. ACCENT

heavy

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

native-like

2. GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY

faulty

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

native-like

3. EXTENT AND VARIETY OF VOCABULARY

very basic and limited

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

native-like

scope

4. FLUENCY

halting

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

smooth

5. COMPREHENSIBILITY

nearly

completely

incomprehensible

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

comprehensible

APPENDIX F  
POLISH DATA

## INFORMANT 1

(1) Przyjechałam do Ameryki zaraz po wojnie. (2) Miałam kuzynkę w Szikago i tam też zatrzymałam się na początku. (3) Łatwo nie było. (4) Po angielsku spikac nie umiałam, ani radia posłuchac ani też z ludzmi pogadac. (5) Dobrze, że było niedaleko sporo Polaków, bo tak człowiek nie miałby do kogo geby otworzyc. (6) Do roboty poszłam od razu i pomagałam w polskiej piekarni. (7) Ciezka to była robota. (8) Rentowałam mały pokoik, a do pracy musiałam dojezdzac basem. (9) Potem poznałam mojego Janka. (10) Nie był stary, ale już dostawał disability. (11) Miał wypadek i jedna noge miał krotsza. (12) Mam trzech synów. (13) Dorosli już, pozenieni i mam pieciu wnuków. (14) Dumna byłam kiedy jeden z moich synów dostal się do koledzu i byłam później na jego graduation. (15) Honorowym był studentem. (16) Nawet grał w bej bol. (17) Pozostale chłopaki też dobrze się urzadzily. (18) Jeden jest mendzierem, a drugi nauczycielem. (19) Tak, zajelo mu to kilka lat, ale zrobil nauczycielski certyfikat. (20) Co, chcialas zobaczyc jak mieszkamy. (21) Sprowadzilismy się tutaj kilkanascie lat temu. (22) Dostalismy morgydz i kupilismy ten dom niedaleko kolejowej drogi. (23) Moj stary duzo rzeczy zrobil sam. (24) Ten papier polozył sam i ten karpeting też. (25) Zaczal ogrod i mamy teraz własne potejtusy i tomaty. (26) Drugie drzwi od nas mieszkaja też

Polacy i często mamy barbekju razem. (27) Dom mamy spory i mam co czyszcic. (28) Jestem już na social security, więc mogę to robic, bo mam dużo czasu.

## INFORMANT 2

(1) Przyplynałem do Ameryki na bolt w 1950 roku. (2) Ludzi było dużo, Ajrysze, a nawet Czajnisy, Italiance. (3) Trochę się bałem, bo nigdy nie byłem w żadnym kontry. (4) Od razu trzeba było szukać pracy. (5) A ja nic nie umiałem. (6) Dobrze, że miałem frents, który spikał po angielsku. (7) On kupił gazete i czytał różne dzioby. (8) No, i dostałem prace karpenta. (9) Pracowałem dużo i często byłem tajed. (10) Kupilem kara. (11) Takie duże tutaj hajlej. (12) Lubie jezdzic moim karem. (13) Ale jedzenie tutaj jest niedobre. (14) Tomatusy twarde, potatusy czarne. (15) Nie lubie robic sziaping. (16) Bardzo lubie telewizyn. (17) Na początku rentowalem fernicze i telewizyn. (18) Pozniej zobaczyłem ładne i tanie meble, no i kupilem je na installment. (19) Chcesz się napić dziusu? (20) W Polsce nie byłem od kiedy wyjechałem. (21) Dostaje listy od rodziny. (22) Znaczki oddaje mojemu mejlmenowi. (23) On zbiera znaczki. (24) Chodź, pokaże ci mój dom. (25) No, to jest living-room, zobacz jaka kiczyn jest duża, a obok mam landry. (26) Dalej dwa bedrumy i dwie batrumy. (27) Ubranie trzymam w tych fany klozet. (28) A jak podoba się tobie mój nowy kolcz?

## INFORMANT 3

(1) To ty chcesz wiedzieć jak znalazłam się w Ameryce.  
(2) Było to już ze 40 lat temu. (3) Miałam frenda i u niej  
rentowałam. (4) Po angielsku spikac nie umiałam. (5) Pracy  
długo nie miałam. (6) Byłam trochę chora. (7) Pamiętam, że  
bolił mnie ząb i dostałam infekszyn. (8) Do dentysty nie  
mogłam iść, bo nie miałam żadnego ubezpieczenia. (9) Później  
dostałam pracę jako klinierka i bejbisyterka. (10) Ogromny  
to był dom, a bebiów było trojka. (11) Dużo prania,  
gotowania i sprzątania. Karpety nawet musiałam czyścić.  
(12) No, ale dostawałam lancze i różne leftoversy. (13)  
Czasami też moja pani przeglądała wszystko w kłozecie i co  
już było jej niepotrzebne to zamiast mieć garazowa wyprzedaz  
to mnie dawała. (14) Dostawałam dresy, dysze, a nawet  
fornicze. (15) To były moje benefity. (16) Chcesz żeby ci  
pokazać mój hals. (17) Trochę za blisko jest hajleja, ale  
było tanio. (18) Mam dwa bejdrumy, lywinkrum, dwa bafrumy,  
no i kuchnie. (19) Kuchnia jest bardzo moderna. (20)  
Wszystko mój stary założył. (21) Mam nowy ajsbaks, kuker i  
nawet majkrolejw też mam. (22) Chcesz kawę i kejkę? (23)  
Mam też nowy telewizor z remote kontrolą. (24) Syn też chce  
kupić VCR. (25) Chciałby też mieć osobisty komputer. (26)  
Kare dawno sobie kupił. (26) Uczy się na ticzera. (27) Mam  
trochę problemów z córką, synem, a już ma bejbika. (28) Jest  
leżący i nic nie chce robić. (29) Tylko chciałaby szopować.

## INFORMANT 4

(1) W Ameryce jestem już ze 45 lat. (2) Wyjechałem z Polski za chlebem. (3) Jedliśmy tylko potęjtusy z cebula i smalec. (4) Przyjechałem z bratem Dziańem. (5) Na początku bardzo było trudno znaleźć dziab. (6) Spikac po angielsku nie umiałem. (7) Wreszcie dostałem pracę jako klinier. (8) Mój bas był Italiancem. (9) Równy chłop. (10) Później dostałem pracę w fabryce na trzeciej szyćcie. (11) Saliary dawali w każdy piątek. (12) Dużo tego nie było. (13) Kary nie mogłem kupić i do pracy jeździłem basem. (14) Strity pełne karow, trakow. (15) Po drodze do pracy, na kornierze była italijska restauracja. (16) Często tam jadłem lancze. (17) Dobre tam mieli kuki. (18) No, teraz już nie pracuje. (19) Dostaje penszyn. (20) Przez tyle lat płaciłem taksy i soszył sekjurity. (21) A teraz dostaje coś z powrotem. (22) Chcesz, żebym ci pokazał jak mieszkam. (23) Chodź. (24) Właśnie położyłem nowe karpety w bedrumach. (25) To jest bedrum syna. (26) Kupił sobie telewizyn. (27) Patrz na jego klozet. (28) Pełno dzynsow. (29) Ja ich tam nie nosze. (30) No, dalej jest master bedroom. (31) Na tym pikcze jestem ja z zona, synem i córka i jej bejbikiem. (32) Mamy dwa bafrumy. (33) A tutaj jest kuchnia. (34) Kupiłem nowy ajsbaks i majkrolejw. (35) Patio też wyłożyłem karpetem.

## INFORMANT 5

(1) Je, uciekłem z domu, bo stary pil i tlukł mnie cały czas. (2) Nie miałem nawet na tikiety do Ameryki, ale naoglądałem się tych różnych zdjęć w magazynach i postanowiłem jako młody chłopak, że kiedyś to wszystko będę oglądał własnymi oczyma. (3) Na początku robiłem życie jako plomer. (4) Trochę się na tym znałem, a w ogóle to sprytny byłem rekoma. (5) Dobrze mi szło, ale później wpadłem w trobl. (6) Poznałem takiego jednego Polusa, który obiecał mi dobra dzjab. (7) No, miałem szioł. (8) Wylądowałem w dziejlu, bo okradziono ten hals, w którym pracowałem. (9) Spikac po angielsku dobrze nie umiałem i posiedziałem przez kilka miesięcy. (10) Puscili mnie na probejszyn, bo dobrze się sprawowałem. (11) Pewnie myślisz, że po takim doświadczeniu miałem dość Ameryki i kupowałem tikiety do old kantry. (12) Ani mi to było w głowie. (13) Postanowiłem, że trzeba iść do szkoły, żeby ticzery nauczyły mnie spikac po angielsku. (14) Trochę to kosztowało mony, ale dostałem dyploma i nawet zacząłem rozumieć telewizyn. (15) Chyba dlatego tak mi dobrze szło w szkole, bo byłem w desperackim stanie po tym pobycie w dziejlu. (16) Bardzo się też bałem, że mogą mnie transportować do Polski, bo przecież nie byłem jeszcze cytyzenem. (17) Do dziś blejmuje tego mojego frienda. (18) Chciałab, żeby ci pokazać moje flat. (19) Lel, chodźmy. (20) Dużo nie jest, ale nam wystarczy. (21)



Wszystko jest tutaj co nam potrzeba. (22) Dwa bedrumy, bafrumy, kuchnia. (23) Brakuje mi tylko selery, to przechowywalbym dobrze moje kompoty. (24) Mamy duza plote ziemi, na ktorej zaczalem ogrod.

## INFORMANT 6

(1) Dziecinko, to bylo tak dawno temu, ale pewnie, ze nie zapomnialem. (2) Przyplynałem na bolcie z cala gromada innych Polusow, Italjancow, Ajryszy. (3) Wszyscy pelni zapalu i pomyslow co tez beda robic w tym nowym kontry. (4) Zaden z nas spikac po angielsku nie umial, ale wydawalo nam sie, ze Ameryka nalezy do nas. (5) Troche przeliczyliśmy sie, bo nikt nas nie wital i lancz na nas nie czekal. (6) Zaczalem pracowac w dzjanitorskiej obsludze , bo przeciez nic nie umialem. (7) Rentowalem z kilkoma innymi Polusami jeden pokoj. (8) Brudno tam bylo, rolcze biegaly wszedzie i obrzydzenie bralo cos tam jesc. (9) Postanowilem dosyc szybko, ze albo naucze sie angielskiego o gol hlom. (10) Pracowalem po 10 godzin, a wieczorem szedlem do komjunity kolydz na angielski. (11) Kredytowych godzin nie bralem, chcialem sie tylko nauczyc spikac po angielsku. (12) Mialem duzo trabl, bo nie zawsze mialem czas na robienie homlerku. (13) Je, doczekalem sie wreszcie mojej gradjuejszyn. (14) Wzialem lepsza dzjob i mialem juz wiecej moni. (15) Kupilem old hals, bo chcialem sie zenic. (16) Sfiksowalem wszystko sam od papierowania, wymiany pajpow do

wymiany ajekondyszynera. (17) Ciezka to byla dzjob, ale wszystko wypadlo perfekt. (18) Dostalem wiec idee, zeby sprobowac ten hals sprzedac z profitem. (19) Je, no i sie udalo. (20) Wpadlo mi kilka talzentow. (21) Kupilem wiec nastepny hals i znow go sfiksowalem od silingu do selera. (22) Duzy to byl hals z kilkanascie fitow, wiec pracowalem kilka miesiecy, ale zarobilem sporo mony.

## INFORMANT 7

(1) Przyjechalem do Ameryki bardzo dawno jako mlody chlopak razem z moimi rodzicami. (2) Duzo slyszelismy o tym duzym kantry, bo z naszej wioski duzo ludzi wyjechalo za chlebem. (3) Nie wiem czy to byla taka dobra decyzja, jezeli chodzi o moich rodzicow, bo nigdy spikac po angielsku nie nauczyl sie i tylko harowali na tych swoich dzjab. (4) Byli w desperackim stanie, ale nie bylo mony na kupienie tykietow do Polski. (5) Jak matka zachorowala, to nie bylo nawet na zegzaminowanie. (6) Na krystmesy to dostawalem tylko buty, bo na nic wiecej nie bylo. (7) Matka szyla prawie wszystko sama dresy, szerty, a nawet pajamy. (8) Ojciec pracowal na koleji, wychodzil o swicie, a wracal w nocy. (9) Ja tez prawie od razu dostalem dzjab. (10) Dostalem zapoznanie z takim jednym mendzierem i powiedzial zebym zaczal jako sekjurity straznik. (11) Dluho jednak nie popracowalem, bo firma splajtowala i poodkladano wszystkich. (12) Mialem lepszy lak z druga praca, ktora dostalem w faktory. (13)

Drajwowałem tam traki i pantowalem. (14) Zaczalem troche lepiej zarabiac, ale diabel mnie pokusil by zdobyc mony szybciej i poszedlem gembłowac. (15) Stracilem piec sto. (16) Myslałem, ze matka dostanie ataku serca, bo sie zrobila czerwona, chyba presze jej sie podniosla i nie mogla wydobyć nawet glosu. (17) Potem, kolnela ojca, który zaraz przylecial do domu i malo mnie nie zabil. (18) Je, z gembłowania nic nie wyszlo i nie kupilem sobie ani kary ani nawet nie mialem na bajsykiel. (19) Zostaly mi za to pasy na plecach.

## INFORMANT 8

(1) O kochaneczko, kiedy to ja przyjechalam do Ameryki bylam jeszcze wtedy mloda gerlsa. (2) Sama nie wiem jak sie to odwazylam opuscic swoje strony i wyruszyć za ocean. (3) Spikac po angielsku nie umialam, ale umialam dobrze szyc. (4) Jakos udalo mi sie dostac prace dresmejkerki. (5) Umialam szyc i dresy i szerty, a nawet kolty. (6) Oczka stracilam nad maszyna, bo szylam od rana do wieczora. (7) Na poczatku musialam rentowa maszynie. (8) Poprosilam frienda by napisal mi po angielsku takie at, zeby wiecej ludzi do mnie przychodzilo. (9) Najbardziej nie lubilam szyc sylku, bo taka dziab byla wolniejsza, no ale bylo wtedy wiecej mony. (10) No, ale teraz mam girlsy, ktore szyja dla mojego szioop. (11) Ja juz pracowac nie moge, chodze z bialym patykiem. (12) Zdrowie mam w zlým stanie. (13)

Dobrze, ze stary jest na chodzie, pensyje dostaje co miesiac. (14) Stary gotuje lancze, a dynery czesto jemy w kafeteriach. (15) Bardzo smakuja mi salady, dziela, stejki tez sa dobre. (16) Dobrze mi sie teraz zyje i pomagam krewniakom w starym kantry. (17) W zeszlym roku odwiedzila mnie kuzynka. (18) Nadziwic sie nie mogla jak zobaczyla moj hals. (19) Trzy bedrumy, bafrumy, landry, patjo, garadze. (20) Nadziwic sie nie mogla, ze telewizyn ma tyle czaneli. (21) A jak poszla do Krogera, to prawie zemdlala jak zobaczyla te czikien, porki i stejki.

## INFORMANT 9

(1) Przyjechalem do Ameryki na visitor visa. (2) Spodobalo mi sie i zostalem. (3) Troche mialem klopotu na poczatku, ale pozniej dostalem permanent residency, a teraz juz jestem obywatelem. (4) Ozenilem sie z Polka, ktora podobnie jak i ja przyjechala tuz po wojnie. (5) Pracowala poczatkowo jako domestic - sluzba domowa. (6) Pozniej tak jak i ja poszla do szkoly. (7) Zaczela studiowac na wydziale speech and therapy, a ja na accounting. (8) Poslalem najpierw swoj indeks akademicki do evaluation. (9) Zaliczono mi sporo godzin, ale brakowalo mi jeszcze z 15 credit hours, aby dostac degree. (10) Nauka szla mi dobrze i na transcript mialem same A's and B's. (11) Przeprowadzilismy sie na campus, zeby nie marnowac czasu na dojazdy. (12) Zona dostala prace w kafeterii. (13) Oczywiscie praca taka nie

dala jej zadowolenia, ale nie bylo wyboru. (14) Zeby skonczyc studia bralismy tez szkole letnia. (15) Jak widzisz poczatki byly bardzo trudne, ale wytrwalismy. (16) Pozniej zaczelismy pracowac jako white collar workers i zarabialismy calkiem dobrze. (17) Zaczelismy nawet odkladac kupujac stock. (18) Kupilismy dom, w ktorym wychowalo sie trzech synow. (19) Kazdy z nich zdobył wykształcenie, pozenili sie i mam juz wnuki. (20) Przyjezdza ja zawsze do nas na Thansksgiving, swieta Bozego Narodzenia i Wielkanoc. (21) Chodz, to pokaze ci teraz dom. (22) W sumie ma ze trzy tysiace square feet. (23) Sa trzy sypialnie, living-room, dwie lazienki z prysznicami, no oczywiscie kuchnia i laundry-room. (24) Zona w kuchni ma kazdy nowoczesny gadget, electric stove, microwave, a nawet automatyczny otwieracz do puszek. (25) No, nie moge narzekac, bo ja tez mam swoje zabawki. (26) Mam VCR, zbieram ee compact disc tapes, a takze mam bzika na punkcie robienia zdjec. (27) Mam cala kolekcje aparatow z ee auto focus i zoom lenses.

#### INFORMANT 10

(1) O, jak to bylo dawno temu, czasami nawet wydaje mi sie, ze mieszkam tutaj cale zycie. (2) Moj przyjazd tutaj byl raczej przypadkowy, bo rozpoczalem pobyt na tak zwanej visitor visa. (3) Mialem wracac do kraju po kilku miesiacach, ale tak ten kontynent mnie zafrapowal, ze zapragnałem zakosztowac zycia. (4) Czy na poczatku bylo

łatwo, mnie tak zwanemu newcomer z Europy? (5) Nie, raczej nie, nie należe do tych, którzy urodzili się ze srebrną łyżką w buzi. (6) Młody byłem i żadne przeszkody nie mogły mnie jednak powstrzymać. (7) Na początku wynajmowałem małego pokój z kilkoma kolegami i rozpocząłem pracę w fabryce. (8) Rozpocząłem naukę angielskiego w tak zwanym community college. (9) Chodziłem tam prawie co wieczór, brałem różne przedmioty na przykład reading, writing aby później przygotować się do English 101. (10) W planie miałem studia jako tak zwany parttime student, bo pracując cały dzień nie miałem możliwości by wziąć dużo godzin. (11) Czas studiowania wspominam bardzo ciepło, a szczególnie dobrze pamiętam dzień kiedy dostałem dyplom, tak zwany Bachelor of Science. (12) W międzyczasie ożeniłem się z Polką i miałem dwojkę dzieci. (13) Najbardziej podobały mi się ich lata w szkole podstawowej. (14) Graliśmy wtedy w football, baseball, podwoziłem chłopaków na spotkania tak zwanych boy scouts. (15) W domu bez przerwy coś się działo, a to jakies slumber party, no wiesz to takie party, po którym chłopaki nocowali u nas w domu. (16) Zawsze obchodziliśmy Halloween. (17) Zona szyla stroje, a ja chodziłem z chłopakami po domach zbierając cukierki, no było to takie trick or treat. (18) A teraz to już stare chłopy i rzadko mnie odwiedzają. (19) Dom mam duży, ale teraz pusty, bo nie ma ani synów ani żony. (20) Zmarła na raka kilka lat temu.

## INFORMANT 11

(1) Moj Boze to bylo tak dawno. (2) Pamietam jednak swietnie ten dzien kiedy przyplynelam do Ameryki. (3) Balam sie bardzo tej niewiadomej, ale mialam tez nadzieje, ze spelnia sie tutaj moje marzenia. (4) Na poczatku pracowalam bardzo ciezko. (5) Prawie po 10, 12 godzin dziennie, bo mialam dwie prace. (6) Pilnowalam dzieci przed poludniem, a wieczorem sprzatalam. (7) Wynajmowalam malenki pokoik, ledwie tapczan sie miescil. (8) Mialam jednak przynajmniej wlasna lazienke oraz nieograniczona uzywalnosc kuchni. (9) Zbyt duzo jednak nie zarabialam mimo ze mialam dwie prace i harowalam jak wol. (10) Odciacono mi podatki i - social security. (11) Cale szczescie, ze troche pracowalam na czarno, bo inaczej nigdy bym sie niczego nie dorobila. (12) No, a teraz mam przynajmniej wlasny dom i jestem juz na emeryturze. (13) Najpierw pokaze ci kuchnie. (14) Maz mi tutaj poprawia zlew, bo cos mi tutaj cieknie. (15) Jak widzisz mam wszystko co potrzeba. (16) Musialam sie troche przyzwyczaić do ee microwave, ale teraz uzywam to czesto. (17) A w zlewie mam garbage disposal. (18) Living-room jak widzisz mamy z duzy cathedral ceiling. (19) Ladnie wyglada, ale ciezko sie to maluje. (20) Maz kupil VCR niedawno i teraz nic tylko wypozycza kasety. (21) Nie mozna teraz go zapiedzic do koszenia trawy. (22) Sypialnie sa trzy i kazda ma walk in closet. (23) A tutaj jest

pralnia, pralka i drier. (24) Na stare lata mam wszystko, szkoda tylko ze zdrowie troche niedopisuje i co tydzien musze chodzic do kajropraktora by nastawil mi kregoslup.

INFORMANT 12

(1) Co za zbieg okolicznosci, bo wlasnie wczoraj byla moja kolejna rocznica przyjazdu do Ameryki. (2) No coz, jak sie tutaj znalazlem raczej nie da sie opowiedziec w dwoch slowach. (3) W czasie wojny bylem lotnikiem i walczyłem w Anglii. (4) W 45tym kiedy wojna sie skonczyła chciałem wracac do kraju, do swoich, ale wtedy zdalem sobie sprawe, ze nie mam ani do kogo ani do czego wracac. (5) Rodzina zginela w obozach, a nasza posiadlosc rozparcelowano. (6) Z kilkoma jeszcze kumplami postanowilismy szukac szczescia w Ameryce, bo Anglia nie byla zbyt przychylna cudzoziemcom. (7) Ameryka slynela z tego, ze kazdego przygarniala i wszyscy mieli rowne szanse. (8) Znalem sie na lataniu, znalem tez angielski jako tako, wiedzialem wiec, ze nie zginie. (9) Latwo na pewno nie bylo, ale przynajmniej byla perspektywa lepszej przyszlosci. (10) A co zrobili z Polski to az zal sciska serce. (11) Nie zaluje podjetej decyzji, a zwlaszcza, ze pare lat temu bylem w kraju i zobaczyłem do czego doprowadzili Polske Sowieci. (12) No, moze teraz cos sie zmieni, ale przeciez to trzeba lat by kraj wyprowadzic z ruiny. (13) Nad upadkiem Polski pracowano dobre czterdziesci lat, wiec trudno sie spodziewac poprawy z dnia



na dzien. (14) No, ale zostawmy polityke, bo to smutny temat i czasami niebezpieczny. (15) Co chcialas zobaczyc jak mieszkam. (16) Spory mam dom, moze nawet za duzy, ale przydaja sie dodatkowe sypialnie kiedy przyjezdza przyjaciele z Polski. (17) Zaluje, ze klimat taki goracy, bo nie mam sily na pracowanie w ogrodzie.

## INFORMANT 13

(1) Zawsze marzylam, ze zobacze inne kraje i bede mieszkac nie tylko w Polsce. (2) Pierwotnie myslalam o osiedleniu sie w Anglii, ale nie wyszlo. (3) W Stanach wyladowalam zupełnie przypadkowo, ale nie zaluje. (4) Ukonczylam zawod realnosciov. (5) Pracuje w kazda druga sobote. (6) Dodatkowo mam dochod z rentu. (7) Sprzedaje i domy i nowe mobile home. (8) Ceny domow sa rozne od niskich stu tysiecy do wysokich dwustu tysiecy. (9) Duzo zalezy od loty. (10) No, oczywiscie wazne jest czy jest formalna jadalnia, czy sa katedralne sufity i pelne lazienki. (11) Czasami jest trudno sprzedac domy z basenami nadziemnymi, bo utrzymanie ich drogo kosztuje. (12) Jezeli nabywcy maja dzieci chca dom w dobrym dystrykcie szkolnym. (13) No, ale sie rozgadalam o pracy. (14) Jak widzisz bardzo lubie to co robie. (15) Kupcow mam roznych i Polusow i Amerykancow. (16) Przy tych wszystkich zmianach zachodzacych w Polsce moze i tam ruch byznesowy sie rozwinie. (17) No, ale to juz nie bedzie dla mnie. (18) Za stara jestem na jakies przeprowadzki. (19)

Jak widzisz mieszkamy bardzo wygodnie. (20) Mam tylko jeden blok od miejskiej komunikacji i sklepów. (21) Nie miałabym już siły na wystawanie w kolejkach. (22) Maz trochę jeszcze dorabia jako menażer w składzie likierów. (23) Pomagamy trochę finansowo rodzinom w Polsce. (24) Czasami też wysyłamy paczki. (25) Nie jesteśmy takimi ludźmi co to zapomnieli skąd przyszli.

## INFORMANT 14

(1) Właściwie to nie planowałam wyjazdu z Polski, ale jakos tak wyszło. (2) Najpierw byłam z mężem w Anglii, a potem przyjechalismy do Ameryki. (3) Zawsze slyszelismy o tak zwanym melting pot, a Anglia nie traktuje cudzoziemcow zbyt przychylnie. (4) Na poczatku mielismy troche klopotow z urzedem - - immigration i niewiele brakowalo, a bylibysmy deportowani. (5) Trzeba bylo wynajac prawnika, koszty, no ale zostalismy. (6) Maz byl w Polsce inzynierem mechanikiem, no ale tutaj ze slaba znajomoscia jezyka angielskiego nie bylo mowy zeby pracowal we wlasnym zawodzie. (7) Dobrze, ze mial smykalke do reperowania samochodow, bo to mozna robic jezeli zna sie tylko terminologie fachowa. (8) No, wiesz takie slowa jak, musze powiedziec je po angielsku, carburator, spark plugs, ball joint. (9) Na poczatku maz pracowal w Firestone przez kilka dobrych lat, a pozniej otworzyl wlasny zaklad. (10) Zawsze namawialam meza, zeby poszedl do szkoly i zdobyl

uprawnienia inzynierskie. (11) On jednak nie chcial sie juz wiecej uczyc, bo mowil, ze brakuje mu zbyt duzo tak zwanych credit hours i nauka trwalaby zbyt dlugo, a tymczasem trzeba bylo z czegos zyc, a ja nie pracowalam, bo rodzinka nam sie powiekszyta. (12) Mialam dwoch synow, dorosli juz, wykształceni, pozeni, maja juz nawet swoje dzieci. (13) Troche sie pusto zrobilo w naszym domu. (14) Co chcialas zobaczyc jak mieszkamy. (15) Chyba sie przeprowadzimy, bo na dwie osoby to dom jest za duzy. (16) Maz juz sie troche starzeje i nie ma sily kolo tego wszystkiego chodzic. (17) To jest nasza sypialnia, tak zwany master bedroom, to byly pokoje synow, a to no, spare bedroom czyli sypialnia zapasowa. (18) Za starzy jestesmy z mezem na podrozowanie do Polski, ale co i raz jacys krewniacy do nas przyjezdza i wtedy tutaj nocuja. (19) Chyba zal by mi bylo ogrodu gdybym miala sie gdzies przeprowadzic. (20) Teraz niewiele rosnie, bo zimno, ale wiosna. (21) Mam zasadzone herbs, no - - ziola.

## INFORMANT 15

(1) Do Ameryki przyjechalem bardzo dawno, a dlaczego to sam chyba dobrze nie wiem, w kazdym razie nie mialem ochoty szukac zlota, no moze byloby juz na to nawet za pozno. (2) Nalezalem do AK, walczyłem jako lotnik i juz w czasie wojny znalazlem sie poza granicami. (3) Jak w czterdziestym czwartym utworzono ten rzad ludowy zorientowalem sie, ze

przecież nie o taką Polskę walczyłem, że dla mnie już nie było miejsca i ja i jeszcze paru innych lotników postanowiliśmy nie wracać. (4) Trudna to była decyzja, ale w ostatnich latach byłem w Polsce aż trzy razy i chyba jednak nie żałuję, że zostałem. (5) Chyba, bo ekonomicznie na pewno powodzi mi się lepiej tutaj niż by mogło mi się powodzić w Polsce, no ale z drugiej strony przykro, że warunki były takie nie przychylne, że zmusiły człowieka do emigracji. (6) No, ale żonę mam Polkę, dzieci też mówią po polsku z naleciałościami angielskimi co prawda, ale mówią i piszą. (7) Najmilej wspominam okres kiedy chodzili do kindergartenu, coś jak nasze przedszkole. (8) Dużo się wtedy działo, ja pracowałem parttime, no pół etatu i miałem dużo czasu dla żony i dla synów. (9) Teraz jest bardzo pusto, bo synowie mieszkają w stanie Wisconsin i widzimy się może dwa razy do roku, Christmas i Easter. (10) Zapisalem się na kursy ofiarowane w koledżu, na tak zwany continuing education zajęcia. (11) Mieszkamy skromnie, ale mamy wszystko z żoną co nam potrzeba. (12) Parcela jest ograniczona, przynajmniej nie trzeba kosić trawy. (13) Zawsze wydawało mi się to okropną stratą czasu, no ale trzeba to tutaj robić, bo inaczej naloża - - fine.

## INFORMANT 16

(1) Czy możesz sobie wyobrazić, że wyjechałem z Polski, bo pokłocilem się ze swoją dziewczyną. (2) Trzeba przyznać, że

wyrzadzila mi duza przysluge, bo tak nigdy bym sie nie zdecydowal i nie dorobil sie. (3) Listy do niej pisuje i posyłam zdjęcia z różnych okolic, które zwiedzam. (4) No coż, zgorzkniały ze mnie stary kawaler. (5) Studia miałem prawie ukończone, trochę też znałem angielski. (6) Na początku brałem byle jakie prace i chodziłem na kurs języka angielskiego by się poduczyc, szczególnie pisania. (7) W planie miałem studiowanie. (8) Zajęło mi to kilka lat, bo sam opłacałem ee tuition, książki i pracowałem na kilku posiadach czyli brałem jeden przedmiot w semestrze. (9) Powoli, ale dopiąłem swego i dostałem pracę jako inżynier. (10) Po paru latach firma wysłała mnie na podwyższenie kwalifikacji, ale tym razem oni pokryli wszystkie koszty nauki. (11) Dużo podróżuje, ale do Polski nie pojechałem, jak się wtedy pokłociłem to powiedziałem, że moja noga więcej tutaj nie postanie, no i dotrzymuje słowa. (12) Zwiedzam zato inne okolice i kontynenty. (13) Przeważnie latam Panamem i należę do tak zwanego frequent flier program czyli naliczają mi przeliczone mile i dostaje wolne bilety. (14) Mieszkam byle jak, bo i tak w domu jestem gościem. (15) No, najważniejsze, że mam wygodne łóżko, takie -waterbed. (16) Goście się do mnie nie przychodzą, więc living-room mam zawałony i nie ma jak widzisz sama nawet gdzie usiąść.

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