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**Some Aspects of the Polish Language in America. Inter-
and Intralinguistic Processes in the Polish of Americans
of Descent on the Phonological
Level**

**Niektóre aspekty języka polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Procesy
inter- i intralingwistyczne w języku polskim Amerykanów polskiego
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**Некоторые аспекты польского языка в Соединенных Штатах.
Интер- и интралингвистические процессы в польском языке
Американцев польского происхождения в области фонологии**

INTRODUCTION

Objections may be raised as to the legitimacy of the term "Polish" in reference to the type of Polish used by Americans of Polish descent, particularly by those of the second and older generations. If, for instance, informant I 1 were brought in contact with a monolingual native Pole, verbal communication would be obstructed, despite the fact that the informant actually claims to speak Polish. The kind of Polish spoken by the average American of Polish descent in his ethnic milieu could not be used in Poland without causing impediment of communication or ridicule. But the interruption of communication would affect only one direction, that from the Polish American to the native monolingual Pole. The former would understand the latter without much difficulty. Purists would object to calling the Polish American vernacular Polish. However, the Polish spoken in the United States can be regarded as Polish by the same right as the inadequate English of a foreigner can be considered English. But the reasons for deviations from the linguistic

norms are of different origin and motivation, and they pursue opposite directions in their process of deviation. In the case of Polish the deviations from the norm may increase, in the case of English they may diminish, both processes depending on the social and cultural background and the linguistic sophistication of the individuals.

The Polish language in the United States constitutes a part of Polish—English bilingualism. It is the primary language with a number of Americans of Polish descent of all generations; however, with the majority it occupies a secondary position. Bilingualism is a "task" imposed upon the immigrants, and it remains a task for as long as the mastering of English is the aim of the monolingual newcomer. Some immigrants, even of the first generation, make English their sole language, others, particularly those of the older generations with English as their primary language, make it a task to retain Polish. But, on the whole, the effort is not conscious enough to call it an achievement, for the environment is the primary factor in their linguistic skills (of whatever kind or quality), not they themselves.

The majority of Polish—English bilingual speakers of the first generation do not succeed in acquiring native-like mastery of English, and meanwhile forget their original mother tongue. Deviations from the norms of both languages set in which may last for a few years or generations depending on various circumstances. In the United State, generally speaking, Polish demonstrates a relatively long time span of retention, no matter whether it serves as the primary or the secondary means of communication.

Because of geographical and time dimensions which obviously work against the retention of Polish in America, the influence of American English upon Polish as the primary vernacular of some Americans of various generations, is of a different character than that of English on Polish as used by Americans of Polish descent whose primary language is English. The process of language shift may last a few years or a few generations, as it does in the rural areas in Texas.

Americans of Polish descent may be classified linguistically into the following groups: 1) monolingual American English speakers; 2) bilinguals who speak American English without interference, Polish with interference; 3) bilinguals who speak both languages with interference; 4) bilinguals who speak Polish without interference, American English with interference; 5) bilinguals who speak American English and Polish without interference; 6) monolingual Polish speakers.

The classification does not so much attempt to sharply define the boundaries of the groups as rather to reflect the tendencies of linguistic

differentiation among Americans of Polish descent. It is a relative classification, and it is theoretically only that group 5 and 6 may exist.

Experience proves that language contact always results in interference phenomena. To avoid interference, defined by Weinreich as "deviations from the norm of either language", the bilinguals must "keep the two language apart" (Haugen). Not all bilinguals can accomplish such an intellectual effort.

There have been no organized attempts to stop the interference of American English. Occasional articles, satires, stage performances ridiculing the Polish—American jargon have not produced any tangible results except for unconcerned acceptance of the phenomenon, or hearty laughter.

The refining influence of the DP's on the Polish language in America could not have penetrated very deeply because of lack of authoritative cultural and social sanctions. The high degree of loyalty to the Polish standard language exists rather theoretically than in fact. Americans of Polish descent, like all minority groups in the United States, cannot avail themselves of resistance to interference because, except for the few bilingual schools and some church services, they have no standard language pattern free of interference to lean upon. American—Polish newspapers and radio programs, with very few exceptions, are not "pure" enough to exercise the proper influence on the cultivation of the Polish standard language. Besides, as a matter of fact, there is no need for ostentatious loyalty to standard Polish since nobody threatens, suppresses, or exterminates Polish directly, by force.

The "Polish—American language", as it is popularly called, does not constitute an inherent structure to be considered a separate language. The deviations from the Polish structural norm are not to be ascribed, in general, to the organic development of the Polish language, but primarily to external interference affecting the Polish of most, but not all, bilinguals, due to extra-linguistic factors. The reasons for the interference are not linguistic in character, but the process is. The reasons are social and psychological.

Various linguistic units possess diverse psychological depths. The less consciously acquired linguistic forms are, the deeper are they embedded in the psyche of the human being, the less susceptible are they to interference of foreign structures. But when a bilingual is unable to keep the languages apart from each other, the interference of one language (usually the primary one) upon the other, the secondary, may penetrate all linguistic levels. Interference affects, first of all, features which acoustically or articulatorily, formally or semantically

are in the nearest proximity. Interference then may occur in both systems, the primary as well as the secondary. Thus, for instance, R 1 whose primary language is Polish, and whose Polish has been in contact with English for about 15 years, and who speaks English with a strong "foreign accent" (Polish phonetic interference), very often pronounces *angielski* [*anɣ'elski*] 'English' with an English l — because the English liquids are phonetically similar to the corresponding Polish ones, but they differ in distribution. In this particular case it appears in an environment where the Polish l would not occur.

The Polish language in the United States is subject to three momentous processes:

1. Influence of American English mediated through bilingualism.
2. Autonomous changes due to such factors as geographic isolation from Poland, the forgetting process with all its consequences. Both factors affect speakers of Polish in the United States in a variety of degrees.
3. Influence of one dialect (variety) of Polish upon another. Our main interest is focussed on the first of the three processes, although the remaining two will not be neglected.

The subjects of this investigation are Americans of Polish descent who primarily learned Polish outside school. Some of the informants perfected their Polish at schools. With all the informants, then, Polish is not a foreign language in the proper meaning of the attribute, although it is not the primary language either. In describing contact situations it is useful to make a distinction between a secondary foreign language and a non-foreign secondary language. The informants have been randomly chosen from bilingual speech communities in Chicago, Madison (Ill.), Orchard Lake (Mich.), Panna Maria (Texas), and Bloomington (Ind.).

The deviations from the norm in the American English Polish contact are not to be identified with deviations committed by monolinguals in a linguistically homogeneous society popularly known as "mistakes." The deviations from the Polish norm in America manifest a new linguistic usage. However, there are cases which cannot be definitely assigned to one or the other type of deviation.

*„Je unvollständiger und je schwächer die Einprägung der einzelnen Wörter und Formen ist, um so weniger Hemmung findet die Neubildung.“*¹

¹ H. Paul: *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*. Halle, Saale 1898. p. 105.

We may apply Paul's assertion to our problem by stating that the more active the forgetting process and the process of analogy the less resistance there is to the influence of English and to intralinguistic identifications.

PROCEDURE IN OBTAINING DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Data were obtained through oral information from both groups of Americans of Polish descent, i. e., I and R.² Most of the material was recorded on tape. Two types of procedure have been applied from the point of view of the investigator: 1) active, 2) passive.

Ad 1. Covers only category I.

a. The informants were asked to read a prepared list of words taking care of all Polish phonemes in various distributions. They were not told the purpose of the reading. Here and there additional words were inserted which did not pertain to the purpose; they were used to counteract any inclination to either hypercorrectness or conscious distortion of the pronunciation. Thus an attempt was made to assure natural responses.

b. The informants were asked to translate words and phrases from English into Polish to observe the presence or absence of changes from the phonetic norm.

Ad 2. Covers both groups I and R.

Randomly chosen stretches of speech were recorded either on tape or paper in form of phonetic transcription on the spot. Thus the collected material contains the natural speech of the informants, that of people met by chance, and that of radio announcers of Polish programs in Chicago. Words illustrating series of phonemes, as for instance *nos, nosz, noś, or rusz, ruś* and pairs exemplifying other phonemes as */e ɛ/* in */żem'e/* vs. */żem'ɛ/* were juxtaposed and retaped on a second taperecorder. In turn the rearranged words were played back to two native speakers of Polish separately. They were asked to identify the words.

Experience and observation prove that phonic interference of English and Polish as spoken by bilingual Americans of Polish descent does occur no matter which language is the primary one. Due to the close contact of these two languages the interference very often starts at a period during which Polish is still the primary language of a speaker. Changes in the status of languages in man's life depend on the person's

² Both letters stand for „informant” and *rozmówca* 'interlocutor' respectively. The latter refers to bilinguals who furnished various linguistic texts or information without being interviewed.

age, his intellect, and length of language contact. Self-consciousness also promotes phonic interference; it may last minutes and it may extend over a person's entire life. Fatigue is sometimes another factor which accounts for an early occurrence of phonic interference even with people who boast of a native-like command of two or more languages. Observation seems to suggest that the less educated the persons are, the less linguistically self-conscious they are, and the less do they manifest deviations on the sound level — in contradistinction to the lexical.

Comparing the phonemic inventories of Polish and English we are struck by the quantitative as well as qualitative differences of the two systems. Students of bilingualism maintain that the closer the genetic relation of the two languages in contact the greater is the potential of interference on the phonemic level and vice versa. Jespersen repeats after Puscarin" [...] in general we may say that the less related two languages are, the fewer will be the traces of the original language left on the new language." ³

„Spricht ein Individuum eine zweite Sprache, die der Muttersprache in vielen Punkten — besonders in lautlicher Hinsicht nahesteht, so werden in der Regel die Artikulationsgewohnheiten der Muttersprache bei der Aussprache der neuerlernten Sprache beibehalten. Der Grund ist darin zu sehen, dass der Sprechende auch so verstanden wird und deshalb aus Bequemlichkeit die Artikulationsgewohnheiten der Muttersprache länger beibehält.“ ⁴

Polish and English belong to two different language families. Nevertheless interference may occur in both directions at a relatively early stage of bilingualism. On the other hand there may be no phonemic interference whatsoever depending on the intellectual or psychological status of the speaker. But if the person knows two secondary languages which are genetically related, e. g., Russian, Polish, English being the primary language, then the interference between the Slavic languages occurs far earlier in time and more extensively than between either of the two and English. This has been repeatedly observed with informants who were studying Russian.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

First consonant phonemes will be discussed to be followed by a description of the processes in regard to the vowel phonemes. By comparing the consonants of English and Polish one might be inclined to draw

³ O. Jespersen: *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*. New York 1949, p. 205.

⁴ B. H. Schönfelder: *Probleme der Völker- und Sprachmischung*. Halle, Saale 1956, pp. 52—53.

the conclusion that bilingual Americans for whom American English has become the primary language, tend to reduce the number of phonemic distinctions of Polish, because of the numerical difference of consonantal phonemes of both languages with a ratio of 35 : 26. The conclusion corresponds only partially to the actual linguistic situation. The simplification of the inventory of Polish consonantal phonemes is to be attributed to both inter- and intralinguistic reasons. It is a well known fact that intralinguistic changes can and actually do occur anywhere, not necessarily under the influence of other languages. In America both processes are intensified and linked closely together, overlapping sometimes so that in some instances it is difficult to definitely identify one or the other in accounting for the deviations from the norm. Phonetically the influence of American English on Polish cannot be denied.

Both languages share articulatory replications of all phonemes except for the voiced and voiceless apico-dental fricatives *th*, but not basic distinctive features. Thus, for instance, voicing is a relevant feature for Polish while tenseness is concomitant; the reverse being true in English. But they do not have the same distribution of phones.

To account for the language deviations precisely each case of "abnormality" would have to be examined separately with careful consideration of the extralinguistic factors affecting each individual bilingual. Such an approach would, however, obscure the picture of Polish as spoken by Americans of Polish descent.

Hitherto phonetic studies of the Polish language in contact with American English have either dealt with the lexicon as pronounced by Polish immigrants (W. Doroszewski), or with Polish material only, analysed on a non-phonemic basis (R. Witowski, R. Skłodowski). Both studies are insufficient although valid for a discussion of Polish as a system. Witowski's and Skłodowski's are quantitative in character and cover a few sounds only, Witowski's fewer than Skłodowski's.

An acoustic trait of the Polish language noticed by foreigners at the very first encounter with that language, is its "hissing" character — a result of its relatively high inventory of sibilants and their typical distribution.

*„Na pytanie, które brzmienie, najczęstsze w naszym języku, najbardziej nam w ucho wpada, odpowiedź nietrudna — między spółgłoskami syczące, mamy ich trzy więcej niż np. język ruski, i obfitość tych syczących przy dłuższym czytaniu głośnym odczuwa zmęczony organ.”*⁵ ('It is not difficult to find out which phones

⁵ A. Brückner: *O przegłosach polskiego e*. „Prace Filologiczne”, vol. VI, Warszawa 1907, p. 583.

are most frequent in our language and which appeal most to our ear. Polish has three more sibilants than, for instance, Russian, and the tired organ feels the abundance of the sibilants at long reading aloud).

The linguists' criteria for the general demarcation of the Polish dialects demonstrates the important function sibilants display in the Polish phonemic system. We distinguish the *mazurzenie* dialects, the *siakanie* dialects, the non-*mazurzenie* and non-*siakanie* dialects.⁶ The first do not maintain the opposition alveolar vs. dental fricatives and affricates. The *siakanie* dialects have lost the opposition of the alveolar and the palatal. But some dialects, although not consistently, have "fused" the alveolar and the palatal series into /š ž č ž/. Thus, for example, the words for 'strength' and 'she sewed' — *siła* and *szyla* in standard Polish — become homophonous: /šywa/.

And it is precisely the frequent appearance of the "fused" sounds which is characteristic of the speech of Americans of Polish descent, also reported by Witowski and Skłodowski. The latter maintains that a possible influence of Polish dialects on the form of the "Polish--American language" should be regarded skeptically because of the "mixture" of the Polish dialects in the United States. The author is right as to the "mixture" of the Polish dialects, but, although no systematic linguistic evidence has been brought forth to support the thesis, one cannot agree with the first part of the statement. The ethnic and social set up of the Polish immigration to the United States predetermined the usage of the immigrant's vernacular. Time and again I have come across people occupying authoritative positions in the social ladder, radio announcers, who tried to speak an impeccable Polish, and who suddenly came out with a typical dialect feature manifesting their linguistic background. We have to acknowledge the existence of Polish dialects in discussing the Polish language in America. Polish linguists tend to interpret the fusion of the two consonantal series as a result of intra- and interlingual processes.

„Przyczyny pomieszania szeregów sz i ś dopatrują się uczeni w zmieszaniu się ludności mazurzącej z nie mazurzącą przy udziale ludności niepolskiej: na południu słowackiej, na północy staropruskiej, a może też niemieckiej.”⁷ ('The reason for the fusion of the series sz and ś linguists see in the mixture of the „mazurzenie” dialect speakers with the non-*mazurzenie* population and the non-Polish population: in the South — the Slovenians, in the North — the Prussians and perhaps also the Germans').

⁶ S. Urbańczyk: *Zarys dialektologii polskiej*. Warszawa 1953.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

The identity of the alveolar and the palatal voiceless fricatives has been checked with a number of minimal pairs such as: *szył* 'he sewed' vs. *sił* 'strength' (*gen. pl.*); *szał* 'fury' vs. *siał* 'he sawed'; *kasza* 'kasha' vs. *Kasia* female name; *proszę* 'please' vs. *prosię* 'pig'; *wesz* 'louse' vs. *węz* 'take'. The status of the phonemes was examined with many other words both in citation as well as in natural speech. All informants, except for two, realized the phonemes differently from the norm, both the standard as well as the dialect. Most of the informants made a distinction between alveolar and palatal fricatives so that the native speakers were able to identify the words. However, one of them without being invited, commented: "/kaśa/ sounds strange and so do /śaw/ and /noś/." The other, R 1, asked whether he perceived any difference between the pairs answered "yes, but the words /kaśa śaw noś veś prośe/ have too much 'esh' in them." And he was right in describing the phonetic substance of the palatal voiceless fricative /ś/.

As far as the alveolar voiceless fricative is concerned, a phonetic tendency prevails to soften the alveolar sound in various positions; not, however, completely enough to prevent the native speakers from identifying the minimal pairs. If a member of a pair was unknown to an informant he or she replaced the differentiating sound with that of the known word. For instance, I 2, asked to present the equivalent for 'Catherine' pronounced /kaśa/ in his dialect [kajśa]. Not knowing 'groats, kasha' he was unable to translate it into Polish. Faced with the graphemic form of the item in its traditional spelling, he uttered the word several times, each time with some articulatory alteration and then remarked: "It's good to learn a new word." After a while he was asked to produce the "new word" and out came [kajśa] homophonous with the female name.

The tendency to obliterate the phonemic distinction of those two units is not equally intense in all positions. The sibilants tend to preserve their identity as second members of word initial biconsonantal clusters better than when they occur in initial position. The prevocalic initial, the intervocalic and postvocalic final positions seem to favor the "fusion" of the two phonemes. Illustration:

norm	tendency	translation
/śedem/	[śedem]	'seven'
/śano/	[śano]	'hay'
/śodwo/	[śodwo]	'saddle'
/śerota/	[śerota]	'orphan'
/ośem/	[ośem]	'eight'
/pośada/	[pośada]	'he, she possesses'
/kupiwaś/	[kupiwaś]	'you bought'

The majority of speakers do not fuse the two phonemes into one. However, what is considered the normal phonetic substance tends to be modified by "softening" in the case of the alveolar fricative /š/ and "hushing" in the case of the soft /ś/. Several reasons could explain the tendency: dialect inheritance from the old country; natural drift of the Polish language; influence of American English which has no plain palatal phonemic opposition in its system; analogy.

Some speakers replace the apico-alveolar voiceless fricative /s/ in cluster with the parallel stops /t/ /k/ with the palatal alveolar or palatal voiceless sibilants. Examples: *sztalin Stalin*, *sztor* 'store', *szklep* 'shop' (Polish norm — *sklep*). W. Doroszewski in describing similar instances of substitution in identical environment, states only that it occurs in loan-words. Schuchardt discusses precisely the same phenomenon with reference to the rendering of the Italian and the German in preconsonantal position by the Slavs. Although not presenting any tangible solution he, however, states that the consonants following the sibilants do not explain this phenomenon. "*Höchstens, dass in dieser Beziehung die Mundarten verschieden verfahren.*"⁸

The majority of Americans speaking Polish identify minimal pairs of words differentiated by the voiced fricative plain palatal opposition. Examples of pairs: /żem/ 'that I' vs. /żem/ 'lands' (*gen. pl.*); /koże/ 'bark' vs. /koże/ 'goat'; /buże/ 'thunders' vs. /buże/ 'mounts'; /żuwtko/ 'yolk' vs. /żuwko/ 'herb tea'.

Palato-alveolar and palatal affricates. English reduces its palatal and palato-alveolar affricate allophones to one phoneme. Polish makes two phonemic distinctions. Quantitatively the Polish palato-alveolar phoneme enjoys a higher frequency and a wider distribution than the English equivalent. The same is true with the other Polish alveolar and palatal fricatives and affricates. Polish native speakers had difficulty in recognizing the following words as pronounced by some informants: *na czele* 'at the head' vs. *na ciele* 'on the body', *jesteś ciele* 'you are a calf'. Two speakers of Polish identified 1 and 2, but not 1 and 3. A possible explanation might be the relatively frequent use of 3 in comparison with 1 and 2 as also its deeper psychological embedding because of its metaphorical use. It is a favorite nickname for clumsy persons. I 3, who fused the alveolar and palatal fricatives and affricates most extensively of all informants, pronounced 3 normally remarking: "My grandfather calls me [ćele] sometimes." Impressionistically both

⁸ H. Schuchardt: *Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches*. Graz 1884, pp. 47—52.

phonemes are realized identically by a number of speakers. Examples: *trzeci* [čeči] 'third'; *uczucia* [učuča] 'feelings'; *nauczyciel* [naučyčel] 'teacher'. Examples of minimal pairs used for testing the phonemes: *lecz* 'but' vs. *leć* 'fly' (*verb, imperative*), *dmuchacz* 'blower' vs. *dmuchać* 'to blow'; *miecz* 'sword' vs. *mieć* 'have'. The vacillating status of the two phonemes has found numerous illustrations.

Speakers with a dialect background frequently pronounced the alveolar affricate as a dental /c/ especially in prevocalic position, thus betraying their ancestors' membership in the *mazurzenie* dialect. Examples: *czarny* [cowrny] 'black'; *czas* [cas] 'time'.

Other phonetic characteristics which contribute to the tendency of deviation from the norm of the voiceless affricates:

1. Both phonemes in their realization are pronounced with a large amount of "hushing" after the release in final or prevocalic position, more so than is normally the case in Polish.

2. The bilinguals' articulatory organs, especially of those whose primary language is American English, apply less "attack" on the closure of the consonants, than do Polish, monolinguals.

3. In contradistinction to the fricative series whose "abnormal" pronunciation is rather due to the change of the points of articulation, the affricates tend to change the norm in the manner of articulation. This could be explained by the articulatory differences in producing the English and Polish affricates. The predominant use of English predetermines an adequate adjustment of the speech organs, which not being trained sufficiently in bilingual pronunciation of both Polish and English get easily tired from the frequent occurrence of the affricates and fricatives in Polish speech.

/ʒ/ /ʒ̣/: The leaning of the palatal to the alveolar consonant is more intense than is the reverse. There are speakers who substitute /ʒ/ for /ʒ̣/. Examples: /gʒe/ > [gʒe] or [gʒ̣e] 'where'; /ʒévenć/ > [ʒévenč] or [ʒ̣évenč] 'nine'; etc.

The opposition of plain and palatal consonants is not an inherent relation of the English language. Depending on the linguistic background of their ancestors the informants have either inherited the lack of the plain-palatal distinction or they have acquired the tendency of depalatalization of the soft consonants under the influence of their primary language.⁹ W. Doroszewski applies only the latter explanation of the disappearance of the mentioned opposition, disregarding the first one.

⁹ K. Nitsch: *Dialekty języka polskiego*. Wrocław—Kraków 1957, pp. 41—49.

„Pod wpływem języka angielskiego, w którym nie istnieją odrębne kategorie spółgłosek palatalnych i niepalatalnych ani żadne oboczności tego typu, mówiący nie mają samego poczucia tej różnicy, tak podstawowej zarówno dla fonetyki, jak i dla morfologii polskiej.”¹⁰ ('Under the influence of English in which there are no categories of palatal and non-palatal consonants nor any variations of those, the speakers do not have the same feeling for this opposition so basic to the Polish phonological as well as the morphological levels.')

/p/ /p'/: /opera/ 'opera' vs. /op'era/ 'to lean' (3rd pers. sg.) /pasek/ 'belt' vs. /p'asek/ 'sand'; etc.

/b/ /b'/: /oberek/ 'type of folk dance' vs. /ob'erać/ 'to choose'; /byli/ 'they were' vs. /b'ili/ 'they fought'; etc.

The realization of the phonemes depended on the linguistic background of the speaker. For example, the Silesian dialect speakers asked to translate 'money' into Polish rendered the standard form /p'eńonze/ as [phynũnzɛl]. The lack of palatalization of p is not a result of the American English influence, but simply a characteristic feature of the Silesian dialect. However, the strong aspiration of the prevocalic p is a clear instance of the impact of the English vernacular. Similarly the hard b in [lubjymy] is a dialect form, though not perhaps [lubymy].

/m/ /m'/: /my/ 'we' vs. /m'i/ 'me'; /mawy/ 'small' vs. /m'awy/ 'they had'; /mysz/ 'mouse' vs. /m'is/ 'bear'; etc.

/f/ /f'/: szafa closet' vs. /maf'a/ 'mafia'; /fara/ 'rectory' vs. /of'ara/ 'sacrifice'; etc.

/v/ /v'/: /vara/ 'keep away' vs. /úvara/ 'faith'; /veś/ 'take' vs. /úeś/ 'village'; wąż 'snake' vs. wiaż 'bind'; etc.

/n/ /ń/: nosze 'bars' /ńnose/ 'I carry'; /sen/ 'dream' vs. /šeń/ 'floor'; etc.

There is a strong tendency among the American speakers of Polish to replace the hard apico-alveolar nasal with its soft correspondent in words like: pączek /pońček/ 'doughnut'; /p'orun/ > /p'oruń/ 'lightening'; /len/ > /leń/ 'flax'. W. Doroszewski has observed the same phenomenon. He quotes a pupil whose Polish was faultless otherwise, reciting the poem *Grenada* as he pronounced the word *bagnecie* /bagnéce/ in standard Polish with a soft n, i. e., ń as an example of English interference. The author explains that "one of the speaker's articulatory bases has been affected by the influence of English."¹¹ Such an explanation is not adequate to account for the above mentioned abnormality. Intralinguistic interference of Polish on the basis of analogy might have played an

¹⁰ W. Doroszewski: *Język polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych* A. P.: *The Polish Language in the USA. English summary*. Warszawa 1938, p. 205.

¹¹ Doroszewski: *op. cit.*, p. 206.

equally important role in the distortion of the word: /bagnó/: /bagńe/ = /bagnet/: /bagńeće/.

/k/ /k'/: /polske/ 'Poland' (acc. sg.) vs. /polsk'e/ 'Polish'; /kelner/ 'waiter' vs. /k'elix/ 'chalice'; etc.

Many speakers pronounced the adjectives for French as [francuske] instead of [francusk'e], the former, however, not being homophonous with standard Polish /francuske/ 'French woman' (acc. sg), since most of them pronounced the last with a distinct nasal front vowel as indicated in the orthographic shape of the word: *francuskę*. In turn *cukier* 'sugar' was pronounced normally by most of the speakers, except for the Silesian informants in Texas, who replaced the normal soft velar with a hard one: [cuker]. But this is not a case of American English interference. The speakers have inherited this form from their ancestors in Silesia who had been exposed to considerable influence of German. The word is a loan from German, and had been subjugated to the phonetic rules of the Polish language by the majority of Poles, but not in Silesia, where the contact with German has been close enough to maintain the hard velar, though not the German *Auslaut* as it occurs in *Zucker*.

/g/ /g'/: /gońec/ 'messenger' vs. /g'onć/ 'to bound'; /germańe/ 'German' vs. /g'ermek 'a knight's boy'; etc.

The weakening of the plain-palatal opposition of the Polish phonemes is a striking feature of the Polish language in the United States. By just comparing the Polish and American English phonemic inventories one would be inclined to interpret this tendency as a result of the bilingual status of Americans of Polish descent. However, the natural "drift" of the Polish language should not be neglected. Rozwadowski when discussing the characteristic features and tendencies of Polish, wrote:

„Ale rozwijają się nowe tendencje: wprowadzie tylne spółgłoski k g są w dalszym ciągu wrażliwe na palatalizację (*bokiem, kielich, kilo, kielner, bogiem, geolog, giełda, gips*), ale już ch (h) się wyłamuje, a w ogóle trzeba stwierdzić, że przednie samogłoski i e ę już od dawna nie palatalizują poprzedzających spółgłosek [...]”¹² ('But new tendencies are developing. Although back consonants k g continue to be sensitive to palatalization (*bokiem, kielich, kilo, kielner, bogiem, geolog, giełda, gips*) ch (h) repudiates the rule. Indeed it must be stated that the front vowels i e ę have long stopped to palatalize the preceding consonants').

It is suggested that the first factor complements the second one, that the American English Polish contact favors the process of disappearance of the plain-palatal opposition. A quantitative analysis of the process would be rather a difficult enterprise.

¹² J. Rozwadowski: *Wybór pism*, PWN, Warszawa 1959, vol. 1, p. 223.

A complete substitution of the plain consonants for the palatal ones occurs mainly in words unknown to the individual speakers, such as *fizyka*, *fiotek*, *miś* etc. It is more frequent in intervocalic and final position than initially, as in *owieczka* 'little sheep', *człowiek* 'man', *mówił* 'he said', the last being rendered into [muvjũw] or [muvjyw] by the Texan informants. A number of speakers, not necessarily with a dialect background, replace the soft consonant with the corresponding plain one plus the palatal semivowel j. Examples: /mešonc/ > [mješjonc] 'month'; /zešívaw/ > [zešívjaw] 'he became gray'. A complete substitution occurred with I5 who pronounced the alveolar and palatal nasals identically in the following expressions: [spanem ojcem] 'with father', [spanom matkom] for /spańq matkq/ 'with mother'.

Findings corroborate Doroszewski's observations that in longer words containing a series of palatal consonants speakers encounter difficulties in keeping them distinct. For example in /vńebovżeńce/ 'assumption' most speakers replaced the palatal sibilants with /ž/ and /č/ or even ž oraz /č/ the palatal nasal retaining its quality. This observation brings us to another conclusion based, of course, not on one example only, that of all the palatal consonants the sibilant fricative and affricate series is most susceptible to substitution by "fused" or plain correspondents.

/l/ /w/: The English phonemic system makes use of one lateral vocoid phoneme realized as two allophones *l* and *ɫ*. The English bilabial phoneme is homophonous with the corresponding Polish phoneme where the environments are identical. Polish /l/ as well as /w/ have several allophones; /l/: *l l'*; /w/ symbolized also as *u* in contradistinction to *ɫ* occurring in literary Polish and a dark *ɫ* present in some dialects of South East Poland. In addition, Nitsch writes of an *l* described as "middle *l*", different not only from the palatal *l* in *lis* 'fox' but also from the less palatal *l* in *las* 'woods'.¹³ The English allophone *ɫ* is undoubtedly one of the most attractive sounds for American English Polish bilingual speakers. They use it for the Polish *l* in post- and intervocalic positions. It tends to interfere with the distribution of the Polish phoneme even with those persons whose English occupies a secondary status in their bilinguality, and who speak it with a foreign accent. However, some Americans whose primary language has been English throughout their life, like that of I3 whose Polish phonemic system has been subjected to considerable interference from American English, do preserve the norm of both these Polish phonemes, mainly because their dialect background does not recognize the Polish "dark"

¹³ Nitsch: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

phoneme. Apart from the interference of American English *ɪ*, *w* sometimes replaces its Polish counterpart *l* in the above mentioned environment. Both types of interference may and actually do occur within the vernacular of an individual, whichever language is his primary means of communication. For instance, R 1, a native speaker of Polish, very often pronounces the word *angielski* as [aŋgelski] or aŋgewsk'i].

With respect to the discussed phonemes we notice the following types of interference: 1) interference of American English with Polish; 2) intra-Polish interference. (The influence of Polish on English is not being discussed here).

Ad 1. Replacement of the Polish /w/ by the English allophone [ɪ]. Example: /puwaski/ > [pułask'i] 'Pulaski'.

Replacement of Polish /l/ by American English *ɪ*. Examples: [tylko] > [tylko] 'only'; /filmy/ > [fiłmy] 'films'; /wielki/ > [wielk'i] 'great'; /węgiel/ > [wengeł] or [wengew] 'coal'; etc. The identification of Polish /w/ via the American English /l/ sometimes obliterates the grammatical distinction of the masculine and feminine gender of the verb in its past tense form, if the same speaker happens to substitute the final vowel as well. Examples: /dostawy/ (fem.) vs. dostali/ (masc.) 'they received'.

Ad 2. Replacement of Polish /l/ by Polish /w/. Example: /polska/ > [powska] 'Poland'. This is rather a rare case in the speech of Americans of Polish descent whose primary language is American English. However, it is a common phenomenon among monolingual Americans trying to speak Polish, or inefficient bilingual speakers. Polish words, above all names containing the final cluster *-fski* (graphically *-wski*) are rendered into American English as /wski/ with the English value of /w/. This is to be attributed to the influence of orthography rather than oral language; in colloquial Polish the *-wski* cluster is reduced to *-ski*. Therefore, whenever for instance, *Rogowski* is pronounced as [rogowski], influence of the grapheme is apparent, whenever as [rogaski] or [rogawski], the American speaker subjugates the Polish reduced pronunciation to his own phonetic habits.¹⁴

The majority of Americans of Polish descent speaking the vernacular of their forefathers' provide their Polish with American English phonetic substance along with the Polish phonemic oppositions:

1. Aspiration of the stressed voiceless stops. In standard Polish the series / p t k/ is released without aspiration, except when in affected, expressive speech, or when sung. Of course, the degree of aspirated release differs from individual to individual. To provide some basis

¹⁴ Some informants pronounced the phrase *w całej pełni* 'fully' as [fcalej pełni]; others — *zastawa stołowa* 'table set' as [zastawa stolowa].

for comparison the informants were asked to say and translate "I don't like soup". In some instances the quantitative difference was distinct, but the majority of speakers pronounced the final voiceless bilabial with an equal amount of aspiration.

The replacement of the Polish plain velar voiceless fricative with a plain velar voiceless stop or a glottal voiceless or voiced fricative, which is very productive in the Polish of the bilinguals, is caused by both intra- and interlinguistic processes. The former is based on dissimilation inherent in some Polish dialects, the latter — on the influence of English or German, in the case of the Silesian dialect speakers.

Examples — intralinguistic: *czego chcesz* > *czego kcesz* 'what do you want'; /*xfawa*/ > [*kfawa*] 'praise, glory'; /*doktur*/ > [*doxtúr*] 'physician'; etc. The speakers were not consistent in the pronunciation of the Polish velar voiceless fricative. I 5 and I 6 in two adjacent words realized the phoneme each time differently. /*ńe úżawam tak'ix smutnyx senżi*/ > [*ńe úżawam takix smutnyk seżi*] 'I have never seen such sad judges'; *do naszych czeskich braci* > [*do naszym czeskich braci*]¹⁵ 'to our Czech brothers';

— interlinguistic: /*exo*/ > [*eko*] 'echo'; /*arxivalny*/ > [*ark'ivalny*] 'archive' (*adj.*). English has no velar fricative, and the glottal one does not occur finally. Americans of Polish descent whose primary language has been American English subconsciously apply American English articulatory habits in their Polish on the basis of the ever present process of analogy: /*bax*/ : /*bak*/ = /*úex*/ : /*úek*/; the right hand side of the proportion is the name of a famous story teller in the Warsawian jargon. Thus his name becomes homophonous with /*úek*/ — 'century'.

The replacement of the velar voiceless fricative by the glottal voiceless or voiced fricative has been inherited from native Polish or is due to the influence of English. Examples: /*xoroba*/ > [*horoba*] 'illness'; /*éixo*/ > [*éiho*] 'silent'; etc. To what extent dialect heritage and the influence of the literary language, by the majority of informants learned at school, and the influence of English are responsible for the tendencies is sometimes difficult to determine. With speakers of Polish in the United States it would be incorrect to simply ascribe all phonetic changes to the influence of American English. However, some deviations from the Polish norm are obvious instances of that influence. The substitution of /*h*/ for /*x*/ is not necessarily a result of American English interference, although in some cases it might be. To exactly determine

¹⁵ Comp. Rozwadowski: *op. cit.*, p. 214: „Język kulturalny ma Chrystus, Chrzesz, Chrześcijanin = Krystus, Krzesz... najwidoczniej pod wpływem grupy st następnej zgłoski.”

its appearance, one would have to thoroughly study the linguistic and extralinguistic background of each individual who applies it in his speech.¹⁶ The existence of both sounds *x* and *h* in Polish was mentioned by Schuchardt who, quoting Malinowski, wrote:

„Nach Malinowski (1873) wird 'in der gemeinen Umgangssprache, wenigstens im Königreich Polen' immer *ch* für *h* gesprochen (*chonor, chuk*), während in den Gebirgsgegenden der Tatra dasselbe vom *h* ganz verdrängt worden ist (*hwała, oreha*); in der oppelnischen Mundart bestehen beide nebeneinander. Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich bei den Slovenen, die nur *h* schreiben und es an jedem Orte nur auf eine Weise aussprechen, im Osten und Westen wie deutsches *h*, in der mittleren Zone wie *ch*. Daraus erklärt sich denn leicht dass den Polen und Slowenen gern deutsches *h* zu *ch* wird.“¹⁷

This interference of American English with the Polish phonetic system may be of two types: 1) concomitant, 2) complete sound substitution.

Ad 1. a) aspiration, b) alveolarization of the dental stops *t d* as in the words *tu* 'here', *do* 'to'.

Ad 2. a) replacement of Polish /*l*/ /*w*/ by American English dark *l*, b) replacement of Polish /*r*/, trilled in all positions, by American English retroflex /*r*/. This particular American sound appeals to the Polish ear most. Being so strikingly different from the Polish correspondent sound it seldom subconsciously substitutes for the Polish. Whenever it interferes with the Polish it is being perceived by the speakers. For example, I 1 pronounced the Polish words for "hand. rule" with the American English retroflex: [*reŋka reguwa*]. When his attention was called to the substitution he said: *Ah prawda, mówi się [reŋka reguwa]; tak mi się jakoś powiedziało.* ('Ah yes, one says [*reŋka reguwa*]. It just happened to slip out'). Similar interference has been noticed in the speech of many other informants in words like *choroba, Maria, robota* ('illness, Mary work').

Vowel phonemes. In contradistinction to English Polish has inherited a comparatively simple vowel system, so that English is capable of taking care of all Polish phonemes except for the nasals. Despite considerable correspondence of English and Polish vowel phonemes, many bilinguals demonstrate American English interference in the distribution of some vowels. Of all the vowels the low back /*a*/ is most active in interfering with the Polish /*o*/ both in accented and unaccented

¹⁶ A thorough discussion of the divergent realizations of the velar and glottal fricatives has been presented by K. Nitsch in his article *O polskich h, Sprawozdanie z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU*, vol. LII, 1951, in *Wybór pism polonistycznych*, vol. I, Wrocław 1954, pp. 177—178.

¹⁷ Schuchardt: *op. cit.*, p. 43.

syllables. Examples: /kolacja/ > [kałacja] 'supper'; /rok/ > [rak] 'year' homophonous with Polish 'cancer, crab'; /skorupa/ > [skarupa] 'shell'; *towarzysz* > [taważyś] 'fellow'; Americans of Polish descent learning Russian are subject to a similar interference upon their Polish: /rosyj-ski/ > [rasyj-ski] 'Russian'; /mocno/ > [mocna] 'strongly'. We can safely predict that unless the speaker reinforces his speaking ability of Polish, Russian influence on his Polish will become more and more apparent. There exists another linguistic factor which supports this assumption: Polish and Russian are more closely related than Polish and English. It is a well known fact that it is easier to keep apart phonemic systems of genetically unrelated languages than those of related ones.¹⁸

The so called nasal phonemes continue to constitute a dilemma in the minds of Polish linguists. Whatever deviations from the Polish standard norm occur, they are not to be accounted for by American English influence.

Polish has a predominant CVC syllable and morpheme structure. Both the front mid nasal /ɛ/ as well as the back mid /o/ are realized as eN and oN in front stops and affricates and before /l/ and /w/. The front nasal loses its nasality in final position. This fact has modified the status of the front nasal as an independent phoneme: Some Polish linguists tend to interpret it as a "facultative" phoneme.¹⁹ Others regard the front nasal as a "potential phoneme". E. Stankiewicz echoes the Polish linguists' interpretation by stating: "The nasal vowel /ɛ/ is in free variation with /e/ in emphatic or, rather, artificial speech. In colloquial SP there is no opposition between, e. g. /żem'e/ 'lands' (pl) and /żem'e 'land' (acc. sg.)."²⁰ And artificial indeed is the pronunciation of nasals by a great number of Americans of Polish descent. It is characteristic first of all of those Polish descendants who become self-conscious about their Polish on both the phonetic as well as the grammatical level, or have been taught Polish pronunciation by dilettantish, self imposed phoneticians of Polish trying to correct their pupils'

¹⁸ Some bilingual speakers pronounced international words with a considerable amount of "mixture", though not all sounds were replaced by American English phones — a symptom of hesitation on the part of the speakers. The reason is that they never heard the Polish pronunciation of, for example, *uniwersytet* which was pronounced by I7 as [juniverstheth] in a Polish context. Equally common is the replacement of the Polish combination /a/ plus bilabial semivowel /w/ by a -VVC construction as in [*autor auto*]. But this might be rather due to the influence of orthography.

¹⁹ Z. Stieber: *Rozwój fonologiczny języka polskiego*. Warszawa 1958, p. 40.

²⁰ E. Stankiewicz: *The Phonemic Patterns of Polish Dialects*, in *For Roman Jakobson*. The Hague 1956, p. 520.

"improper" pronunciation; with those speakers /e/ and /ɛ/ constitute two distinct phonemes, and they are found in opposition in final position in a number of minimal pairs, like the one mentioned by Stankiewicz; other examples:

/rade/ 'willing, eager' vs. /radɛ/ 'advice' (acc. sg.); /plaże/ 'beach' (pl) vs. /plażɛ/ (acc. sg.); etc.

The pronunciation of the nasals of a group of high school students of Polish descent has been discussed in detail by A. Skłodowski.²¹ In general his conclusions are confirmed by the present study.

No matter how accurate a quantitative analysis of the pronunciation of the nasals we might present the obvious fact remains that there is no uniformity among all, and no consistency of the individual in the realization of the two phonemes. Of all the informants the most consistent appeared to be the dialect speakers in Texas, although even with them education has left traces on their pronunciation of the nasals. Whenever they attempt to speak the literary type of Polish, or when reading the mid front nasal ɛ, which in most positions occurs as [q] or [ɛŋ] in their dialect, they render it into a narrow [ɛ̃] plus the unreleased velar nasal [ŋ] observed also with II 8 and 5. Examples: I 5 pronounced *będę* 'I shall be' three different times in various contexts: [bɛ̃ndɛ bɛ̃nde bɛ̃nde]. I 9, who in general has a normal colloquial Polish, including nasals, pronounced the word *chętnie* 'with pleasure' artificially' but the noun *chęć* normally. I 7, whose primary language until school age was Polish, pronounced the back nasal normally, the front with an abnormal amount of nasalization before dental stops and palato-alveolar affricates. It is common among young American English Polish bilinguals to manifest a natural pronunciation as long as they are not made aware of their vernacular by specific circumstances, as for instance, reciting a poem or a passage of prose, or when reading. The reasons are to be found in the traditional Polish orthography and the Polish teachers' indifference to his pupils' phonetics, or improper correction.

Hypercorrectness, as a result of inadequate linguistic education is a typical feature of American English Polish bilinguals. It is especially striking with some public speakers and radio announcers. This phenomenon seems to be universal; language contact undoubtedly promotes its occurrence. I 3 pronounced both nasal vowels in final position as a combination of -ɛ plus *m*, -o plus *m*. Examples: [żawujem że nie rozum'em] 'I regret I don't understand'; [ja idem] 'I am going'; [nazywajom

²¹ W. A. Skłodowski: *O niektórych faktach fonetycznych języka polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych w związku z czynnikami kształtującymi język emigracyjny*. (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation), University of Ottawa, 1951, pp. 150—196.

jom] 'they call her'. These phrases occurred in natural speech. But whenever she was asked to read Polish or translate words or phrases from English into Polish she pronounced the nasals in the same position with nasalization, as a monophthong. Commenting on the same phenomenon, but only with regard to the back nasal, Stieber writes:

„Wygłosowe φ ma teraz dwie główne tendencje rozwojowe zaznaczające się też w mowie kulturalnej: do odnosowienia (typ: ido drogo) i do rozkładu (typ: idom drogo). Drugi typ rozwijał się głównie w gwarach zachodnich, gdzie panuje do dziś; pierwszy szerzył się w gwarach wschodnich i w dialektach kresowców.” (φ in final position manifests nowadays two main tendencies: denasalization (type: *ido drogo*) and decomposition (type: *idom drogom*). The latter has developed mainly in the western dialects, the former has spread in the eastern.)

This feature also occurs with speakers of no particular dialect background. They might have acquired it in the United States from Polish surrounding. Most Polish communities are linguistically heterogeneous. Hence mutual dialect influence is a common phenomenon among American English Polish bilingual speakers.

Present day orthography exerts a considerable influence on the pronunciation of Polish by Americans of Polish descent. This influence is the more powerful the less contact there is between the written and the spoken word. It manifests itself first of all in the retention of voicing of consonants in word final position, and occurs primarily in reading. However, it also affects the spoken language as well; and again first of all of those who are self-conscious about their pronunciation. But only a few speakers release the final voiced consonants with a distinct shwa and it does not reach the qualitative value provided by the characteristic style of delivering sermons by some American protestant preachers. Also unknown Polish words yield to hypercorrectness and spelling pronunciation.

To summarize, it should be stated that, in contradistinction to the consonantal system, Americans of Polish descent speaking Polish tend to increase the number of vowel distinctions for both inter- and intralinguistic reasons notably in the form of hypercorrectness.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Both inter- and intralinguistic interference account for the loss or the reinterpretation of some phonemic distinctions of Polish as spoken in the United States by Americans of Polish descent. In the frame of a general description of the American English Polish contact it would

²² Stieber: *op. cit.*, p. 41.

be hazardous to state beyond dispute the number of phonemic distinctions obliterated. It was the purpose of the study to have brought forth the principal tendencies.

None of the informants' idiolects is free from American English influence on the phonemic level. Of course, not all idiolects are equally affected by the processes. Americans of Polish descent of the second and older generations, whose vernacular of childhood was a dialect of Polish, and who in later years were exposed to the influence of American English and/or literary Polish at schools, manifest a greater phonetic interference of American English when speaking or trying to speak standard Polish than when using their dialect.

Summarizing, the following causes account for the influence of American English on the phonological level:

1. Extralinguistic, psychological mode of speaker e. g., fatigue.
2. Linguistic; a) proximity of sounds of the two languages in articulation and distribution; b) transfer of American English lexical items to Polish. In such a case the words are either pronounced with Polish phones, or only partially assimilated phonetically; c) the phonemic status of parallel sounds in the two languages.

A considerable number of Americans of Polish descent by no means speak an accent free English. As a matter of fact the descendants of the first immigrants, the Texan informants, replace American English sounds by Polish phones, to mention only the substitution of voiced and voiceless apico-dental fricatives for /t/ and /d/ respectively, or the use of /k/ for /ŋ/ in final position. The reasons for the two-directional interference are to be found in extralinguistic factors, which also are responsible for a complete shift from Polish to American English within a lifetime of a speaker. This two-directional substitution of phones is a typical feature of American English Polish bilingualism. Its scope may vary from idiolect to idiolect. Thus many Americans of Polish descent manifest incompleteness of the phonemic systems of both languages. Others, perhaps the majority, have "less than two, though more than one phonemic system."²³

The linguistic heterogeneity of some congested communities such as Chicago, Buffalo, New York etc., contributes to the obliteration of dialect distinctions, or at least results in inconsistency of the realization of phones. The wider the distribution of a particular phonetic feature in Poland, the more hazardous it becomes to trace the linguistic cradle

²³ U. Weinreich: *Linguistic Convergence in Immigrant America*. Georgetown University Monograph Series in Language and Linguistics, No. 7, 1954.

of a second or older generation member in a possible explanation of some "abnormalities."

The role of the reinforcement is an essential factor in linguistic continuity. The numerous *lapsus linguae* committed by many bilinguals are not all to be interpreted as symptoms of tiredness, but as results of the speakers' loosening bond with the Polish language. A higher degree of lack of reinforcement is manifested in the inconsistency of pronunciation of one variety of Polish under the impact of another. An individual may realise a Polish phoneme differently in one context from another. The phonetic fluctuation may affect the actual Polish phonemic distinctions, though only to the degree of being misunderstood by monolingual native Poles, not by their fellow Americans of Polish descent. Their phonetic "abnormalities" in articulation in the majority of cases do not obscure the acoustic reception of a monolingual's Polish of native origin.

The weakening of the reinforcement process still further promotes the productiveness of assimilation. It is especially active with the sibilant series. Both types, the regressive and the progressive, are represented. Examples: *w malej dorozsce* > *w malej dorozscze* 'in a little buggy'; *nauczyciel* > *nauczyczel* teacher.

The reinterpretation of a number of Polish phonemes, particularly that of the plain and palatal consonants and that of the nasal vowels has resulted in the origin of new homophonous words in the case of the former, and in a number of heterophonous forms which in standard Polish are homophonous in the case of the latter.

Bilingual speakers conceive only some phonemes of either language with the phonetic habits of the other, those namely, which are in closest proximity in phonetic substance and distribution, or non-existent in one or the other. Some Polish phonemes tend to disappear not because of the speakers' interpretation of the Polish phonemes with the "prejudices" of American English as their primary vernacular, but because of the lack of reinforcement of the standard language or the dialect where the close proximity of distinctions is inherent in the (sub)system.

The close contact of both languages undoubtedly affects the relative frequency of Polish sounds. This is a tentative statement based on non-statistical data; the extent of the frequency changes require some additional methods of analysis not applied in the present description.

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

I n f o r m a n t s. The socio-cultural and linguistic background of the informants was elicited orally by means of the following questionnaire:

- 1) name
- 2) address
- 3) place of birth
- 4) date of birth
- 5) place of parents' birth
- 6) name of spouse (pet names, nicknames)
- 7) names of children (pet names, nicknames)
- 8) date of immigration (generation)
- 9) education
- 10) profession
- 11) what is your native language (first language)
- 12) what language do you speak at home
- 13) with whom did you speak Polish when a child
- 14) what other languages do you speak, read, write
- 15) do you read Polish, what kind of reading
- 16) do write Polish
- 17) do you subscribe to Polish newspapers
- 18) in what language do you count fast
- 19) in what language do you pray
- 20) can your children speak, read, write Polish
- 21) what type of school do they attend
- 22) is Polish taught at school, how many hours a week
- 23) where did you go to school
- 24) who were your teachers: Americans, Poles, Americans of Polish
- 25) who taught Polish
- 26) who taught English
- 27) what language did children prefer to talk in school
- 28) are there any Polish services in your church

Informant 1. 1) Andrew Szcześniak, 2) 605 S. Fess, Bloomington, Ind., 3) Japan, 4) 24, 5) Poland, 8) second generation, 9) university, 10) student, 11) Polish (at present English), 12) English and Polish, 13) parents, 14) French, Latin, 15) yes, not much, 16) no, 17) no, parents do, 18) English, 19) English and Polish, 23) British and American schools, 24) natives, 25) nobody, 26) natives. Remarks: informant is in favor of bilingualism.

Informant 2. 1) Leon Pieprzyca, 2) Panna Maria, Texas, 3) Panna Maria, Texas, 4) 49, 5) Panna Maria, 6) Franciszka (*mama, kobieto*), 7) Salomea (Sally), Szymon, Leo, 8) third generation, 9) parochial school, 10) farmer, 11) Polish, 12) Polish and English, 13) family, 14) Mexican (sic), 15) yes, 16) yes, 17) no, 18) mostly English, 19) Polish, English in church at present, 20) they speak Polish with considerable interference of English, 21) public high schools, 22) no, 23) Panna Maria, 24) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 25) nuns, Americans of Polish rescent, 26) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, native Americans too, 27) Polish, 28) from time to time. Remarks: an excellent conoisseur of the local fauna and flora, very cooperative.

Informant 3. Virginia Palasz, 2) 1659 W. Huron, Chicago, 3) Chicago, 4) 22, 5) Chicago, 8) third generation, 9) parochial school, high school, 10) typist, 11) English, Polish, 12) English primarily, 13) grandparents primarily, 14) French, 15) yes, 16) yes, 17) yes, 18) English, 19) English, Polish, 23) Chicago, 24) Americans of Polish descent, most of them, 25) Americans of Polish descent, most of them, 26) Americans of Polish descent, native Americans, 27) English, Polish, 28) yes. Remarks: informant is in favor of bilingualism.

Informant 4. 1) Jadwiga Spytek (Hayette), 2) 3048 N. Haussen Court, Chicago 18, 3) Poland, 4) 1937, 5) Poland, 6) Zdzisław (Jessie, Zdziszek), 8) 1951, 9) two years of college, 10) clerk, 11) Polish, 12) Polish, English from time to time, 14) German a little, 15) yes, 16) yes, 17) no, 18) English, Polish, 19) Polish, 23) Germany, USA. 24) native Poles, Germans, Americans, 25) native Poles, 26) native Americans, 27) Polish. Remarks: in favor of bilingualism; very cooperative.

Informant 5. 1) Elisabeth Król, 2) 984 Milwaukee Ave, 3) Detroit, 4) 36, 5) Poland (father: Tarnów, mother: Maków), 6) Walter (Wally, Władziu), 7) Teresa (Terry), Margaret (Mary), Wally, Michael (*Michaś*), 8) second generation, 9) American-Polish parochial school, high school, 10) housewife, 11) Polish, English, 12) with parents Polish, with children English, Polish a little, 13) parents at school, 15) yes, but no time for reading, 16) yes, not much, 17) no, mother does, 18) English, Polish sometimes, 19) Polish, English, 20) the older speak and read a little, 21) grade school, 22) no, son took a summer course in Polish, 23) Chicago, 24) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 25) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 26) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, native Americans, 27) mostly English, 28) yes.

Informant 6. 1) Edward Kulawiec, 2) Newark, New Jersey, 3) Newark, New Jersey, 4) 29, 5) Poland, 8) second generation, 9) university, 10) teacher, 11) English, 14) Russian, 15) yes, extensively, 16) yes, 17) yes.

Informant 7. 1) Lucjan Wiśniewski, 2) 5130 S. Loomis, Chicago, 3) Chicago, 4) 45, 5) Poland, 6) Zofia (Zoś), 7) Michael (Mike, *Michaś*), 8) second generation, 9) two years of college, 10) superintendent of the Roman Catholic Union of America, 11) Polish, 12) English, Polish, 13) parents, school, environment, 15) yes, books, papers, 16) yes, 17) reads them in office, 18) English, Polish, 19) Polish, 20) a little, 21) parochial school, 22) no, 23) Chicago, 24) Americans of Polish descent, 25) Americans of Polish descent, 26) Americans of Polish descent, 27) Polish, 28) yes.

Informant 8. 1) Eugeniusz W. Gacek, 2) Utica, N. Y., 3) Utica N. Y., 4) 1926, 5) Tatra Mountains, 8) second generation, 9) college, 10) student (seminarian), 11) at home Polish, with fellowmen — both Polish and English, 12) Polish, 13) family, 14) reads and writes: Latin, Greek, Spanish, 15) yes, many writers, much of the reading in the Tatra dialect, 16) yes, 17) yes (*Naród Polski, Nasza Ojczyzna*), 18) English, 19) prefers in Polish, 23) Utica, Alliance College, Orchard Lake, 24) Americans of Polish descent, 25) Americans of Polish descent, 26) Americans of Polish descent, native Americans, 27) both Polish and English, 28) most services are in Polish. Remarks: author of a few plays in Polish. Very cooperative.

Informant 9. 1) Danuta Bobek, 2) 2601 W. Augusta Blvd., Chicago, 3) Chicago, 4) 17, 5) Chicago, 8) third generation, 9) high school, 10) student, 11) English,

12) English, Polish, 13) grandparents, 15) yes, no extra reading, 16) a little, 17) no, 18) English, 19) English, Polish, 22) yes, four hours a week, 23) Holy Family Academy, 24) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 25) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 26) nuns, Americans of Polish descent, 27) English, 28) yes.

STRESZCZENIE

Odchylenia od norm języka polskiego w polszczyźnie Amerykanów polskiego pochodzenia są wynikiem dwu zawsze żywotnych i powszechnych procesów językowych, a mianowicie inter- intralingwistycznych. Procesy interligwistyczne obejmują wpływy, jakie jeden system językowy wywiera na drugi. Wpływy te odbywają się na tle kontaktów obu języków, w tym wypadku kontaktu języka polskiego i angielskiego w jego amerykańskiej postaci.

Kontakt dwóch języków prowadzi zazwyczaj do zjawiska zwanego interferencją językową. Równorzędne opanowanie dwóch lub kilku języków, czyli posługiwanie się dwoma lub kilkoma językami bez interferencji należy uznać za zjawisko rzadkie, występujące niezależnie od poziomu intelektualnego osoby mówiącej. By zapobiec wpływowi jednego języka na drugi, poliglota musi dążyć do przestrzegania norm każdego ze znanych mu języków. Mało jest jednak poliglotów, których stać na ten wysiłek.

Odchylenia od norm języka polskiego nie należy utożsamiać z błędami, jakie popełniają monogloci w językowo homogenicznym społeczeństwie, takim jak Polska. Odchylenia od norm języka polskiego w Ameryce są objawem nowej jakości, nowych zwyczajów i nawyków. Bywają jednak wypadki wątpliwe, których nie można zaliczyć definitywnie ani do jednego, ani do drugiego typu odchyień.

Charakterystycznym zjawiskiem kontaktu polskiego i angielskiego w Ameryce jest wzajemny wpływ obu języków, zwłaszcza w zakresie fonologii. Zasięg wpływu różni się od idiolektu do idiolektu. W ten sposób systemy fonologiczne obu języków u niektórych osób są niepełne, u innych (prawdopodobnie u większości) istnieje „mniej niż dwa, ale więcej niż jeden system fonologiczny” (Weinreich).

Intralingwistyczne procesy to autonomiczne zmiany zachodzące wewnątrz systemu językowego, spowodowane przede wszystkim luźną więzią mówiących z normami języka polskiego i spotęgowane procesem zapominania. Procesy te przejawiają się również w niwelowaniu różnic dialektycznych i gwarowych wyniesionych z kraju, przede wszystkim w językowo heterogenicznych gęsto przez Polonię zaludnionych ośrod-

kach, takich jak Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, New York i innych. W systemie fonologicznym przejawia się to niekonsekwentną wymową niektórych głosek.

Wpływowi języka angielskiego przypisać należy następujące odchylenia od norm języka polskiego w dziedzinie fonologii.

1. Zastępowanie polskiego *l* angielskim „ciemnym *l*” w pozycjach po i interwokalicznym oraz zastępowanie tegoż *l* głoską półotwartą *u* /*w*/.
2. Aspiracja zwartych głosek *p*, *t*, *k*.
3. Zastępowanie ustnego przedniojęzykowego *r* amerykańskim retrofleksyjnym odpowiednikiem w pozycji przed samogłoską i w pozycji interwokalicznej.
4. W zakresie wokalizmu — interferencja angielskiego *a*, tam gdzie normalnie występuje polskie *o*.

Proces intralingwistyczny przejawia się przede wszystkim w hiperpoprawności wymowy, szczególnie przy samogłoskach. Powszechnym zjawiskiem jest reinterpretacja szczelinowych twardych i miękkich oraz zwartoszczelinowych twardych i miękkich. Istnieje tendencja do zredukowania tych dwóch szeregów w jeden pośredni *š ž č ž*. Może to być rezultatem działania procesu intralingwistycznego — zjawisko to występuje również na terenach Polski — lub wynikiem wpływu systemu fonologicznego języka angielskiego, który nie posiada opozycji szczelinowych i zwartoszczelinowych twardych i miękkich. Analogicznie ma się sprawa z interpretacją szeregów fonemów palatalnych i niepalatalnych — w zależności od językowego pochodzenia mówiący albo oddziedziczyli opozycję, albo zastracili ją pod wpływem języka angielskiego, w którym nie istnieją fonemy palatalne i niepalatalne. Na zjawisko to zwrócił już uwagę W. Doroszewski w książce *Język polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych* A. P.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Отклонения в польском языке, которым пользуются Американцы польского происхождения, являются последствием двух всегда живых и общих языковых процессов: интерлингвистических (межязыковых) и интралингвистических (внутренних процессов данного языка). Интерлингвистический процесс это влияние одной языковой системы на другую. Влияние это происходит в результате контактов двух языков, в нашем случае контакта польского и английского в его американском виде языков.

Взаимные контакты двух языков ведут обычно к языковому явлению, называемому смешением или интерференцией языков. Надо сказать, что редко встречается такой случай, чтобы кто-либо говорил параллельно двумя или большим количеством языков без никакого смешения этих языков. Полиглот должен стремиться сбегать нормы каждого языка, на котором он говорит, чтобы не допустить к языковому смешению. Мало однако встречается полиглотов, которые могут себе на это позволить.

Отклонения от норм польского языка нельзя отождествлять с ошибками, которые делают моноглоты в гомогенном языковом обществе, т.е. в Польше. Отклонения от норм польского языка в Америке являются результатом нового качества, новых навыков и языковой привычки. Есть однако сомнительные случаи, которых нельзя окончательно причислить к одному или другому типу языковых отклонений.

Характерным для польско-английского контакта в Америке является взаимное влияние обоих языков прежде всего в области фонологии, это значит, что многие Американе польского происхождения говорят на польском языке с заметным „американским элементом”. Объем влияния различается в зависимости от идиолекта. Таким образом фонологические системы одного и другого языка для некоторых людей неполны, для других людей (кажется, для большинства) существует „менее двух, но больше чем одна языковая система” (Вайнрайх).

Интралингвистические процессы это автономические изменения внутри языковой системы как результат прежде всего небольшой связи говорящего с нормами польского языка, усиленные процессом забывчивости. Эти процессы проявляются, между прочим, также в нивелировании диалектных разниц, вынесенных из родного края, в разноязычной среде таких заселенных людьми польского происхождения пунктах, как Детройт, Буффало, Нью-Йорк и др. В фонологической системе проявляется это, как непоследовательное произношение некоторых звуков.

Влиянием английского языка объясняются такие отклонения от норм польского литературного языка в области фонологии:

1. Появление английского „темного l” в позиции после гласного и между гласными звуками или произношение такого l как полукрытое u (w).

2. Аспирация (придыхание) смычных согласных p, t, k.

3. Замена переднеязычного устного r американским ретрофлексным соотносительным звуком в позиции перед гласным или между гласными звуками.

4. В области гласных: интерференция английского *a* там, где обычно произносится польское *o*.

Интралингвистический процесс проявляется прежде всего в гиперическом произношении, ярко заметном при носовых гласных. Реинтерпретация щелинных твердых и мягких согласных со смычно-щелинными твердыми и мягкими *š, ś, ź, ż, ć, ń, z, 3* это общее явление. Существует тенденция редуцировать эти звуки к промежуточным согласным *ś, ź, ń, z*. Можно это объяснить как результат действия интралингвистического процесса (явление это встречается также на территории Польши) или влиянием фонологической системы английского языка, в котором нет оппозиции щелинных и смычно-щелинных твердых и мягких согласных. Аналогическое явление это интерпретация мягких и твердых фонем: в зависимости от языкового происхождения говорящий чувствует оппозицию или потерял ее под влиянием английского языка, в котором нет сопоставления палатальных и непалатальных фонем. На это явление обратил уже внимание В. Форошевски в своей книге о польском языке в Соединенных Штатах.