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LINGUISTIC STRATIFICATION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF A POLISH COMMUNITY

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LINGUISTIC STRATIFICATION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF A POLISH COMMUNITY

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

The Problem

Sociolinguistics investigates the correlations between the language use in a given community and the social structure of that community. In the last 15 years, numerous studies have been done which have looked at the relationships between language use and social structure in industrialized societies (for example Labov 1966; Shuy 1968; Trudgill 1974; G. Sankoff 1974, to list only a few). These studies have delineated linguistic markers of social classes, shown how linguistic differences tend to reify the existing class structure, and demonstrated that changes in class structure are reflected in changes in language.

A common attribute of all the studies cited above, and of most sociolinguistic surveys in general, is that they have been done in western Europe or the United States, in countries where the predominant ideology is that of democracy and equality (Bottomore 1966:5), but where very real social stratification exists. Social stratification is defined

here as "the division of society into classes or strata, which are ranged in a hierarchy of wealth, prestige, and power" (Bottomore 1966:3). Although in such democratic societies social classes and strata can be delineated, the boundaries between them are seldom clear, and upward mobility is possible (Bottomore 1966:5).

No study has yet considered sociolinguistic aspects of a society which is undergoing an ideological change to socialism, i.e., to the construction of a classless society (Bottomore 1966:6). It might be hypothsized that a society which considers itself to be moving toward classlessness would not have the same kinds of linguistic markers of stratification as England or the United States.

It is my contention, however, that this is not the case. The very definition of a complex society implies social differentiation. While the strata in a socialist society may not be defined in the same way as they would be in a capitalist society they still exist. It must also be remembered that the perceptions by the members of a society of their social structure are not necessarily the same as the official descriptions of it. If the members of a society perceive class or stratum differences, and behave as though classes and strata exist, then those differences are functionally real, even in a "classless" society.

In addition, both theoretical and empirical studies of modern industrialized socialist societies have demonstrated the presence of social classes and stratification (e.g. Bottomore 1966; Wesołowski 1979; Lane and Kolankiewicz 1973). We are faced then with a discrepancy between the ideology of classlessness and the reality of stratification in these societies.

It is my hypothesis that the presence in any complex social system of a system of social mobility is the key variable in linguistic stratification. As long as the possibility of social mobility is present, people from the lower orders will try to raise their status while those in the more prestigious group will try to maintain their position. These processes will be reflected in language use.

In this study I will present a sociolinguistic description of an industrial community in Poland.[1] Poznań, the capital of the Wielkopolska district in western Poland, is located midway between Berlin and Warsaw. In 1973 Poznań had a population of 499,000 (Rocznik Statistyczny 1974:18"). It is a major educational and industrial center; 95,124 are employed in industry, 9,207 in education (Rocznik Statistyczny 1974: 24,25). There are nine institutions of higher education in Poznań, with a combined enrollment of 21,914 students (Rocznik Statistyczny 1974:214-218, 219).

In urban Poland class differences are based on education and occupation, with the intelligentsia defined as college educated non-manual workers. Poznań, with a high proportion of the population involved in education and industry, is therefore an ideal community in which to study social and linguistic stratification.

A Note on Terminology

There is a great deal of disagreement among sociologists about the proper use and definition of such terms as "social class" and "stratification" (Bottomore 1966:9). A Marxist description of Polish society would delineate two social classes - the peasantry and the working class - and one social stratum - the intelligentsia (Wesołowski 1979:

103-113). The intelligentsia and the working class have the same relation to the means of production; both contrast with the peasantry in this regard. Even though the intelligentsia and the working class cannot be termed separate classes, they are considered both by the Polish people and by sociologists to be differentiated by such stratificational variables as prestige and status.

Lane and Kolankiewicz have avoided the terminological problem by referring to the peasanty, the working class and the intelligentsia as "social groups". However, I am reserving the use of this term for a residual category of individuals who could not be neatly placed into either the intelligentsia or the working class (see Chapter II).

In the interest of simplicity throughout this study I am using the general term "social class" for both the working class and the intelligentsia. Although according to some theoretical orientations this use of terminology is imprecise, it has proven to be less clumsy than numerous references to "the working class, intelligentsia stratum, and residual intermediate social group".

The Social Background

Poland Between the Wars

Although Poles claim 966 as the birthdate of their nation, modern Polish history dates only from 1918; in 1795 Poland was partitioned by Prussia, Austria and Russia, and the state was not restored until the end of World War I.

Between the wars Poland was ethnically and religiously diverse; only about 70% of the population in 1931 was Polish. The remainder of

the population consisted of (in descending order of population) Ukrainians, Jews, Ruthenians, Byelorussians, Germans, and Russians (Lane 1973: 3).

The social system was highly stratified during this period. The highest ranking class was the landed gentry, or aristocracy, which comprised only 0.36% of the population in 1922, but owned 27% of the land (Szczepanski 1970:23).

The bourgeoisie, the second highest ranking class, comprised about 2% of the population and had a "virtual monopoly of economic decision-making" (Szczepanski 1970:23).

The intelligentsia included intellectuals, professionals, teachers, and some white collar workers. About 6% of the population belonged to the intelligentsia (Szczepanski 1970:24).

The petite bourgeoisie, owners of small business enterprises, made up about 11% of the population (Szczepanski 1970:25).

About 52% of the population consisted of peasants, and 64% of these held farms smaller than 5 hectares. "The peasant class, for the most part, was poor, had a low level of education, and contained a relatively high percentage of illiterate people with low vocational skills" (Szczepanski 1970:25).

The working class, "gainfully employed manual workers possessing none of their own tools of work and getting their living from selling their labor" (Szczepanski 1970:25-26), comprised 20% of the population and landless agricultural laborers another 9%.

The ethnic and religious minorities in Poland between the wars played an important role in the economic life of the country, dominating

the bourgeoisie. For example, in 1931 Jews constituted 9.8% of the total population. However they comprised 58.7% of the commercial population and 21.3% of those in industry. In addition, they were well represented in the professions: about half of the doctors and lawyers at this time were Jewish (Lane 1973:3).

World War II and its aftermath had a devastating effect on the Polish social structure. 6,000,000 Polish citizens were killed during the war (only 10% of these were killed in active battle). The greatest losses occurred among the Jews and intelligentsia: virtually all the Jews and 35% of the intelligentsia were killed (Szczepanski 1970:34). In addition, many of the prewar aristocracy and bourgeoisie emigrated immediately after the war. In this group were 2.5 million Germans, Ukranians, Russians, and Byelorussians (Lane 1973:7,8).

In 1945 the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain established new boundaries for Poland during the Potsdam conference. The border changes involved moving approximately one-third of the population (Szczepanski 1970:35).

As a result of war casualties, border changes, and emigration, the population of Poland fell from almost 35,000,000 in 1939 to 24,600,000 in 1949. The population that remained was 98% Polish and 95% Catholic (Lane 1973:7,14), with only remnants of the aristocracy, intelligentsia, and bourgeoisie intact.

After a series of political struggles the Polish United Workers Party (the Communist Party) took control in 1948. The establishment of this new political order effectively prevented the resurrection of the interwar social structure.

The Social Structure of Contemporary Urban Poland

In 1946 and the years immediately following industry and commercial enterprises were nationalized, and land reforms allotted the former estates to peasants, agricultural workers, and returned expatriates (Szczepanski (1970:38). Because increased industrialization created many new jobs many people moved from the countryside to the cities, and education was stressed as a means of social and economic advancement. In 1938 there had been 49,500 students in institutions of higher education, in 1951 125,000, and in 1971 329,4000 (Lane 1973:21).

This increased emphasis on industrialization and education resulted in a postwar social structure comprised of the peasantry (approximately 44% of the population), the working class (37%), and the intelligentsia (18%) (Szczepanski 1970:37; Lane 1973:17).

These figures are not stable; the social structure of Poland is still in the process of changing (Sarapata 1966:39). The gaps in the social structure left by the war (Wiatr 1976:60-61), the expanding economic base of the country and the emphasis on education have led to a restructuring of the intelligentsia and the presence of a viable system of social mobility for the peasantry and the working class.

In contemporary Poland the intelligentsia is differentiated from the working class by education and occupation (Lane and Kolankiewicz 1973). Wesołowski and Słomczynski (1968:186;190) note that stratification in Poland is based on factors such as education rather than income, and that occupation must be regarded as a stratificational variable. "The 'intelligentsia' forms a separate stratum by virtue of the essentially <u>non-manual</u> nature of its work activity" (Lane 1973:23).

Education plays an important part in the mobility structure of Poland, and this function is actively encouraged by the government. Education "is often connected with a social programme to guarantee the possibility of social advancement of the broad mass of the population" (Zagórski 1976:20).

Since a change in status can be achieved through education, cross-generational mobility is common: "Only about one-fourth of non-manual workers [intelligentsia] had fathers belonging to the same social group....Non-manual workers thus constitute a population of whom three-quarters are recruited from other social strata" (Zagórski 1976:22). This kind of rapid change has led Sarapata to claim that Poland is "no less mobile and open" than the United States (1966:37).

Thus in spite of the official socialist ideology, Polish urban society today is characterized by the presence of two broad social groups, the working class and the intelligentsia stratum. "Although in a fully developed socialist society classes may disappear, social differentiation remains and we can call that stratification" (Wesołowski 1979:114).

In addition, the society is also characterized by a viable system of social mobility encouraged by the political regime. The mobility system is so strong that class (or stratum) membership can be changed within the span of one generation; indeed three-fourths of the contemporary intelligentsia come from peasant or working class families.

Linguistic Background

Language in Social Context

The study of language in its social context is not new. Many

of the concepts and methods associated with sociolinguistics, including the knowledge of the relationship between language and social factors and the use of actual performance data, have developed from anthropological linguistics and the ethnography of communication.

Although the use of these concepts in American anthropology and linguistics can be traced all the way back to the work of Boas and his students, the most eloquent proponent of studying language in social context has been Dell Hymes. In a series of papers (1964; 1971a; 1971b) Hymes has developed a model for the study of language as social behavior. A major contribution by Hymes has been the refinement of the definition of a speech community. According to Hymes, a speech community shares rules or norms for language use and rules for the interpretation of at least one language variety (Hymes 1972:54). Social aspects of language use are contained within, and therefore bounded by, the limits of the speech community.

In addition, Hymes has argued that an adequate description of language behavior, i.e. an ethnography of speaking or of communication, must include as variables the speaker, the addressee, any audience present, the code used, the topic, and the physical setting.

Empirical studies by anthropologists and linguists, including some done as early as 1947 (McDavid 1964), have demonstrated the kinds of insights into both social and linguistic processes that can be gained through careful analyses of language in social context. Susan Ervin-Tripp (1964), for example, in an important study of the linguistic behavior of Japanese war brides, showed the heuristic value of Hymes' categories by demonstrating the interaction of language, topic, and eth-

nicity of the listener in her discovery that her subjects would give very different answers to questions dealing with attitudes toward family relations and career choices depending on the language in which the questions were asked.

McDavid (1964) related the use of post-vocalic r by South Carolina speakers to historic settlement patterns, social prestige, education, and even racial attitudes. John Fischer (1964), in a study conducted in 1955, correlated the use of word-final [ing] by New England schoolchildren with sex, social class, personality, formality of the conversation, and the actual verb to which the [ing] suffix was attached. Gumperz (1958) showed the role of phonological variation in boundary maintenance and group identity in his study of caste membership in an Indian community. These three works in particular are early examples of the principles on which Labov was to base his research.

Variation Theory and Quantitative Analysis

In spite of the interest shown by anthropologists and anthropological linguists in the possible theoretical importance of variation in language use, until recently no theory or methods had been constructed within the field of linguistics which were capable of handling variation in any systematic fashion. It has long been a postulate of linguistics, to some extent because of this inability to deal with variation, that language as it is actually used is not the proper area of study for linguistics.

Saussure's well-known distinction between _langue_ and _parole_ reflects this belief. He noted that _parole_, an individual act, is heter-

ogeneous, while langue, a social institution, is homogeneous, and maintained that the "sole object" of linguistics is the study of langue (Saussure 1959:14,15,20).

The American Structuralists (for example Bloomfield 1933, Hockett 1958) were concerned with describing patterned language behavior. This emphasis on patterns necessarily resulted in the exclusion of certain kinds of variation in language use. Studying what the speakers of a language have in common automatically excludes from the data base those features which vary from speaker to speaker or variation in the speech of one individual at different times. This variation might be noted, but not itself analysed.

The transformational grammarians also believe variation in language to be outside the proper purview of linguistics. "Observed use of language...surely cannot constitute the actual subject matter of linguistics if this is to be a serious discipline" (Chomsky 1965:4).

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (3).

Since both the structuralists and the transformationalists eschewed the study of individual variation, it was (and is) considered valid to use the language or linguistic intuitions of a small number of informants, even of a single informant, as a data base. Unfortunately this emphasis on the language of individuals rather than speech communities has led to a proliferation of descriptions of ideolects, and suggests that the generalizability of the theories is limited.

The publication in 1966 of Labov's The Social Stratification of English in New York City legitimized the study of language use in natural settings and proclaimed variation not only an acceptable, but indeed a crucial field of inquiry. It also introduced the concept of quantitative analysis, the use of language from a large number of speakers or large numbers of utterances from fewer speakers as a data base. Labov's stated intention has been "to write grammars for the speech community, and to make inferences about the underlying system from the evidence of language behavior" (Labov 1969:716; emphasis added).

Perhaps the most important contribution made by Labov was the use of social factors as variables in explaining language variation. He found that much of what had previously been termed "free variation" was actually constrained by such things as social class membership, age, sex, and ethnicity. In addition, the style of speech a person used (a concept related to Malinowski's notion of "context of situation" [Firth 1968:154]) also played a role in determining what linguistic forms would be chosen. The kinds of variation found across the styles is indicative of more widespread social processes.

Studies based on Labov's model have proliferated in the last 14 years. Shuy (1968), Wolfram (1969), Guy (1975), Cedergren (1973) and Sankoff (1974) are only a few example of the kind of work that has been done. All of these studies have shown the necessity of including social factors in the study of language.

Once variation is accepted and incorporated into the description of a language, it can be tied to both linguistic and non-linguistic constraints, and all of these constraints can be handled within the same

theoretical framework. Inherent in this approach is the assumption that we are not describing the languages or ideolects of individuals, but the language of a community.

The next major advance in the development of variation theory was the description of the variable rule (Labov 1969). The concept was refined by Cedergren and Sankoff (1974) and ultimately a computer program for writing variable rules was developed (Rousseau and Sankoff 1978).

Variable rules grew out of the optional rules allowed by transformationalists, but with a few differences. The notion of the variable rule assumes that the predicted relative frequency of a rule's application must be considered as an integral part of the structural description of a language. "The notion of optionality fails to capture the systematic variation which exists even on the level of the grammar of a single individual" (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974:333). With the use of optional rules "no accounting is or can be made of the fact that the option is subject to regular constraints revealed through patterns of covariation with elements of the linguistic environment and with non-language factors such as age, class, and social context" (ibid.).

Cedergren and Sankoff went even further with their acceptance of the variable rule: "The variable rules developed by Labov should, like other rules of generative grammar, be interpreted as part of individual competence" (ibid.: 335). The value of the variable rule lies in the fact that with its use "a single rule...describes the range of variation present in the community and accurately predicts the behavior of each individual" (ibid.).

Competence, Performance, and Communicative Competence

Even before Cedergren and Sankoff's statement that a knowledge of the rules of linguistic variation was a part of competence, other linguists, particularly anthropological linguists and sociolinguists, had expressed dissatisfaction with Chomsky's dichotomy of competence and performance.

Chomsky delineated "a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations)" (1965:4). He went on to describe the task of the linguist: "to determine from the data of performance the underlying system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance" (1965:4). In addition, he defined a grammar as "a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence" (1965:4).

Some linguists felt that these definitions of competence and grammar were too narrow, and that there was room in Chomsky's model for the inclusion of social aspects of linguistic knowledge. "There is no way, in short, of talking about grammaticality or well-formedness without getting in many ways involved in the details of social interaction by means of language" (Fillmore 1973:276).

Dell Hymes (1971b:55) believed that when the definition of competence is "restricted to the purely grammatical, it leaves other aspects of speakers' tacit knowledge and ability in confusion, thrown together under a largely unexamined concept of 'performance'....On its own terms, transformational theory must extend the notion of competence to include more than the grammatical".

Hymes maintained elsewhere that

> The identification of underlying competence with grammatical competence was...the product of a particular theoretical period. There was a need to establish the view that a grammatical system had a deep structure radically distinct from observed data (cf. Chomsky 1965:16), and that abilities manifiest in speech could not be explained without reference to it....Now that the battle is won, one can attend to the relations between rules of grammar and rules of use (Hymes 1971a:11).

These linguists and others (Labov 1969:759; Fasold 1972:13) were arguing for an extension or redefinition of competence to keep linguistic theory from being "not a 'theory of language', but only a theory of grammar" (Hymes 1973:316). What is being called for is a theory encompassing communicative competence, which includes a knowledge of social aspects of language and the ability to interpret and produce systematic variation in language.

Bauman and Sherzer have maintained that any adequate grammar of a language "must distinguish what is categorical in that language from what is variable. This distinction is clearly part of native speakers' linguistic competencies, and as such must be represented in grammars" (1974:17).

According to Gillian Sankoff (1974:18) competence "has been extended from the notion of the mastery of a set of grammatical rules to the mastery of a set of cultural rules which include the appropriate ways to apply grammatical rules in all speech situations possible for that society".

This redefinition of competence is in no way antithetical to Chomsky's use of the term. Chomsky did not include a knowledge of cultural rules in his definition of competence, but neither did he relegate

it to the arena of performance. While he included psychological factors as inputs to performance (1965:4), he did not concern himself with social factors at all.

The transformational-generative model of language has been both insightful and productive. Those linguists arguing for the study of communicative competence feel that the "restriction of the domain of underlying knowledge can be ended; the methodological spirit of generative grammar can be extended to the whole sphere of abilities manifest in speech" (Hymes 1971a:11).

The development of theory and methodology in the study of variation, including the return to the concept of structured but heterogeneous speech communities, the notion of communicative competence, quantitative analysis, and the variable rule, has allowed linguistics to be accountable to its data base, i.e., performance. Linguistics now has the means to describe and explain language as it is actually used in the speech community.

Variation theory is not the search for variation for variation's sake; its goals are the same as those of other schools: to explain or constrain variation wherever possible. It does however allow the use of more kinds of constraining factors, including social factors, and allows the use of probabilistic rules. Much work has already been done using the variable paradigm; more needs to be done.

The replicability of results has already been shown for different communities in the United States (for example Labov 1966; Shuy 1968), Canada (Sankoff 1974) and England (Trudgill 1974), to name only a few. This replicability not only proves the methodological validity of the approach, it expands the data base from which all linguists work and

ultimately will lead to universalistic statements and a general theory of language.

In this study I intend to add to this process by investigating language variation in a social system which has not yet been investigated in this manner: a speech community in a socialist society.

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

The methods of data collection and analysis used in this study are based on those first outlined by Labov (1966) and subsequently used by many other investigators including Shuy (1972), Wolfram (1969), and G. Sankoff (1974). Research procedures include delineating and selecting a sample population, structuring and obtaining interviews, choosing and analyzing sociolinguistic variables, and correlating the realizations of the sociolinguistic variables (the dependent variables) with those linguistic and social factors constraining variation (the independent variables).

The Sample

Previous studies of this type (Shuy 1972, Labov 1966, Lusk 1977) have shown the difficulty of using strict random sampling techniques. While it is possible to select a random sample of all the families in a community whose members fall into the same age ranges and all of whom were born and raised in that community, such a process would be extremely time consuming and inefficient. For example, much time would be wasted talking to potential informants who did not fit the established criteria for the sample.

> As an alternative to strict random sampling, it is often more efficient to obtain a representative sample for predetermined social categories. In this procedure, the social composition of the sample is first determined, then informants are chosen to represent these categories, which are sometimes referred to as cells of the sample....This procedure avoids the problem of over- and underrepresentation for particular social categories, because the investigator stops selecting informants for given cells when a quota is reached (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:38).

Representative sampling was used in this study.

The sample was stratified by age, sex, and social class. Because of regional dialect difference, I had hoped to use only people who had been born and raised in Poznań. I had also hoped to have three generations of speakers. Because of the demographic situation in Poland, however, I had to modify these plans. Massive population shifts occurred in Poland after World War II, and it proved impossible to find enough three generation families which fit my specifications. I decided instead to use two generations, high school students and their parents, and to accept as informants on the parental generation people who had lived in Poznań continuously for at least twenty years.

I had also originally intended to look at the behavior of two social classes, the working class and the intelligentsia. (The peasantry was excluded from the sample because of marked dialect differences; after ten months in Poland I still had difficulty understanding the dialect spoken by all but the youngest members of this class).

When I originally selected the members of the sample I believed that both social classes were represented equally, with adults being assigned class membership by their education and occupation and children's class membership based on that of their parents. However, when more extensive personal data were collected during the interviews, I realized

that some of the people did not fit neatly into either the working class or the intelligentsia. For example, some of the students in the sample had one parent who was an uneducated laborer and the other a college graduate engaged in non-manual work. Two of the adults in the sample (from different families), who had originally been assigned to the working class, had only a high school education but were working in jobs which are usually classified as intelligentsia, requiring a college degree.

Therefore I placed these socially ambiguous individuals in a separate group, which I am calling the intermediate social group. (See Wesołowski and Słomczynski 1968 for a comparable situation.) Adults were assigned to this social group if their education and occupation were inconsistent with each other; children were assigned to this group if their parents belonged to two different social classes (i.e., working class father and intelligentsia mother) or if their parents fell into the socially intermediate group. I believe that the results of the linguistic analysis justify the creation of this third category. The category was created before any of the language material was analyzed.

A problem with this grouping is that on the parental generation there are only two individuals, one male and one female. This makes any generalizations about language processes questionable, although Fasold (1972:26) justifies the use of cells with only one individual for specialized comparisons.

The final sample consisted of 37 individuals: 16 intelligentsia evenly divided by sex and age; 14 working class (six adults, eight students) evenly divided by sex, and seven members of the intermediate group (two adults, five students). Three of the intermediate student group are

female. Appendix A provides a complete list of informants with age, sex, education, occupation, social class, and length of residence in Poznań.

Selection of the Sample

Since I was interested in comparing language behavior across generations and wanted adolescents as one of the age groups, the school system seemed to be a logical starting point for informant selection. Initial contact with potential informants was made through a Lyceum, or college preparatory high school. The school was not chosen randomly, but rather because through an involved series of personal contacts I was allowed access to the school enrollment records. These records contained not only the name of each student but also his or her age, sex, place of birth, and parents' occupations and social origin. I had expected that they would form the ideal base for selection of the sample; I did however decide later to create a residual social category, the intermediate social group.

I decided to use third-year students (juniors) because these people would have begun to think about potential careers, but would not yet be caught up in the round of choosing and applying for admission to appropriate institutions of higher education.

The names of all intelligentsia and working class third-year students who according to their records had been born in Poznań were collected, and the list turned over to the director of the school. The director called the selected students together and explained briefly what I was trying to do. The students were told that I was interested in the Polish language and wanted to interview some students and their

parents to see what Poznań speech was like. He then called for volunteers. About half the students agreed to participate. Of these a certain number were eliminated bacause they were not after all native to Poznań, or in a few cases, because their parents were not born in Poland.[2]

The sample was further reduced by the elimination of those students who had spent part of their lives in other cities, those who lived in nearby villages, and those who felt their parents would not consent to be interviewed. A few who fell into the last category were subsequestly re-added to the sample, since the parents of only half the students were to be interviewed. Two additional students, one fourth-year and one second-year, showed great interest in the project and asked to be included.

Since working class students were underrepresented in the final sample chosen from the Lyceum, I decided to complete the sample with students from another school. A vocational high school was selected; however it was much more difficult to get access to either the students or their records that it had been at the Lyceum. The director of the vocational school agreed to let me into the school and promised access to the records, but only if I first obtained written permission from the Board of Education.

After trying for four weeks to get a definite answer from the Board of Education, I decided to select yet another school. The director of the second vocational school selected agreed to let me interview his students, but would not let me see the enrollment records. Since time, money, and my visa were all running out, I decided to use the students at that school anyway. Informants were chosen informally, but were still

screened for age, class, and place of birth and residence.

Informants in the parental generation were chosen by sex, class, and availability. An effort was made to use only people native to Poznań in this portion of the sample, but this proved impracticable. However, only people who had lived in Poznań for at least twenty years were included. Most of the persons interviewed had lived there considerably longer. (See Appendix A.)

Parents were visited in their homes; most had already been asked by their children to participate. If a particular family was not at home, I went to the next one on the list. Although on any given day I tended to limit my visits to one part of town, I made a point of visiting different areas on other days. The final sample consisted of people from all the major residential sections of Poznań.

The Interview Setting

All but one of the students were interviewed in their schools; the remaining student and all the parents were interviewed in their homes. It was felt that taping the students at school would allow more interviews to be conducted per day, since we were not limited to evening and weekend sessions. There were, however, some decided drawbacks with this procedure.

The school setting had the effect of formalizing the situation. Several of the students thought that I was testing their reading ability, and their reading and word list styles are particularly formal. Another drawback was the time limitation on the interviews. Students were interviewed during their free periods or between classes, and many of them were in a hurry to get to class. Since most of the students were inter-

viewed before sessions with the parents were even begun, I did not realize that the student interviews were exceptionally short; on the average, the conversational portions of the parents' interviews are almost twice as long as those of the students.

The major drawback, however, was recording conditions. Although the home recordings were less than ideal, conditions in the schools were abominable. In the Lyceum I was originally given the use of an auditorium with predictably barn-like acoustics. A few of the interviews were conducted in small classrooms. Background noise was occasionally a problem, especially during class changes.

Recording conditions in the vocational school can only be described as appalling. The only room I was allowed to use was a recreation room containing, among other distractions, a piano which was in constant use. The room was a favorite gathering place for students during their free periods, and as many as thirty people would be there at any one time. Not surprisingly some of the tapes from this school were not usable for phonological analysis.

After our experience in the schools, the home interviews seemed remarkably free from outside noise, although there were, of course, a number of distractions and interruptions. The interviews conducted in the homes contained two more questions than those in the schools in order to allow interaction between the students and their parents.

All interviews were recorded on a Uher C124 cassette recorder, using one omnidirectional microphone. The microphone was placed on a table a few feet away from the informant; whenever possible the tape recorder itself was placed behind or to the side of the person being

interviewed.

Format of the Interview

The interview was designed to elicit a range of speech styles from each speaker. The first section consisted of a list of 40 words, most of which formed sets of minimal pairs. (See appendix B for a copy of the interview.) Section II was a clipping from a newspaper which everyone was asked to read aloud. Both the word list and the reading contained all the vowels of Polish, as well as certain consonants in which I was interested; many of the words which were in the word list also occurred in the reading.

Section III consisted of a set of questions designed to elicit two styles of speech, careful conversation and informal conversation. The first eight questions dealt with language use, perceptions and attitudes. Informants were asked whether people from Poznań spoke better or worse than people from Warsaw and Krakow, if educated people spoke better than uneducated, and if there were sex differences in speech. In addition, the informants were asked if they thought it was possible to tell a person's age, education, occupation and birthplace from his or her speech.

The next two questions dealt with expectations and aspirations. People were asked what kind of job they would like to have and what they wanted to be more than anything else in the world.

Finally, questions concerning attitudes toward the occupational class structure were asked. I asked whether it was better to be a physical or mental worker, and what factors a person considered or

should consider when deciding on an occupation.

The interviews conducted in the homes were slightly longer. The students were asked what they thought of educational and occupational opportunities in Poland, and the parents were then asked if these opportunities were better for their children than they had been when they themselves were young.

Elicitation and Analysis of Speech Styles

The concept of speech styles is a crucial one to sociolinguistics. Ideally the sociolinguist would study the vernacular or casual speech, the style in which the minimum amount of attention is paid to speech.

> The vernacular is the style which carries the greatest interest for the study of linguistic structure and language change....Vernacular rules are more consistent than the rules used in formal styles...the vernacular is free of hypercorrection....If we are to make theoretically sound distinctions between obligatory and variable rules, we must base our observations on the most consistent type of speech (Labov 1971:460-61).

Unfortunately, the vernacular is virtually impossible for the linguist to get and record ethically since the presence of the investigator automatically formalizes the situation. However, it is possible to structure the interview situation in such a way as to obtain a number of styles, ranging from extremely formal to fairly casual. By comparing the linguistic behavior of groups or individuals across a range of styles it is possible to make generalizations about linguistic processes and the relationships between linguistic and social processes. The techniques used in this study are based on those developed by Labov (1966;1972b).

The four styles elicited in the interview were word list, the most formal style; reading, still formal but with connected speech; and two conversational styles, careful and informal. The conversational styles were elicited in an open-ended question and answer session.

Every effort was made to keep the sessions as informal as possible. Since I speak Polish with an American accent, which caused the Poles to slow down and speak more carefully, I did not conduct the interviews myself. The interviews were conducted by a male sociology graduate student from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. I tried to remain as unobtrusive as I could; this strategy did not always work however. Most of the adults we interviewed kept trying to draw me into the conversation; several commented that I was too shy. While I welcomed the increased data that this interaction gave, the informants would generally slow down their speech while addressing me, making the situation even more formal than it had been.

Most of the speakers appeared not to notice the tape recorder, although a few, trying to be helpful, were careful to face the microphone at every utterance. Luckily, this behavior occurred only during the two reading styles.

The word list and reading styles are self-explanatory. Speech gathered during the question portion of the interview was divided into two conversational styles, careful and informal (see Labov 1972b:70-109). Speech was automatically classified as careful if it was the first sentence in a direct response to a question or if it was directed at me. Speech was automatically classed as informal if it was directed to a friend or family member. For those utterances which did not fit any of

these categories, I used other linguistic and nonlinguistic cues: speech tempo, vowel reduction (the presence of schwa), posture or speech occurring while the respondent was paying attention to something other than the interview. Narratives were classed as informal in most cases. For example, in responding to the question, "Are opportunities in Poland today better for your children than they were when you were young?" many of the informants told us about their experiences during and after the war. Much informal speech was gathered with this one question.

During the interviews in homes we encouraged the presence of other family members. This tended to make the atmosphere less formal, and often the person being interviewed would address the on-lookers, providing more informal speech. Whenever possible, we interviewed husbands and wives together. Often the couple would get into a lively debate about the questions we asked, and would tease each other about their answers. This kind of interaction also added to the amount of informal speech gathered. The final two questions on the interview schedule also provided some informal speech from some very formal speakers. The most colloquial speech I have on tape is from a man who was the most formal in the reading styles, and very cautious in his conversational style. However, he and his 17 year old daughter got into a vivid argument about opportunities for young people today. The style shifting shown by this individual is incredible.

Even using the above guidelines, many of the decisions about what style a speaker was using were subjective. Some of the speakers never relaxed at all during the interview; others were completely at ease and went about their household routines as though we were not even

there. The result of this is that what is formal speech for one person sounds like another person's informal speech. Any utterance about which I was unsure was classed as careful, so that any error would be on the conservative side.

The Variables

The variables for analysis were chosen for both pragmatic and theoretical reasons. The first criterion was that they must be easily identifiable, since I am not a native speaker of Polish. Second, they must have been observed to vary; this variation could have been noted either informally or in the literature. Finally, the variable chosen, or rather the questions raised by their variation, must have theoretical significance for the field of linguistics.

The first variables chosen were the nasal vowels (ę) and (ǫ) which occurred in both nasal and oral variants. (ę) fit all the criteria listed above; (ǫ) however proved to be almost categorically nasalized, and was not analyzed.

The second set of vowels chosen was (o) and (a), both of which seemed to be involved in a chain shift. Only variations in (a) will be discussed here, however. This choice was also made for pragmatic reasons; analysis of this type is extremely time-consuming. An analysis of (o) and a full explication of the relationship between (o) and (a) will be presented at a later date.

Analysis of the Variables

The two variables were analyzed independently of each other; (a) was not considered until the analysis of (ę) was complete. This

minimized the chance of the results from one analysis biasing the other.

Similar methods were used in each analysis. First each occurrence of the selected variable was noted in the linguistic environment in which it occurred. Next a judgment of which variant the variable was realized as was made, and the result transcribed. All judgments and transcriptions were impressionistic; a sound spectograph was not available. A sample of my transcription for each variable was checked by another phonetician[3]; his analysis of (ɐ) agreed completely with mine. We had 95% agreement on the analysis of (a); in every disputed case my judgment was more conservative than his.

I listened to the complete corpus four times during the analysis of (ɐ) and three times for (a). Any cases about which I could not reach a decision were discarded (less than 1% of the corpus); borderline cases of (a) were routinely assigned to the more conservative category. In order to keep my expectations from biasing the results coding for style was only done after all the linguistic information was coded.

In any impressionistic analysis some bias is inevitable. In an attempt to minimize such bias, I was as conservative as possible in all judgments. In addition, since when I was actually transcribing the data I did not know what to expect in terms of linguistic processes, investigator bias was minimal. Listening and transcribing errors are also minimal, as shown by the systematicity of the results.

CHAPTER III

THE ANALYSIS OF (ę)[4,5]

Previous Studies of Nasal Vowels in Polish

The literature on Polish nasal vowels shows a great deal of confusion about the phonemic status, distribution, phonetic realization, and even the existence of these segments. Stankiewicz (1956) denies phonemic status to /ę/, claiming "The nasal vowel /ę/ is in free variation with /e/ in emphatic or, rather, artificial speech. In colloquial standard Polish there is no opposition between, e.g. /źem'e/ 'lands' (pl.) and /źem'e/ 'land' (acc. sg.). The two forms are homonymous" (1956:520). In his discussion of the vowel system of the Wielkopolska dialect, he claims there are only 5 oral vowels /i e a o u/ and no nasal vowels.

In his description of those Polish dialects which he maintains do have nasal vowels, Stankiewicz notes "The Polish nasal vowels show a great deal of oscillation in their phonetic quality and in the degree of their nasality....Cultural, social, sex and age factors also affect the nasal vowels more readily than the oral vowels" (1956:526). This is itself a very astute observation, and is justified by observation of the nasal vowel /ę/ in the Poznań dialect.

Bąk, in a discussion of /ę/ in Standard Polish, agrees with

Stankiewicz's observations of the phonetic realization: "The vowel ę at the end of a word has weak nasalization in careful speech, and in colloquial speech a complete lack of nasalization" (1977:53).

Entenman (1977) believes that "Polish has nasalization before continuants but not before stops" (1977:31). He suggests that the nasal vowels in Polish are in a process of change, and that this change has consisted in part of the intrusion of nasal consonants: "The pattern in modern Polish is actually the result of a process of denasalization, which recreates a type of VN sequence [vowel followed by nasal consonant] in the place of a nasal vowel" (1977:32). The existence of the diphthong [eW̃] he explains as an intervening stage in N-loss: "Polish may have developed such a segment [underlying nasal glide] before continuants and word-boundaries" (1977:88). Ruhlen (1978:230) mentions that the appearance of a [w] offglide is not an uncommon stage in the development of nasal vowels.

The most careful study of the Polish nasal vowels has been done by Maria Zagórska Brooks (1968). Brooks, like Stankiewicz, is primarily interested in the phonemic status of the nasal vowels, and attacked the problem through an acoustic study of the phonetic realizations of these segments in the Warsaw dialect. She devised an experiment using the speech of four educated males in their twenties, all of whom she considered to be speakers of the Warsaw dialect. Only two of the speakers were actually from Warsaw; however she maintains that the other two, one from the south and one from the east of Poland, spoke the Warsaw dialect without a trace of a regional accent. She, like Entenmen, suggests that the nasal vowels are undergoing change: "The objective of

the experiment was to investigate the speech of the younger generation, and that is why the speech of Warsaw students and teachers was analyzed as representative of new tendencies in CSP" [Contemporary Standard Polish] (1968:26). She agrees with others that "Their distribution is limited to two positions: before fricatives and word-finally". Since before fricatives "[ǫ] and [ę] may be considered as variants of the groups /on/ and /en/...the word-final position becomes crucial" (1968:13).

She found in her experiment that word-final /ę/ occurs in CSP in three varieties: as [e], as [ew] and as [ew̃]. The first two variants fluctuate in the colloquial speech of educated Warsaw Poles whereas the third one "occurs only in emphatic or deliberate speech" (1968:40). Only 14% to 17% of word-final /ę/ showed any nasality.

She concludes that the nasal vowels in Polish no longer have phonemic status, since they occur either as oral variants or as nasal variants of VN sequences or as oral vowels followed by the phoneme /w/ (1968:11).

Although Brooks' study is by far the most painstaking and complete research done, it still has some problems and leaves some questions unanswered as, of course, do the other studies cited. For example, none of the studies accounts for the observed occurrences of nasal variants of /ę/ in colloquial speech; none considers the possible function of the retention of nasality by some speakers.

In this study I am not concerned with the phonemic status of /ę/ in Polish, although I believe that the most parsimonious description of Polish would include both /ǫ/ and /ę/ as phonemes. Rather, I intend to show that a study of Polish nasal nowels from the point of view of

variation theory, specifically of the vowel /ę/ in word-final position, can help to answer some of the questions left unanswered by more traditional approaches, and can add new information about the role social forces play in the realization and development of this vowel.

The Analysis of (ę)

Following Brooks' suggestion, the nasal vowel (ę) in word-final position was analyzed. 859 occurrences of the variable were found in these data. Four variants of (ę) were distinguished:

(ẽ) - a monophthongal nasal vowel 53 tokens (6.2%)

(ew) - a diphthong which may or may not carry nasalization 285 tokens (33.2%)

(eN) - a vowel followed by a nasal consonant 188 tokens (21.9%)

(e) - an oral monophthong 333 tokens (38.8%)

Of these variants, the first three were considered to be nasal variants; (e) was considered completely denasalized. Of the nasal variants, (ẽ) and (ew) are considered to be "standard" or prestige forms by speakers of Polish. The use of (eN) in any phonological environment other than preceding a stop is stigmatized.

Each occurrence of the variable was also coded for eight conditioning factors: stress; the grammatical form in which the variable occurred; the manner of articulation of the following segment; speech style; sex, age, and social class of the speaker; and the individual speaker.

The data were coded in a format suitable for computer analysis, and the information was transferred to computer cards. Crosstabulations of dependent with independent variables were run using the Crosstabs

subprograms of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. The results are presented in the charts.

Linguistic Constraints on the Variable

Stress

Stress turned out to be the least interesting of the conditioning factors. Out of a total of 73 stressed occurrences, only three were denasalized. Stress is in effect a categorical constraint on the denasalization rule. Categorical constraints "are sometimes completely categorical, but more often we might call them semi-categorical: they apply in 98-99 percent of the cases, so that violations are rare and reportable" (Labov 1927a:117). Variation which occurs in unstressed tokens (see figure 1) is constrained by other linguistic and social factors.

	stressed	unstressed	N/%
(ẽ)	1	52	53
	1.4%	6.6%	6.2%
(ew)	44	241	285
	59.8%	30.7%	33.2%
(eN)	25	163	188
	34.7%	20.7%	21.9%
(e)	3	330	333
	4.1%	42.0%	38.8%
N=	73	786	859

Figure 1: Variants of (ẹ) by stress

Grammatical Form

All occurrences of the variable were coded for the grammatical form in which they occurred. These forms included neuter noun, feminine gender accusative noun, adverb, verb, the reflexive particle się, and the word for "please", proszę.

The grammatical form had little effect on the variant selected. Most correlations (see figure 2) are probably obscured by stylistic influences (see Style below). For example, 95% of all variants in verbs were (e). However, the variable (ę) occurs in verbs only in the first person singular form; all these tokens are therefore from the conversational styles. Neuter nouns with (ę) on the other hand occurred only in the reading, and 88.4% are nasalized.

	adverb	neuter noun	się	proszę	verb	accusative noun	N/%
(ẽ)	3 5.8%	3 4.3%	25 5.6%	4 8.2%	0 0.0%	18 10.1%	53 6.2%
(ew)	16 30.8%	40 58.0%	162 36.3%	25 51.0%	1 1.5%	41 23.0%	285 33.2%
(eN)	1 1.9%	18 26.1%	125 28.0%	12 24.5%	2 3.1%	30 16.9%	188 21.9%
(e)	32 61.5%	8 11.6%	134 30.0%	8 16.3%	62 95.4%	89 50.0%	333 38.8%
N =	52	69	446	49	65	178	

Figure 2: Variants of (ę) by grammatical form

Manner of Articulation of the Following Segment

Each occurrence of the variable was coded for the manner of articulation of the following segment. The distinctions made were perhaps finer than necessary, but the decision seems to have been justified; no two categories are close enough in their effect on the variable to collapse into one.

Environments coded were following stop, fricative, glide, trill, liquid and vowel. If no segment followed, i.e., if the variable occurred at the end of an utterance, the manner of articulation was coded as "pause". Following nasal consonants and /ɫ/ were considered to be neutralizing environments, and occurrences of (ẹ) were not counted in these environments. /ɫ/ in this dialect is always realized as [w], therefore any occurrence of the variable other than (eN) would be heard as (ew); all occurrences before a nasal consonant would be heard as (eN).

The effects of the following phonological environment on the realization of the variable are very interesting indeed.

According to references cited earlier (Brooks 1968; Stankiewicz 1956) we would expect to find that the variable was always realized as (eN) before stops, as (ẽ) or (ew) before fricatives, liquids and glides, and (e) before a pause. This is not what the data show, however (see figure 3).

Only 46% of the variants before a stop are (eN); diphthongs are most likely to occur before a pause (56.8%) and oral vowels occur in all environments. In fact, all variants occur in all possible phonological environments, with only one exception: (ẽ) never occurs before a vowel.

	vowel	trill	pause	liquid	stop	glide	fricative	N/%
(ẽ)	0	14	10	2	2	2	23	53
	0.0%	35.9%	3.1%	5.4%	1.5%	9.1%	8.0%	6.2%
(ew)	7	11	162	14	10	7	74	289
	36.8%	28.2%	50.8%	37.8%	7.3%	31.8%	25.9%	33.2%
(eN)	1	4	46	1	63	5	68	188
	5.3%	10.3%	14.4%	2.7%	46.0%	22.7%	23.8%	21.9%
(e)	11	10	101	20	62	8	121	333
	57.9%	25.6%	31.7%	54.1%	45.3%	36.4%	42.3%	38.8%
N =	19	39	319	37	137	22	286	

Figure 3: Variants of (ẹ) by manner of articulation of following segment

Social Constraints on Denasalization

The preceding figures and discussion show that linguistic factors alone will not provide an adequate explanation for the observed variation in the phonetic realization of word-final (ẹ). The only consistent effect noted was that of stress; all stressed tokens are nasalized.

Either the remaining occurrences are in free variation, or other constraints are acting on the rule. In this section the effects of speech style, sex, age and social class will be presented.

Style

The effects of the style of speech on the realization of (ẹ) are straightforward and need little discussion (see figure 4).

Denazalization never occurs in the most formal style (word list); it occurs 96.3% of the time in the most informal style. There is a sharp break between the formal and the conversational styles. Denasalization occurs only 16.4% of the time in the reading style, but in 86.0% of the occurrences in the careful conversational style.

	list	reading	careful	informal	N/%
(ẽ)	3 4.2%	0 8.9%	5 2.5%	45 0.0%	53 6.2%
(ew)	52 72.2%	1 42.5%	17 8.5%	215 1.2%	285 33.2%
(eN)	17 23.6%	2 32.2%	6 3.0%	163 2.2%	188 21.9%
(e)	0 0.0%	78 16.4%	172 86.0%	83 96.3%	333 38.8%
N=	72	506	200	81	

Figure 4: Variants of (ẹ) by style

Age

The effects of the age of the speaker are slight, but there are some interesting tendencies which should be noted (figure 5), particularly in the choice of nasal variants. The variant (ew) accounts for 39.4% of the students' total tokens; it is 61% of their nasal variants. The same variant is used in 27.6% of all cases by the parents; but (ew) accounts for only 47.3% of their nasal tokens.

The parents also tend to denasalize the variable more than do the students.

students / parents			N/%
(ẽ)	34	19	53
	8.4%	4.2%	6.2%
(ew)	160	125	285
	39.4%	27.6%	33.2%
(eN)	68	120	188
	16.7%	26.5%	21.9%
(e)	144	189	333
	35.5%	41.7%	38.8%
N=	406	453	859

Figure 5: Variants of (ẹ) by age

Sex

The sex of the speaker had little effect on the variant of (ę) chosen (see figure 6). Men were slightly more likely to denasalize the vowel than were women; women tended to use the (ew) and (eN) variants more than the men. However, none of these differences is striking.

	female	male	N/%
(ẽ)	23 5.1%	30 7.4%	53 6.2%
(ew)	161 36.1%	124 41.7%	285 33.2%
(eN)	104 23.1%	84 20.6%	188 21.9%
(e)	163 35.7%	170 30.4%	333 38.8%
N =	451	408	859

Figure 6: Variants of (ę) by sex

Social Class

Two results of social class membership on the occurrence of (ẹ) are noteworthy (figure 7). The working class tend to denasalize less (30.6%) than either the intelligentsia (42.9%) or the intermediate group (43.2%). In addition, the working class speakers are much more likely to use the (eN) variant than are the other two groups. (eN) accounts for 54.5% of all the nasal variants used by the working class, while it comprises 22.4% of the intelligentsia's nasal variants and 28.9% of the intermediate group's.

These results suggest that <u>which</u> variant the groups choose may be more important than how often they apply the denasalization rule.

	Intelligentsia	Intermediate	Worker	N/%
(ẽ)	34 8.1%	5 3.4%	14 4.8%	53 6.2%
(ew)	153 36.3%	54 37.0%	78 26.8%	285 33.2%
(eN)	154 12.8%	24 16.4%	110 37.8%	188 21.9%
(e)	181 42.9%	63 43.2%	89 30.6%	333 38.8%
N =	422	146	291	859

Figure 7: Variants of (ẹ) by class

Patterns of Nasalization by Class, Age, and Style

Figures 8 and 9 show the distribution of nasal variants in all styles by class and age groups. The students (figure 8) use no nasal variants in the informal style; only intelligentsia use any nasal variants in the careful style. Note the crossover pattern: in the reading style the working class speakers nasalize 87% of all possible forms while the intelligentsia speakers nasalize 81%. Although this difference is slight it is important, because it indicates the presence of hypercorrection, the greater use of prestige variants by a lower ranking social group. This hypercorrection is particularly striking since no nasal variants occur in the careful conversational style of the working class students.

The curve for the parents (figure 9) is similar, but class differences are even more strongly marked. Here in the reading style, where the crossover pattern occurs, the working class uses nasal variants in 90% of all possible occurrences, the intermediate group in 93%, and the intelligentsia in 81%.

Nasal Variants in the Reading Style

Figure 10 shows the distribution among the age and class groups in the reading style. The reading style was chosen for this type of analysis because it is the only style in which all speakers had a large number of occurrences of the variable in the same phonological environments. There were 15 words in the reading which ended in (ę), and of course everyone read the same passage.

The graph shows the dramatic differences in the choice of variants by the different classes, particularly in the parental generation.

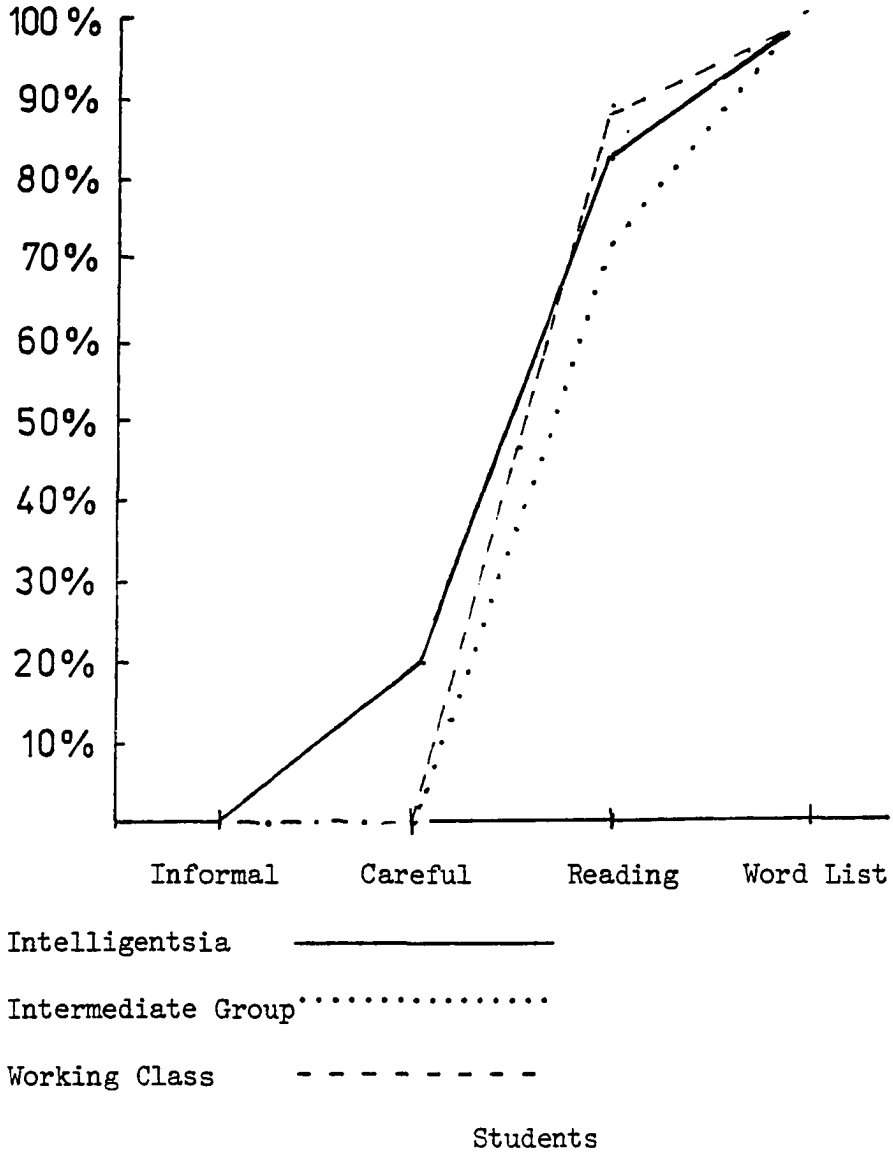


Figure 8: Distribution of nasal variants (ẽ), (ew), (eN): Students

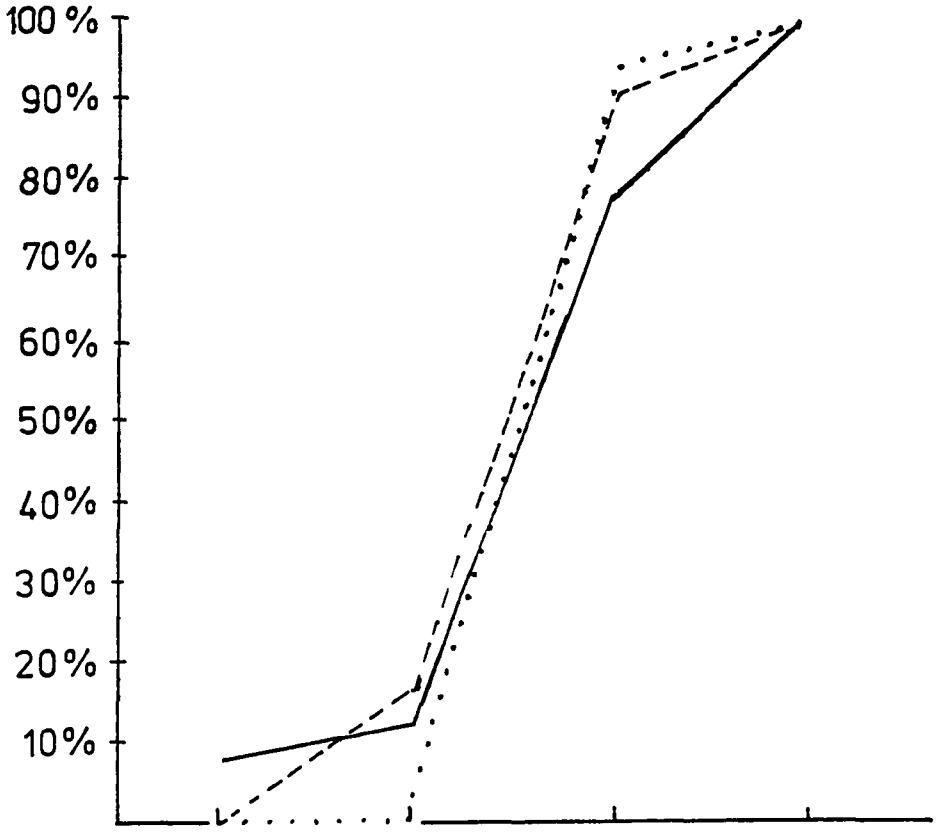
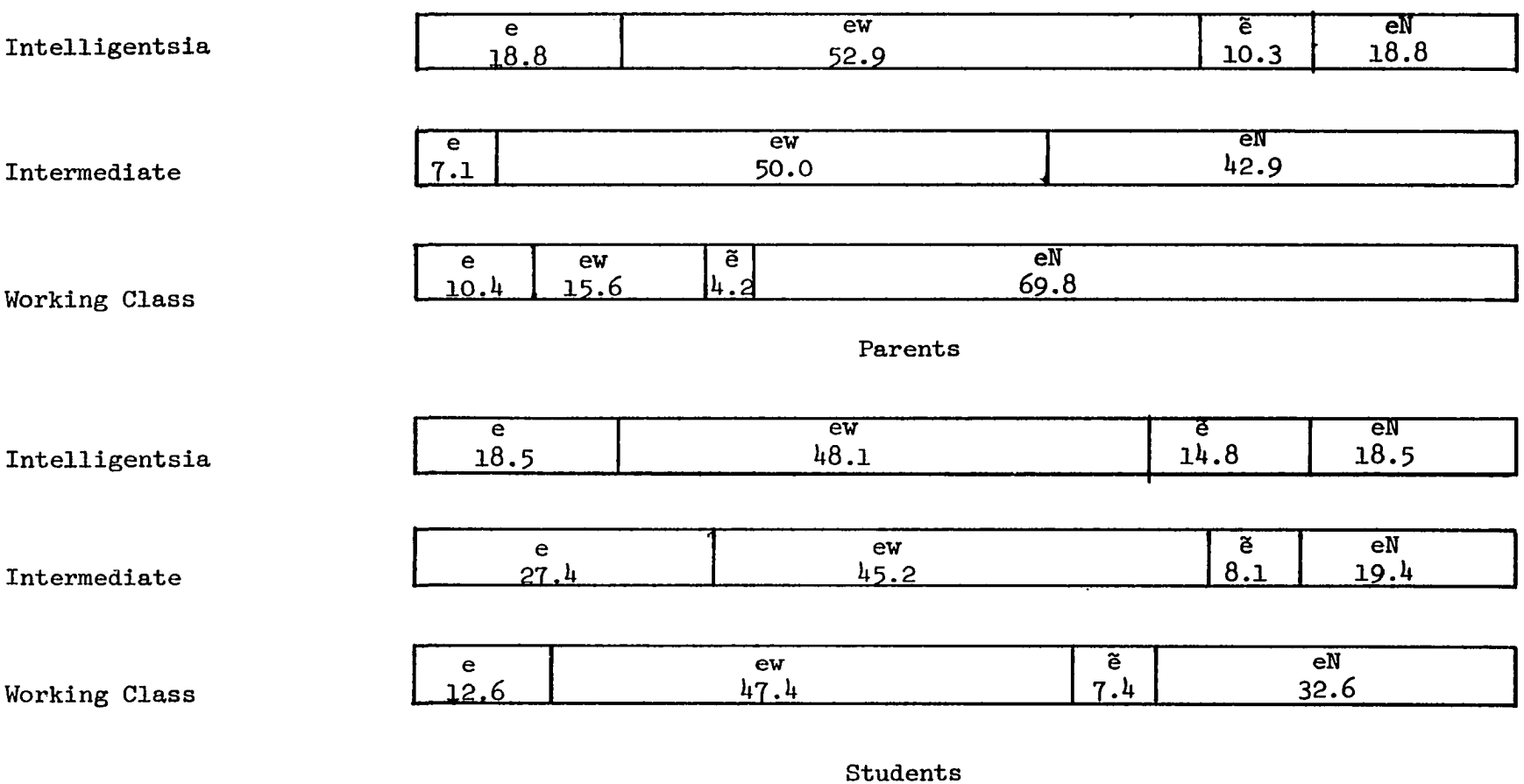


Figure 9: Distribution of nasal variants (ẽ), (ew), (eN): Parents

Figure 10: Realization of the variable in the reading style by age and class



All figures are percentages.

The intelligentsia parents use the (eN) variant in only about 19% of all possible environments, compared to 43% for the intermediate group and nearly 70% for the working class.

The difference among the students is less striking. Intelligentsia and intermediate students use (eN) with approximately the same frequency, about 19%. The working class students use it 32.6% of the time; more than the other students but less than half as often as their parents.

Phonological Environments of (eN)

Figure 11 shows the distribution of (eN) by phonological environment for class and age groups. These figures represent occurrences in all styles. What is significant here is that although a following stop is phonologically the most favorable environment for the occurrence of (eN) in the speech of the working class, only 20% of all their (eN) tokens occur before stops. Even when the next most favorable environment, a following fricative, is added, the working class speakers are still producing only 58.7% of their (eN) variants in favorable environments, compared to 83% for the intelligentsia. Although the intermediate group uses (eN) in the most favorable environment less often than the intelligentsia, a full 91.6% of all its (eN) tokens are found in the two most favorable environments.

The second part of the chart shows that students use the (eN) variant in phonologically predictable environments more often than their parents do, 85.3% compared to 61.1%.

Preceding:	Among:	CLASS		AGE	
	Intelligentsia	Intermediate	Working Class	Parents	Students
stop	56.6%	45.8%	20.2%	26.3%	47.1%
fricative	26.4	45.8	38.5	34.8	38.2
pause	15.1	4.2	33.9	32.2	11.8
glide	1.9	----	3.7	3.4	1.5
trill	----	4.2	1.8	1.7	1.5
liquid	----	----	.9	.9	----
vowel	----	----	.9	.9	----
N =	53	24	109	118	68

Figure 11: Phonological environments of (eN) by class, age

Discussion

Figures 10 and 11 point out an important difference between the working class and the intermediate group, and the relation of both of them to the intelligentsia. The parental generations of both lower status groups displayed hypercorrection in the reading style; both used nasal variants more often than did the intelligentsia. Hypercorrection is typical in communities in which the possibility of social mobility is part of both the ideology and the social reality. Labov notes "The special role of the second highest status group...is apparent in the sensitivity of this group to social pressures from above" (1972b:128). It is characteristic for hypercorrection to occur in the formal styles (1972b:290). But here the hypercorrection by the working class is distinguished by the fact that although the speakers are emulating prestigious behavior - the use of a nasal rather than an oral vowel - they are doing so by increased usage of a stigmatized form, even in unfavorable phonological environments. The intermediate group, on the other hand, is also exhibiting hypercorrection, but these speakers are using a prestige variant, the diphthong, rather than the stigmatized (eN).

The meaning of the linguistic behavior represented in figures 8 and 9 can now be better understood. In the parental generation the intelligentsia are the most prestigious. Their behavior, increased use of nasal variants, is what the others are attempting to emulate. The working class shows the same pattern of hypercorrection found in the United States for the lower middle class (Labov 1966). In fact, this pattern occurs so regularly in communities where social mobility is important that Labov maintains it can no longer be considered deviant

behavior; it is the expected result (personal communication).

The even greater hypercorrection shown by the intermediate group can be explained in terms of linguistic insecurity (Labov 1966,1972: passim). These people are in a truly intermediate situation; they come from working class backgrounds, they have high school educations, but they work with and are associated with the intelligentsia. The fact that these speakers are in some way associated with the upper class accounts for the fact that they use a prestige variant of the vowel much more often than the working class.

Among the students (figure 8), again the intelligentsia are the trend setters. The working class exhibits hypercorrection, but the difference between the working class and intelligentsia speakers is not as great here as in the parental generation, and the working class students are using a higher percentage of prestige forms than are their parents. This can be accounted for by the fact that for these young people social mobility is a very real possibility. Four of the seven working class students used as informants were attending the college preparatory high school; the others, who attended a vocational high school, also planned to go to college and have higher status jobs than their parents.

The behavior of the socially intermediate group closely parallels that of the intelligentsia; this is to be expected. All of these students have one parent who is by birth, education, or occupation associated with the intelligentsia. All but one attended the college prep high school and identified more with the intelligentsia than did their parents or working class age-mates. The linguistic stratification of this variable is a direct reflection of the speaker's perception of his

or her role in the social structure, and of aspirations coupled with the likelihood that those aspirations will be realized.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANALYSIS OF (a)[6]

The Status of /a/ in Polish

The different realizations of /a/ in Polish have sparked none of the discussion and controversy which surround the nasal vowels. This is probably so for two reasons. First, the phonemic status of /a/ in Polish has never been questioned. Second, variation in the realization of /a/ is much less striking than the variation found in the nasals, and is therefore of little interest to anyone other than a variation theorist or a person interested in the study of possible sound change in progress. A review of the literature shows absolutely no discussion of the phoneme /a/, other than to note the presence in all dialects of a low central vowel.

My own attention was first drawn to the possible significance of this vowel as a social marker by informal observation of the phoneme /o/. I noticed that in colloquial speech, /o/ was often pronounced as [a], with or without simultaneous lip rounding. If /o/ could be realized as [a], what implications might this have for /a/? An obvious suggestion was that since /o/ sometimes appears in a variant fronted enough to be confused with /a/, the /a/ itself might also be fronting. And this indeed seemed to be the case. When I began paying close attention to realizations

of the /a/, I found in many cases it was pronounced as a fully-fronted [ɑ], or even fronted and slightly raised to [ae].

The co-occurrent varying of [o] with [a] and [a] with [ɑ] or [ae] suggests a chain shift, a sound change in progress. It is from this viewpoint that the /a/ in Polish will be examined.

The Study of Sound Change in Progress

The possibility of studying on-going change is based upon what Labov has termed the Uniformitarian Principle: "that the linguistic processes taking place around us are the same as those that have operated to produce the historical record" (Labov 1971:422-23).

Labov's New York study (1966) was one of the first modern works concerned with the study of sound change in progress. Although many of his conclusions at that time were tentative, the theory and methods applied to the problem have since been refined and accepted among sociolinguists and historical linguists (Labov 1971; Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968; Reighard 1974).

The most elegant declaration of the study of language change in progress is that of Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968). They are particularly conscious of the necessity of including social aspects of language use in any theory of language change.

> We will...suggest that a model of language which accomodates the facts of variable usage and its social and stylistic determinants not only leads to more adequate descriptions of linguistic competence, but also naturally yields a theory of language change that bypasses the fruitless paradoxes with which historical linguistics has been struggling for over half a century (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968:99).

And further:

> Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968:188).

Since the publication of this statement a number of studies of sound change in progress have been published, including work by Trudgill (1974) on Norwich English, Cedergren on Panama Spanish (1973) and G. Sankoff on Montreal French (1974).

The most ambitious study of vowel change from a sociolinguistic perspective has been that undertaken by Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972). They looked at a number of vowel shifts in English dialects (both in England and the United States), and related their findings to changes documented for a number of other languages.

Labov, Yaeger and Steiner paid a great deal of attention to chain shifts, and their definition will be the one used in this study:

> We define a chain shift as a change in the position of two phonemes or allophones in which one moves away from an original position which is assumed or approximated by the second....Chain shifts preserve relations [between segments] (Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972:107).

They observed certain characteristics of chain shifts which are relevant to the situation today of the Polish vowel system: "In chain shifts, back vowels move to the front" (Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972:106); and [a] usually moves toward [ɑ] or [ae] (Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972:110). In addition, their work stressed the importance of the use of the vernacular in analyzing language change (Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972:3).

All of the studies mentioned here validate the theory and

methods used in this analysis of /a/ in Polish.

The Analysis of (a)

The vowel /a/ occurs very frequently in Polish; in fact after doing an initial check of the speech of two individuals, I realized that if the entire corpus were to be analyzed, there would be between 25,000 and 30,000 occurrences of the variable. Therefore only a portion of the speech of each individual was analyzed. For each speaker those occurrences of the variable in the word list, the first 3/4 of the reading, and the last full minute of conversation were used. There were 6,349 occurrences of the variable in these data. Four variants of (a) were distinguished:

(a-1) - a fully fronted [ɑ] or [ae] 810 tokens (12.8%)

(a-2) - a fronted [a˂] 5,397 tokens (85.0%)

(a-3) - a central [a] 134 tokens (2.1%)

(a-4) - a devoiced variant 8 tokens (0.1%)

Each occurrence was also coded for 15 conditioning factors: the grammatical form in which the variable occurred; the position of the variable relative to word stress; place and manner of articulation of the segment preceding the variable; whether or not the preceding segment was palatal or palatalized; whether the preceding segment was voiced or voiceless; place and manner of articulation of the following segment; palatalization and voicing of the following segment; style of speech; sex, age and social class of the speaker; and finally, each speaker was identified.

After these data were coded and checked, the information was put on computer cards and then on 9-track tape. Correlations of dependent

with independent variables were obtained using the Crosstabs subprogram of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Although all 15 conditioning factors had some effect on the realization of the variable, in general the social and stylistic factors had a greater effect on the variable than did the linguistic factors.

Linguistic Constraints on the Variable

Stress

The effect of stress on vowel fronting for the sample as a whole is minimal; however there are some tendencies which should be mentioned.

Polish has a general rule stressing the penultimate syllable of words more than one syllable long. Each occurrence of the variable was coded as either stressed or unstressed; if unstressed, the coding indicated how far away from the stress the variant occurred. It should be noted that in the word list style many of the words received equal stress on all syllables.

The least likely place for vowel fronting to occur is after the stressed syllable, i.e., on the final syllable of the word. This slot contains not only the highest percentage of central (a-3) (see figure 12) it also was the only environment in which the devoiced variant (a-4) was found. (a-3) never occurs more than two syllables before the stress in a word.

The most favorable environment for the fully fronted (a-1) variant is the syllable immediately preceding stress; the stressed syllable itself was the next most favorable. (a-1) was never found more than three syllables away from the stressed syllable.

	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	stressed	-1	N/%
(a-4)	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	8
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.1%
(a-3)	0	0	0	5	12	59	58	134
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	1.3%	1.7%	3.7%	2.1%
(a-2)	4	6	44	281	736	2937	1389	5397
	100.0%	100.0%	88.0%	86.2%	81.0%	84.1%	89.0%	85.0%
(a-1)	0	0	6	40	161	497	106	810
	0.0%	0.0%	12.0%	12.3%	17.7%	14.2%	6.8%	12.8%
N=	4	6	50	326	909	3494	1560	

Figure 12: Variants of (a) by stress

Grammatical Form

All tokens were coded for the grammatical form in which they occurred. These forms included noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection, pronoun, the polite form of address pan/pani, and the word for "yes", tak.

The grammatical form in which the variable occurred also had little effect on the variant chosen (see figure 13). The verb is the most favorable form for the (a-3) variant; 59% of all (a-3) tokens occur in verbs. However, this result may be misleading, since most of the verbs in the reading and word list were past tense, masculine singular. The inflectional marker for this form is word-final [aɫ]. Therefore, two other factors, stress and following phonological environment, probably interact to account for the high rate of (a-3).

(a-2) variants are most likely to occur in pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions, while (a-1) is more likely to occur in nouns. 53.3% of all (a-1) variants are found in nouns, even though nouns comprise only 36.5% of the corpus.

Place of Articulation of Preceding and Following Segments

Since the variants (a-3), (a-2) and (a-1) represent a series that can be measured from back to front of the oral cavity, it was hypothesized that the place of articulation of both preceding and following segments would have an effect on the realization of (a).

The following categories were used: labial, dental and alveolar, palatal, velar, glottal, and no segment. In addition each vowel which occurred before (a) was counted: /i/, /y/ (phonetically [ɪ]),/e/, /a/,

	verb	tak	pan/pani	preposition	noun	pronoun	interjection	adverb	conjunction	adjective	N/%
(a-4)	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	8
	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
(a-3)	79	0	1	1	27	1	0	7	1	17	134
	4.7%	0.0%	10.0%	0.5%	1.2%	0.9%	0.0%	0.9%	0.6%	1.6%	2.1%
(a-2)	1428	31	8	198	1852	110	2	674	153	941	5397
	85.5%	83.8%	80.0%	98.5%	80.0%	94.0%	100.0%	89.0%	95.0%	87.2%	85.0%
(a-1)	161	6	1	2	432	6	0	75	6	121	810
	9.6%	16.2%	10.0%	1.0%	18.7%	5.1%	0.0%	9.9%	3.8%	11.2%	12.8%
N=	1670	37	10	201	2316	117	2	757	160	1079	

Figure 13: Variants of (a) by grammatical form

	labial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	i	y	e	a	o	u	no segment	N/%
(a-4)	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
(a-3)	18	66	10	24	15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	134
	2.0%	1.8%	1.8%	3.4%	3.7%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%
(a-2)	724	3111	443	613	381	7	21	43	4	2	38	10	5397
	78.6%	85.3%	80.7%	87.8%	94.1%	100.0%	95.5%	93.5%	100.0%	100.0%	97.4%	100.0%	85.0%
(a-1)	177	466	95	59	9	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	810
	19.2%	12.8%	17.3%	8.5%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	6.5%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	12.8%
N=	921	3646	549	698	405	7	22	46	4	2	39	10	

Figure 14: Variants of (a) by place of articulation of preceding segment

	labial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	i	y	a	u	no segment	N/%
(a-4)	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	8
	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.1%
(a-3)	14	39	5	66	4	0	0	0	0	6	134
	1.6%	1.5%	0.7%	4.7%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	2.1%
(a-2)	804	2279	657	1077	128	10	1	4	54	383	5397
	89.5%	86.1%	87.0%	76.1%	91.4%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	96.4%	91.0%	85.0%
(a-1)	80	330	92	272	8	0	0	0	2	26	810
	8.9%	12.5%	12.2%	19.2%	5.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	6.2%	12.8%
N=	898	2648	755	1416	140	10	1	4	56	421	

Figure 15: Variants of (a) by place of articulation of following segment

/o/, and /u/.

In general among those segments preceding the variable (see figure 14), labials and palatals were more likely to favor (a-1), while velars and glottals favored the central (a-3). This effect is totally predictable; any other result would have been surprising. Preceding vowels favored (a-2), regardless of place of articulation.

The effects of the place of articulation of the following segment were not quite as predictable (see figure 15). While, as might be expected, a following velar favored (a-3), 33.6% of all (a-1) variants occur before velars. A following alveolar was the second most favorable environment for (a-3), and the most favorable for (a-1). From these results it is obvious that the place of articulation of the preceding segment has a much greater effect on the choice of the variant than does the following segment.

Manner of Articulation of Preceding and Following Segments

The manner of articulation of the segments preceding and following occurrences of the variable were noted. As with the (ɐ) fine distinctions were made. Categories included stop, fricative, glide, lateral, trill, nasal, barred l (a labio-velar glide), vowel, and no segment, or pause.

The manner of articulation of the preceding segment had very little effect on the variable (see figure 16). The most noticeable effect is that of a preceding trill: 31.8% of all variants occurring after a trill were realized as (a-1), even though (a-1) variants account for only 12.8% of the data.

The effect of the manner of articulation of the following seg-

	barred 1	vowel	trill	no segment	nasal	lateral	stop	glide	fricative	N/%
(a-4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	8
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%
(a-3)	9	1	11	0	17	5	47	2	42	134
	3.4%	0.8%	1.4%	0.0%	1.7%	1.2%	2.6%	0.6%	2.6%	2.1%
(a-2)	220	116	531	10	908	382	1635	292	1303	5397
	83.0%	95.1%	66.8%	100.0%	93.4%	89.7%	90.9%	80.7%	81.5%	85.0%
(a-1)	36	5	253	0	47	39	114	68	248	810
	13.6%	4.1%	31.8%	0.0%	4.8%	9.2%	6.3%	18.8%	15.5%	12.8%
N=	265	122	795	10	972	426	1799	362	1598	

Figure 16: Variants of (a) by manner of articulation of preceding segment

	barred 1	vowel	trill	no segment	nasal	lateral	stop	glide	fricative	N/%
(a-4)	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	8
	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
(a-3)	60	0	6	6	16	1	22	1	22	134
	8.8%	0.0%	1.9%	1.4%	2.1%	0.3%	0.9%	0.3%	2.0%	2.1%
(a-2)	567	70	304	383	664	353	1841	285	930	5397
	83.1%	97.2%	94.1%	91.0%	87.3%	91.2%	79.4%	95.3%	85.8%	85.0%
(a-1)	54	2	13	26	81	33	456	13	132	810
	7.9%	2.8%	4.6%	6.2%	10.6%	8.5%	19.7%	4.3%	12.2%	12.8%
N=	682	72	323	421	761	387	2320	299	1084	

Figure 17: Variants of (a) by manner of articulation of following segment

ment is also minimal (see figure 17). The (a-3) variant is much more likely to occur before a barred l; and least likely to occur before a vowel, glide, or lateral.

Voicing of Preceding and Following Segments

Whether the preceding and following segments were voiced or voiceless had a slight effect on the fronting of (a) (see figure 18). In general, a preceding voiceless segment favored fronted (a-1); a voiced segment favored (a-3) and (a-2). These results are comparable to those obtained by Labov in his study of the centralization of vowels in Martha's Vineyard (1972b:20).

The effect of the voicing of the following segment had a similar, but less marked effect (see figure 19).

	voiced	voiceless	N/%
(a-4)	5	3	8
	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
(a-3)	90	44	134
	2.3%	1.8%	2.1%
(a-2)	3411	1986	5397
	87.1%	81.7%	85.0%
(a-1)	411	399	810
	10.4%	16.4%	12.8%
N	3917	2432	

Figure 18: Variants of (a) by voicing of preceding segment

	voiced	voiceless	N/%
(a-4)	1 0.0%	7 0.2%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	99 2.9%	35 1.2%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	2898 86.1%	2499 83.7%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	367 10.9%	443 14.8%	810 12.8%
N	3365	2984	

Figure 19: Variants of (a) by voicing of following segment

Palatalization of Preceding and Following Segments

All Polish consonants except the barred l are either palatal or have palatalized variants. The high front vowel /i/, which can itself palatalize a preceding consonant, was also considered here to be a palatal form. All other vowels were considered to be nonpalatal.

A preceding palatal segment had a strong effect on the variable (see figure 20). 25% of all the occurrences of (a) after a palatal segment were realized as (a-1). A preceding nonpalatal had almost no effect; it tended slightly to favor (a-2).

A following palatal segment also favored fronting, but less dramatically (see figure 21). A following nonpalatal segment had almost no effect; it disfavored application of the rule, but only slightly.

The results of the occurrence of the variable in a palatal or nonpalatal environment are quite similar to the voicing constraint: in

	palatal	nonpalatal	N/%
(a-4)	1 0.1%	7 0.1%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	14 1.9%	120 2.1%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	551 73.0%	4846 86.6%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	189 25.0%	621 11.1%	810 12.8 %
N=	755	5594	

Figure 20: Variants of (a) by palatalization of preceding segment

	palatal	nonpalatal	N/%
(a-4)	1 0.1%	7 0.1%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	11 0.8%	123 2.5%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	1155 84.0%	4242 85.3%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	208 15.1%	602 12.1%	810 12.8 %
N=	1376	4974	

Figure 21: Variants of (a) by palatalization of following segment

general, the preceding segment has a much greater effect than the following segment.

Social Constraints on (a)

The preceding data presentation has shown that linguistic factors account for some of the variation in the realization of (a). Stress and grammatical form have little effect on the variable. A preceding front, palatalized, or voiceless consonant tends to favor fronting, while preceding velars and glottals disfavor it. Following segments had little effect.

However, analysis of only linguistic factors leaves a large portion of the data unaccounted for. The variation constrained by linguistic factors is regular across all social groups. The next section will show how the variation patterns differ from group to group, and will demonstrate the necessity of including speech style, sex, age, and social class as variables in an analysis of language variation.

Style

Figure 22 shows the effect of speech style on the variable. In general the more informal the style, the higher the usage of fronted forms. Note particularly that the rates of occurrence of (a-2) remain stable across all four styles. (a-3) and (a-1) are the variants which are affected by style shifting. This suggests the possibility that there are actually two fronting process in operation; (a-3)→(a-2) and (a-2) → (a-1). This possibility will be explored in greater detail in the next section.

	list	reading	careful	informal	N/%
(a-4)	0	3	5	0	8
	0.0%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%
(a-3)	32	93	6	3	134
	5.3%	2.5%	0.5%	0.4%	2.1%
(a-2)	523	3192	1125	567	5397
	85.5%	85.2%	85.5%	82.7%	85.0%
(a-1)	55	459	180	116	810
	9.2%	12.2%	13.7%	16.9%	12.8%
N=	600	3747	1316	686	

Figure 22: Variants of (a) by style

Age

The effects of age of speaker (figure 23) on the variable are comparable to the effects of style. The two groups are very close in their percentage of occurrences of (a-2); the other variants show more difference. Students are likely to use fewer (a-3) variants and more (a-1) than their parents.

students / parents			N/%
(a-4)	4 0.1%	4 0.1%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	27 0.8%	107 3.6%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	2893 84.8%	2504 85.3%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	488 14.3%	322 11.0%	810 12.8%
N=	3412	2937	

Figure 23: Variants of (a) by age

Sex

Figure 24 shows the results of correlating the variants with sex of speaker. Women tend to use more (a-1) than men, and less (a-3) and (a-2). Note that although the N of cases is small, 61.2% of the occurrences of (a-3) are used by men, while 63.2% of the (a-1) variants are used by women.

	female	male	N/%
(a-4)	4 0.1%	4 0.1%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	52 1.5%	82 2.8%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	2873 83.5%	2524 86.8%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	512 14.9%	298 10.2%	810 12.8%
N=	3441	2908	6349

Figure 24: Variants of (a) by sex

Social Class

Figure 25 shows the relationship between the social class of the speakers and realizations of the variable. The results are intriguing. The working class and the intelligentsia use almost exactly the same proportions of (a-2), but they differ greatly in their use of (a-3) and (a-1). The upper class speakers are much more likely to use the central (a-3), while the working class people are more likely to use (a-1). Note that the intermediate group's performance is very similar to that of the working class.

	Intelligentsia	Intermediate	Worker	N/ %
(a-4)	4 0.1%	2 0.2%	2 0.1%	8 0.1%
(a-3)	117 4.1%	7 0.6%	10 0.4%	134 2.1%
(a-2)	2411 85.1%	947 84.3%	2039 85.2%	5397 85.0%
(a-1)	301 10.6%	167 14.9%	342 14.3%	810 12.8%
N =	2833	1123	2393	

Figure 25: Variants of (a) by class

Applications of the Fronting Rule

Figure 26 shows the rate of application of the fronting rule by each social gorup, both generally and by style. In this table, all occurrences of (a-2) and (a-1) are counted as applications of the rule.

Two phenomena are noteworthy. Within each social grouping, age, sex, and class, the lower status groups apply the rule more often than do the higher status groups. Young people apply the rule more often than their parents, women more than men, and workers more often than the intermediate group and the intelligentsia. The differences are not large, but they are regular.

	In all styles	List	Reading	Careful	Informal
Students	99.1%	96.0%	99.3%	99.5%(100)*	100%
Parents	96.3	93.1	95.3	98.7	99.2
Women	98.4	96.6	98.0	99.4 (99.9)	100
Men	97.1	92.5	96.8	98.9	98.9
Workers	99.5	99.5	99.4	99.6 (100)	100
Intermediate	99.2	96.0	99.5	99.2 (100)	100
Intelligentsia	95.8	89.7	94.9	98.7	99.1

*Figures in parentheses show results when the voiceless (a-4) variant is not considered

Figure 26: Applications of the fronting rule

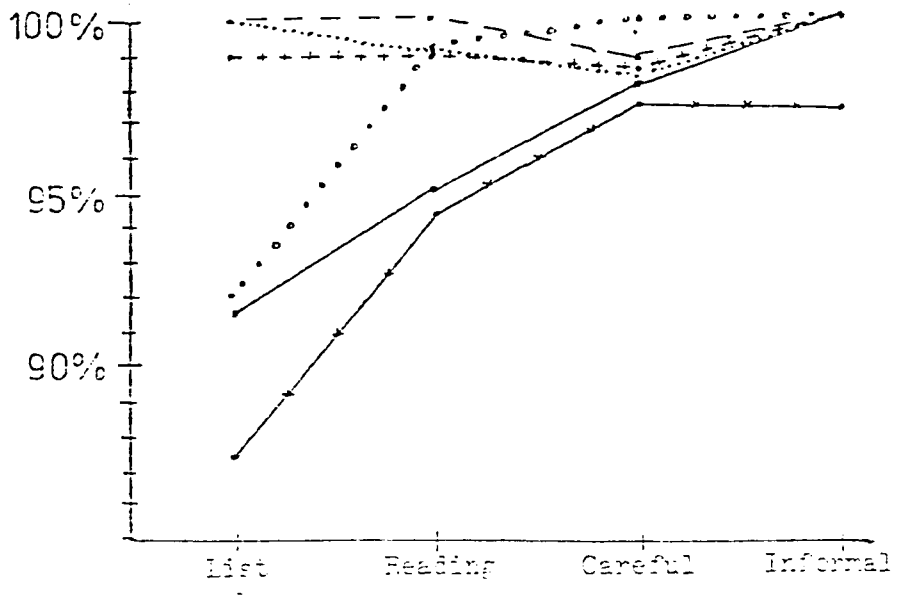
The second thing important in this table is that with only a few minor exceptions all groups show a steady increase in their applications of the rule with a decrease in formality. In addition, the relationship mentioned above is maintained. Students apply the rule more often than their parents in every style, women follow the same pattern with men. The only exception is in class; the intermediate group applies the rule slightly more than the workers in the reading style.

In addition, note that the higher status groups, parents, men, and intelligentsia, never reach 100% application of the rule.

Sex and Class

Figure 27 shows the effects of the interaction of sex and class on the occurrences of the variable. The most interesting thing here is the behavior of the intermediate group. The women behave very much like the working class women; both groups hug the 100% line. The intermediate class men show a different pattern: in the word list style their percentage of rule applications falls in between the working class and intelligentsia, but in the reading style they pass the working class and reach 100% application in the careful conversational style.

It should be noted that if it were not for a few uses of (a-4), the devoiced variant, both working class and intermediate class women and working class men would have applied the rule 100% in the careful conversational style. This means that working class women show no use of (a-3) in any style.



Female Worker ---------- Male Worker ++++++++++
Female Intermediate····· Male Intermediate·····
Female Upper ———————— Male Upper ×—×—×—×

Figure 27: Application of the fronting rule by sex and class

Age and Class

Figure 28 shows applications of the rule by age and class. The pattern here is similar to those shown earlier; students tend to apply the rule more often than their parents, and lower class groups more often than the intelligentsia.

It should be mentioned that if voiceless variants were disregarded, only the intelligentsia parents would not reach 100% application of the fronting rule in both conversational styles.

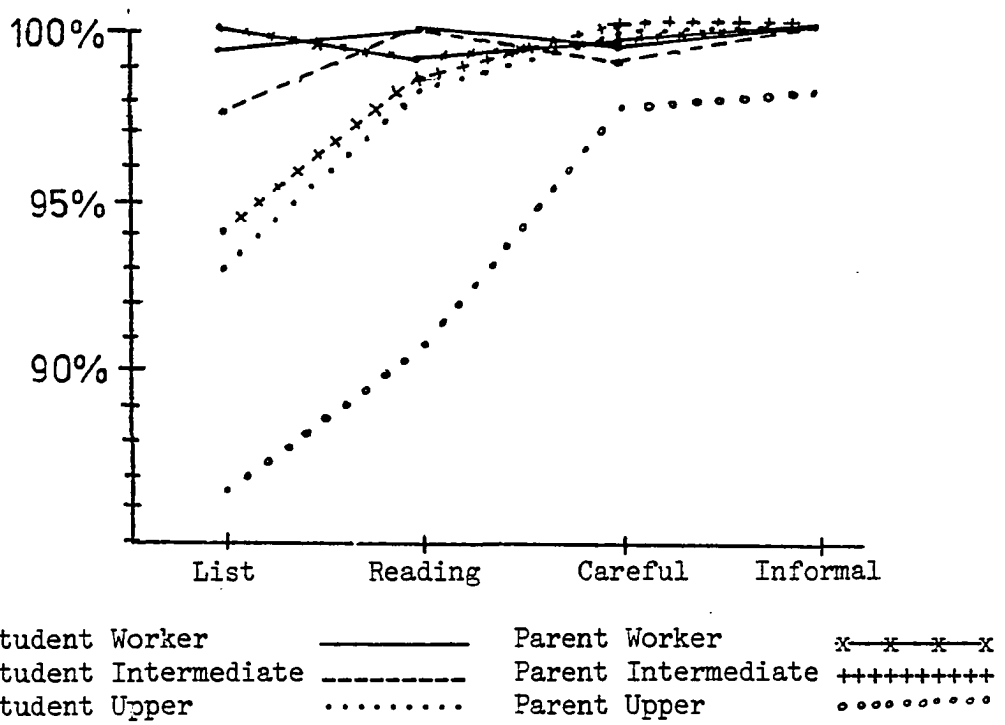


Figure 28: Application of the fronting rule by age and class

Age and Sex

Figure 29 shows the relationship between age and sex and rule application. The same patterns hold throughout. Students apply the rule more often than their parents, women more often than men. Note however that the male parents break the familiar pattern by applying the rule less often in the informal conversational style than in careful speech.

	List	Reading	Careful	Informal	N
Female students	97.0%	99.2%	99.4%(100)	100%	1864
Female parents	96.0	95.9	99.2 (99.8)	100	1577
Male students	94.8	98.7	99.7 (100)	100	1548
Male parents	89.7	94.6	98.1	97.9	1360

Figure 29: Fronting rule by age and sex

Sex, Age and Class

Figure 30 shows the percentage of rule applications by the finest breakdown of social categories. All the patterns noted earlier hold. This is important because it shows that the results displayed in earlier charts were not merely an artifact of lumping together different social groups.

	List	Reading	Careful	Informal	N
Female student workers	100%	100%	100%	100%	696
Female student intermediate	100	100	98.3 (100)	100	451
Female student intelligentsia	92.6	99.5	99.4 (100)	100	717
Female parent workers	100	100	99.2 (100)	100	683
Female parent intermediate	100	99.0	100	100	177
Female parent intelligentsia	90.8	91.1	98.9	100	717
Male student workers	98.0	99.4	99.1 (100)	100	496
Male student intermediate	94.1	99.5	100	100	337
Male student intelligentsia	92.8	97.8	100	100	715
Male parent workers	100	97.8	100	100	518
Male parent intermediate	88.2	99.0	100	100	158
Male parent intelligentsia	81.4	91.2	97.0	94.5	686

Figure 30: Applications of the fronting rule by class, age, and sex

Distribution of Variants

The preceding presentation of the data assumed that there was one fronting rule operating in this dialect. However, earlier evidence suggested that two rules might be operating. The following tables will show how the three voiced variants are distributed among the various social groups; the discussion following the presentation of data will deal with the problem of whether one rule or two are being used.

The most obvious thing in all these graphs is that the majority of forms consists of the (a-2) variant. This is partially a function of the way the data were analyzed, but the patterning of the two extremes - (a-3) and (a-1) - is intriguing.

Sex and Style

Figure 31 shows the distribution of variants by men and women in the different styles. Note than in every style women use less (a-3) and more (a-1) than the men. Also note that the use of (a-3) decreases and (a-1) increases with informality for both sexes; however men use slightly more (a-3) in the informal style than in careful speech.

Age and Style

Figure 32 shows the effect of age on the distribution of variants across styles. The students use much less (a-3) and much more (a-1) than their parents. Again, the use of (a-3) decreases with informality while (a-1) increases; the parents however use more (a-1) in the careful converstional style than in the informal style.

Figure 31: Occurrence of the variants by sex and style

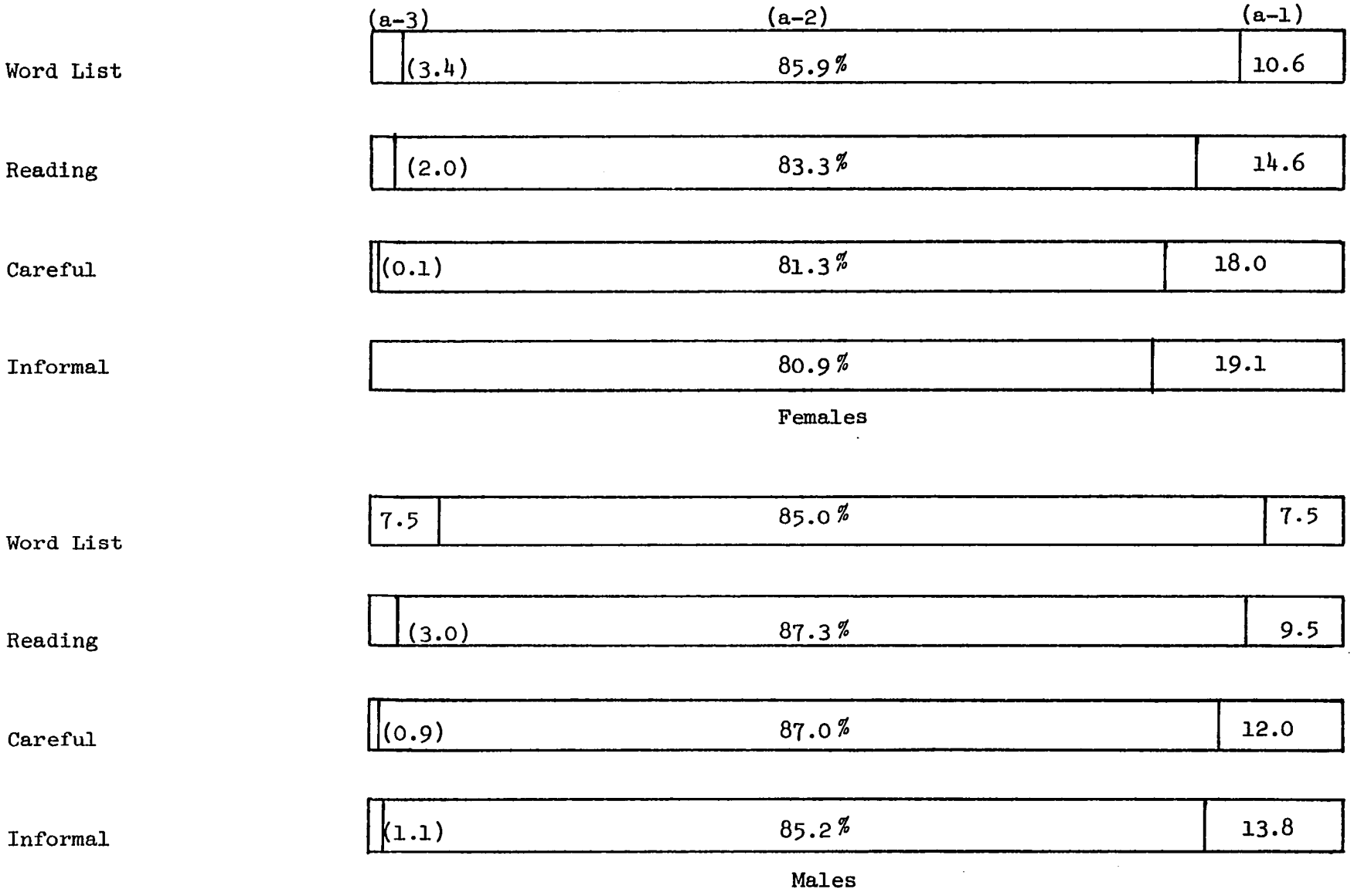
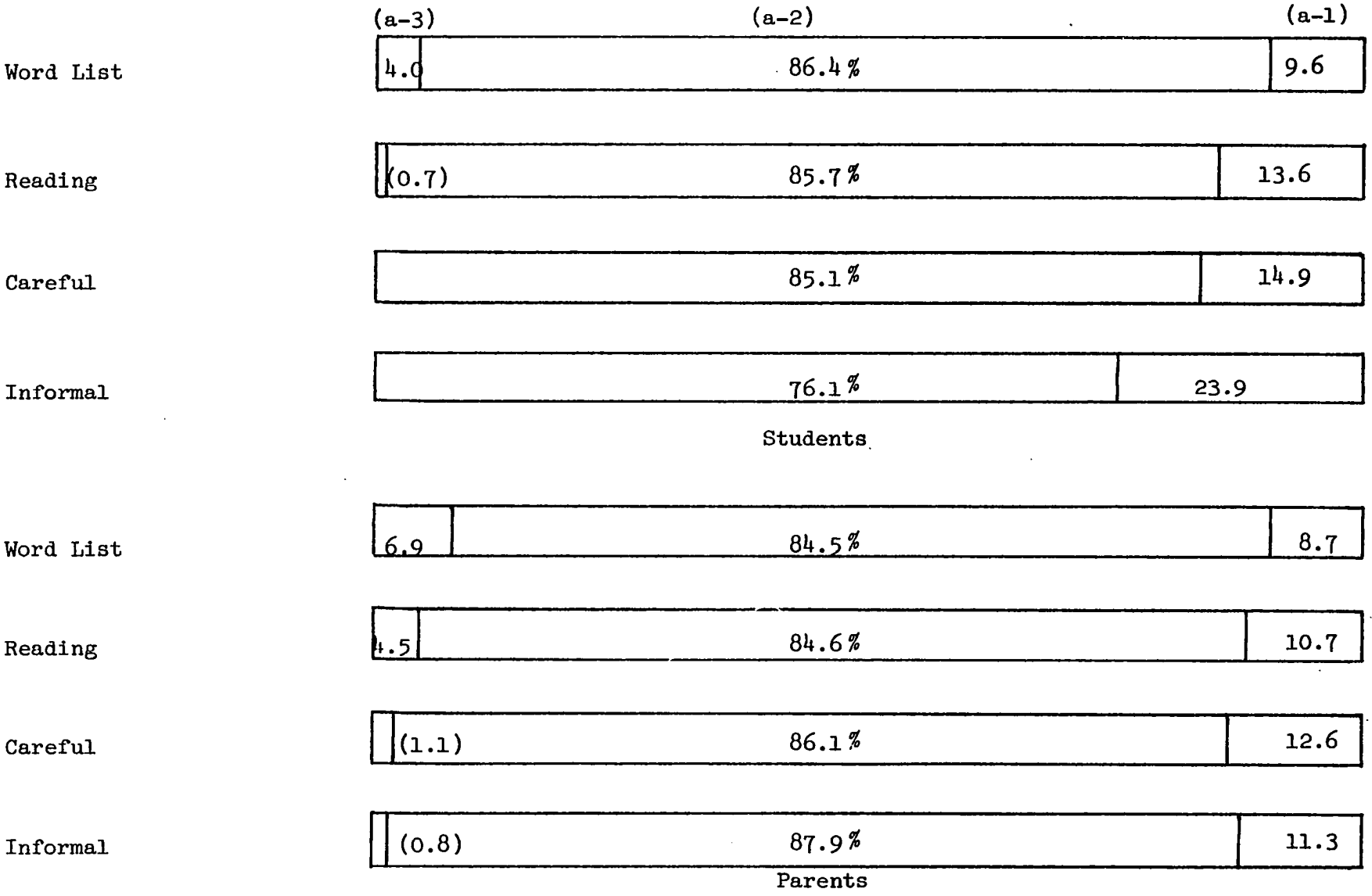


Figure 32: Occurrence of the variants by age and style



Class and Style

Figure 33 shows a very similar pattern to that in figure 32. Note however that the use of (a-1) follows the expected pattern only for the working class. The intermediate group uses (a-1) more often in careful conversation than in informal conversation, while the intelligentsia speakers use (a-1) less in the careful style than they do in the reading.

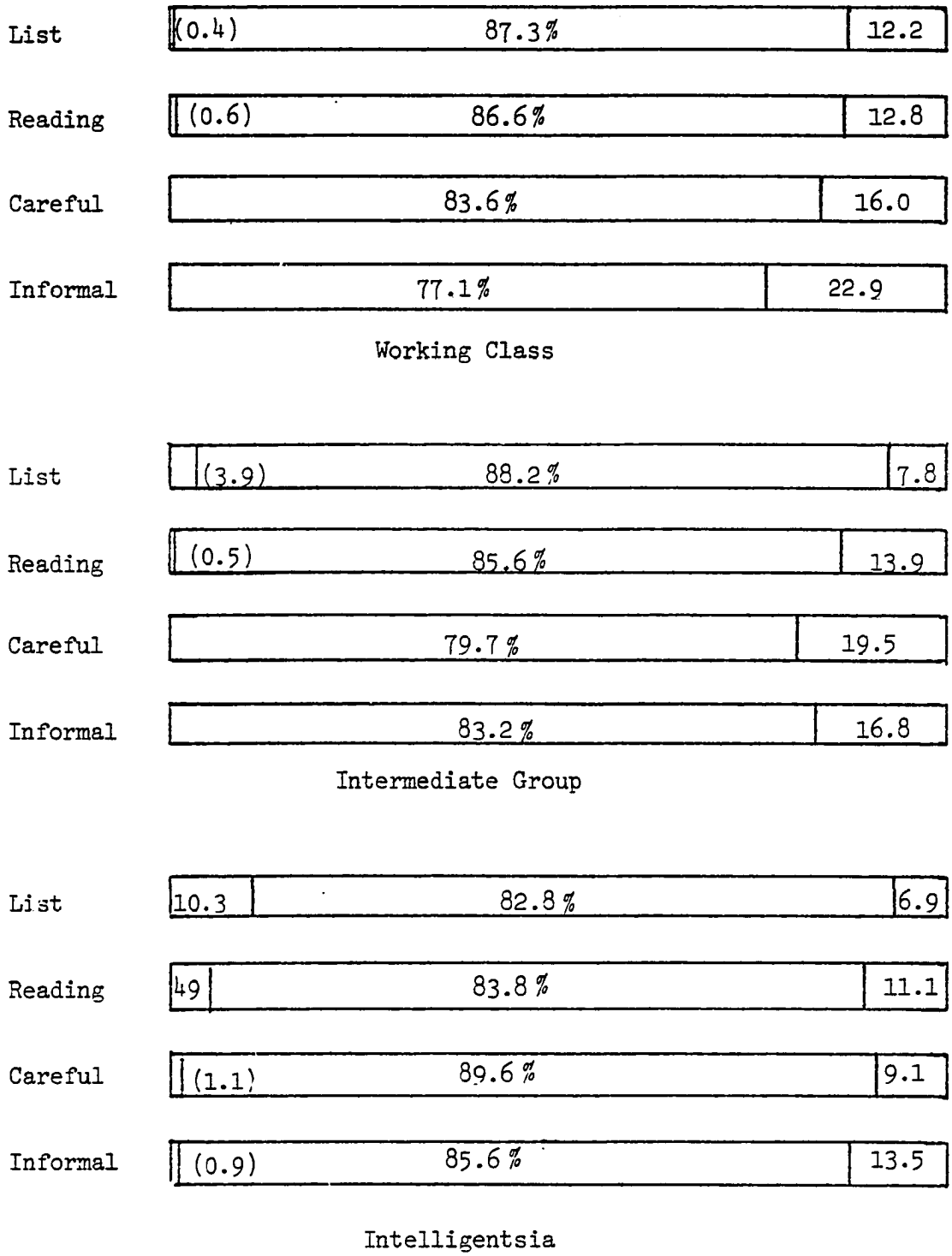
Discussion

The data that have been presented here show that the variation in the realization of (a) in the Poznań dialect can in no way be considered random or free variation. Variation is constrained by phonological features, particularly by the place of articulation, voicing, and palatalization of the preceding segment. To a lesser extent fronting is conditioned by the vowel's position in the word relative to word stress and by the grammatical form of the word in which the variable occurs.

Social and stylistic effects seem to operate independently of linguistic constraints. The use of front variants increases while the central (a-3) variant decreases as the style becomes progressively less formal. Sex, age, and social class also relate to use of the variants; women consistently use front variants more than men, students more than parents, and working class and the intermediate group more than the intelligentsia.

In addition, the lower status groups, especially in the categories of age and social class, show very few occurrences of the central (a-3) variant. In fact, only in the two formal styles do they use this form. They also consistently show an increased use of fronted (a-1)

Figure 33: Occurrence of the variants by class and style



with increased informality, to the extent that from 19.1% to 23.9% of all their (a) tokens in the informal style are realized as (a-1).

The higher status groups show a different pattern. Men, parents, and the intelligentsia show all three variants in every style. In addition, while the speech of the lower status groups might be characterized primarily by an increase of (a-1) with informality, the higher status groups, particularly in the age and class categories, are characterized more by a steady decrease of (a-3). Their use of (a-1) is somewhat inconsistent and does not follow the expected pattern.

This suggests that there are actually two rules operating here, and that the vowel shift is occurring in two stages. The first stage has (a-3)→(a-2); the second part is (a-2)→(a-1).

In the lower status groups, women, students, and the working class, the first change is nearly complete. The (a-3) variant occurs only in formal styles, and only rarely there. The second change, (a-2)→(a-1),is well underway, evidenced by the regularity of patterning found in the distribution of (a-1).

In the higher status groups the first change is well underway, but the second,(a-2)→(a-1), is not yet well systematized, as is shown by the irregularity of patterning.

These data fit Labov's model for "change from below" (Labov 1972b:123,290) i.e., from below the level of conscious awareness. The effects of a change from below are more noticeable in less formal styles; we have seen that in these data more variation among social groups is found in the conversational styles. In addition, change from below is inaugurated by lower status groups. We see clearly that the lower status

groups in the community are leading the way in the fronting of (a).

The behavior of the intermediate group is particularly interesting. Their use of (a-3) parallels that of the working class, while their use of (a-1) shows the same lack of systematization found in the speech of the upper class. The variable (a), like (ę), is obviously socially sensitive enough to reflect the truly intermediate position in the society of these speakers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has dealt with the social stratification of two linguistic variables, (ę) and (a), in a Polish community. The data presented here have shown that not only is variation in language use constrained by linguistic factors, but both variables are socially and stylistically sensitive. More importantly, each variable reflects in its variation different social processes.

The sample population was stratified by sex, age and social class. Social class membership is defined in Poland by education and occupation. Since broad occupational categories are closely tied to level of education and since educational opportunities have increased dramatically since World War II, upward mobility is not uncommon in contemporary Poland. Social class membership can be changed within the span of a single generation. This has given a very dynamic quality to the Polish social structure.

Social categories other than social class were also shown to be important. Age and sex in this society, as in all societies, are stratificational variables, but not social class markers. This social stratification by age and sex is reflected in the data.

The analysis of linguistic variation incorporating both linguis-

tic and social constraints has cleared up some of the contoversy surrounding the linguistic status of /ę/ in Polish. It was shown that all variants of (ę) can occur in nearly every linguistic environment, a finding counter to all the major studies previously done on this vowel. However, the variation is not random; the occurrences of the variants of (ę) can be predicted by a combination of factors: phonological, social, and stylistic.

The analysis of (ę) also showed that the variable is sensitive to overt pressure from above. The lower status adult men used more prestige variants, or what they considered to be prestige variants, in the formal reading style than did the prestigious intelligentsia speakers. This phenomenon is known as hypercorrection, and has been shown in other studies to reflect the sensitivity of lower status groups to pressure from above.

The analysis of the effects of linguistic constraints on (a) has shown that vowel fronting is predictable by linguistic environments. The phonological features of the preceding segment have the strongest effect on the realization of the variable.

However the analysis of social constraints on the variable demonstrated something that the linguistic analysis missed: the vowel /a/ is in the process of change, and that change is occurring below the level of consciousness of the speakers. The change is occurring in two stages, [a] → [a˂], and [a˂] → [ae] or [ɑ]. Lower status groups - young people, women, and the working class - are leading the population in this vowel shift. For these groups, the first stage of the change, [a] → [a], is nearly complete, and the second stage is well under way. Higher status

groups - adults, males, and the intelligentsia - are lagging behind in both changes. The shift from [a] to [ae] or [ɑ] is probably part of a chain shift which includes [o] → [a], but only anecdotal evidence was presented to support this contention.

The most interesting part of the analysis presented here, and the most significant theoretically, is the sensitivity of both variables to the socially ambiguous position of the intermediate group. Important social processes emerged which might have been missed had a strict class model of the society been used.

The behavior of this residual social group reflects very strongly the ongoing social change in Poland. If this group had been left out of the analysis interesting kinds of behavior would still have emerged, but the processes that are currently characteristic of Polish society would have been less clear. The behavior of this intermediate social group shows explicitly that the linguistic and social stratification in this community is not static.

For example, the analysis of (ę) showed the linguistic insecurity of the parental generation and at the same time showed how the different manifestations of hypercorrection by the intermediate group and the working class reflect different social processes. Both groups hypercorrected in the reading style; however while the intermediate social group used a greater percentage of the prestige variant than did the intelligentsia, the working class hypercorrected by increasing their use of a stigmatized form, even in unfavorable phonological environments. This finding suggests that hypercorrection may be a more important indicator of social pressure than had previously been thought. At least in Polish, the var-

iant used in hypercorrection has more to say about social processes than does merely the presence of hypercorrection.

The variable (ę) was also shown to be sensitive to the different social realities for young people and their parents, particularly in the working class and the intermediate group. The differential usage of the variants of (ę) by young people and their parents reflects the greater mobility in Poland today, particularly through education. The variable is sensitive not only to the presence of a system of social mobility, but also to the likelihood that aspirations of mobility might be realized.

The analysis of (a) also showed the sensitivity of the variable to the ambiguous position of the intermediate social group, again particularly in the parental generation. In their realizations of this variable, as with the (ę), the intermediate group displayed extremes of behavior, behaving like the working class in the conversational styles and the intelligentsia in the formal styles.

Both variables then are extremely sensitive to processes of social change and social mobility. The sensitivity of the variables is great enough that they can be used as diagnostics to define the social roles of the members of the speech community (see Johnson 1979b for an attempt to do this).

The results presented here are directly comparable to results of similar studies in the United States. Both Poland and the United States are stratified societies; in both there is not only an ideology but also a reality of social mobility. The bases for stratification in the two societies are somewhat different; income is not a stratification-

al variable in Poland. The prevailing socioeconomic ideology of the two societies is also different. The United States is capitalist; Poland, outside the agricultural sector, is socialist. This study has shown that in spite of the different socioeconomic bases and stratification variables in the two societies, the same processes of linguistic stratification are occurring. This indicates that the key variables in linguistic stratification are social differentiation and the means for social mobility.

The linguistic processes described in this study reflect the rapid social change that Poland has undergone in the last 35 years. They also suggest that the changes are still ongoing. Differences among the young people in the realizations of both variables were much less, regardless of social class differences, than those among the adults. This suggests the possibility that class differences are becoming less important in Polish society, however only a restudy of the community or the discovery of a linguistic variable reflecting strong class differences among the young people could validate or reject that possibility.

Finally, the fact that the results of this analysis of language use are comparable to the results of sociological studies in Poland is indicative of the role sociolinguistic research can play in more general studies of processes of social stratification and social change. Sociolinguistic data can be used as a social diagnostic and can be used to reify, validate, or question the results of other kinds of social research.

NOTES

1. This research was conducted during the academic year 1976-77, and was funded in part by the Fulbright-Hays program and a Polish Government Grant.

2. The father of one of the students was born in what is now part of the Ukraine; at the time the area was part of Poland. Since the father considered himself to be a Pole, I left the son in the sample.

3. I would like to thank Ralph Cooley of the Department of Communication, University of Oklahoma for assisting me.

4. Part of the analysis presented in this chapter has previously appeared in print. See Johnson 1979a, 1979b; Johnson and Zysk 1978.

5. Following standard practice, symbols in brackets are phonetic segments, symbols in virgules are phonemes, and symbols in parentheses are linguistic variables.

6. A portion of the analysis presented in this chapter is based on a paper entitled "Social Correlates of a Possible Vowel Shift in Polish" read at the 1979 Mid-America Linguistics Conference in Lincoln, Nebraska.

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APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLE

Informant		Sex	Age	Level of Education	Occupation	Years in Poznań*	Class
A	1	M	49	college	chemist/college rector	28	Intell.
	2	F	49	college	chemist	28	Intell.
	3	F	18	---	---	--	Intell.
B	4	M	51	college	electrical engineer	30	Intell.
	5	F	47	college	librarian	30	Intell.
	6	M	19	---	---	--	Intell.
C	7	M	51	college	neurosurgeon	--	Intell.
	8	F	46	college	psychologist	--	Intell.
	9	F	17	---	---	--	Intell.
D	10	M	56	college	scientific worker	29	Intell.
	11	F	54	college	teacher	29	Intell.
	12	M	17	---	---	--	Intell.
E	13	M	47	vocational	lathe operator	--	Worker
	14	F	47	elementary	unemployed	20	Worker
	15	F	18	---	---	--	Worker
F	16	M	49	vocational	locksmith	--	Worker
	17	F	46	elementary	unemployed	--	Worker
	18	M	18	---	---	--	Worker
G	19	F	47	high school	seamstress	--	Worker
	20	F	17	---	---	--	Worker
H	21	M	50	elementary	physical laborer	27	Worker
	22	F	54	elementary	factory laborer	--	Worker
I	23	M	46	vocational	teacher	--	Interm.
	24	F	17	---	---	--	Interm.

J	25	F	47	high school	intellectual worker	20	Interm.
	26	M	18	---	---	--	Interm.
	27	M	16	---	---	--	Intell.
	28	M	19	---	---	--	Intell.
	29	F	17	---	---	--	Intell.
	30	F	17	---	---	--	Intell.
	31	F	17	---	---	--	Worker
	32	M	17	---	---	--	Worker
	33	M	17	---	---	--	Worker
	34	F	18	---	---	--	Worker
	35	F	16	---	---	--	Interm.
	36	M	19	---	---	--	Interm.
	37	F	18	---	---	--	Interm.

*For non-natives.

Individuals grouped by letters are members of the same family.

Individuals 27 through 37 are students whose parents were not included in the sample.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section I: Word List

oddal	poszedł	łata
oddał	wspomnień	lata
oddział	myszki	żołądz
inny	myśleć	ziołko
samoobsługowy	umarł	(ziółko)
się	zaczął	
proszę	zaczęło	
święty	chodź	
mądrość	hołd	
dostał	prosiliście	
pociągiem	jeździłyście	
początek	czołówka	
ciekawy	którzy	
czekamy	żyć	
mieć	dziś	
mecz	trzy	
szła	czy	
ślad	zimowisko	

Section II: Reading

Co Wy Na To?

Do kraju przyjechał reżyser. Nie było go tu 15 lat. W tym czasie wybił się. Stał się znany, głosny, ceniony, nagradzany. Jego filmy - w większości znane i w kraju - robiły kasę i jednoczesnie pretendowały do rangi wydarzeń artystycznych. Reżyser przyjechał prywatnie, aby odwiedzić rodziców, spotkać się z przyjaciółmi, a przy okazji porozmawiać o ewentualnej współpracy z Filmem Polskim.

Reżyser jeszcze nie dojechał a tu już się zaczęło. Cała prasa na wyscigi zaczęła drukować wspomnienia, rozmowy, panegiryki. Reżyser jako niemowlę, jako dziecię, dorastający młodzieniec, wreszcie młody artysta i dziś - gwiazda filmu.

Po przyjeździe było jeszcze lepie. I to mimo że reżyser powiedział: "Wywiady mnie nużą", żurnaliści nie dali mu spokoju. Każdy chciał napisać, że ściskał prawicę Romka.

Co bystrzejsi posuneli się nawet do metod znanych skądinąd. Publikowali bowiem fragmenty podsłuchanych jego rozmów, strzępy rzuconych myśli o szkolnych schodach i o tych, co już odeszli.

Pytali go, czy jako cudowne dziecko w wieku lat pięcu "złozył slubowanie filmowe?", "Dlaczego nie dostał Oskara?", "Dlaczego nie realizuje dla telewizji?", "Jak żyć?"

Krakowski tygodnik zachłystywał się, że nawet mimo aury, która sprzysięgła się przeciwko, reżyser wynajętym samochodem dotarł z Pragi do Krakowa. Dał bowiem słowo, że będzie. I był. I to jaki był: "mimo tylu przeżyc i upływu lat - Roman Polański niczym alchemik korzystający z "eliksiru młodości" nie zmienił się zupełnie".

To ten sam, "mały, czupurny blondynek", który chodził przed laty po Krakowie i straszył ludzi jako Quasimodo, a potem z autorem wspomnień jadał "tradycyjną fasolkę po bretońsku".

Ciesząc się sukcesami reżysera i naprawdę lubiąc jego filmy po owej zdrowej porcji wazeliny poczułem się nieco niezdrowo. Ciekawe, jakby też ci sami żurnaliści, którzy spijali z ust Polańskiego życiowe mądrości, zareagowali na podobne teksty np. o dziecinstwie bądz co bądz najwybitnieszego reżysera, działającego w kraju Andrzeja Wajdy.

Section III: Interview

1. Do people from Poznań speak better or worse than people from Warsaw or Krakow? What kinds of differences are there?
2. Do people know that you are from Poznań by the way you speak? How?
3. Do you think that people who have a good education speak better than those who don't? What differences are there?
4. Can you tell a person's education by the way he speaks? How?
5. Does the way a person speaks play any kind of role when he is looking for a job or trying to get a promotion? In what way?
6. Can you tell a person's occupation from the way he speaks? For example?
7. Can you tell from the way a person talks how old he is? Is there any difference between the speech of old people and that of young people? For example?
8. Is there any difference between the speech of men and women? What differences are there?
9. Do you think it's better to be a physical or a mental worker? Why?
10. What kind of job or occupation would you like to have? Why?
11. If you could be anything you wanted, more than anything else in the world, what would it be? Why?
12. When someone is choosing a job or occupation what is the most important factor in his decision: income, prestige, power, ease of work, or maybe something else? why?
13. Does that actually happen? Do people really choose a job for that reason, or for some other?

Additional Questions Asked in Longer Interviews

14. (asked of students) What do you think about the opportunities for young people in Poland today? Are the chances of getting a good education and finding a job good?

15. (asked of parents) How do opportunities for young people in Poland today, in terms of education and employment, compare with the time when you were the age that your son or daughter is now?