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edited by Janet Holmes

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Preface

This is the third in the series of *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics* edited by staff members of the Department of Linguistics at Victoria University. Like previous collections, this collection consists of papers written by Honours students as part of their Honours course work in a particular area, as well as papers reporting on research by staff members working in the area. In this issue, as in the first collection, that area is sociolinguistics.

The papers by Catherine Neazor and Michael Williams report on their Honours sociolinguistics projects. Catherine Neazor is not Polish but, as she explains in her paper, she has always had friends who were Polish New Zealanders, and she has been closely involved with the Wellington Polish community all her life. Michael Williams is a New Zealand student with origins in the Isle of Wight. Because he intended to spend the long vacation before his Honours year visiting relatives in the Isle of Wight, we devised a project which would enable him to put this time to good use. This explains the appearance of a paper on post-vocalic (r) in the Isle of Wight in a collection of papers published in Wellington.

Caroline McGhie has been a staff member at Victoria University, though she is currently overseas. She presented the paper included in this volume at a Linguistics Society Conference in 1989. It aroused a great deal of interest and it is published here to encourage further work in this area. She would welcome comments. Similarly my paper on women's contributions in formal contexts reports on work in progress and I too would be interested in any responses readers have on this paper.

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Women's verbal contributions in public settings[1]

Janet Holmes

Abstract

This paper examines the distribution and function of women's and men's contributions to formal discourse. Evidence is provided that males talk for longer and make more frequent contributions than females in formal contexts such as seminars, TV discussions and full-class exchanges in classrooms. These contexts are ones in which talk is highly valued because contributions generally have status-enhancing potential. Moreover, the predominant function of talk in these contexts tends to be expository. Women tend to contribute more talk in less formal contexts and their contributions often facilitate exploratory talk - talk which assists a more extensive exploration of issues. An analysis of the types of elicitations which occurred in formal public seminars in New Zealand and their distribution between the sexes illustrates these points. The paper ends with some practical suggestions of ways in which the unequal distribution of public discourse between women and men might be reduced.

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> I've noticed this over the years as we've got more women in the House that, whereas we men can talk across the House in measured terms ....when the ladies get at each other the knives get out ...... Frankly I'm a little bit scared of them (Sir Robert Muldoon quoted in Wellington *Evening Post* 20 June, 1991).

> 'I'm waiting for a leader to establish himself so I can go for his throat' said one male participant in the discussion (Schick Case 1988: 51).

Introduction

There is now an extensive literature exploring ways in which women's and men's talk differs (see Holmes 1991 for a review). In general, contrary to Sir

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Robert Muldoon's observations, analyses of typical female ways of interacting have identified features which can be described as cooperative, facilitative, and 'other-oriented'. By contrast male talk has been characterised as typically competitive, argumentative, and verbally aggressive. Women tend to be process-oriented where men are more task or product-oriented. Women use interactive devices which encourage others to contribute and participate, and signal that they are paying attention, while men tend to compete for the floor, interrupt frequently, assert their views strongly, and disagree baldly with others.

While these features are widely attested, at least for white middle class adults, there is some disagreement about the relative amounts of talk that women and men contribute to interaction. Some researchers have found that women talk more than men, but others report just the opposite.[2] One explanation for these apparently inconsistent results can be found by looking at the contexts in which the data has been collected, and the different purposes of the talk.

Language serves many functions - often simultaneously. One useful and widely accepted distinction is that between social, interpersonal or affective talk on the one hand, and referential or informative talk on the other (eg. Hymes 1974, Halliday 1985). In contexts where the primary function of talk is interpersonal or social, women tend to contribute more. When the primary function of talk is referential and focussed on information, men often talk more. These tendencies become even more apparent in different contexts. Women tend to be more comfortable in private, informal contexts of talk, whereas men are generally more willing than women to contribute in more public or formal contexts. In general, then, women are most comfortable talking one-to-one or in small groups, and they are generally more concerned with affective or social meaning than men are. Men, on the other hand are most comfortable with referential or information-oriented talk, and they are more willing than women to contribute in public, formal contexts. Clearly these are broad generalisations, and it is always possible to find exceptions, but they are helpful background in trying to account for the differential contribution to talk by women and men in different contexts.

In this paper I focus on talk in more formal contexts, examining both the social and the referential function of talk in such contexts, and the implications for women in particular. It will become clear that there are a number of arguments for a more equal distribution of talk between women and men in more formal

2 Relevant references are provided in the more detailed discussion below, but see also Thorne, Henley and Kramarae (1983: 279-281).

contexts. The paper concludes with a number of suggested strategies for achieving this goal.

Valued and valuable talk

Who talks most?

Studies of conferences (Spender 1979, Swacker 1979), seminars (Holmes 1988, Bashiruddin, Edge and Hughes-Pélégrin 1990, Holmes and Stubbe forthcoming), formal meetings (eg. Eakins and Eakins 1979, Edelsky 1981, Schick Case 1988, Woods 1988, Graddol and Swann 1989), mock jury deliberations (Strodtbeck and Mann 1956), and television discussions (Bernard 1972, Edelsky and Adams 1990) have demonstrated that in general men take more frequent and longer turns than women in such contexts. I will give just two very clear examples of this pattern based on research in New Zealand.

Margaret Franken (1983) recorded three television programmes involving interviews with three (male) public figures. In each programme there were three interviewers: the front-person, who was a woman, and two invited guests who were different in each interview, one male and one female. Franken compared the contributions of the different interviewers to the discussion. There was no reason why any one of them should talk more than any other, though one could argue that the front-person, who had responsibility for the success of the discussion, might legitimately have been expected to contribute more than her two guest assistants. The results, however, revealed that she spoke least, and in a situation where each of three television interviewers was entitled to at most 33% of the interviewers' talking time, the males appropriated at least 50% of it on every occasion.

A second example is provided by an analysis which I undertook of the questions asked by participants in 100 public meetings or seminars on a very wide range of topics. Once again, men dominated the discussion time. Overall they asked 75% of the questions. In formal and public settings, it is not surprising to find men made up the majority of the audience at almost every meeting - on average they constituted 66% of the audiences. But even in sessions where the numbers of women and men were approximately equal, men asked 62% of all the questions during the discussion. In fact, men asked the majority of the questions in all but seven of the 100 sessions. Women participated much less than men in these formal and public discussions. (I will return to this data in the discussion of elicitations below.)

In classrooms too, at all levels, especially in full-class sessions and group discussions with the teacher, the same pattern holds. Males dominate the talking time (Brophy and Good 1974, Elliott 1974, Safilios-Rothschild 1979, Spender 1980a, 1982, Brooks 1982, Sadker and Sadker 1985, de Bie 1987, Swann 1988, Swann and Graddol 1988, Craig and Pitts 1990). Among adults and older children, males also tend to dominate in small group discussions (Munro 1987, Holmes 1989, Gilbert 1990), and the same is true in at least some experimental laboratory discussions (Leet-Pellegrini 1980, West and Zimmerman 1983).

Solidarity and status

One explanation which has been proposed for male domination of the talking time in more formal contexts is that women are more concerned with solidarity or 'connection' (Gilligan 1982, Tannen 1990), while men are more interested in status and being one up. Features of female talk, such as facilitative pragmatic particles, agreeing comments, attentive listening, and responsive feedback (Strodtbeck and Mann 1956, Edelsky 1981, Holmes 1984, 1986, 1990, Coates 1988, Schick Case 1988), very obviously reflect concern for others and a desire to make contact and strengthen relationships. Male talk, on the other hand, appears to be more concerned with dominating others. Challenging utterances, assertive disagreements, and disruptive interruptions are all examples of strategies which typically characterise male rather than female talk, in both black and white communities, and which may function to claim the floor and so dominate the talking time (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, Goodwin 1988, Pilkington 1989, van Alphen 1987, Schick Case 1988, Tannen 1990).

These male talk strategies also serve the purpose of asserting status or power in some contexts. While talk in public formal contexts generally has a relatively high information content, it also has a social function - to signal and possibly increase the status of the speaker. Talk in public contexts is potentially status-enhancing; effective public speaking is one strategy for achieving status in a group. One might call it 'valued' talk, since effective contributions clearly have the potential to considerably increase a person's status or mana. Typical examples of such valued contexts would be public meetings, seminars, conferences, and formal management meetings, though certain less formal interactions involving influential or significant 'others' may also be contexts where talk is valued as a potential source of increased status. It is in these 'valued' contexts that men tend to talk most.

The interactive patterns which characterise women's and men's talk can thus be interpreted as reflecting the different social orientations of the speakers. If women are concerned with solidarity and connection, it is easy to see why they tend to talk least in formal and public contexts, while the opposite tends to be true for men. The more private the context, the more appropriate the focus on interpersonal, affective meanings. The more public and formal the context, the more likely considerations of status will be relevant. And while men appear to be comfortable contributing in contexts where demonstrating one's expertise is acceptable behaviour, women seem to be less comfortable in such status-oriented contexts.

Expository and exploratory talk

Talk in formal and public contexts such as seminars, conferences and meetings also has an important referential function. Indeed, some would down-play, if not deny, the 'status-enhancing' social function discussed above, and claim that conveying information is the primary function of talk in such contexts. Certainly, much of the talk in these contexts can be described as **expository** - it is an exposition of facts and/or opinions. However, by virtue of the context, it is usually also 'display' talk - an opportunity to display what you know - and this is one basis for the claim that from a social point of view it is potentially status-enhancing 'valued' talk.

But there is another kind of talk whose primary function is undoubtedly referential, which may also occur in such contexts, though it is typical of less formal interaction. It has been called **exploratory** talk (Barnes 1976, Barnes and Todd 1977, Marland 1977, Cazden 1987). Exploratory talk is defined as talk that allows people to explore and develop their ideas through the joint negotiation of meaning (Barnes 1976: 28). In contrast to expository talk, which I have described as 'valued' because status-enhancing, exploratory talk could be labelled **valuable** talk. It is cognitively valuable as a means of coming to grips with new concepts and integrating them with existing knowledge. It is also cognitively valuable as a means of thinking through the implications of proposals on which decisions for future action can be based.

It is easy to see that high-quality exploratory talk is essential in a range of contexts. It seems obvious that the quality of the discussion in the more public and formal kinds of contexts described would benefit from being less expository and more exploratory. Such talk could move the discussion from exposition alone towards a fuller understanding of difficult issues, for example, and towards the exploration and development of the ideas presented. Many

would see this as desirable, and indeed it is the professed goal of many public meetings, conferences and seminars. How might this be achieved?

The female role in exploratory talk

Classroom discussion
It seems that one strategy for shifting expository talk towards exploratory discussion with its attendant cognitive benefits might be to increase the numbers of females contributing to the discussion. There is little research on sex differences in this area, but what there is suggests that the features of women's talk described above facilitate 'exploratory' talk, and that women's talk strategies tend to improve the quality of the discussion.

High-quality exploratory interaction is essentially collaborative. Successful collaboration is based on the use of facilitative devices such as soliciting contributions from others, providing supportive feedback, extending others' contributions and disagreeing in a non-confrontational manner (Barnes and Todd 1977). It will be clear from the discussion above that these are characteristics of female talk. By contrast Barnes and Todd (1977: 72) note that competing for the floor, belittling, rejecting and disagreeing with others' contributions, and exchanging insults were talk strategies which resulted in less effective discussion. These strategies are generally more typical of male interaction. It appears, then, that where females are involved in referentially-oriented interaction, the likelihood of thoughtful exploratory discussion is increased.

Recent New Zealand research supports this. Jane Gilbert (1990) analysed the speech of fifteen Wellington teenagers in a series of discussions which formed part of the work for some science modules. She found that in mixed-sex groups of four or five pupils, the boys talked most, and they were also the most frequent interrupters. Girls were much more likely to provide positive and supportive feedback, and to facilitate talk. In particular, boys in the single-sex group interrupted each other almost twice as often as students in any other group. Jane Gilbert comments that this group was also the one in which least 'cognitive' talk took place. ('Cognitive' talk was defined as exploratory talk concerned with developing and explaining ideas and reflecting full engagement in the science content of the task).

In her conclusion, reflecting on the overall quality of the discussion in different groups, Gilbert comments:

The girls in both the single-sex and mixed group were more skilled in providing the conditions in which exploratory talk is most likely to take place. They provide considerable amounts of feedback to other group members, most of which is supportive, and they rarely interrupt other speakers. In the single-sex girls' group it was particularly noticeable that students almost always allowed other group members to continue talking until it was obvious that they had no more to say (1990:149).

Her study also provides support for the view that most discussion of this type benefits from having girls as group members:

'The boys were clearly advantaged by being in a mixed-sex group. They had considerably larger number of opportunities to talk in an exploratory way than the boys in the single-sex group did. They also received much more feedback on their contributions, most of which was positive' (1990: 149).

Gilbert's study thus provides convincing evidence that female ways of talking have advantages in furthering educational goals and in facilitating exploratory talk.

In a study of features of younger children's discussion, Maria Stubbe (1991) found that putting the children in pairs rather than in groups tended to reduce sex differences in features of interaction. She noted, for instance, that working in pairs reduced the amount of competition for the floor, and that overall the boys were not noticeably aggressive in their style. Nevertheless, the boys were much more likely to express disagreement baldly, while girls were more likely to qualify disagreement. The boys' disagreement strategy tended to cut the discussion off short, while qualified disagreements encouraged further exploration and clarification of the area of contention. Modified disagreements acknowledged the validity of the other person's viewpoint, posed the issue as a shared problem and encouraged the pair to search for a solution which accommodated both their opinions. Interestingly, Stubbe noted that boys produced fewer bald disagreements when talking to girls than when in single-sex pairs, and, like Gilbert, she found that the quality of the discussion was generally highest when girls were involved. Indeed a tendency to qualify disagreements and look for areas of agreement generally reflected the likely progress of a pair towards the fuller and more sophisticated understanding of a complex issue which results from considering alternative points of view and attempting to reconcile and integrate them. These strategies were generally more typical of interactions involving girls.

Qualifying one's own or another's contribution is one of the features of good discussion identified by Barnes and Todd (1977). Another key feature of good exploratory talk is the occurrence of non-threatening open-ended elicitations which encourage participants to explore the implications of their statements and to support them with explicit argumentation.

Questions and elicitations in public contexts

The studies described above were based on a small number of discussions involving no more than twenty school pupils in each case. In order to test further the claim that females are more likely to use elicitations which facilitate discussion, I looked in more detail at the types of elicitations used by women and men in formal public settings.

The data was collected from 100 public meetings or seminars which involved a formal presentation followed by a discussion. The presentation normally took about 45 minutes and the discussion which followed ranged from about ten minutes to 45 minutes. The topics were extremely varied, and so consequently were the audiences. They included people from a wide range of government departments, diplomats, politicians, people from industry and the commercial world, bankers, trade unionists, policy makers, historians, teachers and academics.

Focussing on the function of the elicitation in relation to the previous discourse (usually the formal presentation), I identified three broad categories of elicitation: Supportive, Critical, and Antagonistic. Supportive elicitations implied a generally positive response to the content of the presentation, and invited the speaker to expand or elaborate on some aspect of it. Here are two (edited) examples.[3]

(1) You've described the formal features of this structure very clearly. I wonder if you could elaborate a little on the social implications? What do you see as the possible social outcomes of adopting this structure?

(2) Just building on that last point, I'd be interested in your views on the extent to which it's expected that parents will be able to modify the curriculum in their local schools?

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[3] The examples are described as 'edited' only because most are based on notes rather than tape-recordings. Unconscious editing of hesitations etc. is almost unavoidable but the content of utterances is faithfully recorded.

Supportive elicitations generally endorse the presenter's approach, sometimes by referring to further material which could be interpreted as consistent with it.

A second group of elicitations were somewhat more critical in tone, less whole-heartedly or explicitly positive. They often consisted of a modified agreement or a qualified disagreement. They might express a degree of negative evaluation or scepticism, though it was usually qualified. Examples (3) and (4) provide illustrations.

(3) It isn't always possible to collect all the information required in order to undertake a fully comprehensive costing, as you suggest. Are you aware, for instance, that in a recent argument about the cost of providing a telephone service to a particular rural consumer, no one was able to identify the real cost?

(4) I can see what you're getting at, but it seems to me the material in your figure 5 could be interpreted somewhat differently ......
The tone of voice in which any elicitation is expressed is extremely important in interpreting its function in order to classify it accurately. This is particularly obvious with critical elicitations.

A third type of elicitation was overtly antagonistic to the content of the presentation. Such utterances generally involved challenging, aggressively critical assertions whose function was to attack the speaker's position and demonstrate it as wrong. The following examples illustrate this category of elicitations.

(5) I have to say that I disagree with your analysis. The elements you have identified as important seem relatively insignificant to me compared to the crucial influence of ....

(6) You're being inconsistent. If you don't believe in streaming, why are the maths classes streamed?

In their contributions to the discussion, men expressed proportionately twice as many of the antagonistic elicitations as women did. In other words, the men baldly disagreed with or explicitly challenged the presenter significantly more often than the women did. Moreover, on the few occasions when women made such critical comments, they were almost always in an environment where criticism had been explicitly invited or encouraged, or where it was

expected, as, for example, when a politician or policy maker had been invited to give a presentation specifically for the purpose of explaining an unpopular or controversial policy, as opposed to the more usual presentation where a guest was invited to describe their current work or discuss an issue of general interest. Particular topics also seemed more likely to elicit critical questions. Seminars which focussed on issues in women's health and education, for example, presented by advocates of the process of devolution were among those most likely to elicit critical questions from women in the audience.

In general, supportive elicitations and modified criticisms are most likely to facilitate good quality open-ended discussion. Aggressively negative questioning leads people to take up entrenched positions - especially in a public debate. Those attacked tend to respond defensively and little cognitive progress is made. In formal public contexts bald disagreements and overt challenges rarely encourage further discussion and exploration of the area of disagreement They set up an oppositional confrontational structure with the speakers as opponents. Within this kind of framework there is no room for a beneficial exploration of the issues.

If these patterns are found to hold more widely, they provide a basis for arguing that the quality of a discussion benefits when women get a more equal share of the talking time. Female interactive strategies appear to encourage high quality exploratory talk. They facilitate contributions and encourage participants to pursue ideas and elaborate their reasons for holding a particular position. The issues are more fully explored, arguments are more explicitly justified, and participants' level of understanding of the issues increases. Clearly the result must be a better thought-through outcome.

In analysing contributions to these public formal seminars, it became clear that the distribution of women's contributions was not random. Under certain conditions women tended to contribute more often. Overall, the women were far more likely to ask questions when the presentation or the paper was given by a woman. On just seven occasions (i.e. 7% of the total number of seminars), the women actually asked more questions than the men. In five of these seven seminars women were a majority in the audience - an unusual situation overall in this sample of formal public meetings.[4] One occasion involved the presentation of a paper by two women alongside a male presentation. The remaining session in which women asked more questions than men involved

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[4] There is evidence from British research which confirms the suggestion that simple numerical domination of a situation by men appears to inhibit women's talk, though the reverse does not seem to hold (Spender 1980).

a group of about 25 people, almost half of whom were highly qualified women colleagues at a session focussing on their particular area of expertise (cf Leet-Pellegrini 1980, Appelman et al. 1987).

It seems possible, then, that women asked more questions in these sessions simply because they found the setting less uncomfortable than usual. It was in fact generally true that women were much more likely to contribute to the discussion when there was a woman speaker, when there were more women in the audience, and when the topic was one on which they could claim expert knowledge. All of these factors accounted for an increase in women's level of participation in the discussion.

Finally, it also seems that when women contribute more equally, the discussion is likely to be more enjoyable. In an analysis of departmental meetings, Carole Edelsky (1981) noted that participants commented that the parts of the discussion where women contributed more were the most enjoyable for everyone. These were sections Edelsky describes as consisting of a jointly constructed or 'collaborative floor', a 'more informal cooperative venture' than the male-controlled monologues with which they contrasted (1981: 416). Similarly at two recent seminars presented by young women where women formed a majority of the audience exactly this kind of 'shared floor' developed, resulting in an excellent discussion in both cases. The participants moved from addressing questions to the presenter to responding to each other's comments. The result was a lively and very productive exploration of the topic. Edelsky comments that this type of 'high involvement, synergistic, solidarity building interaction' (in which the number of women's contributions more closely matched the men's) provided a 'high level of communicative satisfaction' (1981: 416-17) which both men and women enjoyed. These enjoyable interactions have all the features of successful exploratory talk.

All in all, then, there are a number of good reasons to attempt to increase the contributions of women in more formal speech contexts.

Strategies for change

Women do not get their fair share of the talking time in public. This means they have less access to potentially status-enhancing talk. It also means the resulting talk does not benefit from their input, and it is clear from the discussion above that the benefits to the quality of the discussion may be considerable. How might one change this?

One suggested solution is consciousness raising. Like Maltz and Borker (1982), Deborah Tannen (1990) argues that the reason that women and men use different interaction strategies is that they belong to different cultural groups. If women and men only 'understood' each other's different rules for speaking, all would be well. Make people more aware of the unfairness of the current patterns, she suggests, and they will voluntarily change their ways:

> 'understanding genderlects improves relationships. Once people realize their partners have different conversational styles, they are inclined to accept differences without blaming themselves, their partners, or their relationships .....Understanding the other's ways of talking is a giant leap across the communication gap between women and men, and a giant step towards opening lines of communication' (1990: 297-298).

It is an appealing argument, well supported by abundant reference to relevant research evidence, as well as swathes of entertaining anecdotes. Nevertheless, despite its appeal, Tannen's analysis does not go deep enough, and her solution is over-optimistic.

It is certainly true that as a result of different childhood and adolescent patterns of socialisation, women and men develop different rules for interaction. It may also be true that with a great deal of goodwill and mutual tolerance, individual private cross-sex miscommunications by couples who are fully committed to each other's happiness can be resolved. But most of the world is not like that. Most interaction problems (such as the unequal distribution of talk in public contexts) are the result of structured inequality in our society. Women's ways of talking differ from men's because each group has developed interaction strategies which reflect their societal position. Most cross-gender communication problems in public contexts are women's problems, because the interactional rules in such situations are men's rules. So consciousness raising and mutual understanding may resolve some problems of cross-cultural miscommunication between the sexes, but in the real world **power** is the issue.

So when consciousness-raising can be backed up by power or authority, it may be effective. Gilbert (1990), for example, recommends that teachers should explicitly focus on inequities in patterns of talk and draw them to the attention of the participants so that groups can explicitly address the problem of allowing all participants an opportunity for expressing their ideas and contributing to the decisions made. With the backing of the teacher's authority,

it has been demonstrated that changes can be achieved (Whyte 1984, 1986, Sadker and Sadker 1985). Graddol and Swann (1989) document strategies for linguistic intervention which have been successfully adopted in Britain in a variety of contexts to redress gender imbalances. One of the case studies they describe was a project developed by a Birmingham school-teacher, Jackie Hughes, to challenge racist and sexist stereotypes. Her aims included 'to facilitate respectful and creative interaction ... between pupils and staff' (Graddol and Swann 1989: 185). They comment

> Jackie Hughes found that in small discussion groups it was relatively easy to intervene: the composition of groups could be chosen so that they weren't dominated by more talkative pupils; it was also possible to discuss with small groups why some pupils might find it difficult to contribute. Whole class discussion was more difficult to change, but again involving the pupils themselves in a discussion of classroom talk seemed to make them more sensitive and aware of others' needs (Graddol and Swann 1989: 186-7).

This suggests that consciousness-raising may be effective in encouraging participants to share the talking time it is backed up by someone with status and power whom participants have an incentive to please.

But there is often no obvious incentive for adult males to give up highly valued talking time in public contexts. Raised consciousnesses are certainly not enough in contexts where males are in control and where the rules of interaction are based on male norms. Even well-intentioned males will not succeed in sharing valued talking time without some assistance (or even insistence) from women (Spender 1980b, 1986, Coates 1986), though a firm chairperson, concerned to share out speaking turns, can make a difference (Whyte 1984, 1986, Appelman et al. 1987). And, it is not possible, of course, for the improved quality of discussion which can result from women's participation to act as an incentive until women succeed in obtaining more of the talking time. This can only be a persuasive argument once the current male-dominated interaction patterns change, and more talking time has been effectively claimed and used by women. Consequently, women who want more of this talking time (and some may not) need to devise strategies to ensure they get it.

The research discussed in this paper illustrates a discourse problem for women - getting a fair share of public and valued talking time - which has its roots in the unequal distribution of power between the sexes in society. Changing the power structure would alter the patterns. In the meantime,

analyses of the distribution of talk can provide not only some insight into the discourse processes involved but can also suggest some practical steps which can be taken to ameliorate the problem. I conclude, then, with some practical suggestions for increasing women's share of talking time in public formal contexts. These suggestions do not involve adopting male strategies, but rather require some preparation in advance, and willingness to take initiatives as opportunities arise.[5]

A. Strategies for participants
1. Organise in advance.
i. If you know before a seminar or meeting that you have a point you wish to contribute, tell the chairperson before the meeting starts that you wish to speak.

ii. Discuss in advance with other women whether they also wish to contribute, and agree on a strategy for passing the speaking rights to another woman when you have spoken.

2. Responding in context
i. If you decide you want to contribute during the progress of a discussion indicate to the chairperson immediately and very clearly that you wish to contribute.

ii Where you are confident a colleague has something useful to contribute to a discussion, pass the speaking rights to her, giving her a clear pointer about your reason for doing so.

iii. Always be prepared to make a contribution should you be asked to do so.

iv. Challenge the interrupter if you are interrupted. Don't give up the floor till you have finished what you want to say.

If women's contributions are communicatively effective, then this strategy should have the long-term effect of ensuring women's views are sought. In other words, if women's contributions demonstrably improve the quality of the discussion, one might hope they would be increasingly encouraged, at least in some forums. Alternatively where contributions to public talk are perceived

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[5] I have not discussed the option of 'separate development' or establishing separate forums for female and male talk, since I think this both unrealistic and likely to be self-defeating in most public contexts. Men have been happy to ignore women's views for too long for one to have any faith that they would feel the need to woo them should women deliberately withdraw from public debate. Indeed on the basis of the evidence in some contexts one wonders if anyone would notice.

primarily as ways of enhancing status, these strategies will help ensure that women's voices are not suppressed.

B. Strategies for organisers, chairpersons and teachers.
For those with responsibility for organising public formal talk there are further strategies which can be used to ensure greater access to talking time for females and better quality discussion.

1. Organise in advance.
i. Organise the programme to ensure women get an equal share of the 'official' talk and are used as 'experts' as often as men: chairing sessions, presenting papers, etc. In addition to being desirable in its own right, this will also encourage women participants to contribute from the floor (Holmes 1988, Holmes and Stubbe forthcoming).

ii. Actively encourage women to attend.

iii. Select topics and themes which will provide opportunities for women to excel and encourage them to contribute.

iv. Provide opportunities for small group discussion as preparation for full session discussions of issues. Exploratory talk will thereby be encouraged and females are more likely to contribute in the full session in the role of reporter on a small group's views.

2. Responding in context
i. As chair/director of activities ensure the females get their fair share of the contributions. Monitor your own behaviour over time to check you are achieving your goal. There is evidence that impressions can be very misleading in this area (Spender 1980b, Spender 1982, Whyte 1986).[6]

ii. Where appropriate draw participants' attention to strategies that females find uncomfortable: i.e. use consciousness-raising techniques to highlight the inhibiting effect of interruptions and bald unsupported disagreements.

The case for more talking time for women in public formal contexts can be made simply on equity grounds. Women are entitled to their fair share of the talking time and currently they do not get it. The case is strengthened by the

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[6] Whyte (1986: 196), for instance, reports that one male science teacher who managed to create an atmosphere in which girls and boys contributed more equally to discussion, felt that he was devoting 90 per cent of his attention to the girls.

fact that talking time in public or formal contexts is generally socially valued time, with the potential to increase the speaker's standing in the eyes of others. Public talking time increases a person's visibility. Women should have equal access to forums where their contributions may enhance their social status.

Such equity arguments are fine in principle. In practice, however, those in power are unlikely to relinquish their hold on any 'valued' good, including time, unless they can see some benefits for themselves. In this paper, I have pointed to the qualitative benefits of increasing the quantity of female participation in public and formal speech contexts. The benefits should appeal to those concerned with better understanding of issues, fuller exploration of ideas, and better based decision-making. Men who subscribe to such ideals will ensure women get the opportunity to contribute to public discussion. In the meantime women will almost certainly need to use self-help strategies in order to give men the opportunity to experience those benefits for themselves.

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The jargon of Wellington taxi dispatchers[1]

Caroline McGhie

Abstract

The language used in the radio interaction between taxi-dispatchers and taxi-drivers in Wellington is examined in order to locate it on the continuum from speech play to purely instrumental talk. The turn-taking rules are compared with those of telephone interactions, and the conversational implicature behind the taxi radio interaction is considered. Features of the grammar are discussed as are the special lexical usages which are classified into four sub-categories. The number of special lexical items appears to justify calling the language used by taxi dispatchers a jargon.

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Introduction

In interpersonal communication the desire to transmit a message clearly is frequently mitigated by various other desires such as a wish to entertain, to be polite, to indulge in phatic communion and so on. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1976) has suggested that conversational interaction occurs on a broad continuum from speech play at one end to purely instrumental talk at the other. She suggests as an example of purely instrumental talk the exchanges between an airline pilot and the control tower. It is obvious that clear transmission of a message in these circumstances is of extreme life-or-death importance.

There are many other contexts in which the primary purpose of communication is to transmit information. One situation which I have investigated is the radio communication between taxi-dispatcher and taxi-drivers when details of a job are passed on. Obviously the life-or-death significance of this interaction is considerably less than that of an airline pilot and the control tower.

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[1] I should like to thank Lynley Stella for drawing my attention to the fact that taxi dispatchers use a special variety of English, and to the managers of the two major taxi companies in Wellington for their helpful attitude towards my research and for lending me taxi radios.

Nevertheless we might expect dispatcher-driver interaction to be characterised more by the features of instrumental talk than by those of speech play.

Background and method

When listening to taxi radios in Wellington, it is possible to hear utterances such as the following.
(i) Wishing well, Oriental, Rosie, Cambridge.
(ii) Front door to J'ville, two legs.
(iii) Genghis Khan, go China, one ton.
The meaning of these utterances is not immediately clear to outsiders as they appear to be instances of a specialized register or jargon being used by taxi dispatchers in their radio communication with taxi drivers.

To investigate the characteristics of the taxi dispatchers' use of language, I taped many hours of dispatcher-driver radio contact on different days and at different times, including both busy and comparatively quiet periods, in 1989 before the deregulation of the taxi industry. My data come from both of the two major taxi companies in Wellington, New Zealand. These two companies are of a similar size with each having approximately 150 taxis. In both companies the dispatchers appear to be native speakers of English while the drivers include both native speakers of English and many immigrants. The immigrants vary in their level of command of English, and in their knowledge of New Zealand customs. Their knowledge of New Zealand customs can even be limited enough for me to have heard one immigrant driver asking the dispatcher what R.S.A. meant, in spite of the Returned Servicemen's Association being a fairly widely-known institution in New Zealand.

Both companies follow similar procedures, and employee movement between the two companies means that the language used does not appear to exhibit company-specific properties even though the managers of the two companies hold widely different views on the use of special versions of place-names by their dispatchers. The manager of one company told me that he considered it to be "highly unprofessional" while the manager of the other company thought it was amusing. In spite of finding the use of special place names amusing, this manager told me that he had banned the use of one special place name -

Paranoia City for a certain foreign embassy building with a lot of obvious security equipment.

The data

The procedure that a customer sets in motion by telephoning to order a taxi is shown in Figure 1. The details of the job are written down by whoever answers the telephone which during quiet periods is the dispatcher himself or, very rarely, herself. In busier periods, it is not the dispatcher, but a person employed specifically for answering the telephone who writes down the details of the job. Once the dispatcher has the written details, the use of the radio starts. This study examines the language used on the radio from the time the dispatcher receives the written information about the job until a taxi-driver accepts the job and sets out to collect the customer.

The radio contact between dispatcher and driver is a specialized type of conversational interaction with clearly defined rules of turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974). The many hearers of the interaction may be categorized, using Clark's (1987) terminology in the way shown in Figure 2. When the dispatcher speaks, he assumes the hearer's role of self-monitor. The other hearers may be divided into participants and overhearers. Among the participants are the addressee and the side participants. Looking at radio contact (1) in Figure 1, all the drivers are addressees, while with radio contact (3) only one driver is an addressee, and all the other drivers are side participants. The drivers can be distinguished from the overhearers, for instance other people in the dispatch office, or eavesdroppers such as I was when listening in to the taxi radios.

The turn-taking exhibited in the interactions follows similar rules to the rules of turn-taking in conversation - particularly telephone conversation. Schegloff (1972b) categorized the beginning of a telephone conversation as a summons-answer sequence. Similarly the dispatchers' interaction with the drivers begins with a summons-answer sequence. The striking difference between the two is the summons on the taxi radios is a verbal one as opposed to the telephone ringing summons found by Schegloff in his study of telephone conversations. The taxi dispatcher's usual summons is a calling of the names of the taxi stands in the vicinity of the job he is trying to find a driver for. The third and fourth move have similarities with the proposal-acceptance
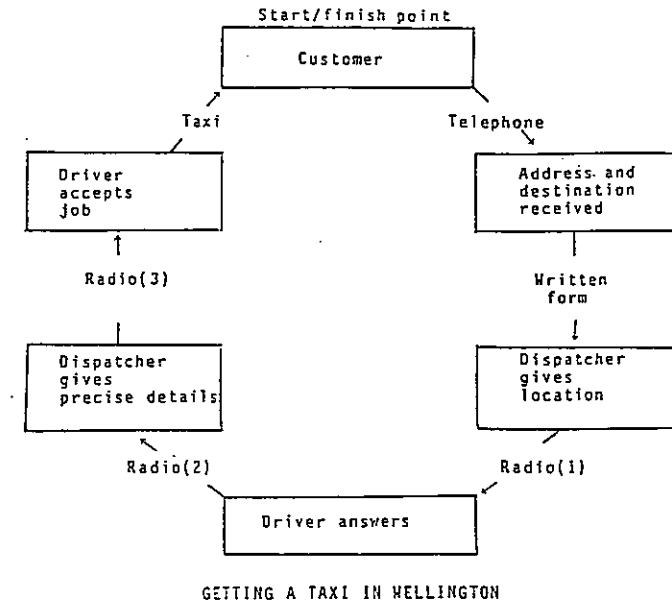

GETTING A TAXI IN WELLINGTON
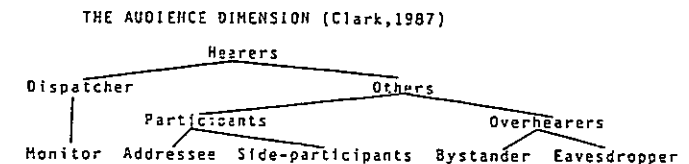
FIGURE 1

THE AUDIENCE DIMENSION (Clark,1987)

FIGURE 2

sequence that Houtkoop-Steenstra (1987) found in Dutch telephone conversations, but it seems more informative to call these two moves in the taxi radio interaction instruction and compliance. The interactional sequence forms a `speech event' (Hymes 1972, Duranti 1985) or `communicative event' (Saville-Troike 1982) with clear boundaries formed by the summons at the start and the compliance at the end.

The typical pattern of the interactional sequence between dispatcher and driver is shown in (1).

(1)　　　　BASIC INTERACTIONAL PATTERN
　　　　　 (Optional items in square brackets)

　　　　SUMMONS　　Dispatcher:　Name of stand(s)/area
　　　　ANSWER　　 Taxi-driver: [Location] Taxi-number
　　　　INSTRUCTION Dispatcher:　Address [for Name],
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Destination],
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Taxi-number]
　　　　COMPLIANCE　Taxi-driver: [Acknowledgement]

(2) shows an example of this pattern in use.

(2)　　　　EXAMPLE OF THE BASIC INTERACTIONAL PATTERN

　　　　SUMMONS　　　　D: Wishing, Oriental, Cambridge.
　　　　ANSWER　　　　　T: Eight-one.
　　　　INSTRUCTION　　　D: Bay Plaza for Farley to Miramar,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 eight-one.
　　　　COMPLIANCE　　　T: Okay.

In (2) the summons consists of three taxi-stand names; the answer is a taxi-number; and the instruction consists of the name of a hotel, Bay Plaza, the client's name, Farley, the name of the destination, Miramar (a suburb in Wellington), and a repetition of the taxi-number.

(3) and (4) show variations of the basic pattern with all the proper names in the interactions except for *Parliament* and *Mrs Brewer* being the names of streets.

(3)　　　　INTERACTIONAL PATTERN WITH VARIATIONS

　　　　D:　Rintoul, Darlington, Lawrence, Stoke, Adelaide, Riddiford.
　　　　T:　Top of Taranaki, four-four.
　　　　D:　Top of Taranaki? Well, might as well. Two-eighty Adelaide for Mrs Brewer.
　　　　T:　Two-eight-oh. Okay.
　　　　D:　Someone else for Stoke? (pause) She won't mind sharing. Forty-seven Stoke to Parliament as well, eh?
　　　　T:　(unclear)
　　　　D:　Forty-seven Stoke and two-eighty Adelaide, four-four.
　　　　T:　Forty-seven Stoke. Okay,
　　　　D:　And two-eighty Adelaide. Get 'em both. One to Parliament, and one to Lambton - Mrs Brewer.

(4)　　　　INTERACTIONAL PATTERN WITH REQUESTS FOR
　　　　　　CLARIFICATION AND INFORMATION

　　　　D:　Anyone Vivian? Vivian, Willis.
　　　　T:　Top of the Mall. One-oh-three.
　　　　D:　Number two Frederick, one-oh-three.
　　　　T:　Number two which?
　　　　D:　Frederick St.
　　　　T:　Where's that?
　　　　D:　Frederick. Off Taranaki between Taranaki and Tory.

The interactional pattern shows a fairly clear verbal routine (Coulmas 1981), where to quote Coulmas (1978: 8) "standardized structures govern the use of R[outine] F[ormulae]". Much is implied in the interaction rather than directly stated. Fraser (1983) introduced the notion of `Mutually Shared Beliefs' to account for this indirectness in communication between speaker and hearer, and Grice (1975) has used the term `conversational implicature' to

characterize the assumptions that lie behind conversational exchanges. Similarly, many assumptions lie behind the taxi radio exchanges. For instance, the taxi dispatcher's initial summons implies that there is a job available in that locality, and the driver's stating of his location implies that he is interested in getting a job. The giving of details move in the exchange can be said in Searle's (1975) terms to have the illocutionary force of a request by the dispatcher for action on the part of the taxi-driver.

Analysis

The data I collected did not appear to be purely instrumental talk, but rather talk which often exhibited characteristics of play by being, in the words of Miller (quoted by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1976:7) "not streamlined toward dealing with goals in the shortest possible way, but ... voluntarily elaborated, complicated in various patterned ways".

Various types of streamlining would be necessary for purely instrumental talk. One aspect would be the suggestion quoted by Schegloff (1972a: 117) that it is "more efficient to have a single term for each referent and each term refer to but a single referent". Schegloff looked at how people talk about places or locations in English and found that there is a wide range of place terms available for formulating a location. This even led him to consider

> "If one takes conversational interaction among a society's
> members as one's domain...then the major interest may be in
> the way alternative available formulations of objects allow an
> exploitation of member's analytic skills to accomplish a
> fundamental feature of everyday, organized social life."
> (Schegloff 1972a:117).

An examination of the dispatcher-driver interactions shows a wide range of alternative available formulations. This is quite apart from the variety of slot-fillers which are able to be used. The interactional pattern shown in (1) suggests a series of slots which could be filled by various substitutions in wording. Obviously there is an enormous range of possible substitutions for the address slot. There is a smaller range of possible substitutions for the

acknowledgement slot; and, in fact, four alternatives covered almost all the interactions I heard. These were *okay, thanks, Roger* or nothing. Saying nothing still implied compliance with the instruction.

The alternative available formulations which required exploitation of the addressees' analytic skills were evidenced in grammar, presentation of numbers and the choice of lexical items when there was not a single term for each referent.

Grammar

The extent of interaction on taxi radios between native-speaking dispatchers and non-native-speaking drivers might lead to an expectation of some type of simplification (Ferguson 1971, 1982) or even pidginization in the grammar used. An examination of the data, however, did not bear out this expectation. In many ways the language was simplified, but it was usually the simplification of telegraphese where redundant words are omitted for the sake of brevity. For instance, in (2) there are no verbs in the interaction. Although we seem to have simplified language here, it looks like telegraphese rather than pidginization or the type of systematic simplification found, for instance, in the "foreigner talk" that Ferguson discusses.

The destination in (2) is given as *to Miramar*. In my data the destination was also formulated with a verb as in *going to the airport* or *go Nairn St.* While the first of these still sounds like telegraphese, the second *go Nairn St* sounds rather like an example of pidginization as the verb is uninflected and the preposition has been omitted. The formulation of the destination with *to* was the most frequent in the data followed by the use of *going to* with the use of *go* the least frequent. Although this last type of construction occurred several times, and the construction *They go Kelburn* once, I would argue that these constructions belong to telegraphese, and that taxi dispatcher language is not characterized by pidginization because I encountered absolutely no other types of grammatical usage which could be described as pidginization in the language used by the taxi dispatchers. Even when dispatchers where giving explanations to drivers whose command of English was weak, their sentences were in standard (although sometimes abbreviated) English with article usage

within the normal range for English. There were many incomplete sentences where both subject and verb were omitted, but this appeared to be time-saving compression rather than simplification to make the language easier to understand.

Presentation of numbers

The interaction in (2) presents numbers enunciated separately - eight-one instead of eighty-one. If this pattern was followed consistently, it would seem to be quite an efficient way to standardize procedure in a way appropriate for the streamlining necessary for instrumental talk. In fact a completely arbitrary mixing of different ways of presenting numbers was used so that, for instance, 143 could be given as one-four-three, one-forty-three or one-hundred and forty-three. This mixing of styles of presentation occurred with both taxi numbers and the numbers of houses. Some mixing is shown in the interaction in (3). In the presentation of single numbers, the word *number* sometimes precedes the number as with *number two* in (4).

In the giving of the numbers of houses, there is a special style sometimes used with house numbers including A and B. 6A is called *six and a half* while 6B is called *six and a bit*. It is hard to imagine this increasing efficiency, and the data included a driver querying an address which included *three and a half*, and the dispatcher having to explain that it meant 3A. This certainly seems an example of play - what Miller calls "voluntary elaboration".

There were many other examples of playing with numbers, particularly with the numbers of taxis. *One ton* was used for 100, *three dozen* for thirty-six, and the bingo-inspired *legs-eleven* for eleven which led on to *two legs* for 211.

Lexical items

When a variety of language used by a restricted group is distinguished largely by special lexical usage, the variety is often called a jargon. Many jargon studies, particularly those in the journal *American Speech* on the jargon of truck drivers (Runcie 1969, Hanley 1961), painters (Hines 1969), space exploration (Bryant 1968), railroading (McIntyre 1969), limestone industry (Krueger 1967), soda fountain calls (Jones 1967) and tireworkers (Shuy

1964), consist mainly of glossaries. These contrast with register studies such as those of legal language (Crystal and Davy 1969, Charrow 1982, Danet 1985) and of sports commentary (Crystal and Davy 1969, Ferguson 1983) which find many more aspects of language use to comment on than just lexical items.

As the most significant distinguishing features I found in taxi dispatcher language use were lexical ones, it may be appropriate to use the term `jargon'. Examples of the lexical usages heard in the radio interactions will be discussed in four sections.

A   Stand names

Taxis in Wellington rarely cruise looking for a fare. Instead they wait in certain areas which are designated as taxi stands. Most taxi stands in Wellington are used by both taxi companies with each having a list of stand names which are, with a few exceptions, identical. Frequently the stand name is simply that of the street on which the stand is located. In many cases, however, the stand names are less straightforward. Sometimes a landmark is named, such as *Wishing well* which is a stand by the wishing well in Oriental Bay. This is abbreviated by the dispatcher in (2) to just *Wishing*. One stand in Lambton Quay (a major shopping street in Wellington) is given different names by the two companies. One company calls it *Midland* because it is opposite Midland Park which is located where the Midland Hotel used to be. The other company calls this stand *Haywrights* because it is outside a shop which a number of years ago was called Haywrights, although it has been a branch of a store with a different name for several years now. A new immigrant, or even a new arrival in Wellington, will not have the historical knowledge of the name *Haywrights*, so the stand name must seem rather extraordinary.

Stands are not always referred to by their official names. The stand by the large wooden Government Buildings in Wellington is officially called *Buildings*. This stand looks towards the Cenotaph memorial which is topped by a horse and rider. Drivers on this stand sometimes describe their position as *looking at the horse*.

Another feature of the stand names is the use of *the* with them. Accordingly, the stand in Bond Street is often called *the Bond,* and the term *the Rail* is frequently used to refer both to the taxi stand at the railway station and the railway station as a destination, although this is quite arbitrarily mixed with the full name *Railway Station.*

Taxis which go out of Wellington on a job to the Hutt Valley sometimes wait on the Petone Esplanade (which is on the way back to Wellington) for news of a job. This position is called *Listening Post.*

B   Abbreviations

Hardly surprisingly, the dispatchers use many abbreviations. Some of these are in reasonably common use among Wellingtonians such as *the Cally* for the Caledonian Hotel, and *J'ville* for Johnsonville. Others which are rarely, if at all, used by the general public include *Ghuz* for Ghuznee Street, and several diminutives such as *Rosie* for Roseneath, *Brookie* for Brooklyn, *Luxy* for Luxford Street, *Terry* for The Terrace, and the not strictly abbreviated diminutive of *Jimmy Cook* for the James Cook Hotel.

C   Substitutions

Many substitutions are a type of word play based on association. For instance, Hopper Street is called *Kangaroo Alley,* and *China* is used for Oriental Bay. This latter usage extends to using *China Terrace* for Oriental Terrace. The terms *Far East* or *Far and Mystic* are sometimes used to refer to the eastern suburbs furthest from the centre of Wellington, such as Seatoun and Strathmore, and the term *Middle East* is used to refer to eastern suburbs slightly nearer the city centre such as Hataitai and Kilbirnie.

A substitution not coming from word association is the name given to a frequent pick-up point, *Front Door,* which means Wellington Hospital at the front entrance. These substitutions are not used by the general public in Wellington, and are unlikely to be understood by those without some experience of taxi dispatcher language.

D   Word play

Although all the examples given so far could also be called word play, I have reserved this label for examples where the words themselves are played with. As with a word association substitution like *Kangaroo Alley* for Hopper Street, the word play examples are often quite humorous. Surprisingly linguistic studies of humour (e.g. Apte 1987, Nash 1985) usually study humour at the level of the joke rather than at the level of playing with words. In spite of calling his book *Word Play* Farb (1974) does not really deal with the type of word play I encountered. The play languages studied by many anthropologists (eg. Sherzer 1982) are structured at a level beyond the playing with individual words which I found. This playing with individual words is, however, somewhat reminiscent of children's language play. Examples of the word play in the data include the use of *Hankey-Pankey* to refer to Hankey Street in Wellington, and *Mean and Nasty* to refer to Mein Street which is commonly pronounced /mi:n/ by Wellingtonians. I heard one dispatcher say *Mean and Nasty* four times in less than a minute. The use of so many syllables was hardly adding to the efficiency of his message. On the other hand, one example of word play used by the dispatchers provides a real compression of information. The Wallace Street entrance to Wellington Polytechnic is called *Polly-Wally: Polly* for Polytechnic and *Wally* for Wallace Street. This type of word formation is similar to the cockney slang *Ally-Pally* for the Alexandra Palace (Wright 1981).

I have touched on some of the more interesting features of the lexical usage of taxi dispatchers so the calls quoted above in the Background and Method section of this paper will now be understandable.

(i)   *Wishing Well, Oriental, Rosie, Cambridge* is a summons call to four stands: by the wishing well, at Oriental Bay, in Roseneath and on Cambridge Terrace.

(ii)   *Front Door to J'ville, two legs* means that taxi number 211 is being asked to take a customer from the front entrance of Wellington Hospital to Johnsonville.

(iii)   *Genghis Khan go China, one ton* means that taxi number 100 is
being asked to take a customer from the Genghis Khan
restaurant to Oriental Bay.

Difficulties in communication

It will be seen from the examples given above that dispatcher-taxi driver
interaction is far from the maximum efficiency of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1976)
"purely instrumental talk". And indeed a lot of miscommunication occurs with
frequent requests for repetition and explanation. As is often the case in
conversational interaction, the repetition may include an expansion of the
content. The street name may have the word *Street* added to it as in (4), or
the customer's name may have *Mr* added. These redundant features no
doubt add extra protection for the message, especially with the noise which
interferes in radio communication.

A common type of explanation as shown in (4) was of how to get to a place.
Usually these explanations were given patiently, but I heard one case where
the dispatcher considered the driver was too slow understanding the
directions and took the job away from him saying *Right, someone else*. The
language used in all the explanations in the data resembled normal
conversational New Zealand English with no special features except for a
tendency towards brevity as is shown in (4) when the dispatcher says, *Off
Taranaki between Taranaki and Tory* instead of using a fuller sentence such
as *It's off Taranaki St. between Taranaki St. and Tory St.*

Conclusion

Much of the interaction between taxi dispatcher and taxi driver in my data was
very like normal conversational interaction mixed with special lexical usages
and humour. Many amusing things can be heard by eavesdroppers on the
taxi radios, and studying the language used by taxi dispatchers provides
interesting evidence of speaker-creativity. In circumstances which might have
been expected to lead to a narrowing of the range of language used, the
dispatchers responded with inventiveness and humour to form their own

jargon, which may not be the most efficient way to carry out their job, but which
exhibits the characteristics of a jargon suggested in Dwyer (1969:293) which
are "exclusion of outsiders, sophisticated entertainment and occupational
ritual".

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Language maintenance and shift in the Wellington Polish community

Catherine Neazor

Abstract

This paper examines the level of language maintenance and patterns of language use of a small group selected from two generations of the Polish community in Wellington, New Zealand. It was hypothesized that the degree of language maintenance among Wellington Polish people might be influenced by any of the following three factors: the age of immigrants on arrival in New Zealand, the amount of interaction with first generation immigrants, and the amount of regular contact with the Polish community.

An interview schedule was used to collect information on sixteen informants' language background and proficiency, their community involvement and language use in a variety of domains, as well as their attitudes towards Polish. The results reveal that over three generations there is a reduction in informants' comprehension and production ability in Polish, and an increasing restriction in the range of media and domains in which they use Polish. By the third generation language shift is almost complete. No consistent connection was found between the degree of Polish language maintenance in a family and the age of immigrants on arrival in New Zealand, or with the amount of Polish community contact. The most important factor accounting for greater Polish language proficiency was regular interaction with first generation native speakers of Polish.

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ABBREVIATIONS

G1 refers to first generation, overseas-born immigrants
G2 refers to their New Zealand-born, second generation children
WWII refers to the second World War

Introduction

Language maintenance and shift

Fishman (1980a:191) describes a state of "transitional bilingualism" where an intrusive language 'A' enters a 'B' community. The first generation are monolingual 'A' speakers. The second generation are bilingual 'A' and 'B' speakers, and the third generation are monolingual 'B' speakers. The second generation are the transitional bilinguals, and by the third generation, language shift will have occurred. This pattern occurs because the language of the 'B' community is necessary for intergroup communication. It will acquire intra-group status to the point where it eventually becomes transmitted within the family. "At this point language spread becomes language shift" (Fishman 1980b:206). Appel and Müysken describe language shift in similar terms:

> The majority language seems to conquer domain after domain
> viia the intermediate stage of bilingual language use
> (1987:41).

Clyne (1982: 55) identifies several factors as being important in determining how long an immigrant language is maintained, notably cultural core values, degree of cultural similarity to the dominant group, and the extent of intermarriage. He also mentions the potential relevance of such factors as urbanization, the number of non-English speakers using the language, period of residence in the 'new' community, and the age and sex of the immigrants.

Most of the research on Polish people in Australia concentrates on the degree of assimilation of Polish immigrants compared to other immigrant groups (eg. Johnston 1969, 1972, 1979). These immigrants were displaced persons, and most had (adult) family members with them on arrival. (In this they differ from around half of the New Zealand Poles who came to New Zealand as young children, a point I return to below.) A common thread running through this research is that G1 Polish immigrants hardly assimilated to Australian society. This often led to conflict with their children, who wanted to adopt Australian leisure habits, food and language, and felt unnecessarily restricted by their parents' adherence to Polish ways. One sore point was attendance at Polish school on Saturdays when Australian children were playing sport. At times this led to active rebellion on the part of the children, who then rejected their Polishness and Polish language (see Smolicz and Secombe 1981, Johnston 1969:36).

Some of the factors identified by Clyne have also been investigated in the New Zealand context (e.g. 'Aipolo 1989, 'Aipolo and Holmes 1990, Daly 1990, Holmes 1990, Pilkington 1990, Roberts 1990, Verivaki 1990). Both Verivaki (1990) in Wellington and Surus (1985) in Auckland, for example, found a significant difference in the language behaviour of those G1 members who were adult on leaving their country of origin, and those who were not. For Surus, this age differentiation was made at the level of those who were fourteen or more on leaving Poland (1985: 14). Verivaki (1990:107) found that the variables affecting people's Greek language proficiency were generally related to the amount of Greek they had been exposed to. This depended on a number of factors including living in a Greek area, going to Greek school, having predominantly Greek-speaking relatives, attending Greek Orthodox church services, and having visited a Greek-speaking community.

Similar variables may well be relevant in accounting for differing degrees of language maintenance in the New Zealand Polish community. Fishman (1980b:206) says "re-ethnification and relinguification go together". In (1985:225) he notes:

> Where minority cultures are strong...... they produce the same
> defences for their ethnocultural mother-tongues...... small
> minorities can attain intergenerational mother tongue
> continuity.

Polish-Americans have generally not maintained their cultural and linguistic boundaries. In different countries other researchers concur. Surus (1985:25), for example, describing the Auckland Polish community notes that the second generation identifies more with the host society and with New Zealand English. Lack of assimilation by the first generation can be equated with increased chances for language maintenance; assimilation by Generation II almost inevitably leads to language shift. Surus also notes that (1985:32) "only the minor ethnic traditions have been maintained."

Surus also discusses at several points the fact that G1 will use English to include G2, rather than have them lose interest and involvement with the community. This even extends to the monthly Polish Association newsletter, which is published with some sections in English translation. The community apparently thinks that the use of English rather than Polish may help to keep

G2 as active participants in the community. As Surus (1985:33) points out "language maintenance is often sacrificed for group maintenance".

In my contacts with the Polish community, I had noticed that New Zealand-born Poles in their late teens and early twenties tended to use English with one another. They generally used Polish only to talk to older people, especially those whose English is limited. The first generation appeared to be playing a crucial role in language maintenance. Without this group there would not only be less Polish used, there would also be little reason to use Polish. The following comment (Surus 1985:43) indicates a similar pattern in Auckland:

> The situation in the Auckland community indicates that
> language and cultural maintenance could last only as long as
> Generation I remains the vocal majority.

(See also Johnston 1969:37). Yet the first generation of Poles in New Zealand were atypical of Polish immigrants in other countries since over half had come here as children - a most unusual pattern. On the basis of these observations and what I had read, I decided to examine in some detail the contribution of generation and age of arrival in New Zealand to the level of language maintenance among Wellington Polish people I knew.

Aims and hypotheses

On the basis of a small pilot project conducted in 1989 with three generations of one family, I tentatively formed several hypotheses. I was interested in describing the extent to which Polish has been maintained in a group of the immigrants who arrived in New Zealand in the years after WWII, and in identifying possible reasons for any variations discovered.

Hypothesis 1

Second generation Polish New Zealanders whose parents were adult on arrival in New Zealand will have maintained Polish better than those whose parents were young children on arrival in New Zealand.

Hypothesis 2

Second generation Polish New Zealanders who have had regular interaction with first generation Polish immigrants will have maintained Polish better than those have not had such contact.

Hypothesis 3
Second generation Polish New Zealanders with greater contact with the Polish community will have maintained Polish better than those with less community contact.

The Polish Community in New Zealand

The earliest group of immigrant Poles settled in Taranaki between 1877-1900. Including these, there were about 500 arrivals up to WWII (Burnley 1970:125). Later immigrants can be divided into four main groups: three groups in the decade just after WWII, and a more recent group who have come as political refugees since 1980.

(1) The first post-War group, and possibly the best known is usually referred to as 'The Children'. These were children who were deported from Eastern Poland to Siberia in 1940. They spent two years in Russia, during which time most of them were partially or completely orphaned. In 1942 the Polish deportees in Russia began a general movement to the south, hoping to leave with the Polish army that was being formed there. After relations with the Russian government became difficult, special efforts were made to get the children out to orphanages in Persia. From there they were dispersed to South Africa, Mexico and Canada among other places.

A group of 837 refugees was invited to come to New Zealand in 1944. This included 733 children and the adults who cared for them. Some of these children had family members with them (a sibling or parent). A further 22 children arrived in a later group. Of these children, 90 later returned to Poland or went on to other countries in search of other relatives. (Skwarko 1974:78). Parents of some of these children arrived in the next few years.

It was originally intended that New Zealand would be only a temporary retreat for these children, and that they would return to Poland once their health had recovered, after the war. The aim of the staff at the Pahiatua Camp where the children were located was therefore to prepare these children for an eventual return to Poland. To this purpose, day to day living was as much in the Polish style as possible. Language, cultural traditions including folk songs and dances, and religious observations were maintained. The children were taught a modified form of the Polish school syllabus, as they would have been

in Poland, and they were inculcated with a great patriotic fervour and a need to preserve their heritage in the face of war.

After four years it became obvious that the political situation in Poland was not such that the refugees would want to return. At this point, the camp was broken up. Younger children were dispersed to Catholic boarding schools around the country, but still tended to stick together where possible. The older children mainly went to Wellington, where they stayed together in hostels for young working Poles. Over 55% of the girls from this group married boys who had come over with them. (Skwarko 1974: 77). There was later a tendency for these people to settle in the same areas of Wellington, notably Newtown and Lower Hutt/Petone.

(2) Between 1949-51, a group of 743 displaced persons was accepted from camps in Europe. This included various family combinations, and a large group of single men. These people had to fulfil a two year work contract for the government, after which time they were freed from obligation. They also came in through the Pahiatua Camp, where an attempt was made to begin assimilation by teaching them New Zealand customs and English. According to Burnley (1970: 140), by 1966, 96.48% of these persons were living in urban areas, with 51.5% in the Wellington-Hutt area.

(3) The third post-War group was composed of approximately 150 Polish War Veterans and their dependants, who came with the same rights as British ex-servicemen. They arrived between the other two groups.

(4) The last and most recent group of Polish immigrants is made up of post-Solidarity refugees who have come to New Zealand since 1980. According to Surus (1985: 44), more than 300 Poles have arrived in recent years. However, this has not led to a resurgence in Polish culture and language in New Zealand, as might have been expected. The new arrivals have little in common with the established community, and although the rift in Wellington is not as severe as in Auckland, very few New Zealand Poles have regular contact with the new arrivals. One New Zealand informant who is married to a Pole she met in Poland told me that most of these recent immigrants are going to Australia or back to Poland as the political situation eases. Another informant told me that most of the single men have left, while the families remain. It is very hard to get precise figures on this.

The available figures suggest that there were over 2100 Polish migrants in the country by 1966 (Burnley 1970: 125) , while Surus (1985: 24) notes that the 1981 Census gave a figure of 2034 first generation Poles.   Skwarko (1974: 76) put the figure for the New Zealand Polish community as a whole at 3600, presumably including New Zealand-born Polish people. She estimated the size of the Wellington community at around 3000.

Poles in Wellington

The established Wellington community is centred around Dom Polski (Polish House) in Newtown. A library operates there, and activities such as the Polish Women's League, a choir and various Association committees are based there. There is an annual Polish Picnic, and there is a Christmas play most years. There is a video club, and films are shown from time to time. Frequent gatherings are held at Dom Polski for Polish traditional Feast days.

There are three Polish schools operating in the Wellington region. One, run along traditional lines, is held on Saturday mornings at Dom Polski. The children attending this school have either spent part of their lives in Poland, or have two first generation (G1) parents. They are taught such subjects as Polish history, and still use old resource materials. There is reluctance to import material from Poland because of its high propaganda content. The teachers at the other schools have some material published in England, France and Australia.

A second school is held in Lower Hutt on Friday nights. This is for third generation children, and functions to teach Polish as a foreign language rather than for language maintenance. There are around 25 children attending this school, mainly from one extended family. It is taught by two G2 sisters from this family. Few of the children from this school come from completely Polish backgrounds. The main aim of the teachers is cultural maintenance: i.e. to pass on some customs, songs, prayers etc. They told me they try to teach the children a variety of Polish words in the hope that they will develop some passive knowledge of the language.

The third school is at Ascot Park, and has 11 or 12 children from four families. It has two small classes with an age division, and they meet on Wednesday or Thursday after school. Again, the aim is to teach the children a few simple expressions, some songs and prayers. The materials used are mainly

devised by the teacher, and she finds it difficult to cater for all the children. None of the children at this school have two Polish-origin parents.

Unfortunately the teachers in these schools can only get together a couple of times a year, and this makes it harder for them. In the two 'Polish as a Second Language' schools, children have a tendency to drop out after they leave intermediate school. As can be seen from the earlier estimates of community size, few children of Polish descent are receiving any 'formal' Polish education.

The Polish youth group in Wellington goes through periodic revivals for no apparent reason. It will operate for a few years and then fade out again. When it is active, dances, sports matches (against Auckland teams) and other activities are arranged. At such times, those youth involved may well have more contact with other New Zealand-born Poles than with other New Zealanders. This does not mean they will be speaking Polish with them, only associating with them. At present, attempts are being made to restart the youth group. It was last active in the mid-1980s.

The Catholic church has always been a bastion of Polish nationalism and identity, and this still seems true today. Sawicka-Brockie (1987) defined the church as a pillar of identity in the Polish community here. She considers it one of the few domains where Polish is the legitimate language to use. She told me that in Poland people take all day to go to church; they stand around talking both before and afterwards. That is partly a political protest, but New Zealand Poles maintain the the same pattern of church-going. The older people are the more regular church-goers, but on special occasions such as Christmas, Easter or an anniversary of war dead, large numbers of people attend.

Method

Making contact

My family has had a great deal of contact with Poles over the years, and I had Polish friends and teachers at school. After I left school, I joined the Polish dance group, Lublin, and made more acquaintances through this. Consequently, I decided that the 'network' or 'friend-of-a friend' approach

(Milroy 1987) would be the best way to contact interviewees. People were more likely to be interested and helpful if they had already heard about the project from friends, rather than if I approached them 'cold'. I asked four friends if they knew people who fitted my target group, and as I interviewed people, I asked them if they knew anyone else who would be suitable, and who might agree to be interviewed. In this way I contacted and interviewed sixteen people, one from each generation, in eight different families.

In order to investigate hypothesis 1, (the relevance of the age of the immigrant on arrival) I stipulated that G1 interviewees should have arrived before 1955. The literature review suggested that women tended to maintain an immigrant language longer than men (eg. Clyne 1982, Verivaki 1990). Verivaki, for instance, found that women were the primary maintainers of Greek language in Wellington (1990: 131). I therefore interviewed only females, reasoning that if I took the G2 group least likely, according to previous evidence, to shift from Polish, and found strong evidence of language shift, these trends would be even more pronounced generally. I did not interview any members of G3, but collected information on their Polish language proficiency during discussion with G1 and G2 interviewees.

In addition to the interviews, I spent some hours talking to the teachers of the Polish as a Second Language schools. I also attended the younger children's class of the Ascot Park school, and talked to the mothers there. I listened to radio programmes and saw videos on the Poles in New Zealand, and talked at some length to people on a range of related topics once we had finished the questionnaire.

Many G1 find it an emotionally draining experience to recall their past, and wanted to know the content of the questionnaire in advance. Use of the network approach, and the fact that some of them knew me by sight was important in reassuring them during the interview process.

The interview
In all cases interviews were carried out in the home of the interviewee. I undertook five group interviews (G1 and G2 together, sometimes others present who participated in the discussion, but were not formally interviewed) and six individual interviews. Only five interviews were recorded, as people were generally uncomfortable about a tape recorder, and I preferred that they

be relaxed. Often I used the interview schedule as a point of departure to broaden the discussion. This was most successful if the interview was not being taped.

The interview schedule was developed (and pilot-tested) after consulting a range of other schedules used for gathering similar data ('Aipolo 1989, Daly 1990, Pilkington 1990, Roberts 1990, Verivaki 1990). It was divided into three parts: background information; language use; attitudes.

Most of the background information questions were designed to elicit the informant's potential exposure to Polish and the amount of community contact each person had. I also wanted to know if people had contact with recent arrivals, but because I thought that this might be a sensitive issue I worked it into the conversation, rather than including it in the questionnaire. The language use questions covered comprehension, production, and frequency/range of use. The comprehension/production questions were based on self-rating of proficiency in Polish. The attitude section was included to determine if language shift was related to a negative attitude towards Polish, or whether language shift was occurring in spite of a positive attitude to the language.

Results

Exposure to Polish
The eight first generation women interviewed varied in age and the amount of exposure to the Polish language they had experienced. Three informants were aged fifteen when they left Poland. The remaining five were all under ten years old on departure. None of these women had adult relatives with them on arrival in New Zealand, except for one, who was already married on arrival. All are now married to Poles, and all have worked for at least a few months outside the home. All have been educated in Polish for at least a year, and some for considerably longer.

These informants also varied in terms of the amount of contact they had with Polish through recent Polish immigrants and visits to Poland. Five of the women interviewed had had visitors from Poland staying with them for varying lengths of time in the last ten years, for example, and five of them had returned

to Poland since 1975, on visits of between two weeks to three months each time.

The eight second generation women also had varying degrees of contact with Polish speakers. Five had Polish relatives such as uncles or aunts in New Zealand, but only one of this generation was married to a Pole, a man she had met during two years spent in Poland. One non-Polish husband understood a fair amount of Polish, however, and another five recognized a few words. Only one husband knew no Polish at all. Four of this group had been back to Poland for trips of up to three months, but all had been educated in English in New Zealand.

Polish community activities

Using concepts developed in social dialectology by Milroy (1987) and Edwards (1986) to calculate "network density", the informants were assigned a score for community involvement over a range of activities. The maximum number of possible points was 22, and the scores for first generation (G1) women ranged between 5 and 14 points and for second generation (G2) from 4 to 13 points. Examination of the range of scores demonstrated that as they become older and less mobile, the G1 women attended correspondingly fewer community events.

Polish language proficiency

With two exceptions, all eight G1 women gave themselves the highest possible ratings in all four categories of oral and written comprehension and production. The exceptions were one woman who considered only her written skills to be very good, and another who considered her written skills to be only passable. In the second generation only three of the eight women gave themselves the top rating in all four categories. The others gave themselves ratings which usually combined a very good rating in oral comprehension and production, with lesser ratings in the other areas.

The reported Polish language proficiency of the third generation was minimal.

Use of Polish

Most G1 informants reported using Polish to a Polish addressee in any situation including church, work and in shops, so long as they thought there was a chance they would be understood. Two of this group said that some of

their contemporaries had difficulty in following conversations conducted entirely in Polish, so they would switch to English. Other factors which informants noted as causing a switch to English were the presence of a non-Polish speaker (not important for all G1), the amount of Polish understood by the addressee (some dual-language conversations are conducted, with G1 speaking in Polish and being answered in English), and topic for some G1.

Most G2 informants reported using Polish mainly to older addressees in a range of situations, and members of this generation were unbothered by the presence of non-speakers. In general Polish was more likely to be spoken in non-public (i.e. Polish) domains but it was also used on occasion for private conversations in a public place. Two women, however, said they would use English only with G1 immigrants and their only (occasional) use of Polish was for privacy. Most of this generation preferred English in addressing their peer group, as it felt more natural. The woman with a Polish husband reported using Polish with him and their friends, for instance, but English to the peer group she grew up with.

For 'inner' activities such as thinking, counting, praying, and dreaming, most G1 informants used mainly Polish. However, for swearing, telling the time and private singing they were more likely to use some English. With a couple of exceptions, G2 women used English for all such activities. The exceptions were two women who also used some Polish for some of these activities.

English is almost universally spoken to younger addressees unless they have recently arrived from Poland or a deliberate effort was being made to teach them Polish. Despite a professed wish for their children to speak Polish, the only contact most third generation children have with Polish is in formal out-of-school classes. The children are therefore learning Polish as a second language, and only spend a couple of hours a week at it.

Code-switching

Two types of code-switching behaviour were identified in responses to a question which asked if respondents ever used a mix of Polish and English in the same conversation. The first type was typical of the G1 group, and involved the use of isolated English vocabulary items in an otherwise Polish utterance. This is essentially lexical borrowing rather than switching in the usual sense (Saville-Troike 1982), and it occurred most often in conversations

with G2 children and G3 grandchildren. Most G1 said they made special efforts to avoid borrowed lexical items when speaking to recent arrivals from Poland.

The G2 women also borrowed isolated lexical items from English but in addition they switched between languages for more extensive chunks, including between sentences. None of this group spoke only Polish to Polish addressees, and one respondent said she spoke English all the time. Again it was true that extra efforts were made to avoid switching when talking with new arrivals.

All but two of the interviewees wrote letters in Polish and most read newspapers and magazines or watched films in Polish at least sometimes. But, not surprisingly, the G1 women generally used, read and listened to Polish much more frequently in such areas than the G2 women.

Attitudes

Surprisingly, only the two oldest and two youngest G1 women thought that you definitely had to speak Polish to identify yourself as a Pole. This appears to contradict Clyne's (1982) description of the Poles as a group for whom language is a cultural core value. For all respondents, other factors such as knowing and understanding their (grand)parents' history of migration, and knowing Polish traditions and customs were identified as being essential to their family's Polish identity. Although keen for their children/grandchildren to know Polish to quite high levels of fluency, most G1 accepted that this was never likely to occur. So most put more emphasis on cultural maintenance than on language maintenance.

For G2 women, attitudes as to whether Polish language is a pivotal factor in Polish identity seemed similar to those of the first generation women in each family. All wanted their children to speak Polish fluently, but recognized that this was not going to happen unless the children returned to Poland.

Discussion

Some of the results confirmed the hypotheses, while others did not. Some results demonstrated the importance of careful research in such areas, since

they contradicted what I had previously assumed on the basis of casual acquaintance with members of the community. In particular, before examining the three hypotheses, I will comment on unexpected results in the area of the level of Polish language proficiency reported by some of the interviewees.

It is difficult to assess the reliability of self-rating as a measure of Polish language proficiency. It seems likely that different respondents were using different standards, and, in particular, it is possible that some respondents were using new arrivals as their standard, while others were using other New Zealand Poles as their standard. This kind of ambiguity should have been avoided. One G1 woman, for instance, rated herself much lower than I had expected given opinions on her ability held by the other community members. The explanation was, I think, that she had a relatively small amount of contact with the community and a relatively large amount of contact with some of the new arrivals.[1]

On the other hand a large number of G2 women gave themselves the highest possible rating when it seems unlikely that they are as linguistically proficient as their parents. These women may have been taking account of their situation in rating their proficiency. "Considering their situation" they were fluent.

A number of informants also commented on the relevance of birth order (see also Roberts 1990) in accounting for differences in the language proficiency of different children in the same family. The first child in any family has the best chance of acquiring good Polish, as their parents have more time to spend with them, and they are not exposed to English from older schoolchildren. Four of the eight G2 women I interviewed were the first in their families and so this may also account for their relatively high self-ratings on language proficiency.

The lack of clear differentiation between the G2 women in their reported Polish language proficiency meant that it was difficult to test the three hypotheses with any precision. The instrument used to measure language proficiency was somewhat blunt.

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[1] It is interesting to note in this context that some G2 adults appear to be caught in a double bind. They want to improve their Polish, but are too intimidated to speak Polish to the new arrivals in case they are criticised, or because they feel that their Polish is not good enough. Yet if they don't use Polish to people, they have no hope of improving.

Hypothesis 1: age on immigration

Second generation Polish New Zealanders whose parents were adult on arrival in New Zealand will have maintained Polish better than those whose parents were young children on arrival in New Zealand.

This hypothesis was not confirmed. I could not, on the basis of the data I gathered, establish any clear connection between the age of the immigrant on arrival in New Zealand and the extent of Polish language maintenance in that family.

An important reason for this was the unusual circumstances of the immigration to New Zealand of the G1 women interviewed. Because they were regarded initially as temporary residents, even the youngest immigrants were provided with a firm grounding in the Polish language. Living together at Pahiatua in a camp established just for them, and with great attention being paid to their Polish education, these immigrant children were most unusual compared to other immigrant children who were expected to quickly assimilate to New Zealand customs and education in English. Even the youngest Polish children were given a firm grounding in Polish language and customs, and developed very strong loyalty to them. The youngest G1 I interviewed, for instance, was only two years old when she left Poland and just ten when the camp was dispersed, and even she had good Polish language proficiency. The Polish 'Children' were reluctant to assimilate, and they were dispersed in groups, giving them the continued opportunity to reinforce each other, and build a Polish identity in New Zealand. Endogamy and residential settlement in proximity to other Poles also promoted language maintenance for this generation. Overall, then, there was little basis for distinguishing between the Polish language proficiency of the G1 women on the basis of their age of arrival.

Differences in the G2 women's proficiency can probably be better explained by the amount of effort devoted to Polish language maintenance for different children in different families. All wanted their children to learn English well. They also wanted them to speak Polish and maintain their Polish customs and traditions. However, some mothers were strongly criticised by doctors, Plunket nurses or teachers for not teaching their children English at home. In general, afraid of passing on their own faults in English, they ignored this

criticism and, very sensibly, concentrated on teaching their children good Polish at home, leaving the teaching of English to the schools. But some were more successful than others in maintaining a Polish-only environment at home.

One mother, for example, told me that she used to make sure she was busy doing something with her hands when her daughter came home from school. She would get her daughter to read her parts of the Polish Association newsletter, pointing out that she wasn't in a position to read it for herself. She also had a rule that they would discuss what had happened at school in English and then switch to Polish for the 'home business'. This kind of demarcation of domain was obviously helpful for language maintenance, even if potentially limiting later areas of use for Polish.

Hypothesis 2: interaction with G1

Second generation Polish New Zealanders whose parents were adult on arrival in New Zealand will have maintained Polish better than those whose parents were young children on arrival in New Zealand.

Hypothesis 2

Second generation Polish New Zealanders who have had regular interaction with first generation Polish immigrants will have maintained Polish better than those have not had such contact.

To the extent that differences in the Polish language proficiency of G2 women were established, this hypothesis was confirmed. The major trigger for using Polish is the presence of a first generation addressee, whether people who arrived after the war or recent immigrants. Older G1 will tend to use Polish to anyone they think will understand, in any situation, in any domain. G2 will use Polish if G1 are present, otherwise they will tend to use English. Those with the greatest contact with new immigrants tended to be more proficient in Polish.

This pattern was particularly apparent by the third generation. According to the information I collected, none of the G3 children had more than a minimal acquaintance with Polish. Those who had any Polish were those who had regular interactions with G1 native speakers and the effect of this was

diminished once the children started school. Second generation speakers were not passing on their Polish to their children.

Attitudes towards Polish and language maintenance reflected this reality. When I asked if it was necessary to speak Polish to be a Pole, those who responded "no" were confronting the reality that their grandchildren often had no ability in the language. They do not want to deny their Polish heritage to these children and so they have reduced the importance of language maintenance as a component of Polish identity (see Verivaki 1990 for a fuller discussion of this point). The ideal might be to have children and grand-children who speak fluent Polish. The reality is very different.

Hypothesis 3

Second generation Polish New Zealanders with greater contact with the Polish community will have maintained Polish better than those with less community contact.

There was no obvious connection between the extent of community involvement and self-ratings of Polish language proficiency. The main reason for this was (as I can confirm from participant observation) that there is no expectation that Polish should be used at Polish community events.[2] People can have a large amount of contact with the Polish community and take part in many activities there without actually speaking much Polish in the process. The preferred language of the particular addressee is the over-riding determinant of language use. Hence, at most activities young people speak together in English, reserving Polish for use with G1 people. Frequent contact with the community undoubtedly assists *cultural* maintenance, but it does not seem to have any direct correlation to *language* maintenance.

There was other evidence of a desire to maintain knowledge of Polish history, traditions and customs, through trips back to Poland and contact with Polish communities in Australia. The Polish dance group has been to Australia for festivals, for instance, and people visit Australian Polish relatives and attend the local Polish Club while in Australia. This too contributes to group

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[2] The network approach used to contact informants made it difficult to test this hypothesis adequately. All those contacted were relatively highly involved in community activities.

cohesiveness and cultural maintenance without doing anything for Polish language maintenance.

Conclusion

There has clearly been a reduction in the comprehension and production of Polish by Polish New Zealanders over three generations, though the reported differences between the first and second generation are not as great as were expected. It is in the reported ability of third generation children that language shift is most apparent. Third generation children appear to know only the Polish they have learned in formal out-of-school classes.

The reason for this is the dramatic reduction in the use of Polish between the second and third generations. In some respects, G1 rather than G2 could be regarded as Fishman's "transitional bilingual" generation. While G1 did use Polish in the home, G2 generally do not use Polish to their children. Consequently language shift appears to be virtually complete by the third generation.

No direct connection was found between the age of immigrants on arrival and subsequent maintenance of Polish, or between community contact/network density and the degree of Polish language maintenance. It is likely that these two factors interact unpredictably with other factors, and that their relative importance varies from case to case. Interaction with first generation immigrants is the most obviously relevant factor in accounting for language proficiency among second generation interviewees. Lack of regular interaction with G1 users of Polish presumably accounts in part for the attrition evident by the third generation. In conclusion then, it is clear that Polish language proficiency in New Zealand has steadily eroded and as first generation speakers of the language die it seems unlikely that it will be possible to revive it.

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Post-vocalic (r) in the urban speech of the Isle of Wight[1]

Michael Williams

Abstract

This study investigates the use of post-vocalic (r) in the speech of people from the Isle of Wight, England. Two different age groups were interviewed revealing a quite distinct distribution of post-vocalic (r) in different generations. While post-vocalic (r) occurs regularly in the speech of older people from the Isle of Wight, the younger age group did not use it at all. Clearly post-vocalic (r) is dying out on the Island. The most obvious reason for this language change is the heavy immigration which the Island has experienced in the last 25 years.

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Introduction

In Hughes and Trudgill (1987: 34) there is a map showing where post-vocalic (r) is still used in urban speech in the British Isles. According to this map post-vocalic (r) continues to be used in the urban speech of the Isle of Wight. Having been born on the Island, I found this initially a little surprising. After all, neither I, nor the other members of my immediate family who were born on the Island used post-vocalic (r). And from my recollections of school on the Island neither did any of my school mates. However, after listening to a tape of some of my relatives who live on the Island I realised that at least some Islanders still used post-vocalic (r). From these observations as well as Hughes and Trudgill's comments that the use of post-vocalic (r) appears to be dying out in England (1987: 32), it seemed likely that, despite the implications of their map, it was also disappearing from the Isle of Wight. This paper reports a small project aimed at verifying this hypothesis.

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[1] Post-vocalic (r) is more accurately described as non-pre-vocalic (r) since it is never deleted in words such as *carry* where it is post-vocalic but also precedes another vowel. However, the term post-vocalic (r) is so widely known and understood that it will be used throughout this paper.

Hypothesis
That the use of post-vocalic (r) is dying out in the urban speech of the Isle of Wight.

Method

Selection of informants
In order to investigate the use of post-vocalic (r) in urban areas of the Isle of Wight, I interviewed 29 people who had been born and lived three quarters of their life on the Island and, furthermore, had spent most of the previous five years on the Island. Following the widely accepted view that it is possible to identify changes in progress by examining the speech of people from different age-groups (i.e. changes in 'apparent' time), I selected two groups 15 'older' and 14 'younger' Islanders. 'Older' informants were those born in 1945 or earlier. 1945 was chosen since it seems that the first major migration to the Island occurred soon after the war. This migration was likely to have affected the speech of people born on the Island at this time. 25 years was used as an upper age for the 'younger' group because very large migrational increases to the Isle of Wight began in the 1960s. Thus the speech of people born on the Island after 1960 was likely to be influenced by this heavy migration. Given that rhoticity is non-standard in England (it is not a feature of RP), and that non-standard features occur more often in lower rather than upper class speech, I excluded informants who came from the upper middle class or upper class from my sample.

Interview Schedule
The interview schedule used to elicit speech was based upon Labov's (1966) classic interview schedule. It consisted of five sections:

		Style
1.	Background information	careful speech
2.	Reading Passage	careful reading
3.	Word List 1	careful reading
4.	Word List 2 (minimal pairs)	very careful reading
5.	Conversation	informal/casual

The background information section included questions about family background since I was interested in whether this might affect the way a person spoke: for example, whether the fact that a person's parents and grandparents were Islanders or not correlated with their use of post-vocalic (r). There were also questions on educational background to discover whether this affected the way informants spoke: for example, whether informants with a private school education or with tertiary education were less likely to use post-vocalic (r).

The reading passage was selected to include a number of instances of post-vocalic (r) and to be of interest to both age groups. The topic was English cathedrals. In retrospect I think it may have been a little difficult for most of the children that I interviewed, and that I should have chosen a more interesting piece of prose.

I took a number of factors into consideration when preparing the two word lists. To avoid the phenomenon of 'linking r' where a post-vocalic (r) could have been used by otherwise non-rhotic speakers, none of the words in the list containing a final post-vocalic (r) were followed by a word starting with a vowel. Secondly, in order to prevent boredom as well as slips of the tongue from reading one post-vocalic (r) after another, the words containing post-vocalic (r) were evenly distributed throughout the word lists. Thirdly I included words containing both final and non-final post-vocalic (r) in case this was a factor affecting the reader's production of the variable. Finally, for word list (2) I tried to select words that had different spellings: eg. *roar/raw, fort/fought, lore/law, nor/gnaw.*

I completed each interview by talking informally to my informants in order to record a sample of their more casual speech. Since I or members of my family were known to most of them, this presented no problems. I covered topics such as family and friends, the Isle of Wight, work and hobbies, and for the younger group, pop music. After a minor initial shock, most informants did not seem unduly bothered by the presence of the cassette recorder during the interview.

Collecting the data

Before leaving for the Isle of Wight, I conducted three pilot interviews in New Zealand to check the clarity of questions and the satisfactoriness of the schedule in eliciting the data. Once in the Isle of Wight I used the Milroy (1980) "friend of a friend" approach to contact informants: all the informants in the survey were either my own friends or relatives or friends of relatives. This naturally proved very useful. People knew me and were very cooperative and interested in assisting with my survey. Furthermore, because I knew people, I also knew what topics would be likely to interest them for the informal part of the interview.

Most of the 29 interviews were carried out at informants' houses, but a few were conducted at the house of the relative with whom I was staying. This was not a problem because all the informants had visited this house before. Nearly all of the interviews took place in the town of Ryde on the North-east of the island. However, three informants lived in the village of Bembridge (East Wight) and one in Wootton (North East Wight).

Analysing the data

In analysing the data, there were a number of decisions relating to the issue of what to count as an instance of post-vocalic (r). First I had to decide whether a speaker had used a post-vocalic (r) or not in a particular word. I decided I would classify only two variants [r] and ø. I did not classify differing degrees of constriction. If there was any sound which could be heard as a realisation of post-vocalic (r) I counted it as the [r] variant. Where I was confident there was no sound I scored it as ø. Even with this simple categorisation system, it was not as easy as one might think to be totally confident about the variant used. Nevertheless it should be noted that this approach was conservative in that it was biased against my hypothesis that post-vocalic (r) was dying out.

In order to avoid the misleading inflation of [r] variants that would have been caused by including 'linking r', words containing post-vocalic (r) that were followed by a word beginning with a vowel in the reading passage and in informal speech were not counted in a speaker's total. In order to avoid reaching a misleading total based on the frequency of particular words, post-

vocalic (r) was counted only once for each lexeme in which it occurred. For example, in the reading passage I counted the occurrence of post-vocalic (r) in the lexeme THEIR only the first time that this lexeme occurred. I considered that counting the occurrence of post-vocalic (r) in a recurring lexeme was in effect double counting which could have given a very inaccurate picture of a person's speech habits.

A second area where decisions needed to be made related to the issue of who to count as a 'rhotic' speaker. How many post-vocalic (r)s do people need to produce in order to qualify as 'rhotic' speakers? In other words I needed a criterion for allocating informants to the groups 'rhotic' vs 'non-rhotic' speakers. For an informant to be counted as a rhotic speaker for a particular speech situation I decided they must use the [r] variant 50% of the time. To give a specific example, table 1 presents the percentage of [r] variants realising post-vocalic (r) that I counted for one speaker, Mrs W.

TABLE 1
Mrs W's post-vocalic [r]-pronunciations

Reading Passage	48%
Word List 1	8%
Word List 2	63%
Casual Speech	54%

Mrs W. would be counted as a rhotic speaker for Word List 2 and Casual Speech because she used the [r] variant 50% or more of the time in these speech situations. On the other hand she would not be counted as a rhotic

speaker for the reading passage or Word List I because she used the variable less than 50% of the time in these speech situations.[2]

Results

Rhoticity in different contexts

Table 2 shows the distribution of the [r] variant for 29 speakers in different speech situations. Overall it is clear that [r[pronunciation does occur in the speech of the informants, though there is little variation from one situation to another.

TABLE 2
Rhoticity in different contexts

Reading Passage	Word List 1	Word List 2	Casual Speech
31%	28%	34%	34%

The slightly higher percentage of [r] pronunciations in casual speech is not surprising since one would expect socially unprestigious pronunciation to be more frequent in less formal situations (where people are least conscious of their speech). On the same basis however one would expect a low [r] count in Word List 2, the minimal pairs list, where people are most conscious of their speech. In fact, as the table shows, there was also a high [r] score in Word List 2.

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[2] It should be noted that this criterion is even more stringent than that used by Trudgill (1972: 184) who used a dividing line of 30% in the analysis of urban speech in Norwich.

What could be the explanation? Is post-vocalic (r) perhaps a socially prestigious pronunciation on the Isle of Wight? It seems unlikely that this is the explanation. A far more likely explanation is the fact that [r] pronunciations increased because the written minimal pairs drew maximum attention to the contrast between [r] and ∅. Speakers who used post-vocalic (r) variably in other speech situations always used it in Word List 2. Because the word pairs were spelt differently, speakers who used post-vocalic [r] at all would always make a distinction between pairs such as *fort-fought* and *roar-raw*. In other words the aim of 'keeping words apart' clashed with prestige factors, and the former took precedence.

Rhoticity in different age groups

When the number of rhotic speakers in each age group are compared, it is clear that there is a consistent difference in every speech context, as table 3 demonstrates. In the younger group there was not a single rhotic speaker to be found in any speech situation, while at least half of the older group were rhotic users in every speech situation.

TABLE 3
Rhoticity in different age groups and contexts

	Reading Passage	Word List 1	Word List 2	Casual Speech	No
Younger group	0%	0%	0%	0%	14
Older group	60%	53%	67%	67%	15

Why is there such a difference in the use of post-vocalic (r) between the two groups? The obvious explanation is that post-vocalic (r) is disappearing on the Isle of Wight. But in order to be sure there were no other contributing factors, I considered the possible influence of the informants' level of education or their background.

All the young people attend or (attended) a non-private school. So it was not possible to attribute non-rhoticity in a person's speech to the influence of their education. Indeed, two of the three older people who attended a private school used post-vocalic (r).

Perhaps differences in informants' backgrounds, or the length and strength of their association with the Isle of Wight, accounted for differences in rhoticity between the age-groups? This was a relevant factor in accounting for speech differences in Labov's well-known study of Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963). If all the 'younger' informants were first generation on the island, for instance, one would expect them to be non-rhotic speakers. In order to measure the potential influence of this factor, I devised an 'origin' score. The 'origin' score was based on the number of an informant's parents and grandparents who were Islanders. For example, both Mrs B's parents and three of her grandparents were born on the Isle of Wight. Assigning one point for each person born on the Island, her total 'origin' score is thus five out of a maximum possible six points.

If rhoticity was related to 'origin' one would expect a high origin score to correlate with a high degree of rhoticity. This turned out not to be the case. Seven of the fourteen 'younger' informants had an 'origin' score of three or above, yet they lacked post-vocalic (r). On the other hand, some 'older' informants had low 'origin' scores but used post-vocalic (r). Clearly length and strength of association was not a relevant factor in accounting for differences in rhoticity. All this suggests that non-rhoticity is the norm for young people in urban areas of the Isle of Wight, and that the use of post-vocalic (r) is dying out in urban areas of the Island.

Discussion

Why is postvocalic (r) disappearing from the Isle of Wight?

The most obvious explanation for the disappearance of post-vocalic (r) from the speech of young people in the Isle of Wight is the influence of RP through exposure to the media (cinema, radio and television) and the education system (i.e. 'change from above' in Labov's terms). However, in my opinion the loss of post-vocalic (r) on the Isle of Wight at this particular point in time is not due just to the influence of the media or the education system. These influences have after all been around for a long time and yet the vast majority of the 'older' group still use post-vocalic (r).

Rather it seems likely that a number of factors are working together to eradicate post-vocalic (r) with a major contributing factor being 'change from below' ('below' in the sense of the influence of a lower social group, though perhaps also in the Labovian sense of 'below the level of consciousness'). In other words non-rhoticity in the speech of younger people reflects the influence of heavy migration to the Island during the last 25 years of young people from working class non-rhotic areas (such as London). I believe that 'younger' informants with high origin scores have stopped using the [r] variant because of the greatly increased contact they have experienced with non-rhotic speakers from outside the Island at places like school, social and sports clubs.

In the past the opposite may have been the case. That is, in the past people from the mainland were very much out-numbered by Islanders, and they tended to adopt the speech habits of Islanders, which included the use of post-vocalic (r). This would account for the fact that certain members of the 'older' group used post-vocalic (r) despite low origin scores.

It seems likely then that on the Isle of Wight there is pressure from above and pressure from below for people's speech to change, with both pressures leading to non-rhotic speech. The pressure from above comes from the non-rhotic RP dialect used, for example in the media and in the education system. Pressure from below comes in the form of the covert prestige of non-rhotic London working class speech to the ears of young Islanders. As a result even

those with a high origin score imitate the non-rhotic speech of the young immigrants.

An obvious parallel can be drawn between this study and Labov's (1963) study of the speech of Martha's Vineyard. In both cases we have the speech of an island reacting to the influx of mainlanders onto this island. However, that is where the parallel ends. Whereas the Martha's Vineyarders reacted to the influx of mainlanders by changing their speech habits away from mainland speech habits, the people of the Isle of Wight have reacted by changing their speech towards those of the mainland. Why? One reason for this in my opinion is that the population of the Isle of Wight is much greater than that of Martha's Vineyard. Thus the community on the Isle of Wight is nowhere near as close-knit as that on Martha's Vineyard. There is no particular sense of the Islanders being a cohesive and distinct group, and as a result it seems that the people of the Isle of Wight are much less likely to react to the incursions of mainlanders by changing their speech away from that of the mainland.

Another possible reason for the difference is that it appears that Martha's Vineyarders are only outnumbered by mainlanders during the *summer* months, whereas, due to post-war migration to the Island, people on the Isle of Wight in certain age groups are *permanently* outnumbered by mainland immigrants. Resistance to mainland speech norms would therefore presumably be more difficult.

Conclusion

From this survey there seems to be little doubt that the use of post-vocalic (r) is steadily disappearing from the urban speech of the Isle of Wight. And on current trends there would have to be a radical change in the speech habits of young Islanders to reverse this situation. At this point I was going to finish by saying something like 'thus the spread of non-rhotic speech continues its westward progress England'. But I am not entirely sure that this is true. The Isle of Wight has since Victorian times enjoyed a special place in Britain because of its climate and peacefulness.[3] These are two reasons for the

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[3] The other main reasons were that the Government positively encouraged industry, and the Island was attractive for residential purposes due to relatively low land and property prices. (*Isle of Wight County Structure Plan* 1976).

heavy migration it has experienced in recent years. So it is possible that the spread of non-rhotic speech has by-passed adjacent mainland areas. I do not know. To find out one would need to carry out another survey in the appropriate areas. What I do know is that, if what I have reported is a reliable indication of the direction of linguistic change, Hughes and Trudgill's map of rhotic speech needs to be redrawn for the Isle of Wight.

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