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***The influence of socio-psychological factors on the
English pronunciation in Polish immigrants to
London.***

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***Wpływ czynników socjopsychologicznych na poziom wymowy języka
angielskiego przez polskich imigrantów zamieszkujących teren
Londynu***

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INTRODUCTION

Immigration has always been an intriguing social phenomenon. As the history shows, every century brings numerous examples of individuals or whole groups leaving their homes and searching for new areas that would be suitable to settle down, start a family and begin a new life. The reasons for such migrations are different depending on the situation: some people escape from war and dictatorship in their own country, others seek work and better living conditions.

Migration movements are related to a variety of factors that may influence the existence of an individual or a group within the new community. As immigrants, such individuals undergo the acculturation process (Schuman, 1986) which affects most (if not all) aspects of their life away from their mother country. This process involves the interaction of variables operating at two levels: societal and individual. The former deals with economic and political situation of a settlement area as well as cultural factors and the society of settlement. The latter is related to individuals and the characteristic of a given person and his or her situation as immigrant to the foreign country. The choice of acculturation strategy adopted by individuals may either help them in functioning within the new community or not.

Every immigrant faces different obstacles on the arrival to the foreign country. Language is one of the most common and – at the same time – one of the most important of all. Second language acquisition in a naturalistic context creates first-hand experience of both the language and the culture characteristic for a given community in new surroundings. The notion ‘naturalistic context’ is related to the process of acquiring the language in its natural environment within the surroundings of the second language (referred to as L2) speech community. It has been reported that such conditions for L2 learning influence the SLA and depending on the relationship with the L2 community they can either accelerate or hinder the process (Schumann, 1986; Flege, 2001). One of the most intriguing aspects of SLA in L2 environment is the pronunciation of the second language. Existing literature that has been dealing with this aspect for many years, offers numerous studies conducted on immigrants’ L2 speech (e.g. Flege, 2001, Waniek-Klimczak, 2009, 2011).

Researchers have been trying to find possible connection between target-like features of L2 pronunciation and some external or internal factors that may possibly influence the whole SLA process. Flege (1992, 1997, 1999, 2001) has reported that such factors as the age

of arrival (AoA), the length of residence (LoR) or L1 and L2 input on the daily basis can affect the immigrants' pronunciation skills in their second language. Studies conducted by Waniek-Klimczak (2009, 2011) have reported that acculturation strategy combined with other personal and social factors may also be a key factor that influences L2 speakers' pronunciation. The phonetic parameter that is often chosen for investigation is Voice Onset Time (VOT). Another variable is rhoticity (e.g. Wells, 1982; Sobkowiak, 1996; Waniek-Klimczak, 2011). In combination with socio-psychological factors it is possible to describe the variability and dynamism of SLA in order to increase and develop our understanding of the nature and mechanisms of L2 learning. Establishing the nature of this relationship between phonetic parameters and socio-psychological factors is necessary to determine the best predictors of success in SLA and to shed more light on the interaction between parameters.

This dissertation investigates the relationship between L2 pronunciation (on the basis of two phonetic parameters mentioned above) and selected socio-psychological factors that are assumed to affect the process of second language acquisition in Polish adult immigrants to the UK. The thesis investigates the existence of this relationship which is being checked through length of residence and the level of L2 proficiency on arrival to the UK. For the purpose of the study six hypotheses were formulated. It is expected that the quality of L2 speech produced by the participants is influenced by three factors: their length of residence to the UK, the level of L2 proficiency on arrival and acculturation strategy used by each individual.

The first hypothesis claims that those immigrants whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are likely to use more target-like VOT values. The second hypothesis assumes that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival will use longer VOT values both in Polish (L1) and in English (L2). The third hypothesis is related to acculturation strategies and assumes that those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation are more likely to achieve longer VOT results both in L1 and L2. The fourth hypothesis claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). The fifth hypothesis assumes that more proficient L2 learners are less likely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). According to the sixth hypothesis, the speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic.

The dissertation is organised into five chapters: the first two provide theoretical background and discuss the previous findings related to the investigated phonetic parameters and factors affecting the process of SLA; the third one describes the complex methodology for the study, the fourth discusses the results of the study and the fifth attempts to analyse the findings. Chapter One provides an outline of the history of Polish migration movements and discusses the issue of today's migrant profile. The first part of this chapter presents the issue of Polish immigration to the UK from the perspective of historical events such as the Partitions of Poland or the Second World War, but also more recent actions such as Post-Solidarity period or European Union Enlargement. The next part is devoted to general information about Poles living in the UK, including demographic specification, educational background, origin, employment patterns or possible settlement plans. The next section is related to the issue of motivation for coming to the UK, social relationships between Poles and L2 speech community, the impact of Polish migrations to the UK in general and – in the light of latest events – current situation of Polish immigrants in the UK.

Chapter Two is devoted to the notion of acculturation which explains the whole process of cultural and psychological change that results from the clash of cultures. The effects of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels in both interacting cultures. At a group level, acculturation often results in changes to culture, customs, and social institutions. Noticeable group level effects of acculturation often include changes in food, clothing, and language. At an individual level, differences in the way individuals acculturate have been shown to be associated not just with changes in daily behaviour, but with numerous measures of psychological and physical well-being.

Acculturation may be defined as a complex process in which an individual is exposed to the L2 environment and L2 learning. The concept of acculturation has been studied scientifically since 1918. As it has been approached at different times from the perspective of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, numerous theories and definitions have emerged to describe elements of the acculturative process. Despite evidence that acculturation entails a two-way process of change, research has primarily focused on the adjustments and adaptations made by minorities such as immigrants or refugees in response to their contact with the dominant majority (Flege, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001). Contemporary research has mainly concentrated on different strategies of acculturation and how variations in acculturation affect how well individuals adapt to their society.

Chapter Two also presents the selection of socio-psychological factors such as length of residence to the L2 environment, age of arrival, L2 experience on arrival or the amount of L1 and L2 used by immigrants on the daily basis, L2 learning aptitude or motivation for L2 learning. Such factors have been the subject of numerous studies conducted mostly on immigrants to a variety of English-speaking countries (Piske et al., 2001, Flege, 1992, 1998, 2001) and it has been reported that they affect the process of second language acquisition in its 'naturalistic' context.

Chapter Three describes the methodology for the study on aspiration (VOT) and rhoticity in Polish adult immigrants to London and the possible influence of factors such as length of residence, L2 experience on arrival and the acculturation strategy on the process of acquiring the selected features of English pronunciation. First, an overview of previous research on factors affecting L2 pronunciation is provided. The following sections are concerned with the aims of the study, hypotheses and methodology.

Chapter Four concentrates on presenting the results. Data analysis procedure and the charts that group the results is the most important part of the chapter; the findings have revealed several interesting language and methodological issues that were addressed in the reported study.

Chapter Five provides a broader analysis of the results for VOT and rhoticity presented in the experimental part of Chapter Four as it involves the analysis of both phonetic parameters (aspiration and rhoticity) and their relation to three factors that are believed to influence SLA process (length of residence and the second language experience on arrival to the UK). The last section presented in the form of conclusions includes such aspects as weaknesses of the study and the implications for further studies in this area.

The final section of the dissertation (Conclusion) reviews the experimental procedure and summarises the results of the study. The appendices contain the materials that were used in order to elicit the data, including the questionnaire (presented to the participants in form of a structured interview) and two pictures on the basis of which the speakers were asked to read the words around it aloud. The pictures were also used for eliciting speech samples both in Polish and English in order to analyse them in the course of the study.

The dissertation has been motivated by the researcher's deep belief that the phenomenon of Polish immigration to the UK deserves attention and offers a unique opportunity to search not only for various external and internal features that shape the immigrants' L2 proficiency, but also possible patterns of acculturation adopted by those L2 learners and its effects on the process of SLA and the use of the second language. As English has become a language of international communication across the whole world, it is spoken by many non-native speakers as their second language. The fact that Poland has been a member of the European Union since 2004 creates favourable conditions for more direct contact with English in L2 speech communities (such as England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland) for thousands of Polish people who have decided to settle down in the British Isles. Whatever the reasons for settling down in the UK may be, Polish immigrants need to use their second language in the environment where they are exposed to an extensive use of L2 on a daily basis. In contrast to traditional ways and methods of learning L2 in Poland, living in the area where L2 is a default language imposes active use of that language on its learners. In other words, the process of SLA takes place constantly in a naturalistic context and is worth investigating for many reasons. Exploring the effect of everyday life exposure to L2 in natural surroundings may be of interest not only from the scientific point of view but it can also be important for teaching and learning English as the second language in naturalistic context as well as within school environment where language learning becomes more instructed and less spontaneous.

CHAPTER I

Polish immigrants to the UK in the past and today

Introduction

The issue of immigration has been an important aspect of creating new societies and settlement within new areas. It is also relevant today in the world struggling against wars, poverty and overall economic crisis. War or political refugees seek for a peaceful area where they could start a new life. This is also true for ordinary citizens of the countries affected by crisis who try to find their place in the labour market. This is why every year people migrate through countries for various reasons: some escape terror and brutality of war, others want to find a job and provide food and shelter for the families. Regardless of the motives, immigration has become a large scale global phenomenon the consequences of which have a huge impact on the world's economy.

Polish immigration has a long history, with political and economic motives intermingled in the past. However, a more recent immigration pattern, started by Polish membership in the European Union, seems to be different for a number of reasons, the main one being a different position of the immigrants, who are neither refugees nor exiles. In fact they enjoy numerous privileges within Europe, with the possibility to change their place of residence without the risk of being banned from their homeland or deported from the host country within the European Union. Within Europe, the United Kingdom (UK) proves to be a very special place for Poles.

The first part of this chapter discusses the issue of Polish immigration to the UK from the perspective of historical events such as the Partitions of Poland or the Second World War, but also more recent actions such as Post-Solidarity period or European Union Enlargement. The next part is devoted to general information about Poles living in the UK such as demographic specification, educational background, origin, employment patterns or possible settlement plans. The next section is related to the issue of motivation for coming to the UK, social relationships between Poles and L2 speech community, the impact of Polish migrations

to the UK in general and – in the light of latest events – current situation of Polish immigrants in the UK.

1.1. Polish Immigration to the UK in historical perspective

Polish immigration to the British Isles has a long story and tradition as the links between Poles and the UK are particularly strong. Trevena (2009) claims that Polish immigration to England dates back to the sixteenth century, when a group of Polish Protestants first arrived in Britain in order to study the doctrines of the post-Reformation church. As regards the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, along with the development of Counter-Reformation movement and its supporters in Poland, the amount of Polish Protestants coming to England (so as to refuge) increased significantly (ibid.). While this first wave of Polish immigrants was religiously motivated, the reason for immigration was to seek shelter.

The motivation and the groups of immigrants changed later on, however, England continued to offer shelter to refugees from Poland. From around the end of the eighteenth century as a result of The First Partition of Poland that took place in 1772 and the following political and economic disintegration of the Polish state, a new type of immigration started. According to Trevena (ibid.), since that time England – similarly to France in previous years - became a shelter for Polish politicians and soldiers, who came here as refugees seeking help and support in the fight of their country's right to freedom. The author (ibid.) perceives this phenomenon in the category of a trend and explains that migrations of Poles to the British Isles (related to political reasons) continued throughout the nineteenth century. The author points out that the rapid expansion of the Polish community in London at that time contributed to the establishment of the first Polish chapel and Polish centre in 1867 (Trevena, 2009). According to Burell (2009), the scale and diversity of emigration from Poland was especially noticeable in the nineteenth century when the land – formerly independent – was partitioned under Prussian, Austrian and Russian rule. Burell (ibid) claims that this situation created conditions for the growth of national consciousness and cultural resistance to occupation and as a result established the situation in exile as an integral political tool of opposition, becoming one of the most significant subjects of the romantic literature of that era

which could be traced back to the example of such Polish romantic poets as Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki or Cyprian Norwid and many more.

However, many people were also desperate to leave the country because of economic instability which led to mass migrations of Poles from the partitioned territories to the United States (mainly those who had peasant origin and who hoped to earn enough money to return and buy land in Poland) and across Europe (especially towards Britain and Germany). As regards the British Isles, the end of the nineteenth century brought a new wave of Polish migration there and the era of mass emigration from Poland to different destinations around the whole world truly began. Trevena (2009) explains that Polish migrants to the British Isles were coming mostly from the Prussian partition because as a result of Bismarck's colonisation policy, a huge amount of ethnic Poles were evicted from their homes. Interestingly enough, this particular wave of Polish immigrants was significantly different than the previous ones as it was mainly composed of the so-called 'ordinary people', not only religious refugees, ex-soldiers or exiled political activists (Trevena, *ibid.*). Meanwhile, the Polish immigrant community in Britain became a well-organised and established one. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were three main centres of Poles in the UK: the first was in London, the place where the Polish Roman Catholic Mission was established in 1894, the second - Manchester with the neighbouring counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and finally - Lanarkshire located in Scotland (*ibid.*).

Migrations of people who decided to leave Poland due to political or economic reasons and settle down in Britain continued until 1914 when the outbreak of the First World War took place. As claimed by Iglicka (2001), over 3.5 million of citizens had left Polish lands by 1914. This tendency continued due to numerous economic problems that the newly independent Polish state had to face in the inter-war period (Burrell, 2009). Nevertheless, according to Trevena (2009), Britain's popularity as a destination country for Poles dropped significantly in the post-war period. Trevena (*ibid.*) claims that 758 people in the period of 1919-1931 decided to settle down in Britain for good. It was a very small amount if we compare it to more than 522,500 Polish immigrants coming to France at the same time. Patterson (1961) points out that as regards inter-war period there were only a few thousand Polish-born residents of the Christian denomination in Britain in the 1930s: labourers and artists, settled down mainly in East London, Manchester and Lanarkshire. The situation of larger Polish ethnic groups in Britain was different than in the United States, Canada or

France. Unlike the abovementioned countries, the so-called ‘Old Poles’ in Britain were “insufficiently numerous or organized to dilute or influence the huge stream of political exiles which poured into Britain after 1939” (Patterson, 1961: 69). Consequently, from now on all of the newcomers could freely develop as a political exile community, not affected by half-assimilated economic migrants acting as someone like the so-called “sponsors” or “interpreters” between the newcomers and the host society (ibid.).

Trevena (2009) is convinced that regardless of the reasons behind emigration, Polish immigrants grew even stronger and became further consolidated in the World War I period mainly because of the war, its circumstances and aftermaths – they were left abroad with no financial help and general lack of money. Even if they wanted to return, many would have found it impossible because of the limited access to the means of transport (ibid.).

According to Burrell (2009), during and after the Second World War a large amount of Polish immigrants decided to settle down overseas, especially in the US, for good. Burrell (ibid.) states that no matter of its nature (seasonal or permanent migrations), the level of population mobility was significant and such movements were thought to be partly driven by border changes and numerous attempts to repopulate the eastern parts of the country with ethnically Polish settlers. Hence, "by the Second World War Poland had built up a multi-faceted trajectory of mobility, with strong internal and external migratory links, and an enduring tradition of emigration" (Burrell, 2009: 3-4).

1.2. Polish Immigration during and after the Second World War

The outbreak of the Second World War and the following events opened a new chapter in the history of Polish migration to the British Isles. According to Patterson (1961: 70), the post-1939 settlement of Polish immigrants in Britain began as the government and armed forces started to form larger communities in exile. Trevena (2009:3) explains that shortly after the German attack on Poland in September 1939, the Polish Government-in-Exile got the permission to establish their headquarters in Britain (its government agreed to home Polish political exiles and armed forces). Patterson (1961: ibid.) gives more specific data. According to the author, those who comprised this particular wave of Polish immigration were mainly the civilian officials of the Polish Government-in-Exile in France and some wives or families of servicemen (about 3,000 in total). We should not forget about nearly 27,350 members of the Polish armed forces, most of whom came to Britain after the

fall of France that took place in June 1940. Polish troops fighting at that time in France were transferred to the British Isles soon after and as it is known from history, they played a crucial role in the defence of the country - especially in 1940 when the Battle of Britain took place (Trevena, 2009: 3). It should be mentioned that during the Second World War Polish troops fighting literally all over the globe continued to make their way to Britain. It is believed that by 1945 the total amount of Polish soldiers constituting the Polish Armed Forces under the British Command increased to 249,000 people (Trevena, *ibid.*). When it comes to the so-called 'civilian mobility', "it was driven principally by forced and brutal displacement and deportation, with the bulk of the country's armed forces having to re-form outside of Poland, fighting with the Allied war effort" (Burrell, 2009: 2). It should be also mentioned that the Polish Second Corps, the Polish army composed of about 100,000 men and raised in Russia by general Władysław Anders became "the somewhat inflexible backbone of the organized Polish post-war community in Britain" (Patterson, 1961: 70). Nonetheless, other forces gradually joined the Polish exiles in the British Isles. Patterson (*ibid.*) also mentions more than 21,000 prisoners-of-war who – during the Second World War - became freed from German nazi camps and taken to England by Polish units. There was also a small – yet still significant - group which consisted of more than 2,000 political prisoners who were lucky enough to survive German concentration camps. The other groups were the civilians: Patterson explains that "the small civilian minority of 1940 received its first large reinforcement when 33,000 members of Polish military families and dependents were brought to Britain between 1945 and 1950" (1961: 71).

As regards gender ratio, it was rather uneven among the Polish exiles. However, the disproportion was slightly reduced when about 14,000 of the so-called Polish European Volunteer Workers from the D. P. Camps¹ started arriving in Britain, as nearly half of them were women (Patterson, *ibid.*). The author claims that although at first the newcomers were not that welcome, eventually the gap between the groups disappeared and the newcomers were drawn into the Polish community life (mainly outside the main British cities). Waniek-Klimczak (2009) claims that the post-war Polish ethnic minority – which consisted mainly of the ex-soldiers and military personnel of Polish people working in cooperation with Allied forces, their families, volunteers (from E.V.W), war prisoners and those who survived German concentration camps – was believed to be the largest single post-war ethnic minority

¹ Displaced Persons' Camps

in the territory of Great Britain. According to the data², Britain became the ‘new home’ for more than 90, 000 Poles by the end of the war. In addition, about 200,000 Poles in Allied Forces settled down in Britain between 1945 (the end of the war) and 1947. However, not everyone decided to stay there for good – some people re-emigrated (the direction was mainly overseas: the USA, Canada, Australia or New Zealand), others went back to Poland. Patterson (1961) states that more than 10,000 Poles decided to emigrate under official schemes alone in the early post-war period. In addition, both group and individual emigration continued to be noticed at a decreased rate after that. For those who decided to stay in Britain, Polish Resettlement Corps was organized. The aim of this organization was to facilitate the new beginning in the newly inhabited areas (Waniek-Klimczak, *ibid.*). The author (*ibid.*) points out that around 114,000 Polish immigrants joined the Corps and settled down within more than forty camps spread throughout Britain. Accommodation and work were available there. Waniek-Klimczak (2011) states that most of those camps were closed by 1960, but at the time of their existence, they provided immigrants with education, employment and housing (*ibid.*: 22). The places chosen for settlement were mainly conditioned by the combination of such factors as accommodation and profession. The data indicate that the largest group of Polish immigrants chose London – the number of Poles living there before 1960 was 30,000 and 35,000 (Patterson, 1961; Waniek-Klimczak, 2009). Although the occupational structure of post-war Polish immigration is still unclear, the data published by the Polish Resettlement Corps suggest that the majority of Polish immigrants were in manual occupations as they were employed in agriculture, mining or in building industry. Just one fifth of the whole Polish community was assigned to non-manual occupations (Waniek Klimczak, 2009). Obviously, there were groups of well-educated professionals who had gained their qualifications in Poland such as doctors, teachers, lawyers or artists. Some of them managed to find a job related to their qualifications, yet many of them were force to requalify.

Patterson (1961) points out that like the majority of other immigrant groups, Polish people had a tendency to stick together, although the so-called Polish ‘ghettoes’ as such didn’t actually emerge. The common trend noticed among the newcomers was the following: first people usually decided to buy cheap houses in such areas as Brixton or Moss Side and then, after gathering some sufficient capital, they decided to move into more desirable areas inhabited mostly by British lower middle class (Patterson, *ibid.*). At that time the main

² Czaykowski and Sulik, 1961 in: Waniek-Klimczak, 2009

districts of Polish communities in London included the following areas: Islington, Bormpton, Ealing, Clapham, Lewisham, Brackley, Croydon, Willesden, Wimbledon and Highgate.

Despite the fact that Polish immigrants to Britain were officially recognized by the British government and authorities (mostly through the existence of such organizations as Polish Resettlement Corps or Polish Ex-Combatants Association), the position of Polish minority was not as advantageous as one might think. Waniek-Klimczak (2009) points out that this was the result of the lack of or very little knowledge of the English language and the English way of life. Furthermore, for many people their educational background, qualifications and experience acquired in Poland were of no use in the new environment. Still, Polish immigrants to Britain had to try to establish a new life in this country that they knew little about and among people they could barely communicate with. It was very hard to expect immediate adaptation from the community that had experienced the cruelty of the war and the forthcoming post-war political development as a result of which many of them were forced to leave their own country, their homes or families. However, a part of the British society did not make Polish minority feel welcome.

This hostile attitude towards Poles could be noticed in late forties and there is no doubt that this situation affected the relationship between the Polish community and the majority community. It is believed that numerous problems with finding occupation were triggered by an overall unfriendly attitude of the Trade Unions towards immigrant workers in general – unfortunately, it affected Polish workers in particular (Waniek-Klimczak, 2009). Poles were often perceived as the society of assailants who came here to live their idle and careless life at British taxpayers' expense and being a kind of a threat for the English society as they competed for jobs, housing, etc. (ibid.). The truth is that, however, the majority of Polish immigrant population in the UK started their career in the target language environment as unqualified manual workers (although in Poland many of those people might have obtained a relatively high level of education). Zubrzycki (1956) claims that it was extremely difficult for Polish 'intelligentsia' to accept and come to terms with such considerable occupational degradation. Yet, Waniek-Klimczak (2009) points out that no matter what their initial stage in the career may have been, many Polish immigrants managed to improve their status while living in the UK.

According to the data on the proportion of economically active minorities, it turns out that Polish immigrant groups were the most successful on the job market (Waniek-Klimczak, ibid.). Patterson (1961) mentions that according to the opinions expressed by British

employers, they came across as hard working, reliable and exceptionally ambitious. On the other hand, Polish community had a tendency to stick to each other and general unwillingness to mingle with non-Polish groups. It was visible especially among the majority of older generation of pre-war intelligentsia. As those people were forced to work either below their qualifications or take the jobs they felt not proper for them, they could feel the hostile and unfavourable attitude of the so-called 'outside world'. Not surprisingly, this situation contributed to the strengthening of the within-group relationships (Waniek-Klimczak, *ibid.*). As regards the scale of post-war migrations, Burrell (2009) states that unlike the previous immigration waves which were usually economically motivated and rather short-term, the post-war settlement was significantly different: long-term and fighting against a variety of political and emotional ramifications of being immigrants.

According to Burrell (2009), the outward migrations pattern changed substantially again along with the establishment of the communist regime when the Second World War came to an end. Immediately after that, one could notice large-scale population movements which were rather chaotic in nature. Such migrations were caused by a significant change in borders which resulted in a number of expulsions and 'resettlements' of German and Ukrainian nations, the wave of repopulation from the Soviet-dominated areas and finally, the 'internal' resettlement of the Polish nation. Poles had to move from the lands lost in the east that now belonged to Soviet Union (such as *Lwów*) to territories in the west which were taken away from Germany (such as *Wrocław*). Burrell (*ibid.*) highlights the fact that the situation of Polish people under communist regime had a lot to do with international immobility. The author explains that even if people decided to move outside the country, such an act was seen as highly politicized and stigmatized by the new government. Most of the Poles who left their country at that time were treated as enemies of the new political system. Burrell (*ibid.*) explains that although at that time there was relative freedom of travel within the countries belonging to Eastern bloc, and even despite the fact that Poland was the most liberal communist country on this issue, "people could not keep their passports at home for most of the duration of the regime, and 'going west' hinged on governmental permission, secured usually only through invitations, student places and specific job offers" (2009: 3).

Nonetheless, under communist regime Poles migrated a lot. The direction of such movements was mainly towards the west (labour migrations to Germany or to the US). It is believed that more than two million Poles left their native country in the 1980s (Iglicka 2001: 24). According to Burrell (2009), at that time Britain was not the major destination of this

emigration, although more specific data reveal that between several hundred and at least a few thousand Polish immigrants settled down in the UK every year after 1956. In 1980s this direction of movement gained its momentum. Thanks to this new wave of migration, the dynamics of Polish population already established in the UK underwent significant changes. Burrell (2009) is convinced that although the newcomers did not have that much of a significant impact on the shape of the whole community, various historical backgrounds of the migrants led to some tensions which were practically impossible to overcome, at least at a local level. As regards Polish immigration towards Britain, it can be said that this flow of migration between these two countries was sustained in later years. But still, up to 1989 the scale of Polish migration to the UK was relatively small, estimated at about several thousands of people settling down in this country at that time (Trevena, 2009). Mainly the families (wives, children etc.) of Poles already settled in the UK made up for this group, yet a number of people who decided to leave Poland out of political reasons should also be taken into account (Fihel and Piętka, 2007). According to Garapich (2007: 5), throughout this period there is just one considerably larger wave of Polish immigration which took place when thousands of newcomers from Poland arrived in the UK as a result of the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981.

1.3. Post-Solidarity period of Immigration

The end of 1981, when the authoritarian communist government of the People's Republic of Poland drastically restricted normal life by introducing martial law in order to crush political opposition, resulted in a new wave of migration outside Poland. Again, Great Britain turned out to be one of the most obvious choices for future settlement. Waniek-Klimczak (2009) explains that there were many reasons behind that. The most important was the fact that Polish Government in Exile still existed in London since the Second World War. What is more, Margaret Thatcher was the British prime minister at that time and she actively opposed the communist system, creating favourable conditions for people persecuted or possibly facing persecution on return to Poland. But most of all, the existence of a well-organised, experienced and helpful community established by Polish immigrants had the power of acting as a driving force for the great number of people leaving Poland. Waniek-Klimczak (2009: 26) claims that “according to the estimate of the representatives of the Polish Social and Cultural Association, the group of Polish people who had been in Britain before

13th of December, 1981, on the basis of tourist visas, and who applied for residency in Britain when martial law was declared in Poland on that date, constitutes the second largest group of Polish immigrants in Britain”. Those were mainly young people in their twenties, many of them were students who came to the UK for a few months. At first, they had no settlement plans as they had come there so as to visit their friends or family, to find a part-time job and earn some money which they needed after coming back to Poland. Unfortunately, everything changed unexpectedly when the martial law was introduced in Poland. Many of those short-term migrants had considered their return to Poland were forced to postpone their decision. The images of tanks set to the centre of Warsaw, the Citizen’s Militia attacking ordinary people in the streets, the prosecution of the Solidarity leaders and members were depressing and worrying for those people (Waniek-Klimczak, 2009). The hope for freedom and well-being in their mother country had to be thrown away. As a result, many people decided to stay in Britain.

The motives of this ‘new’ wave of Polish migrants are not that straightforward and it is not easy to judge those. It seems obvious that political and economic reasons were the most decisive ones simply because if one had the status of a resident in Britain, he or she would have a chance of working legally which was strictly connected to the overall improvement of the socio-economic position of Polish immigrant groups. The majority of these people did not support the communist regime in Poland, and because of that they all felt they were in the opposition to the system, even if not actively involved in fighting against it (*ibid.*). Hence, Polish minority felt somehow obliged to meet the expectations of the British authorities that encouraged anti-Soviet approach. Nevertheless, “regardless of the precise proportion of political and economic reasons for emigration, the new immigrants soon learnt the lesson which the old immigration had experienced long ago: emotions do not enter British politics” (Waniek-Klimczak, 2009: 27).

The legal status and the overall situation of new Polish immigrants was not that clear for another decade. According to Waniek-Klimczak (*ibid.*), many of them managed to obtain permanent residency in the late 1980s. As regards the job market and work permits, it can be said that sometimes it was not very favourable. In many instances, the potential employers were not very keen on offering jobs to legal workers as this would mean higher overall costs (*ibid.*). The situation with performing jobs as manual workers was quite similar to the one known from the previous history of post-war migrant community: the qualifications acquired during the studies in Poland had very little to do with the new careers started in the UK.

Although there was a possibility of performing more prestigious jobs, in most cases the educational background of Polish immigrants to Britain had little value under completely new circumstances and the majority of people performed such jobs as bartenders, shop-assistants, babysitters or cleaners.

From the point of view of the relative difficulty with settling down and consequently, the acculturation processes (see Chapter II), it should be pointed out that the ‘new’ immigrants had less difficulty than the ‘old’ ones as they took the decision about the possible settlement on the basis of their previous residential experience in a given target language country (Waniek-Klimczak, 2009). The author (ibid: 28) notices that “although immigrants often stress the lack of real choice and claim inevitability of their decision on political grounds, their position cannot be compared to the real loss of the motherland and the prospect of deadly prosecution on return to Poland which most of the ‘old immigrants’ had to face”. The society was not that hostile towards young Poles anymore as the British nation were more prone to show their empathy and help to the people who came from the oppressed country they could see on TV (ibid.). The position of young Polish immigrants was relatively similar to the position of British people from poor regions or underprivileged background.

Interestingly enough, the approach to the English language changed. According to Waniek-Klimczak (2009), many newcomers realized that the target language skills were essential to succeed in a job market. Possibly, for many of the ‘new’ Polish immigrants it was obvious that they needed to develop their second language skills in order to be more independent and to rely on themselves rather than on their relatives. They also felt very proud of the newly gained independence and self-reliance and of course most of them had many ambitious plans for the future and did everything to realize them as soon as possible (ibid.). They were generally looking for such jobs that paid enough wages to live on but did not impose long working hours on them – thanks to it they could attend evening studies or extra courses after work. As regards the type of studies, it can be said that this term was rather complex as it could actually mean anything, starting with language classes that took part in the evenings. However, the general tendency to improve various skills and the desire to obtain education in Britain was rather common among Polish immigrant communities (Waniek-Klimczak, 2009).

As it was mentioned before, ‘new’ immigrants experienced ‘better conditions’ for acculturation in the target language environment mainly thanks to the help of the ‘old’

immigration, both in institutional (more job opportunities) and private form (house renting). It was visible especially as regards finding accommodation in Britain: there were at least a few large Polish communities (such as Ealing Broadway in London) and it was for instance possible to rent a flat from Polish landlords. Furthermore, the role of Polish newspapers was crucial at that time. These included, many different job advertisements and a variety of scholarship information. Besides, they were perceived to stand for a kind of a general guide to the social aspect of living in London and the new Polish immigrants were welcome to join the community that had already settled down there. (Waniek-Klimczak, *ibid.*). Of course, the longer two immigrant groups co-existed, the greater differences between them became apparent. The post-Solidarity immigrants focused on improving their status and position within the British community. Although they still identified with the Polish minority, staying within the community was not as beneficial in the long run as it was at the beginning. This can be explained by the fact that the dominant community did not reject them and thanks to it they felt that they did not need to continue to develop strong links with the Polish minority community. According to Waniek-Klimczak (2009) such factors as variety of attitudes and different tradition or the age difference between immigrants were decisive to divide Poles into two groups in terms of referring to them: 'Polish' which means belonging to the Polish community in Britain, or 'from Poland' which covers all those who were newcomers to the UK.

It is worth mentioning that regardless of being 'nationally conscious', some Polish immigrants perceived their own nationality as an obstacle rather than an advantage. According to the interviews with some member of Polish community in Great Britain, Waniek-Klimczak (*ibid.*) points out that some of the people who had been looking for a job with the help of traditionally Polish organizations had such problems as limited choice and lack of prospects for developing their professional careers. Yet, all of those who were lucky enough to achieve the relative success in the British community had a tendency to identify with this group to the greatest extent (*ibid.*).

The end of the Communist regime in 1989 meant that freedom of travel was regained and as a result, migrations from Poland into the UK intensified. According to Trevena (2009), among the factors that stood behind this phenomenon were for instance the willingness to make use of every form of freedom and the change of economic situation in the country. With the political freedom coincided with new economic problems, with unemployment rate rising dramatically during the time of recession (in 1990 the rate was about 6.5 per cent, but in 2003

it increased into 19,4 per cent of unemployed people (official data taken from GUS, 2008). Significantly enough, a dramatically high level of unemployment could be noticed among young Poles. (Fihel et al. 2008). Trevena (ibid.) states that at the moment of EU enlargement in May 2004, Polish job market was in a very difficult situations. There were regions (especially in the eastern part of the country) where the situation was even dramatic – no industry and no work prospects. That created a considerable pressure in looking for some better places to live. Trevena (2009: 5) points out that the period of 1990s was mostly dominated by relatively short-term and circular migrations from Poland, though the scale of such movements is difficult to estimate due to their transient character. At this point it should be noticed that it was not that easy to deal with the problem of finding jobs in the UK, as some institutional conditions for Polish immigrant looking for a job abroad were rather unfavourable in the pre-accession period (there was a very limited possibility of legal work). In the light of such circumstances, there is no wonder that the greatest migration wave from Poland took place shortly after the EU enlargement in 2004. This process involved the institutional changes and from now on immigrants from such countries as Poland could live and work legally in the territories of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Sweden - those countries were the first that opened their labour markets to A8 nationals (Trevena, ibid.). Consequently, the UK became one of the major destination countries for Polish immigrants.

1.4. Poles in the UK after the European Union Enlargement

Although Polish immigration to the UK has been a continuous process since 1939 with Polish people described as one of the biggest immigrant groups in the immediate post-war and pre-common wealth migration period in the UK, there is no doubt that in May 2004 Polish people have once again become a strong and significant ethnic minority population, and seem to be one of the fastest developing migrant populations in the country (Burrell, 2009). The date is strictly connected with the enlargement of the European Union to Eight European Countries (often referred to as EU8). At that time the UK was one of only three countries (Sweden and Ireland being the other two) to open their labour market for immigrants from accession countries (A8) (Trevena, 2009; Garapich et al., 2006). According to Longhi and Rokicka (2012: 1), the 2004 EU enlargement changed a lot for migrants: immigration rules and procedures for EU8 citizens became less complicated and more transparent by removing the main administrative barriers almost overnight. The fact that A8

nationals were given permission to work in the British labour market without any further restrictions (Trevena, 2009) could be explained by the economic premises (Fihel and Piętko, 2007) as “throughout the mid-1990s and early 2000s the British economy was undergoing considerable economic growth: in 2004 unemployment rates were very low, below 5 %, while the number of vacancies was high (ONS 2008), resulting in considerable labour shortages” (Trevena, 2009: 6). The Eastern European newcomers were able to take up any kind of work in the British labour market without any restrictions - the only formal requirement was that they were obliged to register their employment with the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) no later than 30 days after starting it (Trevena, *ibid.*). As could have been expected, after May 1 2004 an enormous amount of ‘new arrivals’ from the New Member states decided to migrate. Poles were one of the main ethnic group that was noticeable. Trevena (*ibid.*) points out that within nearly five years from the EU enlargement to the end of March 2009 the highest proportion of newcomers who successfully applied for different posts were Polish people, making up almost 66% of the total number of applicants (more than 625, 000 applications altogether). Thus, the UK became the most popular destination for Poles who were looking for job opportunities and the new place to establish their homes. It can be said that the EU enlargement was the crowning moment for changing traditional migration patterns from Poland as it has brought about the most considerable wave of immigration into the UK. Sociologists agree that such relatively new wave of immigration from Poland to the UK is one of the most rapid and noticeable flows in Europe (Trevena, *ibid.*).

1.4.1. Immigrants in numbers – how many Poles live in the UK?

Polish community seems to be one of the largest migrant populations in the UK – it is claimed (Upward, 2008) that the number of Polish-born people living and working there legally can be estimated at more than five million people. In comparison with the pre-accession period of migration, the post-accession one has been very intensive. However, it is not easy to estimate the total number of Polish immigrants settling down in the UK as British sources of migration data and statistics are far from perfect. Moreover, there are hundreds of immigrants who are not officially registered (Trevena, 2009). All the collected data mainly come from such sources as Worker Registration Scheme (WRS), National Insurance Number registrations, International Passenger Survey (IPS) and the Labour Force Survey (LFS), yet one should be careful about it as these are only official estimates. It means that many people

(for instance those who work illegally, those who are only seasonal workers and those who do not complete any questionnaires or do not take part in conducting a population census) are not included in such statistics. The 2011 UK Census³ (comprising England and Wales) recorded about 579, 000 Polish-born people resident in those countries⁴.

Unfortunately, there is still no data from Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, some unofficial estimates claim that the number of Poles living in the UK is definitely higher, at up to one million people in total⁵.

1.4.2. The post-accession Polish migrant profiles

As claimed by Kahanec and Kurekova (2011: 6), the post-accession migration from EU-8 embodied a new profile of a migrant, marking a change in typical characteristics of people leaving the region in the 1990s. The overall profile should be composed of such features as demographic specification (age, gender, marital status or dependants), educational background, origin (urban vs. rural), geographical distribution (destinations chosen for settlement), living conditions, the employment patterns (white vs. blue-collar workers), motivation for coming to the UK and possible settlement plans (departures and returns).

1.4.2.1. Demographic specification

Different authors are in the line with the statement that the post-accession migrants from different A8 countries are mainly young people and they are mostly aged between 18 and 34 (Pollard et al., 2008) According to Kohanec and Kurekova (2011), while the pre-enlargement immigrants were mainly middle-aged with vocational education and previous work experience, the post-accession migrants tended to be young and inexperienced, but well-educated at the same time. Accession Monitoring Report from 2009 mentioned by Trevena (2009) claims that the so-called 'A8' migrants from Eastern Europe (including Poland) who

³ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census> (retrieved 25th of July 2013)

⁴ http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,13039965,Od_2001_r__liczba_Polakow_w_Anglii_wzrosla_dziesieciokrotnie_.html (retrieved 25th of July 2013)

⁵ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-286348> (retrieved 25th of July 2013)

decided to settle down in the UK were young: of those who sent their applications to the WRS between May 2004 and March 2009, 81% were 18-34 at the moment of registration, with the majority of those people aged between 18-24. At the same time, only about 12% of registering migrants were 35-44. On the basis of the abovementioned data it can be argued that either Polish or other A8 immigrants' movement to the UK (not to mention other destination areas) illustrates a case of the so-called 'youth drain' - it turns out that in terms of the demography of Polish people, young migrants are overrepresented (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2009). However, the age profile of the Polish community in the UK is more complex, which can be explained by the fact that according to migrant studies conducted by LFS on Polish immigrants (given as the reference in Fihel and Piętka, 2007), Polish community is also composed of post-war migrants who are much older than post-accession migrants. It is estimated that the pre-accession migrants are older as many of them are in their retirement age (ranging from 60 for females and 65 for males). On the other hand, the post-accession migrants are mainly young people aged between 16 – 39 (while the most numerous group of males are those aged 25-29 and females aged 16-24). Fihel and Piętka (ibid.) claim that post-accession economic migrants living in the UK are mainly very young people at the beginning of their maturity age and (in most cases) before setting up their families. They have just become professionally active and take up their first jobs. According to Burell (2006), for young Polish immigrants the arrival in the UK – besides starting a family or getting a job - is perceived as one of the stages in their lives. In addition, British flexible labour market helps in achieving higher standard of life.

As regards gender, generally the male-female ratio for A8 migrants registering with the WRS between May 2004 and March 2009 was 56 to 44 (Trevena, 2009: 12). However, according to a more recent Accession Monitoring Report (2009), this number reached the equal 50/50 proportion. Trevena (ibid.) states that in the first few years after the EU enlargement there were more males arriving for work. However, the trend is no longer as obvious as the number of men and women registering for work became more or less equal. Nonetheless, in case of Polish immigrants to the UK the gender inequality in the first few years following accession was greater than the A8 average. As it can be traced back on the basis of LFS data, we can see that while between 2004 and 2006 the A8 average was 53.5% male migrants, the respective figure for Polish migrant males was estimated as 61.4% (Drinkwater et al. 2006, Fihel and Piętka, 2007).

Trevena (2009) explains that in the light of such figures it might be expected that according to the present-day gender ratio among Polish immigrants to the UK, males are still likely to outnumber females. That seems to be quite intriguing, especially when we take the demographic situation of Poland into account: it is commonly known that in the overall population of Poland women significantly outnumber men⁶ so the fact that throughout a decade more males were migrating to the UK than females (and this trend remained the same for other target countries as well) is interesting from the sociological perspective (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski, 2009: 96). It can be inferred that “the higher number of men than women arriving since 2004 has significantly altered the gender profile of the stock of migrants from the new accession countries living in the UK” (Pollard et al. 2008: 25). On the other hand, if we take people born in Eastern Europe after the Second World War and living in the UK before the post-accession period into account, there were definitely more women than men within this group due to the fact that - on average - women live longer than men (ibid.).

At first glance, the conclusion drawn from the deeper insight into data on marital status is that the majority of new A8 migrants were single: with reference to LFS data only 36.9% arriving in the UK between 2004-2006 were married - the figure for Polish immigrants was estimated as 38.6% (Drinkwater et al. 2006). Nonetheless, Trevena (2009: 12) points out that “this picture becomes slightly modified if we consider categories other than the single/married dichotomy”. LFS data gathered in 2007 revealed that nearly 58% of A8 immigrants were in fact living as couples in the UK. It means that they were either married or lived in a civil partnership or cohabiting (Pollard et al. 2008: 25). Hence, “although a large proportion of A8 (and Polish) nationals are unmarried, it would be a mistake to assume that they are in fact all living as single persons” (Trevena, ibid.). The survey conducted by Pollard et al. (2008: 25) revealed that “one in five returned Poles (19%) arrived in the UK with their partner or spouse”. Interestingly enough, if we compare pre-accession and post-accession migrants it turns out that - according to LFS study – there are significant differences between those two groups as regards marital status: 72% of pre-accession migrants were married or in a relationship, while in case of post-accession migrants that figure was estimated at about 39% (Fihel and Piętko, 2007: 17). Such differences are explained by the age and the degree of settlement in the UK. In general, women were more often married or lived in a cohabiting than men (62% for females vs. 40% for males). The authors (ibid.) claim that in case of Polish

⁶http://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5468/12/5/1/podstawowe_informacje_o_rozwoju_demograficznym_polski_do_2014.pdf (retrieved: 25th of July 2013)

female nationals the migration movements are related to their marriages with the representatives of different nationalities: about 28% of Polish females (and barely 3% of Polish males) being in a steady relationship had partners of different nationality, usually British. Such relationships were more common within Polish females who came to the UK before the EU enlargement, while in case of post-accessions female migrants this figure was estimated at around 7%. Interestingly enough, those women who were in a interrelationship with the members of different ethnic groups were not that active on the labour market as those females whose partners were Polish. This observation may lead to the conclusion that the strategy of being in the so-called 'mixed relationships' was an effective way of integrating with the British society and settling down abroad for good as having non-Polish partner was an obstacle for possible return to Poland (Fihel and Piętka, *ibid.*).

According to Pollard et al. (2008), the proportion of workers from the A8 countries with families living with them at the time they registered was rather low. The authors (*ibid.*) point out that only around seven per cent of workers who registered on the WRS between May 2004 and December 2007 declared they had dependants living with them in the territory of British Isles. The total amount of dependants who have arrived with registered workers since 2004, is estimated at 85,270 (WRS 2008) and 55% of them were under 17 (Home Office et al 2008a). The authors (*ibid.*) explain that the proportion of registered workers who have dependants increased between 2004 and 2007, yet even in 2006, when the number of newly-registered workers with dependants appears to have peaked, only nine per cent of new arrivals registered dependent adults or children. However, as those registering on the WRS may record dependants who are also working and registered on the scheme, these figures are likely to overestimate the number of adult dependants (Pollard et al., *ibid.*). The data gathered by LFS suggest that 13 % of accession migrants living in the UK in 2007 are 16 or even under that age. The Department for Children, Schools and Families (2008) reveals that Polish became "the most commonly-spoken first language among non-English-speaking newly-arrived migrant school children across England" (Pollard et al., *ibid.*). According to Trevena (2009), such a rapid growth in numbers of births to Polish women living in the UK has also been noted in recent years: from 924 births in 2001 to as many as 13,333 births by 2007, placing Polish mothers as second among all foreign-born women giving birth to children in the UK. In 2009 Office for National Statistics (ONS) revealed that the trend of increased births to Polish women is still continuing as 16,101 of such births were recorded in 2008. All things considered, the fact that the majority of Polish migrants who settled down in Britain

after 2004 are at a stage of their lives where people form partnerships and have children may be highly consequential for the target country (Trevena, 2009).

1.4.2.2. Educational background

According to Fihel and Piętka (2007: 19), Polish studies of BAOL revealed that Great Britain is the most attractive target country for well-educated Polish immigrants. The authors (ibid.) claim that the data collected by British LFS confirms this observation as one in five migrants obtained higher education (MA degree) and about half of them - BA degree (about 44,6%). Education background is in fact similar for pre-accession and post-accession migrants. Trevena (2009) claims that starting from the late 1990s, Great Britain has attracted highly-educated migrants from Poland (English language being a significant pull factoring this case), and this trend has continued even in the post-accession period. If we take a look at the analyses prepared by LFS (related to the period of May 2004 to December 2006), it turns out that 22.5% of post-accession migrants to the UK had higher education qualifications, while nearly 50% obtained A-levels or equivalent qualifications. In contrast, there were 22.4% Poles with vocational qualifications and only 6% of unqualified migrants or those with the qualifications lower than vocational (Lusińska-Grabowska and Okólski 2009: 112).

For Trevena (2009) one of the major reasons behind these rather high education levels of the post-accession migrants to the UK is the substantial increase in levels of education among the Polish population in general. Nonetheless, the share of well-educated people is higher among migrants than among the Polish population in general, and in case of migration to the UK, self-selection according to educational level is particularly strong (ibid.). Despite such high qualifications, Polish immigrants - as well as other A8 nationals - have predominantly been employed in low prestige occupations. With reference to the analysis prepared by Drinkwater et al. (2006), within the community of all A8 migrants, Poles turned out to be group whose education and experience on arrival ranked among the lowest. The reasons behind this process vary. One of the factors that possibly hinder the occupational advancement on the British job market (at least in the initial phase after arrival) is lack of professional experience, because a considerable number of tertiary educated immigrants from Poland arrive in the UK immediately after graduating (Fihel et al. 2008a).

With reference to Pollard et al. (2008: 25) there is no reliable data on new accession migrants' general level of education mainly due to the fact that the LFS provides data on the qualifications held by respondents, whereas qualifications not obtained in the UK are classified as 'other' and no other details about this issue are provided. Nevertheless, a range of authors (Trevena 2009; Fihel and Piętko, 2008 ; Pollard et al., 2008 or Lusiński-Grabowska and Okólski, 2009), surveys and administrative data suggest that as a group Polish immigrants to the UK are characterized by a relatively high education level.

1.4.2.3. Urban vs. rural background

The question about the origin of those who settle down in the UK seems to be interesting. According to Fomina and Frelak (2008: 20) the available data do not answer this question as these are not that detailed and the regions which are not that urbanised seem to be particularly susceptible to immigration. On the basis of the public opinion poll conducted in 2006 among Polish immigrants to the UK, small town residents are the group where the desire of emigration is the most common. On the other hand, residents of bigger cities are less likely to emigrate, obviously because these offer more work and it is much easier to find it (Wiśniewski and Duszczak, 2007). Fomina and Frelak (ibid.) add that "these trends are also described in *Diagnoza Społeczna 2007* (Social Diagnosis 2007) concerning the migration experience between 2005 and 2007" where "according to the research, the inhabitants of the provinces of Podkarpackie, Lubelskie and Dolnośląskie were most likely to emigrate".

1.4.2.4. Geographical distribution

As regards 'urban vs. rural' context for settlement, "Polish workers have been settling in different areas of Great Britain, mainly in the southeast, south and southwest of England" (Fomina and Frelak, ibid.). At the very beginning of their residence in the UK they had a tendency to settle down in larger cities, but later on they started to move to smaller towns (yet these were developing at a fast pace).

According to Trevena (2009) what is new about the post-accession wave of Polish migration is that the newcomers are greatly dispersed geographically, taking up work and residence even in the most remote areas of the British Isles. Nonetheless - up to now - little research has been conducted on how and with whom and in which areas exactly Polish migrants in the UK live. The author (*ibid.*) points out that Scotland provides an illustrative example of this phenomenon as it is a region characterised by depopulation and this is the reason why the country creates conditions for in-migration.

According to Trevena (2009), the distribution of post-enlargement migrants around the UK differs significantly from that of other immigrant groups. It turns out that A8/A2 nationals of working age are half as likely to live in London as other immigrants on average, and have gone to parts of the country that have previously attracted very few migrants (Pollard et al. 2008). On the basis of CRC Briefing Paper from 2007, Trevena (*ibid.*) claims that the British countryside became important and attractive factor for some Polish/A8 migration as the pattern of migrant worker arrivals, particularly in proportion to the local labour force, is highly concentrated in some specific rural areas. Hence, the author concluded that post-accession migrants settling down in the UK had been highly employment-orientated following the principle of going wherever work could be found. It should be pointed out that such a wide geographical dispersion of migrants of one single nationality is a new phenomenon in modern British history (*ibid.*).

Pollard et al. (2008) claim that post-enlargement migrants have moved to a larger number of different areas of the UK than have any previous groups of migrants. The authors are convinced that this situation is related to the fact that this group's overwhelming motivation for coming to the UK is to work (*ibid.*). It can be said that A8 nationals have high degree of mobility as a group and they generally move towards places where work is available. According to WRS and NiNo applications from A8 immigrants, the greatest amount of the newcomers decided to settle down in London and the South East. Nevertheless, a significantly smaller proportion of A8 and A2 migrants live in and around the capital than foreign-born residents as a whole and practically all regions have received significant numbers of post-enlargement migrants (Pollard et al., *ibid.*).

There is also evidence to suggest that some of these spatial patterns have changed overtime as initially, A8 migrants were concentrated mostly in London and the South East (*ibid.*). The possible explanation as given by the authors may be that a lot of migrants from the A8 countries already working in these regions would have registered on WRS in 2004,

although the fall in the proportion of new registrants in London between 2004 and 2005 was dramatically low (9%), as well as the increase in the numbers registering in other regions (Pollard et al, *ibid.*). Interestingly enough, the LFS figures for stock in each region at the end of 2007 suggest that people who initially registered in some regions, particularly the East of England, may have subsequently moved away (*ibid.*). According to the data gathered by LFS (2007), large numbers of these people probably moved to London and the South East, as the stock figures there were much higher than the proportion of WRS registrations in the aforementioned areas.

Pollard et al. (2008) point out that although the arrival of new migrants to areas with no history of immigration may in a limited number of cases create some short-term issues for local authorities to address, it is clear that the movement of post-enlargement migrants to some parts of the UK has brought significant economic benefits and assistance to regional development. It can be said that significant amount of A8 migrants have moved to rural areas, providing labour in those areas where recruitment can be difficult - according to the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC), 120,000 migrant workers registered in the rural areas of England between May 2004 and September 2006, representing almost a quarter (23%) of WRS registrations during that period (*ibid.*). At this point it should be mentioned that the CRC's findings from 2007 suggest higher degree of seasonality in WRS registrations in rural areas, with September considered as the peak registration month (Pollard et al., 2008).

1.4.2.5. Living conditions

There are no reliable statistics related to the housing situation of Polish immigrants who arrived in the UK after 2004 EU enlargement. Trevena (2009: 18) says that the general knowledge on living conditions is obtained from local authorities and sometimes analysed at regional level. In addition, , a number of small-scale quantitative and qualitative studies have been carried out on the issue so far (*ibid.*).

According to Robinson et al. (2007a), post-accession migrants settling down in the UK typically reside in relatively poor quality accommodation which is often inaccurate to their needs in terms of such factors as size, design, location, facilities, and the proximity of different services. It is believed that Polish immigrants are no exception to this rule as it has been found that Poles usually live in privately rented accommodation (as social

accommodation is not available to the majority), which is often overcrowded and characterised by poor physical conditions (ibid.). Furthermore, this phenomenon is connected with tied and independent private rented accommodation alike (Robinson et al. 2007b). The main reason behind that can be explained by the fact that living costs in Britain are high: accommodation in hotels or private households is rather expensive considering Polish migrants' level of earnings – that is why in many cases they have to share overcrowded flats or rooms in places occupied by Poles and other members of migrant communities.

As regards problematic issues, another one related to housing is homelessness. Eastern European migrants who fail to find jobs, or those who lose their jobs unexpectedly, can become homeless overnight which is caused by the fact that there is rather limited entitlement to benefits. In addition, destitute A8 nationals are not entitled to even the most basic homelessness services in most cases (Shelter 2008). Trevena (2009) claims that although no exact statistics related to homeless Poles in the UK are available, this phenomenon exists, and the numbers appear to be rising. According to media reports prepared by CLG (Communities and Local Government)⁷ department in 2008, the greatest amount of homeless Eastern European migrants can be found in London, where they account for about 15% of rough sleeping. Nevertheless, as media reports suggest, there are also many instances of homelessness in the case of Polish immigrants across the whole country.

What is particularly interesting, Poles residing in overcrowded and/or poor quality accommodation tend to be “phlegmatic about their situation, rarely regarding it as problematic or a cause of concern” (Robinson et al. 2007: 43). Robinson et al. (2007) explain that this situation may be caused by the fact that Poles have had rather low expectations towards accommodation. It may result from the perceived temporariness of their situation on the one hand, and finding living in houses in multiple occupation beneficial in a number of ways on the other. But in the context of Polish people it can be said that they are generally used to live in overcrowded places with living conditions below the minimum of standards (ibid.) as housing shortage and affordability are acute problems in Poland where the average living area per person is the lowest in the whole of Europe (Domański, 2007 in Trevena, 2009).

⁷ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6395/1780763.pdf (retrieved on the 25th of July 2013)

1.4.2.6. Types of Polish migration and the employment patterns

One of the most interesting classifications that can be helpful in understanding the conduct and strategies used by migrants in the UK is the typology applied by the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM). In this study, Polish migrants who have so far settled down in London are described and divided into several groups according to their strategies of adaptation and working in the target language area. The groups are described as follows:

- a) **storks** – are understood as “typical seasonal workers often in low paid jobs living by the principle: maximum profit and minimum cost” (Fomina and Frelak, *ibid.*);
- b) **hamsters** – people who “save their earnings for future investment in Poland” (*ibid.*);
- c) **foragers** – the group which “do not reveal their plans as they want to maximise their opportunities” (*ibid.*) and their conduct is referred to as the so- called ‘intentional unpredictability’ ;
- d) **salmons** – “those who insist they will not go back to Poland or maybe only to retire there” (*ibid.*) ;
- e) **koala bears** – the term suggested by British media, describing those migrants who are “always drunk, stuck in the UK after a disastrous emigration attempt, without a job or any work prospects, sleeping in parks and train stations – a type that the Brits would best like to see on a train bound back for Poland” (*ibid.*).

Fomina and Frelak (2008) explain that such groups as hamsters and storks are oriented on gaining maximum profit at minimum cost. Those immigrants are praised as reliable and effective employees, valued for their work ethics – not only by their employers, but also by the British media. However, they usually have several jobs for which they are often overqualified and working long hours results in the complete lack of free time or personal life

(ibid.). Moreover, they are among the group of migrants “with whom the British citizens are most often contrasted simply because their motivation stems out of the reason why they have migrated: to make money as much money in the UK as possible, save the substantial amount of cash and then return, rather than to settle down and stay there forever (ibid.).

When it comes to the other two groups: foragers and salmons, it can be said that in this case aspirations are definitely higher as these are mostly people whose career path ‘from a shoeshine boy to a millionaire’ is regularly featured in the press (ibid.). Although in many cases such people perform various jobs below their qualifications, they treat those as a step on the path to social advancement. Besides, they are not only ‘profit-oriented’ - they truly appreciate the non-economic benefits of these jobs such as learning the language (and improving their L2 skills), gaining valuable experience or interacting with L2 speech community.

1.4.2.7. Possible settlement plans

Although it is largely impossible to specify how many of those who found a job and settled down in the UK will return to Poland, the tendency is that the majority of immigrants have been extending their stay (Fomina and Frelak, 2008) as there are many migrants who are not interested in making some money and then returning home as soon as possible. The authors (ibid.) point out that according to the studies conducted by CRONEM, the majority of Polish migrants in London are not thinking of going back. This is somehow reflected by an ARC Rynek Opinia study of the intention to return, which shows that 55% of Polish migrants in Great Britain are not planning to return to Poland within the next five years (Pelowski, 2007). Nevertheless, as the authors point out, such declarations of a relatively speedy return should not be taken for granted as a migrant’s plan can easily change (ibid.). However, it should be said that many Poles in Great Britain keep in touch with their families, relatives and friends in Poland. What is more, they tend to follow news about Poland and they are familiar with the current events. According to Rutkowski (2006), these days it is not that difficult with the Internet, relatively cheap telephone connections or flights to Poland. The author is convinced that keeping in touch with people in Poland and visiting the home country also has an economic purpose – as confirmed by bank transfers and investment plans, often related to buying real estate (ibid.).

The decision whether to go back to Poland or not usually depends on current state of the Polish economy – in other words, when making their decision, Polish immigrants need to make sure that there would be an environment in Poland propitious to achieving one's professional goals. It can be explained by the fact that young people, accustomed to the higher standard of living they found abroad, will expect the same from life in Poland (Fomina and Frelak, 2008). Apart from the labour market, another significant factor that may convince some migrants to return is the family situation. The authors (*ibid.*, 41-42) claim that it should be kept in mind that the latest wave of migration is made up of people who are young and childless, and who after a period of time spent abroad may want to return to Poland to start a family. What is more, when educated migrants who hold menial jobs find out that the path to social and professional advancement is closed for them in the UK, they may decide that it is time to go back to Poland (*ibid.*). Those who decided to go back to their native country successfully use the experience gained in the UK which becomes their advantage when they go for different job interviews in Poland. Although some immigrants may decide to return home because they cannot get used to living in a new place, the majority of Poles in Great Britain adapt easily and quickly (*ibid.*). Fomina and Frelak (*ibid.*) point out that those immigrants who have no intention of staying abroad may return to Poland and then just as easily decide to leave again. The authors also claim that returns and departures are commonplace for them because they can be abroad physically without severing ties with their community in Poland – they are able to live in two places at once (*ibid.*).

1.5. Motivation for coming to the UK

According to Pollard et al. (2008), the decision to migrate to a particular country, for a short, medium or long period, always involves a complex set of pull and push factors. A significant body of literature devoted to this subject has grown up throughout the years. Although it is nearly impossible to come up with a definitive account of the factors that can possibly influence post-accession migrants' decision to come to the UK, there are at least a few factors that can be explored in more details.

1.5.1. Economic ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors

With reference to Pollard et al. (2008), having emerged from totalitarian regimes less than 20 years before, all the new accession countries continue to have significantly lower standards of living than in the UK. If we compare the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita in the UK (118% of the EU average in 2007) with the GDP of West European Countries, it can be easily assumed that post-accession migrants from such countries as Romania, Bulgaria or Poland were looking for better financial opportunities in more prosperous EU countries. It means that finding a job provided an opportunity to increase their life standard and to earn significantly more than they could at home (Eurosat 2007 in Pollard et al. 2008).

Moreover, Pollard et al. (2008) explain that the different level in standards of living in new accession countries provides grounds for some assumptions about the differential numbers migrating to the UK from each country. Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia were the three member states from which the greatest amount of migrants came to the UK. It is worth mentioning that in 2004 the abovementioned countries had the lowest GDPs per capita out of the new accession states, whereas the difference between the standard of living condition in such countries as Slovenia, Hungary and the Czech Republic is perhaps not that much different from that in the UK to act as a significant push factor for migration (Pollard et al., *ibid.*).

Apart from these economic ‘push’ factors already mentioned, the condition of the UK economy has also acted as a ‘pull’ factor for many A8 immigrants. According to Pollard et al. (2008), relatively high levels of spending money related to cost of living, low unemployment, and high demand for physical labour - especially in sectors such as construction - acted as draws for many post-enlargement migrants. The fact that the British currency was strong in those years triggered a particular pull, allowing earnings and savings from the UK to go even further when spent in migrants’ home countries (*ibid.*). So as to support this statement, it ought to be mentioned that the questionnaire conducted by the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw among high-skilled Poles working and living in Britain found that 65% of respondents were saving some of the money they were earning, and about 60% of this group were regularly sending money home to Poland (Iglicka, 2008 in Pollard et al., 2008).

1.5.2. The chance of learning or improving English

The need for acquiring or improving the English language is certainly one of the most important factors affecting migrants' motivation to settle down in the target language environment. The survey conducted by Pollard et al. (2008) revealed that one in ten of Polish nationals who returned to Poland chose the UK as the place of temporal employment because they wanted to learn English in its 'natural context'. Interviewees often confess that their initial decision to come to the UK rather than go elsewhere was largely motivated by the desire to learn or improve their English, especially before Poland joined the EU and when Germany was often the default destination for Polish economic migrants (ibid.).

1.5.3. Broadening horizons and experiencing new culture

Pollard et al. (2008) point out that a substantial amount of young post-enlargement migrants are motivated to travel by the same factors that draw young Britons to take gap years or travel after they have finished their studies: to see the world and broaden their horizons. The survey conducted by the authors suggests that one in six returned Polish migrants (17%) in bigger cities wanted to experience a kind of an adventure related to living abroad or experiencing another culture or society as one of their main reasons for coming to the UK (ibid.).

The qualitative interviews with Polish immigrants revealed that London is the place which attracts the greatest number of young people to the UK. The capital of Great Britain is perceived as a vibrant and exciting city offering a plethora of cultural and social opportunities (ibid.). The authors claim that almost all their respondents highlighted the multicultural nature of the British society, putting emphasis on the diversity of people and cultures seen as a positive aspect of life in the UK. What is more, the vast majority of Poles (especially those who were perceived as 'different' in Poland, for instance homosexuals) stated that one of the reasons they decided to emigrate to London was that they felt the city was far more tolerant than their home country. Many of the participants agreed they had more freedom in the UK than at home, especially when it comes to their personal preferences, style or beliefs (Pollard et al., ibid.).

1.6. Social relationships between Poles and the L2 speech community

Another crucial aspect of migration (on which little research has been done up to now) is the social relationship between Poles and the L2 speech community (native and non-native speakers of English). Trevena (2009: 20) points out that the few studies touching upon the subject found that the majority of post-accession migrants, regardless of gender, spent most of their time with other migrants, either compatriots or other nationals, but rarely spent much time with the British people (De Lima et al. 2005, Spencer et al. 2007). It often depends on the working environment: many of them (especially those who work in rural areas or in teams with co-nationals) have in fact very little or no contact with L2 speech community. Place of living also plays a significant role in migrants' social life, as accommodation and neighbourhood in the proximity can determine whom migrants socialise with on the daily basis. Trevena (ibid.) explains that many post-accession migrants in larger towns and in cities live in the areas or neighbourhoods dominated by their compatriots and/or other immigrants, thus limiting their contacts with the British people. As for rural areas, it turns out that this may not necessarily be the case, but still it is quite typical for the new migrants to share accommodation with other migrant workers (Spencer et al. 2007). Hence, it is these people they tend to have more social contact with than the native population.

Thus, although living and working among British people may suggest that Poles are likely to establish closer social relationships with them, it turns out that this is not always the case. There are a few factors that are responsible for that. First and the foremost, this is the language barrier as many Poles are not proficient learners of English. If we think of other aspects, it should be noted that there are cultural differences and different levels of education among the migrants and their British co-workers or co-inhabitants' (Trevena, 2009). Taking the fact that Poles have fairly high levels of education yet typically work in low-skilled jobs and live in working-class areas into account, there is no wonder that we can talk about a clash of cultural norms between the migrants and the native-speakers of English. Trevena (ibid.) explains that apart from sharing similar job responsibilities and/or living in the same area, the better-educated Poles generally have little in common with their British co-workers and neighbours. In addition, they often feel they are treated as the second category citizens by the Brits (Trevena, ibid.). It would confirm the way Poles and other migrants perceive British people: although they are generally polite and friendly at work, they do not actually wish to let migrants into their social circles (ibid.).

However, the majority of A8 migrants establish more contacts with the natives with time, yet this does not necessarily mean that they forge more friendships with them (Trevena, 2009). Spencer et al. (2007) point out that Poles and other migrants from Eastern Europe generally believe that regardless of how much time they might spend in the UK, they will never feel totally at home in their new country as they will always be perceived and treated as foreigners by the native population. Trevena (2009) concludes that it is not only issues such as work and earnings that may affect the Polish migrants' future decisions as to settlement or return, but it also seems that where, how, and with whom they live are equally important matters. The author explains that in this particular context 'where' is referred to four different notions of space: the country level (Britain/Poland/other), the level of area (city/town/village), the neighbourhood and the household level.

1.7. The impact of Polish migrations on the UK

Labour-market liberalisation was claimed to have had a good economic effect in countries that admitted immigrants. Independent studies and a European Commission report confirmed the economic benefits of immigration, albeit slight ones (Fomina and Frelak, 2008). The report points out that numerous predictions that the natives would be pushed out of the labour market if it opened up for Eastern-European migrants did not come true. What is more, there were a large number of vacant jobs in the UK before the enlargement and the arrival of immigrants from the EU-8 did not change that to a great extent (Fomina and Frelak, *ibid.*). The authors (*ibid.*) point out that new foreign workers filled jobs which the Brits did not want to do and even a few years after accession, 30% of employers were still short-staffed.

Kahanec and Kureková (2011) claim that there is little evidence that migrants would crowd out native workers from employment and they did not cause a reduction in their wage level. Of course, such a reduction could have taken place if they competed with the Brits for the same or at least similar jobs. Nonetheless, the reality turned out to be different – labourers that came from the new EU member states concentrated mainly on other economic sectors than the Brits and, therefore, did not compete with them. According to Fomina and Frelak (2008), the level of employment among EU-8 migrants working in Ireland, Spain and the UK was even higher than that among the locals. In addition, the employment rate grew in all UK economic sectors after May 1, 2004 except fisheries and agriculture, where it stayed at the

same level. According to the European Commission's report (2006), opening up the labour market to workers from the EU-8 made it possible to scale down the grey economy (Fomina and Frelak, *ibid.*).

According to Kohanec and Kureková (2011) and Fomina and Frelak (2008), one of the main arguments in the British debate on opening up the labour market was the fear of the so-called social tourism'. Three years after the enlargement it could be safely said that the fear was unjustified. Poles did not burden the British social care system. They almost never drew unemployment, sickness or inability benefits. In 2005-2006, as many as 85% of employable Polish migrants in the UK were working, only 4% were unemployed and the other 1% were not looking for work. In comparison, the average for the British natives is 78% employed and 4% unemployed (IPPR, 2007, p. 18). Only 1% of Polish migrants collected benefits offered to the most destitute compared to 39% of Somalis and 21% of Turks. Only 12% of Poles in the UK collected child benefits against 14% among the natives and the record of 40% among Somalis. Few Poles live in social housing (IPPR, 2007, p. 30). And yet the UK government decided to maintain restrictions in migrants' access to social security benefits (Home Office, 2005).

At the same time, Poles also became an attractive consumer group. According to estimates of Centre for Economics and Business Research, the Polish pound was worth more than 4 billion a year (Brady, 2007). Despite common belief, most of the earned funds were not transferred back home. Many Poles working in the UK, usually young and single, preferred to enjoy their free time with their new acquaintances and have an active consumer life – that means spending those earned pounds in the UK. Signs and advertisements in Polish started to be widespread in Britain wooing these potential clients with a variety of products and services. No matter whether they stayed or returned to Poland, this group has created many new opportunities for both UK and Polish companies. The presence of so many Polish workers has contributed to the expansion of money transfer firms and companies offering cheap calling cards or travel to Poland. Many of these firms operated as intermediaries, benefiting from the fact that many immigrants did not know the language or British procedures.

One of the first sectors that became aware of the "Polish pound" was the banks, which started to employ Polish-speaking staff and adapt their offer to the new consumers' needs. The banks were immediately followed by corner shops and the supermarkets, which also

noticed the growing niche on the market. As a result, they started offering a variety of Polish products such as borsch, golabki, flaki and pierogi.

Public service providers needed also to become tuned into the needs of a new immigrant group: police officers had an opportunity to attend Polish courses, there were road signs in Polish, and schools observed the need to introduce lessons on Poland. The Polish presence was also clearly visible. Many new Polish newspaper appeared in stands and Polish masses in Catholic churches grew in number. The Polish vote was believed to have been crucial during Scottish local elections.

To sum up, “even a cursory glance at the debate on opening up the labour market shows that all participating countries feared a flood of unskilled migrants who intended to cheat them out of social security benefits instead of finding work” (Fomina and Frelak, 2008:25). However, it is believed that Poles and other migrants from Eastern Europe have influenced the job market in general and have contributed to boosting economic growth rather than ‘stealing’ jobs from Britons (ibid.). At the same time, ethnic food, festivals, and children at schools made migrants from the new EU member states particularly noticeable and somewhat of a social phenomenon.

1.8. Current situation of Polish immigrants to the UK

When Poland formally joined the European Union in May 2004, a new and rapid wave of Polish immigrants arrived in the UK to look for a job or to start a new life with prospects they could not find in their own country. “The Guardian”⁸ summarizes those ten years that changed everything. Are Polish immigrants glad to call Britain home? According to the article (April, 2014) they definitely are. Polish immigrants quoted in the article confirm that settling down in the UK was a good decision. They claim that the standard of living is much better than it was in Poland and the UK gives people more opportunities. More and more Poles even decide to start their own businesses there. There are also people who point out that British employers are satisfied with the quality of work done by Polish people to such an extent that they sometimes ask their employees if they have any Polish friends needing jobs. The reason is that Poles have a reputation of being able to work hard and in an efficient way. Besides,

⁸ <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/apr/26/polish-immigration-britain-cities-election> (access: 18-02-2015)

immigrants often take jobs not many British people want to do, especially working shifts in the evenings, at night or at the weekends. Harriet Sherwood, the author of the abovementioned article, claims that while opening labour market to the new EU citizens in 2004, the Labour government estimated that about 13,000 Poles would be interested in moving to the UK. However, actual numbers wildly outstripped such forecasts. While the 2001 census recognized around 58, 000 Polish immigrants in the UK, ten years later (in 2011) the figure rose up to 579,000. Such influx and the consequences of it became a concern among political parties and ordinary citizens. Election campaigns started pointing out at the problem of such large migration waves to the UK (not only Poles, but also Romanians and Bulgarians migrated a lot). Banners and slogans repeating such sentences as “British workers are hit hard by unlimited cheap labour” or “26m people in Europe are looking for work. And whose jobs are they after?” were the order of the day.

The quoted article claims that for many politicians and political party leaders such campaigns resulted from reality experienced by millions of British people struggling to earn a living and losing jobs for the new workplaces created to employ migrants from eastern Europe. The government admitted that they should have looked more at the impact on low-skilled jobs and pay, claiming that immigration had to be controlled and somehow limited. But in general, economists and sociologists seem to be rather positive and optimistic about immigration. Jonathan Portes, the director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research and a former government economist is quoted in the article (*ibid.*) and claims that "overall, the experience (of Polish immigration) has been very positive. Poles mostly came to work, they got jobs, they contributed to the economy, they are less likely to claim benefits. We know from several studies that the impact on employment for native workers was small to zero. There has been some impact on wages at the lower end, but it doesn't seem to have been very large”.

However, according to one of the Labour MPs for Southampton, the party wants a more active response to issues around immigration. In her article, Sherwood (2014) mentions that in 2004 day rates in the local construction industry fell by nearly up to 50% as a result of the arrival of huge migrant groups ready to work for lower wages than the Brits. This triggered a boom in labour agencies, some started looking for eastern Europeans only. Hence, the impression that immigrants were associated with downward shift in wages is widespread among British people. What is more, such a flow of newcomers from eastern Europe made a

very noticeable change in certain areas where immigrants started to create their own large communities.

The changing nature of the locality was easy to notice around the British Isles. Poles created their own community centres with shops and services (for example Ealing Broadway in London or Shirley High Street are known as typically Polish districts). As it was mentioned before, many qualified Poles decided to open and promote their own (small) businesses around the UK. As an example, the article points out at one of such initiatives – SOS Polonia, an advice centre for newcomers established in 2004 by Barbara Storey – a Polish lady who had lived in the UK for more than 20 years. She remembers that the first migrants she had contact with were “mainly male, fairly young and single – those old enough to be disillusioned with Poland, but young enough to try something new”. Soon “their wives or girlfriends came and babies were born” and “now we see grannies coming to look after the children while the mothers work”. It happens because initially most Polish immigrants came to the UK with the intention of staying there temporarily, for two or three years. As the wages were definitely higher than the people could earn in Poland, they wanted to save some money and then go back home and possibly build a house or set up their own business. But life changes - soon they got better jobs, permanent contracts, bought houses, got married, had children and as a result, they decided to stay longer than they expected to or even settle down in the UK for good.

In the article, the author mentions that in 2014 there was a survey carried out by one of the British companies. They wanted to learn more about the attitudes to Polish migrants in the UK. 55% of participants agreed that Poles are generally hard-working and reliable, 54% claimed that they even make a kind of contribution to Britain by paying taxes, buying local products etc. and 57% said that Polish immigrants do not cause any problems in the communities they live in. Nonetheless, there was a question on whether Polish immigrants are positive to integrate with other communities and here the researchers got mainly negative responses. But still that was not perceived as something disturbing or unacceptable. Some people, however, complain about overcrowded schools, job and health centres, traffic congestion, parking in wrong places, littering, making noise or new private housing developments.

Some local political activists criticised the British government for being too lenient and too passive when it comes to the issue of immigration. The local UKIP⁹ chairman, Pearline Hingston quoted in the article claims that what they really have in the UK is the open-door immigration from the whole Europe which is “a massive issue when we have one million unemployed young people. I'm not against immigration – I'm against uncontrolled numbers, no checks on the quality of people coming in and the impact on the local community. The government's policy of open-door immigration is bad for this country, and here in Southampton we are feeling the pressures of that policy”. UKIP is known for its anti-immigrationism ideology which perceives European immigrants (not only Poles) as a threat to the country's economy. UKIP's views are in accordance with an older generation being immune to any changes and very conservative in terms of having foreigners in their own country. On the contrary, such multicultural society is a reality for younger generation. It can be concluded that there is a generation gap even with respect to the views on immigration. Immigrants defend themselves and explain that they contribute to the UK economy to a great extent: they work there, they pay taxes there, they send children to local school, they buy products and services.

Despite the fact that many Polish immigrants felt at home in the UK, in 2014, the British Prime Minister David Cameron started his “stopping child benefit campaign” which was expected to hit thousands of immigrants (including Poles). According to “Mail Online”¹⁰, Cameron decided to fight against immigrant workers in the UK who sent benefits home. British Prime Minister insisted that a British taxpayer should not give cash to 40,000 children who live elsewhere in the EU. The EU rules stated that such benefit had to be paid to all Europeans who decided to settle down and work legally in the British Isles and who pay National Insurance, even if their families did not live with them.

The press reports provide valuable insights into the debate. According to Daily Mail (January 2014), in the UK about 24,000 Polish families took benefits for nearly 40,000 children and what is more – nearly two thirds of all child benefits paid in the UK went back to Poland as children actually lived there, not in the UK. Limiting such benefit was supposed to be the Cameron's key demand in his plans to renegotiate a new deal with the EU before declaring an in-out referendum in 2017. Cameron made it clear that dealing with immigrants

⁹ The UK Independence Party which is a right-wing populist political party in the United Kingdom. Its current leader is Nigel Farage; the party is famous for its euroscepticism and anti-immigrationism ideology.

¹⁰ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2534058/I-stop-child-benefit-exported-Poland-rest-EU-Cameron-vows-sets-powers-wants-claw-Brussels.html> (access:12-02-2015)

from Europe would also be a bargaining chip in the EU negotiation talks or even possible agreements. Needless to say, Poles working in the UK were not very happy with the prospect, but they needed to be prepared for it. And it seems they were. “Mail Online” in their article from 31st January 2015¹¹ claims that literally thousands of Polish immigrants to the UK decided to apply for British citizenship. In only five years (from 2009 to 2014) Poles were in the top ten nationalities of foreign-born inhabitants who were given UK passports.

According to James Slack, the author of the aforementioned article, in 2009 just 458 people applied for UK citizenship, while in 2013 the number of Poles sending their applications reached more than 6,000. It may seem that the phenomenon was quite unusual as citizens of fellow EU countries did not often adopt British nationality since they obviously had full rights to settle down and work in the UK from the start. However, experts explain that Poles decided to take British citizenship as they simply did not want to lose the privileges and benefits currently offered by the UK. As it was expected that the situation might change within a few months, they wanted to make sure that the limitations imposed on them by UK’s Prime Minister David Cameron and his government would not affect them. The prospect of Britain cutting down on benefits or even leaving the U triggered a lot of insecurity. By becoming UK citizens, immigrants become insulated from any future actions and changes planned by the government. Cameron promised to organize an official in/out referendum on Britain’s membership in the UE in 2017. Apart from that, he also planned to limit child benefits or make all EU migrants wait at least 4 years to be able to apply for in-work benefits such as tax credits. Having British citizenship would also entitle immigrants to vote in general election. Michał Garapich from the University of Roehampton’s Centre of Research on Migration commented that Poles applying for British citizenship simply feel that they have to secure their political and social rights: “The more the Tories bang on about the referendum and the potential exit from the UK, the more it makes Poles feel insecure” (ibid.). Garapich points out that the government’s actions and restrictive language around migration triggered those changes and it would not be surprising to see a bigger increase as soon as the date of the referendum was set or “when David Cameron makes up his mind which way to jump, yes or no” (ibid.).

In fact, the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum took place on Thursday, 23rd of June 2016 around the UK. 52% of British citizens voted to leave, resulting

¹¹ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2933970/Rise-Polish-Brits-Number-given-UK-citizenship-soars-1-200-just-five-years.html> (access:10-03-2015)

in the complex process of withdrawal being initiated and political, social and economic changes in the UK and other countries¹². One of the most significant consequences of Brexit (the withdrawal of the UK from the EU) is the change in the position of the Prime Minister – David Cameron decided to step back¹³ and he was succeeded by Theresa May on the 13th of July 2016¹⁴. Although the result of referendum is not binding and it is not certain when and on what conditions it would come into force¹⁵, Poles living in the UK are anxious about their future in the British isles. However, latest news seem to be positive for Polish immigrants to the UK as in July 2017 Theresa May offered to all of the EU immigrants in the UK the so-called “settled status” after the whole Brexit procedure¹⁶. The Prime Minister claimed that immigrants from all over Europe would be entitled to preserve all their rights, including the right to work in the UK legally and making no further problems with obtaining British citizenship. Due to that all of those Poles who were unsure of their future in the UK would be forced to make a straightforward decision about their settlement plans within the British Isles.

1.9. Conclusions

Immigration has always been an interesting social phenomenon. In the world’s history we have numerous examples of individuals or whole groups leaving their homes and searching for new areas that would be suitable to settle down, start a family and begin a new life. As we know from the history of the United States and Great Britain, the first known immigrants were called ‘pilgrims’ – this was a group of more than 100 people referred to as the first English Separatists who wanted to escape from the Anglican church. They were transported to the New World by means of a merchant ship called The Mayflower. Throughout history, such movements were very common as people wanted to escape from war, poverty, economic crisis or they were looking for religious freedom.

One of the nations that have been subjected to numerous migration movements is the Republic of Poland. The country’s history is very turbulent. Migrations started mostly during the First Partition of Poland as the country vanished from the maps of the world and was divided between three occupants: Prussia, Austria and Russia. Later on, the country became

¹² <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36705580> (access: 29-07-2016)

¹³ <http://news.sky.com/story/cameron-steps-down-as-uk-turns-back-on-eu-10323470> (access: 28-07-2016)

¹⁴ <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36763208> (access: 29-07-2016)

¹⁵ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/they-have-to-sort-themselves-out-why-a-brexit-wont-happen-for-a-very-long-time-a7166276.html> (access: 01-08-2016)

¹⁶ <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-40552318> (access: 11-07-2017)

strife-ridden as numerous armed conflicts such as uprisings started to break out. As most of them turned out to be unsuccessful, thousands of people were forced to escape from Poland as war refugees. The times of occupation were tough for many Polish born citizens including many soldiers, politicians, artists, musicians and writers or poets. They were constantly victimized in their mother country so there is no wonder that they decided to start their new life elsewhere.

Another massive wave of migration took place during and after the Second World War. People were looking for shelter far away from the terror of the Nazi occupation. Great Britain was one of the countries (along with France) which made it possible to create Polish Government-in-Exile. Numerous politicians, intellectuals and civilian officers left Poland at that time, then their families and hundreds of other Polish citizens started coming one after another to settle down and start everything from scratch. In Polish history another mass migration took place under the communist regime as a result of the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981. As it was the case in previous years, Great Britain was the obvious direction for many of those who wanted to escape from restrictions and limits of the communist government.

Although after 1989 the political situation in Poland improved, the economic situation in our country has changed dramatically – the job market has become unstable, the salaries have not increased to a satisfactory level and more and more employers have started offering their employees working on the so-called ‘rubbish job’ contracts that deprive them of some most basic privileges such as going on sick or maternity leave. Such a worker has practically no rights and is not protected by the law in case of various unexpected life situations like for example the serious damage to the physical or mental health. More and more young people finish universities or technical universities every year and it turns out that there are not many job offers for them. Hence, they have to qualify again in a different field of study or they decide to look for a job somewhere else.

Before Poland joined the European Union, it was not easy for Poles to settle down abroad and find a job there legally. The situation changed after the EU enlargement in 2004 as Great Britain opened their job market to EU newcomers. Poles took an advantage of that and decided to leave their mother country and settle down in the UK in search for better living conditions and work opportunities. In order to achieve that, the immigrants realize that they need English, so the importance of improving English as their L2 would be one of the most crucial aspects of their residence in the new environment. Hence, the new generation on

Polish immigrants are mostly well-educated people who are open to adapt or assimilate to L2 speech community. Although the future of Polish immigrants after Brexit is not that certain, many of those who once settled down in the UK do not seem to consider coming back to Poland.

CHAPTER II

SELECTED FACTORS AFFECTING THE USE OF L2 IN AN IMMIGRANT CONTEXT

Introduction

Immigration has always been an intriguing social phenomenon and the existing literature has been trying to cover this issue from different perspectives. What is particularly interesting and worth investigating is the fact that every immigrant faces different sorts of obstacles on the arrival to the foreign country. Apart from changing of place of residence, language seems to be one of the most common and – at the same time – one of the most intriguing challenges of all. Second language acquisition in a naturalistic context creates first-hand experience of both the language and the culture characteristics for a given community in new surroundings. The notion of ‘naturalistic context’ is related to the process of acquiring the language in its natural environment within the surroundings of the second language (referred to as L2) speech community. It has been reported that such conditions for L2 learning influence the SLA and these can either accelerate or hinder the process (Schumann, 1986; Flege, 2001). One of the most intriguing aspects of SLA in L2 environment is the pronunciation of the second language. Existing literature that has been dealing with this aspect for many years offers numerous studies conducted on immigrants’ L2 speech.

The issue of SLA development in L2 learners has been investigated in a large number of experimental studies. Contrary to what one may think, it is not easy to determine which factors affect the overall degree of SLA as it is a broad and complex process. One of possible explanations may be offered by the differences in design and methodology of particular studies and this “has led researchers to draw rather different conclusions about the influence that certain factors have on degree of L2 foreign accent” (Piske et al., 2001: 195). The key factors under discussion are the length of residence in an L2 speaking environment (referred to as ‘LoR’), the amount of L1 and L2 use in day-to-day communication with L2 speech community, the attitude towards the L2 itself and the L2 environment and the acculturation strategy. When it comes to the language input and L2 proficiency on arrival in the L2 country, it seems that those factors have obtained limited attention from researchers so far. It can be

explained by the fact that – on the contrary to such factors as LoR or the age of arrival (AoA) which are relatively easy to measure – it is hard to assess L2 speakers' language proficiency at the moment of arrival in the L2 community, not to mention the amount of L2 use in interaction with the native-speakers of English. One of the researchers who has conducted numerous studies on the issue is James E. Flege who supports that view¹⁷. However, Flege and some other prominent researchers have already made several attempts to take a closer look at some of the most significant factors mentioned above.

All sorts of migration movements are related to a variety of factors that may influence the existence of an individual or a group within the new community. As immigrants, such individuals have to undergo the acculturation process (Schuman, 1986) which affects most (if not all) aspects of their 'new' life. Such process involves the interaction of variables operating at two levels: societal and individual. The former deals with economic and political situation of a settlement area as well as cultural factors and the society of settlement. The latter is related to individuals and the characteristic of a given person and his or her situation as immigrant to the foreign country. The choice of acculturation strategy adapted by individuals may either help them in functioning within the new community or not.

This chapter presents the selection of factors that have been the subject of numerous studies conducted mostly on immigrants to the UK and the USA and which can positively affect the process of second language acquisition in its 'naturalistic' context.

2.1. Acculturation and its applications in SLA

In the last decade, studies on second language acquisition in the context of immigration expanded enormously. The research literature sheds light on various approaches, models, theories and principles. As acculturation is considered to be one of the most decisive factors that significantly affect the process of SLA in naturalistic context, many authors present different approaches to the notion of this broad and complex process.

¹⁷ Paper presented during Accents 2012 Conference on native and non-native accents of English (December, 2012, Łódź, Poland)

One of the earliest papers devoted to the acculturation model in the context of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) was Schumann's acculturation model (1978). The author explains that his model of acculturation was "designed to account for SLA under conditions of immigration where learning takes place without instruction" (1986: 385). In his work, the author presents a model for SLA which is based on both social and psychological factors. It is explained that "certain social and psychological variables cluster into a single variable, acculturation" (Schumann, 1986: 379).

Schumann (1978) claims that any L2 speaker/learner could be placed along a certain continuum that ranges from social-psychological distance to social-psychological proximity. It was assumed that the degree of the learner's proximity to the target language (TL) speech community would influence the level of L2 acquisition. According to Schumann (1978), social distance is related to the L2 learner who is treated as a member of a given social group whose members speak the language that is not his/her L1. In his paper, the author states that the degree the learner acculturates to the TL group is not the only one direct predictor of success in SLA, but correlate with many other factors which – combined – can contribute to relative success in natural language acquisition.

At this point it is reasonable to point out at three integration strategies used by the immigrants all around the world. According to Schumann (1978), the best condition for the second language acquisition is the situation in which L2 speaking group is willing to assimilate into the TL group – hence, the process of assimilation is understood as giving up our own (L2) life style, customs, habits or values and adopting those characteristic for the TL speech community. There are immigrants who decide to adopt this strategy for various reasons. One of them is that they have no desire to be associated with their L1 country. However, motivation for choosing such strategy is strictly individual and can be traced back to someone's past, educational background, social identity etc. The second integration strategy described by Schumann (*ibid*) is known as adaptation and it is also believed that this strategy positively enhances the whole process of SLA. L2 learners who decide to choose this strategy value their own language, customs and national identity but – at the same time – are open to the influence of the TL culture. They do not forget their background and – moreover – in many cases they are proud of their origin. Yet still it does not mean that they manifest it all the time – although they follow the news about their L1 environment and have rather strong social identity, at the same time they look for contacts with L2 community and they try to take

an active part in this community's social life. However, there are many people who decide to adopt the third strategy which could hinder the process of SLA. It is referred to as preservation (sometimes referred to as "isolation") and manifests itself in that the L2 learner rejects everything that could be associated with the TL group, insisting on keeping his/her L1 language, culture and national identity. Such immigrants do not show any interest in using or learning L2 or taking part in the L2 community's social life. They usually live among other L1 speakers and have a tendency to avoid or - at least - limit their contacts with L2 speakers.

Acculturation taxonomy is associated with Berry (1997) and the four strategies of acculturation that he suggested (see 2.1.6). It should be said that those strategies are divided into those which depend on the dominant and non-dominant groups. From the point of view of the latter, we can distinguish between assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. Similarly to Schumann, Berry (*ibid*: 7) claims that assimilation occurs when a given L2 learner does not wish to cultivate his/her cultural identity and is looking for any kinds of interaction with the TL groups; assimilation is associated with non-dominant groups., while integration takes place when L2 learners want to maintain his/her own culture to some extent. Interestingly enough, such learners do not mind interacting with TL groups on the daily basis. Those two strategies are believed to have positive influence on the whole process of SLA. On the other hand, there are two strategies that do not create favourable conditions for SLA. One of them is separation which occurs when L2 learners are determined to maintain their own cultural identity, avoiding any kind of contact with TL groups at the same time. Another one is referred to as marginalisation and it is very likely to take place when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination (Berry, *ibid*).

A more recent study conducted by Waniek-Klimczak (2011) among expert ESL speakers concentrates on language experience and acculturation strategy in well-educated speakers with university degree. The results show that acculturation strategies, such as assimilation and integration chosen by the respondents, could possibly affect the process of SLA, especially when combined with a high level of proficiency in English on arrival. The author (*ibid*: 240-242) points out that the overall attitude towards L2 and the use of acculturation strategy seem to be related to L2 level on arrival as in this case speakers are highly proficient both in spoken and written English. In spite of their L2 level, initially all of

the speakers went through a period of low self-esteem and anxiety. However, after a while they started getting accustomed to the new situation and became more open to L2 speech community. It means that those L2 learners who came to the L2 speaking area with substantial knowledge of the language are more self-confident and more open at the start. Although their new life situation can make them feel confused and anxious at first, they gradually start to get used to the new environment. Taking the results of the study into account, it can be said that two factors combined together: L2 proficiency level on arrival and length of residence positively affect the process of L2 acquisition.

2.1.1.a Cross-cultural and acculturation psychology

Throughout centuries people's migrations between various communities or societies were recorded in books, chronicles and legends. Among numerous reasons for such transitions we can mention the most significant ones, such as cross-tribal marriages, scholarly, professional work, military crusades, slavery or settling down in brand new territories that were believed to provide more opportunities for the future. Living among 'strangers' and following various mutual influences of more than one culture involved – change. These cross-cultural transitions and encounters combined with the processes that accompanied them on the levels of various cultures, societies, groups and individuals have become the main point of reference for several fields of social sciences such as political science, sociology, social and cultural anthropology, and finally, cross-cultural and acculturation psychology (Chirkov, 2009: 87).

According to Chirkov (ibid.), the notion of 'acculturation psychology' first appeared in the second half of the 20th century within various frameworks or conceptualized models of cross-cultural psychology – its goal is to “test the universality of basic social psychological regularities across different nations, countries and cultures and to use these cross-cultural comparisons to validate the fundamental assumptions of social psychology regarding the existence of universal laws of social behaviours, which work across diverse societies and cultures” (Chirkov, ibid: 88). However, these assumptions (at least with reference to immigration) have been an object of numerous disputes between many researchers. Chirkov (ibid) states that, according to some researchers, cross-cultural psychology “mechanistically holds on to the premises of social psychology about the reductionistic nature of social

relations within various cultures, which have been treated as independent predictor variables to be manipulated by researchers” and as a result “this understanding of culture completely ignores the symbolic and meaning-producing nature of sociocultural realities”. Moreover, “cross-cultural psychologists reify cultures as bounded entities with autonomous properties, dimensions and internal mechanisms and simplistically operationalize them through participants’ citizenship, ethnic identification, religious affiliation or language preferences” (ibid).

In the light of such explicitly expressed criticism, the emergence of the psychology of acculturation was just a matter of time. Chirkov’s view is that this was “a natural step in the development of cross-cultural psychology as a response to the needs of multicultural and immigrant-receiving societies that wanted to learn more about the dynamics of the adaptation of the citizens from different cultural communities and immigrants, and to justify governmental immigration and integration policies” (ibid).

2.1.1.b Psychological acculturation

As it was previously claimed by many psychologists and researchers exploring the issue of acculturation, the concept of psychological acculturation inevitably generates both social and psychological problems. Berry (1997: 12) states that this was an unjust and broad generalization that is no longer valid.

Berry claims that “three main points of view can be identified in acculturation research, each suggesting a different level of difficulty for the individual” (1997:13). The first of those is related to psychological changes within a given L2 learner and was defined either as “culture learning” or “social skills acquisition”. In this case, “psychological adaptation to acculturation are considered to be a matter of learning a new behavioural repertoire that is appropriate for the new cultural context” which also needs the unlearning of what was previously known and now is no longer appropriate (ibid: 13). This may be followed by the so-called ‘culture conflict’ – a situation in which undesirable behaviour creates problems for a given L2 learner). In such cases, the second point of view comes into play.

Here, a given individual is likely to experience ‘culture shock’ or ‘acculturative stress’ if he/she is unsuccessful in changing of their previous behavioural repertoire. Berry prefers the latter term for a few reasons. First of all, “it is closely linked to psychological models of

stress as a response to environmental stressors” and secondly – the term ‘shock’ may suggest “the presence of only negative experiences and outcomes of intercultural contact” (Berry, 1997:13). The author claims that during the acculturation processes, a given individual usually undergoes only moderate difficulties.

The last instance can be applied when major difficulties are experienced. In such a case the ‘psychopathology’ or even ‘mental disease’ perspective is taken into account. Berry (ibid) explains that in this particular situation “changes in the cultural context exceed the individual’s capacity to cope because of the magnitude, speed or some other aspect of the change, leading to serious psychological disturbances, such as clinical depression and incapacitating anxiety”. Yet such instances are very rare and should be treated as extreme cases.

Teske and Nelson (1974, cited in Navas, et al. 2005) offered the first complete psychological perspective on acculturation. According to these researchers, acculturation includes changes in material traits, behavior patterns, norms, institutional changes, and importantly, values. However, Teske and Nelson did not go further in their psychological analysis of how members of diverse cultures accommodate to one another.

This was left to Berry (et. al., 1992), who expanded on the view of acculturation to include varieties of adaptation and specifically identified the following four factors: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. The importance of Berry’s model was that it recognized the importance of multicultural societies, minority individuals and groups, and the fact that individuals have a choice in the matter of how far they are willing to go in the acculturation process. Today, there are numerous instances of ethnic groups who have managed to revive their ancestral language and culture (Fishman, 2001, as cited in Padilla and Perez, 2003). Thus, acculturation was not seen as a strictly one-dimensional process of cultural change but as a process forced by intergroup contact with multiple outcomes.

2.1.1.c Adaptation

Generally speaking, ‘adaptation’ is associated with changes that take place among individuals or whole groups who want to meet the TL environmental requirements. There is a different tempo of such changes: at times these can occur at once, yet in some cases they can be extended over a long period of time. Berry (1997: 13) suggests that “short term changes

during acculturation are sometimes negative and often disruptive in character”. Yet, “for most acculturating individuals, after a period of time, some long-term positive adaptation to the new cultural context usually takes place” (ibid). Obviously, adaptation may take different forms, depending on a range of factors. When there are positive conditions created for such strategies as assimilation or integration (dominant societies fully accept the members of non-dominant groups), there is increased “fit” between the context (TL environment) and the acculturating individual (L2 learner). Nonetheless, it is not very likely to occur when the non-dominant communities undergo the process of segregation or separation – which may result in acculturative stress or even psychopathology.

Interestingly enough, in more recent literature related to the issue of psychological adaptation to acculturation, “a distinction has been drawn between psychological and sociocultural adaptation” (Berry, *ibid*: 14). The former is connected with “a set of internal psychological outcomes including a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context”, while the latter concentrates on “a set of external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context, including their ability to deal with daily problems, particularly in the areas of family life, work and school” (ibid). Berry also emphasize the third adaptive outcome which is referred to as ‘economic adaptation’ and is related to “the degree to which work is obtained, is satisfying and is effective in the new culture” (ibid).

2.1.1.d Selected factors existing prior to acculturation

According to Berry (1997: 21) , the acculturation process in many individuals begins along with a number of personal factors of social and demographic nature. One of the most significant of those factors is the age of a given learner. It seems obvious that when the acculturation process starts relatively early (for instance, before starting a primary school), it is generally smooth and more effective. There are many possible explanations for that – perhaps personal adaptability and flexibility reach the maximum during these early stages of one’s life. However, Berry points out that “older youth do often experience substantial problems” (ibid). These may be triggered by the conflicts between the lifestyles and demands of parents or peer groups which are very common for teenagers. At this time some

developmental issues of identity may arise – such individual starts to seek answers for questions of his/her own ethnic or cultural identity. There are also many instances of the acculturation that began later in life (as for instance on retirement age or when elderly parents migrate to join their adult children and grandchildren). In such cases the possibility of smooth and fluid acculturation is endangered as even more conflicts may arise because of the generation gap or sudden change of cultural setting which “cannot easily be ignored when one is attempting to live in a new setting” (Berry, *ibid.*: 22).

Another important aspect is education, which appears as one of the consistent factors associated mainly with positive adaptations: the more educated particular people are, the lower level of stress they experience in the context of immigration. There are a few reasons for such positive correlation. Berry (*ibid.*) explains that “education is a personal resource in itself: problem analysis and problem solving are usually instilled by formal education and likely contribute to better adaptation”. Furthermore, education is often associated with such protective factors as for example better income and higher social status. It often gives the sense of security and self-confidence in the TL environment. In addition, education may help individual in the process of adjusting or adapting to the society into which they plan to settle as it is ‘a kind of pre-acculturation to the language, history, values and norms of the new culture’ (*ibid.*).

It would be reasonable to point at gender as one of the possible factors that can have impact on the acculturation process, yet the results of numerous studies vary. Although there is substantial evidence that females have more difficulties with acculturation than males, this generalization is based mainly on the fact that in some cultures the social status of women differs significantly. Berry (1997: 23) claims that “where there is as substantial difference, attempts by females to take on new roles available in the society of settlement may bring them into conflict with their heritage culture”.

2.1.1.e Selected factors arising during acculturation

In addition to the numerous factors existing prior to acculturation, Berry discusses some factors that may arise during acculturation. To the author, the four acculturation strategies postulated in his lead article (1997) have been reported to have substantial relationship with the so-called 'positive adaptation': integration is considered to be most successful, while marginalization – the least. Assimilation and separation are placed in between. The following pattern can be found in the majority of studies on immigrants and is present for all types of acculturating groups. The reasons are still unclear – yet in Berry's interpretation (ibid: 23-26), integration strategy is associated with many protective factors such as willingness for mutual interaction or accommodation, taking active part in multicultural events or being an active member of a given community's social life, not to mention openness to another culture(s) and having the so-called 'flexible personality'. Marginalization stays in strong opposition to integration as it is strictly connected with rejection by the dominant group (usually combined with own-culture loss) and results in the presence of hostile approach and prejudices towards the dominant society. As regards assimilation, it is often associated with individual's own culture shedding. Separation, on the contrary, involves ignoring or rejecting of the dominant culture.

2.1.2. Selected approaches to the notion of acculturation in SLA

In the last decade, studies on second language acquisition in the context of immigration expanded enormously. The research literature sheds light into various approaches, models, theories and principles. As acculturation is considered to be one of the most decisive factors that significantly affect the process of SLA in naturalistic context, many authors present different approaches to the notion of this broad and complex process.

2.1.2.a Schumann's Acculturation Model for SLA

One of the earliest papers devoted to the acculturation model was Schumann's acculturation model (1978). The author explains that his model of acculturation was "designed to account for SLA under conditions of immigration where learning takes place without instruction" (1986: 385) In his work, the author presents a model for SLA which is

based on both social and psychological factors. It is explained that “certain social and psychological variables cluster into a single variable, acculturation” (Schumann, 1986: 379). The author (1978) claims that any L2 speaker/learner could be placed along a certain continuum that ranges from social-psychological distance to social-psychological proximity. It was assumed that the degree of the learner’s proximity to the target language (TL) speech community would influence the level of L2 acquisition. According to Schumann (1978), social distance is related to the L2 learner who is treated as a member of a given social group whose members speak the language that is not his/her L1. In his paper, the author states that the degree the learner acculturates to the TL group is not the only one direct predictor of success in SLA, but correlate with many other factors which – combined – can contribute to relative success in natural language acquisition. That is why Schumann (1986: 380) focuses on the so-called taxonomy of factors that can possibly influence the degree of SLA. Among factors that can affect the so-called social distance we can distinguish between the following:

- a) **social dominance** – if the L2 speaking group is politically, economically or culturally dominant to the TL group, contact between them would not be sufficient for optimal TL acquisition; if the L2 group is subordinate to the TL group, the social distance would be more visible and would manifest in the resistance in the process of SLA; however, if both groups are nearly equal in status, the contact between them would be more extensive and the acquisition of SLA will be enhanced.

- b) **three integration strategies** – the best condition for the second language acquisition is the situation in which L2 speaking group is willing to assimilate into the TL group – hence, **assimilation** is understood as giving up our own (L2) life style, customs, habits or values and adopting those characteristic for the TL speech community ; as the second integration strategy, **adaptation** is also believed to enhance the whole process of SLA - L2 learners who decide to choose this strategy value their own language, customs and national identity but – at the same time – such people are open to the influence of the TL culture; the strategy which could hinder the process of SLA is referred to as **preservation** and manifests itself in that the L2 learner rejects everything that could be associated with the TL group, insisting on keeping his/her L1 language, culture and national identity.

- c) **enclosure** – refers to the degree to which a given L1 and TL group share the same social institutions such as schools, churches, clubs or various recreational facilities; according to Schumann (1986: 381), the more institutions shared by both groups, the more favourable the conditions for SLA.
- d) **cohesiveness and size** – these are related social factors that are believed to influence SLA; if the L1 group is cohesive – its members would separate themselves from the TL group; if a given L1 group is smaller and less cohesive, its members are more likely to interact with TL group creating more favourable conditions for SLA.
- e) **congruence** – is defined as cultural similarity between two interacting groups; according to this, the more two cultures have in common, the more likely the contact with the TL.
- f) **attitude** – one of the most significant social factors; it is said that the L1 group that share positive attitude towards the TL is more likely to succeed in SLA process.
- g) intended length of residence – the author (ibid: 382) is convinced that the longer L2 learners intend to stay in the TL environment, the more likely it is that they would feel the necessity of improving their L2.

Although Schumann (1978, 1986) claims that social factors are of primary importance in the process of reinforcing or hindering SLA, the psychological factors – mainly affective in their nature – also influence the psychological distance. The author distinguishes between the following four affective variables:

- a) **language shock** – can be experienced when a given L2 learners first arrives in the TL environment and should switch to the TL, which is very confusing for him/her – especially with no previous language experience ; in this case the so-called affective filter may appear.
- b) **cultural shock** – is referred to as anxiety that results from the confusion and disorientation which could be experienced by L2 speakers because of cultural differences.

- c) **motivation** – it involves the reasons why L2 learner attempts to acquire the second language ; it can be divided into integrative (TL acquired mainly for social reasons) and instrumental (a need for acquiring the language for more practical reasons like finding a good job) ; Schumann (1986: 383) points out that “if the learner had to use the TL in his professional life then his level of learning would be much higher”. However, “the motivational orientation associated with proficiency in the second language seems to vary according to setting” (ibid).
- d) **ego-permeability** – is understood as L2 learner’s openness to the TL input ; according to Guiora (1972), the notion of ‘language ego’ ought to be developed in order to explain the ability of some L2 speakers to acquire native-like pronunciation in their second language (Schumann, 1986: 384).

Schuman (1978) believes that the level of proficiency in a second language in L2 learners is strictly related to the degree of their acculturation ability. The author points at three functions of language which can be referred to as the stages of language development:

- a) **communicative function of language** – understood as the transfer of basis or referential information ;
- b) **integrative function of language** – described as social identification of a particular group ;
- c) **expressive function of language** – defined as the realization of personal attitudes or emotions.

The model of acculturation developed and explained by Schumann (1978) highlights the identification with a given TL speech community as the major determinant of SLA process. According to the author (ibid), we can distinguish between two types of acculturation: the first takes place when the learner is socially integrated with and psychologically open to the TL group, while the other: when there is integration with the TL group, but no psychological openness of a particular L2 learner.

In his paper (1978) Schumann also explores the kind of learning that takes place in his model. According to his suggestion, the same processes that are responsible for the formation of the so-called pidgin languages can be observed in the very early phases of SLA.

Pidginization is often characterized by some reductions or simplifications that occur in L2 learner's interlanguage. Such simplifications lead to fossilization when the learner's second language is not developed or when there is no progress in the direction of the target language due to, for instance, social distance.

Although Schumann's acculturation model has been widely referred to in the literature devoted to the issue of SLA or acculturation psychology, it has received limited support in empirical studies. One of the most significant problems with this model is the fact that it is focused on language learning under conditions of immigration. For Saville-Troike (2006) the main problem with the model is the fact that the whole concept of acculturation is too complex to be operationally defined on the basis of limited number of samples. Ellis (1994) points out that in Schumann's model social factors were considered to have a direct influence on SLA while it is more likely for them to have an indirect one.

Larsen-Freeman (1991) is convinced that the difficulty with Schumann's model lies in the issue of social distance measurement. The author wonders (1991: 181) "how can one determine the weight that positive or negative attitudes contribute to social distance, and how can relative distances be quantified". One of the possible solutions the author (*ibid*) comes up with has been offered by Acton (1979), who argued that people should not act on their perceptions of social distance, but the actual social distance ought to be measured in a reliable way. Therefore, Acton developed the so-called Professed Difference in Attitude Questionnaire which covers three questions concerning the dimension of distance: 1) distance between themselves and their fellow-citizens in general, 2) distance between themselves and the TL speech community in general and 3) distance between their fellow-citizens and members of the TL culture. According to Acton, the results of suggested Questionnaire are very successful as regards identifying good L2 learners within a given group (Larsen-Freeman, 1991: 181).

2.1.2.b The Optimal Distance Model for SLA

Social distance attracted attention of many researchers. According to Brown (2000: 185), "the concept emerged as an affective construct to give explanatory power to the place of culture learning in second language learning". The term 'distance' is used metaphorically in order to illustrate possible dissimilarities between two cultures.

Brown (1980: 158-159) postulated that the process of SLA in the target language natural context consists of four successive stages:

- a) **a period of euphoria** – initially, the learner is excited over the newness of the TL environment ;
- b) **a period of culture shock** – appears when an individual becomes more aware of cultural differences that can distract his/her image of self and security ;
- c) **a period of gradual recovery** – often defined as ‘cultural stress’ – in this stage L2 learners gradually understand and begin to accept the differences in feeling or thinking characteristic for the TL speech community becoming more and more emphatic with TL group ;
- d) **a period of full recovery** – a given L2 learner accepts the new culture and develops a new social identity by means of choosing adaptation or assimilation as his/her acculturation strategy.

2.1.2.c Four strategies of acculturation – Berry’s model of acculturation

As it is commonly known, cultural groups and their individual members have to deal with acculturation strategies when they are in plural societies (either in the dominant and non-dominant setting). Such strategies (with respect to two major concepts) are usually developed by given groups or individuals on the basis of their every-day life interaction with a particular L2 speech community.

According to Berry (1997: 7), those concepts are as follows:

- a) **cultural maintenance** – characterized as the degree of importance of cultural identity in L2 learners ;
- b) **contact and participation** – defined as the extent to which L2 learners should be involved in other cultural groups or remain mainly within the same cultural group.

Berry (1997: 7) is convinced that “when these two underlying issues are considered simultaneously, a conceptual framework is generated which posits four acculturation strategies”. It should be said that those strategies are divided into those which depend on the dominant and non-dominant groups. From the point of view of the latter, we can distinguish between:

- a) **assimilation** – similarly to Schumann, Berry (ibid) claims that this strategy occurs when a given L2 learner does not wish to cultivate his/her cultural identity and is looking for any kinds of interaction with the TL groups; assimilation is associated with non-dominant groups.
- b) **integration** – takes place when L2 learners want to maintain his/her own culture to some extent, but – at the same time - do not mind interacting with TL groups on the daily basis.
- c) **separation** – occurs when L2 learners are determined to maintain their own cultural identity, avoiding any kind of contact with TL groups at the same time ;
- d) **marginalisation** – is very likely to take place when the immigrant seems to have very little or no interest in L2 cultural maintenance and little or no interest in interacting with L2 speech community (Schumann, 1978).

Berry (1997: 9-10) highlights that this division was based on the assumption that L2 learners (seen either as a whole group or as individuals) choose a given strategy on their own. However, sometimes it is not the case as the dominant group may impose certain form of acculturation on a given non-dominant group. Berry explains that when people decide to choose separation as their acculturation strategy, it could be the dominant society that demands it – then, this situation is referred to as segregation. Another example could be the choice of assimilation – in this case the so-called ‘melting pot’ is being created by those of L2 learners who wish to take over the TL culture. But if they are forced to assimilate – then we can talk about the notion of ‘pressure cooker’ (ibid: 10). As regards marginalisation, Berry claims that – in fact – people seldom choose this strategy, being rather rejected by the TL society “as a result of attempts at forced assimilation combined with forced exclusion” (ibid).

The only one acculturation strategy that can be utterly freely and independently chosen and then successfully sustained by non-dominant groups (on condition that the dominant

group is open to cultural diversity) is integration. The author suggests that the so-called ‘mutual accommodation’ is needed in order to achieve full integration which is understood as “the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different people” (Berry, 1997: 11). This strategy occurs in non-dominant groups which means that those subordinate societies have to adopt basic values of the dominant group. As regards dominant group – its members have to be prepared to adapt their national institutions such as schools, hospitals or workplaces in such a way that the needs of minor culture groups are met. It seems obvious that this type of strategy can be developed in societies that are multicultural and which establish certain psychological pre-conditions understood as the general acceptance and positive attitude towards multicultural society, low levels of prejudice and a sense of identification with the dominant society by all non-dominant groups. Integration and separation are considered to be “collective” (as whole cultural societies are involved) whereas assimilation is believed to be “individualistic”. It can be assumed that either individuals or groups may manifest various approaches towards these four ways of acculturating to the TL environment. Taken altogether, presented attitudes and behaviour correspond to acculturation strategies – however, acculturation strategy is not any prior indicator of success in SLA: many other factors can possibly influence L2 proficiency in ‘naturalistic’ context, i.e. the TL environment.

Although Berry’s classification of acculturation strategies applied by L2 speakers in the TL speech community is a point of reference to many studies exploring the development of languages in naturalistic context, his article provoked many voices of concern and disagreement. It is criticized mainly because of the ambiguity of the term ‘integration’ as “the relations of this orientation to multiculturalism and the fact that in the real life in many immigrant-receiving countries in Europe these strategies and policies do not work” (Chirkov, 2009: 83). Furthermore, Berry’s model of acculturation has been criticized for being closed to the variability of factors and diversity of variables incorporated in such broad and complex area of study as immigration. The conceptual framework for acculturation postulated by Berry leaves no room for flexibility as the model does not go beyond those four suggested strategies, excluding potentially new situations, groups or social factors that would create such a huge spectrum of particular situations or meanings (Chirkov, 2009).

2.1.2.d Andersen's Nativization Model

Many authors define acculturation as the process of gradual adapting to a new environment through experiencing target language and culture. Ellis (1985: 253) points out that this aspect of SLA is highly significant as “language is one of the most observable expressions of culture” and because in the natural L2 setting “the acquisition of a new language is seen as tied to the way in which the learner’s community and the target language community see each other”.

At this point it ought to be pointed out that the acculturation models presented by such authors as Berry and Schumann are related to numerous social and psychological factors, ignoring other SLA variables at the same time. For this reason, Andersen (1980) added other variables to account for SLA and provided an elaborated version of Schumann's Acculturation Model. Andersen came up with the so-called nativization model which was different from the one developed by Schumann who was interested in the L2 input and the general function the learner wants to use the L2 for. However, the internal processing mechanisms characteristic for individuals were not taken into account. On the contrary, Andersen was – to a greater extent – focused on the nature of the learning processes.

According to Ellis (1985), Andersen perceives SLA process as the result of two major processes that are described as follows:

- **nativization** - the process is understood as the assimilation of input which means that the learners modify L2 input to be in accordance with their internalized knowledge of L1, other languages and the world in general. This process is typical to the first stage of language acquisition;
- **denativisation** – also referred to as the process of accommodation in which the learners modify their internalized knowledge to accommodate L2 input. This process is visible during later stages of language acquisition when L2 production is close to TL norm.

According to Ellis (1985: 254) both models (Schuman's Acculturation Model and Andersen's Nativization Model) address naturalistic SLA where the L2 learner is in touch with the TL community on the daily basis. The abovementioned models also provide some possible explanations of the SLA mechanisms. For instance, the reason why L2 learners are often unable to achieve native-like language competence may be the fact that the proper language input is not sufficient for L2 learners – as a result of social distance, they do not interact with native-speakers of L2 and hence are cut off from the necessary input. On the other hand, in many cases L2 learners may not be interested in looking for such input and their psychological distance can be noticed.

However, Ellis (1985) is convinced that none of those two models is actually able to shed more light on the way in which L2 knowledge and skills could possibly be internalized and then used. Although Andersen's Model takes internal factors into account (on the basis of assimilation/accommodation distinction), it does not discuss the exact mechanism of how those two factors operate. Ellis (1985: 255) claims that "the relationship between primary linguistic data and internal processing is an intricate one, requiring a detailed account of how learner strategies operate on input and produce output". There is a need for further studies related to the issue of how input turns into intake and then, how it is incorporated into already existing interlanguage system of L2 speaker. It has not been explained whether "intake is controlled by the way the input is shaped in interaction involving the learner and other speakers" or whether "it is controlled by the structure of the internal processing mechanisms themselves" (ibid). In his Nativization Model, Andersen pointed out that the internal (rather than external) mechanisms are significant, but his assumption ought to be confirmed by possible further studies. The criticism towards Schuman's and Andersen's models is mainly related to the fact that there is actually no account of the role of learner-situation interaction.

2.2. Selected factors affecting the acquisition of L2 pronunciation

The issue of SLA development in L2 learners has been investigated in a large number of experimental studies. Contrary to what one may think, it is not easy to determine which factors affect the overall degree of SLA as it is a broad and complex process. One of possible explanations may be offered by the differences in design and methodology of particular studies and this "has led researchers to draw rather different conclusions about the influence

that certain factors have on degree of L2 foreign accent” (Piske et al., 2001: 195). The key factors under discussion are the length of residence in an L2 speaking environment (referred to as ‘LoR’), the amount of L1 and L2 use in day-to-day communication with L2 speech community, the attitude towards the L2 itself and the L2 environment and the acculturation strategy. When it comes to the language input and L2 proficiency on arrival in the L2 country, it seems that those factors have obtained limited attention from researchers so far. It can be explained by the fact that – on the contrary to such factors as LoR or the age of arrival (AoA) which are relatively easy to measure – it is hard to assess L2 speakers’ language proficiency at the moment of arrival to the L2 speaking community, not to mention the amount of L2 use in interaction with the native-speakers of English.

2.2.1. Previous language experience

In his numerous studies on the subject, Flege (1992, 1997, 1999, 2001) focuses mainly on the age of arrival in the L2 country (AoA) and suggests that L2 speakers ought to be divided into two groups: early and late learners. According to the author (1999, 2001), those L2 speakers who started learning L2 relatively early (up to the age of 15) are more likely to acquire native-like pronunciation than those who had their first contact with the second language after that period. A study by Flege, Bohn and Jang (1997) conducted among experienced and inexperienced non-native subjects revealed that the former produced English vowel sounds more accurately than the latter. Hence, it can be concluded that the earlier one starts L2 learning, the more effective the SLA process is in such a learner. Unfortunately, it is not easy to find studies devoted to the issue of L2 proficiency level on the arrival in the UK in Polish immigrants and its influence on the overall SLA process. However, on the basis of Flege’s previous work (1997, 1999, 2001, 2009) it can be assumed that those immigrants who came to the UK with relatively high level of spoken and written English are less likely to have problems with every-day life communication with the L2 community. Consequently, they tend to be more open and use more English on the daily basis.

Conversely, those who came to the UK with the basic level of L2 (or even with no previous L2 experience at all) can have problems with day-to-day interaction with the L2 community as the so-called affective filter and language shock they experience simply hinders

the process of second language acquisition. A more recent study by Waniek-Klimczak (2011) conducted among proficient English learners who decided to settle down in the UK confirms the assumption that such people are at an advantage. What is more, the overall attitude towards L2 and the use of acculturation strategy seem to be dependent on the L2 level at the very start. It can be concluded that a high level of proficiency in L2 (English) is characterized by lower degree of language and culture shock on the arrival. It seems obvious that language proficiency is perceived as a key to success in the L2 speaking environment (UK). However, it has to be mentioned that in the abovementioned study only highly proficient L2 learners were taken into consideration.

All in all, most studies devoted to the issue of L2 proficiency on arrival show that those L2 learners who came to a given L2 speaking country with higher L2 level tend to acquire L2 pronunciation more successfully than those whose migrants without previous L2 experience.

2.2.2. Age of learning/ Age of arrival

Age of learning has been established as one of the main variables which can decide about the presence or lack of a foreign accent. The term is used interchangeably with “age of arrival” which is used mostly in case of immigrant studies. Numerous studies investigated phonetic measurements investigated foreign accent in respect of two aspects: the possibly earliest age at which foreign accents emerges and the critical age for possible accent acquisition in adult immigrants. The results suggest the younger learners are in advantage in TL accent acquisition.

This generalization supports Critical Period Hypothesis (Lennenberg, 1967 and then Scovel, 1988) which assumption is that the age plays a crucial role in the acquisition of native-like proficiency in L2. Different suggestion have been made as regards the time when the sensitive period for L2 speech learning finishes. Scovel (1988) suggests that this critical period lasts until the age of 12 and Patkowski (1990) is convinced that critical period ends at the age of fifteen. According to this hypothesis, those learners who settled down in a given L2 speech environment at relatively young age are definitely more likely to achieve native proficiency in L2 pronunciation than those who arrived after that age. The reason for that was

associated with the fact that neural plastic in young learners is much higher than in adolescents or adults (Lennenberg, 1967). Adults lose this ability as their ageing process progresses and they have difficulties with perceiving new sounds of L2 that do not exist in their L1. Flege (1992) refers to this situation as the decreasing ability to establish perceptual representations for the new sounds of L2. Numerous studies (Oyama, 1979; Flege, 1987, 1988, 1995, 1998) suggest that age-related changes in degree of L2 foreign accent result from the nature and the extent of the interaction between a bilingual speaker's L1 and L2 phonology system. According to that, age acts as an indicator of the level of the L1 system development. It can be said that the more fully developed a given speaker's L1 system is when L2 takes place, the more strongly the L1 will affect the L2.

An interesting study by Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohole (1977) reported that although adolescent and adult immigrants to the Netherlands were better at imitating the sounds of Dutch than the children while tested 6 weeks after arriving in the country, about 5 months later the young children began to outperform the older learners in some L2 sounds pronunciation. Taking such results into consideration, Flege (2001) concludes that the advantage of adult learners over the younger ones is only temporary and then the young L2 learners quickly level this difference off or even outperform older ones. Numerous studies have been trying to establish the so-called "upper age limit" for L2 native-like pronunciation acquisition.

Flege (1991, 1992) tried to prove that early learners (who started studying English at the age of 5 or 6) did not have a foreign accent. Nevertheless, no studies have as yet provided any convincing evidence for the assumption that L2 pronunciation will automatically be accent-free if the L2 learning starts before or about the age of 5 and that it will definitely be foreign-accented if acquired after the stage of puberty (Flege et al. 2001).

2.2.3. Length of residence (LoR)

Another variable which has obtained a lot of attention in literature is referred to as 'length of residence' and makes it possible to specify an exact period of time spent in the community where L2 is - by default - the dominant language. Researchers are not that straightforward as far as the importance of LoR and its effect on L2 proficiency is concerned.

Although Flege (2009) states that it is not without reasons to assume that L2 input matters and the measures of L2 speech ought to be correlated LoR (the longer the residence, the milder the foreign accent), numerous studies revealed that LoR effect on overall immigrant learners' performance in L2 is not that obvious.

One of such examples could be the study conducted by Flege in 1988. The participants were composed of two groups of adult Taiwanese learners of English differing in respect of LoR (1.1 year vs. 5.1 years) and their L2 pronunciation was compared with their LoR. The results of the study revealed that in fact the groups did not differ significantly in respect to L2 proficiency. Obviously, LoR was not a factor in this case. Similarly, in one of the later studies, Flege and Fletcher (1992) investigated such factors as LoR or AoL (age of learning) in late Spanish-English bilinguals who lived in the US at that time. The study revealed that the experienced learners achieved better results, but it was concluded that although LoR influence was significant, yet AoL was rated as a more important predicator of overall SLA success. This observation seems to support the hypothesis that LoR effect depends on whether subjects are still in an early phase of L2 learning or not (Flege, 2001). On the basis of this observation it seems that the length of residence has to be combined with previous language experience (early vs. late L2 learners/ early vs. late bilinguals) and then it could possibly play a very significant role in the process of SLA.

The results of a study by Matysiak (2013) conducted among Polish adult immigrants to London suggest that the length of residence as such is not a predicator of success in the acquisition of L2 pronunciation due to various reasons that occur on the way. It is not enough to live, study or work within L2 speech community even for a longer period of time. If a given speaker does not make any effort to use the second language actively on the daily basis, his or her pronunciation is unlikely to improve. This effort (or the lack of it) depends on various factors such as adopted acculturation strategy, social identity, motivation or previous L2 experience. It seems that only a combination of these factors and the length of residence could possibly bring some satisfactory results and help to determine the factors affecting L2 pronunciation level.

2.2.4. L1/L2 use

The effect of the first and the second language exposure and use has been investigated in connection with such factors as the length of residence and previous L2 experience. Literature devoted to the issue of L2 input seems to confirm the hypothesis that in this case two factors can possibly contribute to the development of L2 proficiency (especially in the area of pronunciation). These are the amount of L1 and L2 used on a daily basis and the quality of L2 input with the distinction on native (referred to as a ‘proper’ input vs. non-native input).

One of the earliest studies on L1/L2 use conducted by Suter (1976) revealed that the combination of the length of residence and the L2 native speaker input functions as one of the most significant predictions of accurate L2 pronunciation. Similarly, Thompson (1991) found out that there is a relatively high degree of correlation between the length of residence and the previous education in English and consequently those two factors were reported to be even more important than the amount of L2 use on the daily basis in the process of acquiring accurate pronunciation in English. According to Flege’s findings (Flege et al. 1996), the length of residence and the use of L2 in everyday life interaction were the most relevant (just after the age of learning/age of arrival factor) in the production of English consonants.

Numerous studies conducted by Flege et al. (1997, 1999, 2001, 2009, 2011) seem to support the view that L2 speakers who receive substantial L2 input from native speakers of a given L2 are more likely to acquire native-like pronunciation than those who communicate mainly with other L1 speakers or non-native speakers’ community in the L2 environment. In his studies, Flege divided immigrants into various groups on the basis of such factors as the age of arrival (early vs. late bilinguals) or the age at which the first contact with L2 took place (early vs. late learners). Those factors are related to each other and if we take those into account, the previous language experience of a given L2 learner in the immigrant society would tell us more about the ability to acquire their L2 in the so-called ‘natural context’, that is through day-to-day interactions with the members of the target community (Matysiak, 2016).

It seems that many authors have not been clear as regards the notion of ‘L2 input’. The question about the importance of L2 input was often posed by Flege (2009: 175) who understands this term as “all L2 vocal utterances the learner has heard and comprehended,

including his own, regardless of whether these utterances have been produced correctly by L2 native speakers or incorrectly by other non-native speakers of L2". According to the author (ibid), such a phenomenon is related to the spoken rather than written language as "reading seems to have a negligible effect on L2 speech learning, apart from the occasional 'spelling' pronunciation of certain words that have been read but never heard".

Previous studies on L1 and L2 input conducted by Flege (2009) indicate that L1 input would be more adequate than the L2 one and it would always influence L2 pronunciation in adult immigrants, both in the case of early and late learners. The reason is that when children learn L1 phonemes, they develop long-term representations of each contrastive units and implement them into the L1 speech. Although early and late learners may receive equally proper L2 input, they differ in the frequency of exposure to such input or the use of it. It is strictly connected with the so-called 'critical period' of L2 learning. Flege (1997, 2001) reported that the immigrants who are early learners (and early bilinguals at the same time) are more likely to achieve native-like pronunciation than early or late learners who became late bilinguals.

According to the aforementioned studies, there are two types of L2 input: native (proper) and non-native (improper). Many experiments conducted so far have revealed that those immigrants who interact mainly with native speakers of L2 in the L2 environment are more likely to develop their L2 pronunciation level. However, sometimes it is not easy to distinguish between 'proper' and 'improper' L2 input as after arrival in a predominantly L2 speaking area, immigrants interact either with non-native speakers or native speakers from various dialect backgrounds and they hear different accent varieties of L2. Flege (2009: 177) claims that "the L1-inspired foreign accents of the compatriots tend to match the immigrants' own foreign accents and thus tend to reinforce them". That statement provokes many questions, among which one seems to be particularly significant – how can one assess the quality of L2 input effectively? Many researchers rely on self-assessment of the speakers or structured interviews but obviously such results cannot be measured objectively due to the fact that the data obtained from the participants' answers are qualitative rather than quantitative and we may not allow to find a more general tendency or pattern for the whole group.

2.2.5. L2 learning aptitude

Some people learn foreign languages better, faster and more effectively than others. There are also numerous L2 learners who can easily imitate the pronunciation in L2. What is the reason for that? There are at least a few aptitude factors discussed in studies devoted to the issue, for instance musical ability. Many people are convinced that individuals who are musically gifted find it easy to imitate sounds, hear the rhythm or deal with word stress. However, this factor has not yet been confirmed to affect the degree of L2 pronunciation in any way (Thompson, 1991 or Flege et. al, 1995). However, some studies (Purcell and Suter, 1980 ; Thompson, 1991; Flege et. al, 1999) have reported that mimicry ability can be treated as a significant predictor of L2 foreign accent degree. In one of his first studies on the subject, Suter (1976) asked his participants to imitate some stretches of speech that contained unknown sounds. At that time, inborn ability of oral mimicry revealed very little variance in degree of L2 accent. However, re-analysis (Purcell and Suter, 1980) found this variable among the most important ones (only L1 background was more important than mimicry ability). In Thompson's study (1991), participants had to rate their ability of imitating unfamiliar sounds themselves on a seven-point scale. When the self-ratings were compared to the speech recordings, it turned out that most speakers with the self-rate close to 7 imitated L2 pronunciation better than others.

All in all, there are not many studies related to the issue of L2 learning aptitude and its possible influence on L2 pronunciation. However, existing studies indicate that being musically talented is not as important as the ability to mimic new speech sounds which has been reported to be identified as an important and independent predictor of L2 foreign accent degree. Although the studies mentioned before seem to show a certain correlation between mimicry ability and the degree of L2 foreign accent, these do not explain why some speakers are more successful in imitating sounds than others? A crucial research question which has to be taken into consideration in future studies on this subject is whether particular individuals are born with mimicry ability or whether it develops as a result of the second language acquisition.

2.2.6. Motivation

Sometimes the reasons why certain immigrants or other L2 learners attempt (or not) to acquire the second language determine their success in this process. Such internal force that pushes us to develop our language skills is called motivation and plays a very important role in learning new things. Schumann (1986) stresses the importance of two basic types of motivation – instrumental and integrative. The former is related to the situation in which a given learner decides to study L2 out for strictly practical reasons such as looking for a job, improving qualifications, going abroad etc. In many cases this type of motivation is somehow mechanical – people do something not because they want to, but because they have to. Such motivation may push us to do something just for a very short time – at first people feel enthusiastic and willing to start doing something new, but they tend to give it up when they no longer need it. On the other hand, the latter type of motivation works slightly different. In this case people tend to do something in order to socialize with others and – what is more – they often do it just because they want to. This involves acquiring a new language, culture or different customs as a result of desire to become a part of L2 speaking community. This type of motivation – unlike the instrumental one – is often long-term and much more effective due to the fact that people are determined and willing to achieve a particular goal.

The majority of studies investigating the influence of motivation on degree of L2 foreign accent revealed the motivation may act as a helping factor, but it turns out not to be a decisive factor (Suter, 1980; Flege et al, 1995; Thompson, 1991; Moyer, 1999). According to Piske et. Al (2001) on the basis of obtained results it can be clearly said that such factors as instrumental motivation, integrative motivation or even a strong desire to achieve L2 pronunciation accuracy do not automatically lead to accent-free L2 pronunciation, especially in the case of late learners. The author (2001: 202) summarizes that “apparently, they are rarely so strong that late learners will still be able to attain a native-like pronunciation of the L2”. Furthermore, it has to be said that motivation is not very easy to operationalize or quantify which means that the results cannot be one hundred percent reliable because most of the studies on motivation are based on speakers' own responses. In other words, it is not exactly clear if and to what extent the individual participants really differed in terms of their motivation to achieve good L2 pronunciation.

2.3. Conclusions

The factors presented above were selected as numerous studies on immigrants to English speaking countries seem to confirm that they play an important role in L2 acquisition. However, it has to be pointed out that each and every speaker has a different story behind him or her which means that they have different educational background, they vary in respect of L2 proficiency, they came to the UK with different expectations and they had various reasons for leaving their L1 environment. What is more, their attitude towards L2 and motivation for acquiring the language may vary a lot. This is why each person has to be treated individually as the factors that are supposed to affect their SLA positively may not be that crucial in every case. Sometimes the combination of two or more factors can give satisfactory answer to the question of the influence of a given factor on the overall L2 performance.

CHAPTER III

Methodology of the Study

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the method adopted for the study conducted on Polish adult immigrants to London between 2011 and 2012. The main aim of the study is to investigate possible relationship patterns between phonetic parameters and selected socio-psychological factors that are believed to affect L2 speech: Acculturation strategy, Length of Residence (LoR) and the level of English language proficiency on arrival. The phonetic parameters chosen for investigation are Voice Onset Time (VOT) and rhoticity as they are considered to be among the most salient features of spoken English (Sobkowiak, 1996; Waniek-Klimczak, 2011). In combination with socio-psychological factors it is possible to describe the variability and dynamism of SLA in order to increase and develop our understanding of the nature and mechanisms of L2 learning. Establishing the nature of this relationship between phonetic parameters and socio-psychological factors is necessary to determine the best predictors of success in SLA and to shed more light on the interaction between parameters.

3.1. Rationale for the study

As English has become a language of international communication across the whole world, it is spoken by many non-native speakers as their second language. The fact that Poland became a member of the European Union in 2004 created conditions for more direct contact with English in L2 speech communities (such as England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland) for thousands of Polish people who decided to settle down in the British Isles. As discussed in Chapter 1, the wave of mass immigration to the UK started shortly after the enlargement of the EU in May 2004. The majority of Polish people went there to seek employment and better opportunities in general. However, there are also many people who decided to emigrate in order to begin or finish their studies while others initially came as tourists – but in the end they decided to stay there a bit longer. Whatever the reasons may be, those people need to use their second language in the environment where they are exposed to the extensive use of L2

on a daily basis. On the contrary to traditional ways and methods of learning L2 in the country of their origin, living in the area where L2 is a default language imposes active use of that language on its learners. It can be said that the process of Second Language Acquisition takes place in naturalistic context and is worth investigating for many reasons. Exploring the effect of everyday life exposure to the L2 in natural surroundings may be of interest not only from the scientific point of view but it can also be important for teaching and learning English as the second language.

Another important aspect of L2 acquisition in naturalistic context is L2 speakers' attitude towards the language as such, culture or environment and their social identity. In Chapter 2 it has already been mentioned that Polish immigrants to the UK can be expected to apply different integration strategies ranging from preservation through assimilation to isolation (based on Schuman's Acculturation Model for SLA, 1986) and represent various approaches towards the area they live in or the language itself, which can be expected to affect the process of Second Language Acquisition. A general preliminary overview suggests that most Polish immigrants to London seem to apply adaptation strategy. It does not mean that they do not identify with the country of their origin anymore – most of them are proud to be Polish, they use their L1 and they cultivate Polish traditions. However, it is not easy to categorize such L2 users or divide them into groups as every person represents slightly different approach towards the L2 environment in general, has their own history, motivation for coming to the UK or simply plans for possible settlement. They also differ with respect to their length of residence, educational background, previous L2 experience or the amount of L2 that they use in everyday interactions.

All in all, a wide range of factors can contribute to the effectiveness of the degree of L2 acquisition. According to Flege et. al. (2001), these are both external and internal factors. The former include such factors as, for example, the age of L2 learner, the length of residence in the L2 speaking country or learner's gender, while the latter comprise such aspects as, for instance, acculturation strategy, motivation, L2 learning aptitude, approach to the native-speakers of a given language, exposure to L2 or the amount of L1 and L2 used in everyday life situations. As discussed in Chapter 2, according to numerous studies conducted in the past some of the factors listed above affect overall L2 performance more significantly than others, for instance language input and proficiency level in L2 on arrival in the L2 country are claimed to be the most significant (Flege, 1997, 2001, 2009).

3.2. Method

L2 speech is highly variable and dynamic in nature. That is why searching for the possible relationship or correlation between different types of variables and their varied effect on L2 overall performance provides the best context for studies on migrant speech which takes place in naturalistic, not artificial context. Numerous studies have shown that non-native speech (as a natural language) can be characterised by a high level of socio-linguistic variability. For instance, L2 speakers differ in the way of using a foreign language when they interact with other native or non-native speakers of L2 (Beebe and Giles, 1984).

However, social and psychological factors are used not only to understand and explain L2 variability, but also to explain the creating of the new L2 system and its use in every day interactions. In his Acculturation Model (1978, 1986), Schumann suggested that a combination of social and psychological factors may be treated as a predictor of success in the process of SLA. Many researchers have been looking for factors that influence the level of L2 speech and its possible effect on L1. In order to do that, such factors as age of learning (AoL), previous language experience or L1/L2 input were investigated (e.g. Purcel and Suter, 1980 ; Scovel, 1998; Flege et al. 1996, 1997; Piske et al. 2001).

It should be pointed out that socio-psychological factors are strictly related to a given speaker as an individual's speech is characterised by a range of variables that may possibly affect their L2 performance. According to Piske et al. (2001), some of these factors turn out to be relevant to the L2 studies on pronunciation and are suggested to be investigated as the main source of differences in L2 speech production. These include such factors as the age of learning (AoL), language experience, self-assessed language proficiency level, the amount of L1/L2 use and the acculturation strategy adopted by individuals.

3.2.1. Study design

The study contains two types of analysed data: quantitative data based on the recordings of pronunciation – single words and picture description, and qualitative data elicited in the course of a conversation in the form of a structured interview. Two

aforementioned types of data – qualitative and quantitative with qualitative analysis form the basis for a qualitative study.

Thirty-eight adult Polish immigrants to London aged between twenty and thirty-five with varied length of residence and different language experience recorded separate words describing a busy street (in their L1 and L2). Then they were asked to describe a given picture within one minute, both in their L1 and L2. The visual materials were adapted from "My First Thousand Words in English" by Usborne Publishing – Usborne Children's Books.

After completing reading and speaking tasks, the speakers were asked to take part in the recorded structured interview covering such aspects as general and specific questions about their previous language experience, L2 exposure in the UK, social identity or living in L2 speaking community. Participants were asked to read out every question and then answer it in English. The questionnaire was adapted from Waniek-Klimczak (2009).

For the purpose of the present study, there were three independent and two dependent variables taken into account. The former are the following: Length of Residence (LoR), previous L2 experience (referred also as L2 proficiency on arrival in L2 speaking environment) and acculturation strategy; the latter are the Voice Onset Time (VOT) in pre-vocalic voiceless stop plosives and rhoticity in post-vocalic contexts.

3.2.2. Hypotheses

The study reported here explores the possible effect of language experience and acculturation strategy on the use of aspiration and rhoticity in English. For the purpose of the study six hypotheses were formulated. It is important to divide them into two groups based on the assumed relationship between independent and dependent variables. These hypotheses are related to two phonetic variables: Voice Onset Time (VOT) and rhoticity.

The first hypothesis claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years use longer VOT values both in English and Polish. The role of the variable which has obtained a lot of attention in existing literature (Flege 1998, 2001, 2009; Flege and Fletcher, 1992; Waniek-Klimczak, 2009, 2011) is not that obvious. Researchers neither confirm nor reject the view that the more time people spend in L2 environment, the better L2

pronunciation they seem to acquire. Hence, this variable seems to be interesting to investigate as the researchers are not straightforward when it comes to the effect of LoR.

The second hypothesis assumes that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival will use longer VOT values both in Polish (L1) and in English (L2). Numerous studies have shown that previous language experience plays a very important role in the process of Second Language Acquisition (Flege, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2009) as those L2 users who had contact with the language before coming to L2 environment are generally at an advantage - they seem to have less problems with every-day interactions, being generally more open and self-confident as they use their L2. This claim turns out to be confirmed by Waniek-Klimczak (2011). It seems to be extremely intriguing from the point of view of learning and teaching L2 mostly in L1 environment.

The third hypothesis is related to acculturation strategies and assumes that those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation are more likely to achieve longer VOT results both in L1 and L2. Social identity and acculturation strategies have been the subjects of a few significant studies (Schumann, 1978, 1986; Berry, 1997, 2000, 2005; Ellis, 1985, 1994). According to the researchers, the strategies mentioned above are likely to accelerate SLA process as people are more eager to learn or to use the language they like in a society they respect and value.

Hypothesis number four claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). Rhoticity (or the lack of it) is considered to be one of the most salient features of Received Pronunciation (RP) typical for British English (Jones, 1981; Wells, 1983; Roach, 2000; Cruttenden, 2014). Despite the fact that rhoticity is often investigated in Polish students of English (Jaworski, 2010), so far there have been no studies conducted on immigrants and their use of rhoticity or its lack in particular contexts. In such case the study is going to be one of the first (if not the first) that aims at exploring this issue.

The fifth hypothesis assumes that more proficient L2 learners are less likely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). As it was mentioned above, there are no studies which deal with the issue of proficiency in English and its effect on rhoticity or the lack of this feature.

Finally, the last hypothesis claims that the speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic. If RP is – by default – non-

rhotic, then L2 speakers should try to imitate RP speakers and try not to use rhotic sounds in certain contexts such as lack of rhoticity after a (long) vowel, at the word boundaries or pauses. It is impossible to make a reference to possible previous studies as – like in the case of rhoticity in general – the existing literature on this subject is very limited and does not cover the issue of using particular sounds by Polish immigrants.

3.2.3. Variables

For the purpose of the study five different variables were taken into consideration: three independent variables, namely Length of Residence (LoR), L2 experience on arrival and acculturation strategy and two dependent variables which include phonetic parameters: Voice Onset Time (VOT) and rhoticity.

3.2.3.1. Independent variables

Among the variety of independent variables that were discussed previously (see Chapter 2), three were chosen to be investigated for the purpose of the thesis: Length of Residence, L2 experience on arrival and acculturation strategy. The external factor of LoR was chosen as the main one due to the fact that AoA, another crucial factor, was controlled by choosing only adult immigrants (mostly of whom are late L2 learners) as participants to the study. To internal factors: L2 experience on arrival and acculturation strategy formed the basis for considering the linguistic as well as more general socio-linguistic basis for the use of the chosen phonetic parameters.

3.2.3.2. Dependent variables

In the previous chapter the most important independent variables – known as factors that can possibly affect the process of second language acquisition – were discussed in detail.

As the independent variables have already been motivated, the main focus is put here on dependent variables, which are two phonetic parameters – Voice Onset Time (referred to as VOT) and rhoticity.

3.2.3.2.a Voice Onset Time (VOT)

Due to the fact that aspiration is one of the most characteristic features of English pronunciation, it has been an object of investigation in numerous SLA phonetic studies. Different studies revealed that the production of long-lag voice onset time (VOT) is difficult for L2 learners who use the short-lag VOT in their L1. The acquisition and the use of aspiration has been proven to be a gradual process (Nathan et al. 1987). Achieving success in VOT production depends on many factors such as the age of learning, (Flege 1987, 1988, 1991; Flege et al. 1995; Yavaş 1996; MacKay et al. 2001,), motivation, language experience and the nature of language input understood as the so-called ‘proper’ (native-like) or ‘improper’ (non-native like) described in numerous studies (Flege and Eefting 1987; Flege et al. 1996; Flege et al. 1997; Piske et al. 2001; Rojczyk & Porzuczek, 2012; Waniek-Klimczak, 2009, 2011a). The shift in the VOT values towards the English target has been shown to affect the production in L1. In one of his earliest studies Flege (1987) reported a certain pattern showing that both French learners of English and proficient English learners of French produced respectively longer or shorter VOT values in their first language than monolingual speakers. Such dependency has been supported by numerous studies that appeared later on and proved that it is impossible for bilingual speakers to have two separate language systems (e.g. Grosjean 1998; Watson 1991, 1996). The nature of this interaction has been analysed by Flege (1995, Flege et al. 2003) Flege (2003: 470) hypothesised that ‘the more bilingual approximates the phonetic norm for an L2 speech sound, the more her production of the corresponding L1 speech sound will tend to diverge from L1 phonetic norms’.

The three phonetic categories in the stop consonant system proposed by Lisker and Abramson (1964): voice-lead voiced, short-lag voiceless unaspirated and long-lag voiceless aspirated refer to a range of values depending on the preceding and following sounds. In general, longer VOT values are more likely to be found in velar sounds rather than bilabial ones. What is more, Maddieson (1997) points out that VOT tends to have greater values when

a plosive is followed by a high than a non-high vowel. According to Waniek-Klimczak (2011a) other factors that can possibly influence the VOT values include such aspects of spontaneous speech as stress and tempo. When the speech tempo is slower and the stress is increasing then VOT values are supposed to be longer. The author (ibid: 302) points out that “in every language, particular modal values will be interpreted as instances of phonetic categories recognised in that language, with varied goodness-of-fit responsible for the degree of ‘accentedness’ of speech”. As it is stated in Nathan et al. (1987:204): “Although it does not involve a contrast between phonemes, the presence or absence of aspiration in voiceless stops is a source of perceived foreign accent whenever a speaker of a language that lacks aspiration attempts to learn a language that has it or vice versa”. However, “although languages may differ in the phonetic categories chosen for the voicing contrast, the presence or absence of aspiration may be less categorical, as illustrated by an occasional emphatic use of aspiration in Polish, which generally uses pre-voiced vs. voiceless plosives” (Waniek-Klimczak, 2011: 302).

With reference to the so-called emphatic use of aspiration by Polish learners of English, Sobkowiak (1996: 83) claimed that “there is nothing in ordinary Polish speech that resembles aspiration” coming up with quite an illustrative example of a sentence produced in Polish where aspiration may sound less foreign than otherwise probably because of the use of “overtones of annoyance or irritation”. Despite the fact that nowadays aspiration is still perceived as foreign-sounding, it seems to occur more and more frequently in other emphatic or strongly emphasized contexts. On the basis of her own experience, Waniek-Klimczak (2001) states that the use of aspiration in Polish triggers a variety of reactions, ranging from an open interest in a possible L2 experience to mockery or even irritation. Moreover, L1 speakers who have a tendency to aspirate plosives in Polish may be perceived as the individuals who transfer their L2 pronunciation pattern as a result of SLA and hence aspiration is often seen as a strongly marked pronunciation feature (ibid). On the basis of immigrant studies, it has been found that the salience of aspiration both in English and Polish may be explained by the fact that Polish immigrants to the British Isles and the USA had tendency to use longer VOT values in order to manifest their positive attitude towards English language (Waniek-Klimczak 2009, 2011a). It can be said that aspiration should be treated as the so-called ‘attitudinal marker’.

According to Labov (1972) and Tarone (1979, 1987), the style and speech marking used by different L2 speakers depend on the attributes of a given language system and its elements. If these are considered as the target or accepted as prestigious pronunciation, the

speakers are very likely to incorporate them into their own interlanguage system. Waniek-Klimczak (2011a) states that the elicitation styles affect the quality of L2 pronunciation pointing out that the more formal the speech is, the more target-like pronunciation is likely to occur. There seems to be a kind of correspondence: the less formal the style is, the more natural and systematic the pronunciation becomes, reflecting the vernacular system of the speaker. Non-native speakers of English are expected to promote the use of longer VOT values in the most formal elicitation tasks. This tendency is very likely to be reverse in Polish which – by default – does not have aspiration in informal, casual speech. Waniek-Klimczak (ibid) states that this prediction is made on the basis of assumed effect of interaction: if the assumption that the interaction between English and Polish in Polish speakers will cause a gradual shift in the VOT values with a possible merger is right, we can expect the emphatic context in Polish to elicit most English-like productions. Such tendency might be explained by the fact the use of aspiration in Polish occurs as a result of the speaker's experience of English. On condition the assumption is correct, the shortest VOT values in Polish ought to be noticed in those L2 speakers who are not proficient in English (but their amount of L2 experience gradually increases) or who have no language experience at all.

3.2.3.2.b Rhoticity

According to Wells (1983), the primary division of accents of English is related to the pronunciation of syllable coda /r/ or the lack of it. Accents of English are divided into three categories: rhotic accents (in which syllable coda /r/ is produced, non-rhotic accents (where /r/ is omitted) and variably rhotic accents (in which native and non-native speakers of English use rhoticity in a variable way). RP belongs to non-rhotic variants. The terms postvocalic /r/, non-prevocalic /r/ and syllable coda or syllable-final /r/ are all used in connection with [r] sound that occurs at the end of a word or before a consonant (for example: *far*, *car*, *rare*). The most commonly used term – postvocalic /r/ - can be misleading as its name suggests inclusion of the intervocalic environment as well, yet rhoticity does not generally vary in that environment and there are very few dialects of English where the so-called intervocalic r-dropping appears (Wells, 1983: 544). The context for the occurrence or the lack of rhotic sounds depends on sounds that either precede or follow them. This neighbourhood can be distinguished according to the class of the preceding vowel and the stress pattern of it

(Downes, 1998). Thus such words as *fur*, *far* or *offer* all have word-final /r/ but at the same time they may differ with respect to rhoticity rates for variably-rhotic speakers (ibid). Wells (1983) points out that in accents of New England that are variably rhotic, /r/ sound is more likely to be produced preconsonantly after a stressed central vowel 'schwa' (as for instance in such words as *purse* or *nurse*) than in other contexts.

There are also two additional terms related to rhoticity. These are common in fast connected speech of non-rhotic varieties of English (including RP): linking /r/ and intrusive /r/. Linking /r/ is the [r] sound that appears in non-rhotic accents in word-final positions when the following word begins with a vowel, for example '*more and more*'. The presence of linking /r/ may suggest that the speakers of non-rhotic accents have an underlying /r/ phoneme which is dropped. Linking /r/ exists in spelling. When it comes to intrusive /r/ it can be said that this is the [r] sound that appears between a word-final unstressed vowel and the following word-initial vowel, where there was never a historical /r/, for example *Africa and America*. The presence of intrusive /r/ indicates that that no underlying phoneme exists. This pronunciation feature is stigmatized in non-rhotic accents (Downes, 1998). Intrusive /r/ is not visible in spelling.

Rhotics are sounds that are commonly used by the speakers of various languages of the world. Around three quarters of all languages have a rhotic phoneme, yet in some languages there are two or even more contrasting r phonemes. Rhotics differ from other sound classes, e.g. plosives or fricatives. For instance, the retroflex approximant found in some accents of British English and the uvular trill characteristic of some French, German or Swedish accents constitute two elements of this category despite sharing very little in acoustic and articulatory terms. Some authors claim that the only reason for classifying rhotics as a distinct group of speech sounds is that they tend to be represented by the letter 'r' in those languages that use the Latin alphabet (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996).

Another characteristic feature that distinguishes rhotics from other sounds is that they are relatively difficult – it is claimed that they belong to the last sounds mastered by children in the acquisition process. This is particularly visible among the languages which have a trill in their sound system (such as Polish). One of the reason for such late acquisition of rhotics is that it demands a considerable amount of effort put into articulation and that is why many young children find it very difficult to produce it properly. Due to the articulatory complexity of the trill, many speakers tend to replace it with some easier sounds such as taps, fricatives or even approximants. It can be said that tap realisations of this phoneme are the most common

variants of r sound production found in natural speech so far. Jaworski (2010: 126) claims that “thus tapping, fricativisation and approximantisation of the rhotic can be regarded as a speaker-friendly, lenition process resulting in minimising the articulatory difficulties of speech”. Because these three realisations of rhotic differ in their sonority, “one can think of the allophones as different degrees of reduction of the rhotic with the tap constituting the first degree of reduction and the approximant being the ‘weakest’ form of a rhotic sound” (ibid: 127).

According to Wells (1983), the most commonly produced rhotics are trill and taps. If one wants to refer to a given sound as a trill, during the articulation one organ of speech ought to vibrate against the other. Generally speaking, “the alveolar segment can be regarded as a ‘prototypical’ trill as it is found in a greater number of languages than the other trills, i.e. the uvular and bilabial ones” (Jaworski, 2010: 127-128). The author also explains that the alveolar trill is articulated with the apex producing a series of closing and opening gestures. What is particularly important – in trills the tongue movements are not controlled by any muscular action. They rather occur as a result of the aerodynamic conditions produced by an airstream passing through the vocal track. It makes trills very similar to vocal fold vibration when one produces voiced sounds. After the active articulator has formed a complete closure with the passive organ, a sufficiently strong airflow separates them and a certain amount of air flows through. As a result, the pressure behind the closure drops significantly and the active articulator goes back to its previous position producing another closure. All in all, trilled articulations consist of two or three such cycles happening one after another. As trilling crucially depends on the size and shape of the aperture – as well as on the airflow – minimal changes to one of the factors can result in a non-trilled realisation of a given sound (Wells, 1982; Johns, 1981) .

What is particularly intriguing, in languages where trills do not contrast with other rhotics, trilled realisations are hardly ever produced by the speakers. For instance, in Scottish English they are heard only in declamatory styles the same as in Polish and Russian where they are normally realised as taps. Unlike trills, taps have only one short closure. It is worth mentioning that many phoneticians, e.g. Ladefoged (2006), distinguish between taps and flaps. In the former case a brief contact between the articulators is made by moving the active articulator directly towards the roof of the mouth, whereas in the latter the active articulator moves towards the site of the contact and touches it passing.

For the purpose of the study rhoticity was chosen as one of the phonetic variables. The reason is that this phonetic feature is considered to be one of the most characteristic features of English pronunciation. What is more, the quality of rhotic sound in Polish language is definitely different than /r/ sound in British English or even American English. In Polish, /r/ tends to be pronounced as a tap, while in British English an approximant is most frequent. Hence, it is interesting to investigate the patterns of /r/ and possible realizations on the basis of speech recordings made by Polish immigrants to London. As it was previously mentioned, there are still limited number studies investigating the use of rhoticity or the lack of it in Polish immigrants to the UK. The existing ones (Waniek-Klimczak, Matysiak, 2016; Zajac, 2016; Waniek-Klimczak, Zajac, 2017) point out that the varied use of rhoticity may function as a speech marker in Polish immigrants to the UK (England) or may result from an incomplete L2 acquisition.

3.2.4. Instruments

The elicitation materials included visual cues and a questionnaire. The study is based on pronunciation recordings in both L1 and L2. The visual cues were used to collect the data for the investigation of phonetic variables and the questionnaire was the basis for specifying independent variable values and for providing data for an immigrant profile.

The first instrument to measure phonetic variables in both L1 and L2 was a picture of a busy street somewhere in the city center adapted from "My First Thousand Words in English" and "My First Thousand Words in Polish" by Usborne Publishing – Usborne Children's Books. The illustration is surrounded with 38 pictures labelled with English (Appendix 2) and Polish (Appendix 3) words related to the picture as they show objects or people depicted in it. The participants were asked to complete two tasks related to this picture and the words listed around it – first of all, they had to read out the words aloud in isolation (in both languages). Secondly, there were asked to describe the picture – they had about one minute for that and they had to describe the picture twice – once in English, then in Polish. The participants were first familiarized with the material and then, after a short time, they were asked to read out the words and then the questions at a natural tempo of speech. The choice of such material was related to the difficulty level – in case of the street it was predicted that most of the participants were familiar with the presented words such as 'car', 'police officer', 'market' etc.

The second type of data – whose aims was to create participant's profile and to specify the value of independent variables – was collected by means of the questionnaire (Appendix 1) adapted from the study described by Waniek-Klimczak (2009). This was prepared in a form of structured interview composed of 22 questions covering not only such aspects of living in the UK as the relationship with L2 community or problems in L2 environment but also some questions about the speaker's AoA, LoR or previous language experience.

3.2.5. Data collection procedure

On the contrary to what many people may think, it is not an easy task to go abroad, find suitable people and then convince them to take part in your study, especially if the recordings are made in the immigrants' second language. That is why such selection of participants has to be planned in advance.

In this case it was reasonable to start looking for potential respondents long before coming to London, as the first set of speakers was recorded between July and September 2012. The easiest way to do that was to activate every contact possible. Luckily for the researcher, a new wave of immigrants to the UK comprised mostly young people aged between 20 and 35 which means that there was a chance to encourage some friends or colleagues met during different stages of life to take part in the study. It can be said that most of the participants agreed to help in the data collecting procedure a few weeks or even a few months before the recordings.

The situation was slightly different when it comes to the second set of recordings (made in August 2013) – this time the participants had no connections with the researcher, yet again they were involved in the recordings a few weeks before the researcher's next visit to London by means of posting a request on the public wall within "Poles in London" community group on Facebook. More than twenty people posted their replies agreeing to take part in the recordings.

At this point it is necessary to mention that all participants took part in the recordings not because they had to, but simply because they wanted to offer their disinterested help. They were not given any money or presents in exchange for their participation. So as to provide favorable conditions for recordings, these were mostly made in each speaker's place

of residence or any other place of meeting (such as cafes or parks) suggested by each participant. All the participants agreed to have their speech recorded and then for the use the recordings for the purpose of the studies of L2 speech of Polish immigrants to the UK.

All participants were familiarized with the task and then asked to read out 38 English words related to the picture of a busy street (Appendix 1) and then they were recorded by the researcher. For the purpose of the study the following six words creating positive conditions for the use of longer VOT value (aspiration) in English were chosen for analysis: *café, car, pipes, police car, policeman* and *taxi*. The average timing was forty seconds. After doing that, the speakers had to describe the picture presented on the same page (in English). They were given about one minute for that.

After reading the words in English, the participants were given the same picture and the words related to it – but this time in their L1 (Appendix 2). The procedure was exactly the same as it was in the first task. The words chosen for measuring VOT values in Polish were as follows: *kawiarnia, kino, policjant, pompa, taksówka, targ* and *autobus*. The average timing was about half a minute. After that, the participants had to describe the picture of a street – but this time in Polish. They were given about one minute for that – the same amount of time as in the previous case.

Finally, the speakers were given a questionnaire composed of 22 questions covering such issues as the age at the moment of immigrating to London/the UK (LoR), previous language experience, motivation for L2 using and learning, attitude towards L2 speech community and the language itself, amount of L1 and L2 used in everyday life situations or their plans for the future (connected with possible settlement). All of the questions were given in English and participants were asked to read out each question aloud and answer them in their second language. Obviously, similarly to the previous type of material – the speakers were first familiarized with the material and then, after a short time, they were asked to read out the questions at a natural speed. They were given additional questions if there was a need for clarification or explaining something in more detail. There was no time limit set for this task. All of the questions were formulated in an easy way so that the participants had no significant problems with understanding the questions and interpreting them in an appropriate way.

3.2.6. Participants

In order to find Polish immigrants and record their L1 and L2 speech in naturalistic context for SLA the recordings had to be made in L2 environment. That is why it was reasonable to go to London and to perform the recordings there.

The first group of Polish immigrants were recorded in London between July and September 2012. The speakers were not chosen according to particular criteria – these were usually people who had certain connections with the researcher, for instance colleagues, acquaintances or friends (or their friends or neighbours) who decided to settle down in this particular area. All of them agreed to take part in this experiment willingly so it can be assumed that their self-esteem related to the performance in English was relatively high and generally they had a positive attitude towards their L2 and the second language speech community they lived in. The total amount of people who were recorded at that time was 29.

There is a different story behind each and every single participant to the study. That is why their cases ought to be considered individually. It is commonly known that there are different motives and various reasons behind immigrants' decision to settle down in a completely new environment, often without substantial L2 knowledge. In the following sections, each participant is briefly described with respect to major factors expected to affect target language usage: the background, motivation, experience in the UK and plans for the future. The key characteristics used in the present study as independent variables: Length of Residence (LoR), language experience and acculturation strategy are based on the interview.

Participant 1:

The first person who agreed to take part in the study was Ania who was a friend of the researcher. She comes from Łódź. She decided to go to London a few months after her graduation from Technical University of Łódź, at the age of 26. She admitted that her decision was motivated by the difficulties with finding a job and earning a living. She was not very proficient in English, yet she had the basic knowledge. Being able to conduct a simple conversation, giving and getting information related to everyday life situations, she decided to leave Poland. Initially, she did not plan to settle down in London for good – she simply wanted

to earn some money, go back to Poland and perhaps start her own business with the money saved in the UK. However, she changed her mind when in London she met a Polish guy Konrad, her future partner and father of their two children. Together they managed to rent a house and started working in the same restaurant – at the beginning as waiters, later on Konrad became a chef and Ania - a manager of the restaurant. After a while Konrad decided to open his own pub and the business became successful – most of the clients were Poles. Ania kept on working for the same restaurant. When their first child – daughter Maja – was born, they decided to stay in the UK for good. Although they were not sure of the place, Ania decided that London could give them more opportunities than any other cities at that time (in 2004 and later on). Ania is a very friendly, talkative and outgoing person so she had no particular problems with making new friends and gaining new valuable contacts not only among Poles, but also among multinational society. In the meanwhile, her second child – son Patrick – was born. After spending some time with children at home and saving some money, she decided to join a hairdresser's course where she met a lot of immigrants from various countries (including such exotic places as Cuba). The children went to English kindergarten and started learning English at a very early age. Ania does not think of coming back to Poland as she admits that she managed to settle down in a new environment that she likes and fully accepts. She kept on improving her L2 not only by everyday interactions, but also through participating in language courses for foreigners. She sometimes watches Polish TV series or news, but she does not do it very often. She said that she misses her family back in Poland, but she does not miss the country as such.

Participant 2:

The next person recorded was Natalia, Ania's friend. They met in London and became friends immediately. Natalia comes from Nowy Sącz where she lived with her parents and a brother. At the age of 19, just after passing her matura exam, Natalia decided to go to the UK in order to work as an au pair. She admitted that her English was very good at that time so she had no language barrier – it was the other way round: she was excited to be able to use English on the daily basis. While in London, she met Marcin – her future husband. They decided to find a

house on their own and settle down in the suburbs of London for good. Natalia has a very lively personality, she's similar to Ania – very outgoing and really sociable. That is why she made friends with a lot of other Poles and the immigrants from different countries. She also improved her English to such extent that her pronunciation sometimes sounds native-like. She takes an active part in the social life of the community she lives in. She has a four-year-old son Nicholas who goes to English kindergarten and is really keen on speaking English and having fun with other children most of whom come from different parts of Europe. Natalia admits that she sometimes misses her close family, but she has regular contact with them through Skype or social networking sites like Facebook. She is not really interested in what is happening in Poland and she does not really follow the news. She adopted the new way of life and tries to be as British as possible, yet it does not mean that she is ashamed of her origin. Like Ania, she is very proud of being Polish and she highlights that her social identity is still strong. However, new circumstances require the change of lifestyle and approach to life. That is why she tries to get as much as she can from her residence in London. Natalia seems to be really satisfied with her life in the UK and there is no wonder that she has no intention of coming back to Poland.

Participant 3:

Kasia is another friend of Ania, who came to London at the age of 24. She claims that she came here out of curiosity and as a result of a tempting prospect of finding better job than in Poland. Kasia admits that she did not have particular problems with language at school (she even passed an FCE exam) and that is why she came to the UK more self-confident than those who lack L2 proficiency. She found a job in a company and soon she met her future husband who is also Polish. Although she has plenty of Polish friends, she interacts with other non-native speakers of L2 and sometimes natives. She sometimes reads articles in Polish online or watches the news, but the situation in Poland does not affect her everyday life so she does not feel that following every piece of news about her mother country may somehow change anything. She misses Poland, but not enough to return. She admits that she's already settled down and she really likes London. For her the most important aspect of living there is that is very cosmopolitan and extremely

vibrant. Interesting things happen here all the time and people have an easy access to everything. According to Kasia, the difference between Poland and the UK is mainly that in the former you can work for a very long time and get stuck in one place despite all the effort and personal development which means that employers rarely recognize your achievements. In the latter employers are more likely to appreciate your efforts and if you are ready to work hard and invest in yourself, you can be sure that one day it will pay off and you will be able to achieve a lot. Kasia likes English very much and for this reason she keeps on developing her L2 skills. She also takes an active part in her community's social life. She attends a lot of events and is really keen on interaction with such varied L2 speaking community.

Participant 4:

Maciek is another friend of Ania. They have been working together in the same restaurant in London for a few years. Maciek decided to come to the UK at the age of 25, shortly after graduating from the university. He admits that he could not see any sensible prospects for the future in Poland so his decision of leaving Poland behind was mostly related to better work opportunities. He admits that at first it was really hard for him as he had just the basic knowledge of L2. He realised that having contact with English just during English classes in primary or secondary school was not sufficient enough and he claims that work and life in the UK could be called a real language school as you are forced to use L2 in a variety of situations. Although his spoken English is full of grammar or pronunciation mistakes, his motto is "Only those who do nothing make no mistakes at all". Maciek believes that the most important thing is keeping the conversation going, regardless of the amount of tongue slips. Maciek came to the UK similarly to Ania and her friends mentioned above – after EU enlargement in 2004. He met his future wife Ewa here, they rent a big house and they have two children who go to an English primary school. Maciek is satisfied with his life in London, he likes the city, he makes friends with other Poles, natives and non-natives so he uses a lot of English on the daily basis. He considers himself as a patriot and claims that he misses his country. However, after so many years in the UK he does not want to return to Poland as he has already settled down in London. Maciek often follows

the news about Poland which is very easy in the era of Internet. He also stays in regular contact with his close family and friends who live in Poland so life without them is easier. Similarly to previous speakers, Maciek is an easy going and friendly person. He easily got used to his new lifestyle and he fully accepts it. Although his social identity as a person of Polish origin is strong, he is aware of the importance of interaction with other L2 users. He is eager to help others and he likes taking part in various social events organized by the community he lives in.

Participant 5:

Krzysiek is a person who was met through one of my friends in London. At the time of our recordings he was a very active member of Hillsong Church community. Krzysiek came to the UK in 2003 and his reasons for coming here were slightly different than financial ones. He claims that new opportunities and bad experienced in Poland forced him to make such a difficult decision. However, such outgoing and open-minded person as Krzysiek is expected to adapt to the new lifestyle easily and this is what happened in this case. He came to the UK with substantial knowledge of English as he started learning English as a child and then continued up to his University degree (he managed to obtain a certificate in Business English). Krzysiek declares that although he was quite proficient on arrival, his pronunciation improved significantly. Perhaps it is because he uses more English due to the type of his work and he mostly interacts with native speakers of British English. Although he does not miss his L1 environment, he admits that he follows news about Poland and misses his family and friends back in Poland. He may value his L1 language and culture, but – at the same time - is very keen on taking part in plenty of activities within the community he lives.

Participant 6:

Jarek agreed to participate in the study as he got my contact from his teenage sister Natalia who happened to be my student. Natalia wanted to prepare for her matura exam and thanks to her I was able to contact her two older brothers who lived in London at that time – Jarek and Marcin. Jarek came to London at the age of 20. He claims that his main motivator for coming to the UK was to find a job which

would enable him to save some money to buy a small house in Poland. Although he studied English at school, he admits it was very basic and he didn't pay much attention during the classes. He also blames the teachers who were kind of "useless" in his opinion which means that they could not really pass the knowledge on their students. Jarek is slightly different than most of the other participants: he claims that he uses English on the daily basis, however it takes place only when he is forced to use his L2. On the daily basis he uses his L1 and interacts mostly with other Poles living in his neighbourhood. As a person whose social identity is strictly connected with his mother country, Jarek misses Poland and claims that he would definitely like to come back to this country one day as soon as he earns enough money to do so.

Participant 7:

Marcin is Natalia's and Jarek's eldest brother who came to the UK even before the EU enlargement – in 2001. He came to London with quite basic level of spoken and written L2 and he admits that he acquired the language mainly after coming to London by listening to it everywhere possible and talking to both native and non-native speakers of his L2. Initially he had no intention of staying in the UK for so long, but his plans changed and he decided to settle down here. Soon, he met his future wife and they started a family. Marcin feels a really strong connection with Poland and he admits that he follows every piece of news about his home country and he misses his family and friends left behind. On the one hand he would prefer living back there, but on the other he knows what he has in the UK and his future in Poland is rather vague. Hence, he sticks to London and goes to Poland with his family once or twice a year.

Participant 8:

I met Ilona through one of my friends from Łódź, Dawid. They were both students at the University of Łódź where they studied history. However, Ilona left the course after her second year and decided to change something in her life. Her family back in Poland desperately needed money so she decided to emigrate to the UK in 2005. She claims that – as well as the majority of participants to the study –

her English was rather poor on the arrival and she started acquiring proper English just after coming to the UK by means of communicating with native and non-native speakers of English in everyday life situations whenever possible. Although she is proud of having Polish origin, she is very keen on interacting with native and non-native speakers of English and she is keen on taking part in plenty of social activities in the area where she lives and works. She declares that she would like to settle down in the UK for good, but she is not sure about the exact area yet.

Participant 9:

Sebastian is Ilona's boyfriend. They met back in Poland. Sebastian came here with Ilona in 2005. He wanted to improve his English and find a job thanks to which he could afford a flat for him and his girlfriend. At first he did not plan to stay there for such a long time, but reality turned out to be different. Sebastian went to English classes at school, but he claimed that he did not acquire much of the language. He performed variety of jobs – he started as a truck driver and this is when he met a lot of people of different background who spoke only English. Sebastian had to use his L2 in order to interact with his workmates and clients and this was a real English course for him. Now he sees a huge progress in his L2 pronunciation and fluency. Sebastian cannot imagine his life out of the UK at the moment and he declares that he found his place on Earth in this country. Similarly to Ilona, he is not sure whether London is such a place, but he has no intention of coming back to Poland.

Participant 10:

Wojtek is Sebastian's friend. He is an extremely open-minded person. He came to the UK at the age of 26, in 2005. He claims that his level of English on arrival was really poor and in fact he started acquiring his L2 mainly after coming to the UK. Using more L2 than L1 in everyday life situations turned out to be really beneficial for Wojtek – he notices that his ability to speak English freely and quite fluently corresponds to some audible improvements in his L2 pronunciation. Wojtek came to the UK as he felt underappreciated in Poland and he wanted to find a job suitable for his skills. Another reason that resulted from finding a better job was to

learn English in naturalistic context. Wojtek is proud of being Polish, but at the same time he likes meeting new people in the UK and spending time with both native and non-native users of L2. He also enjoys London very much and he does not consider coming back to Poland although he is not sure about the place of living – among some to choose from he points out at Australia or New Zealand.

Participant 11:

Renata eagerly agreed to take part in the study. I managed to contact her via my friend Mariusz here in my hometown as she is his older sister. Renata was 30 at the moment of recordings and had already been to the UK for nearly 8 years. She claims that she went to London to study English in the first place. Finding a job was also important, but this came a bit later. Renata spent about a year improving her L2 on an intense English course conducted by native-speakers of British English before she decided to look for a job. As an extremely outgoing and sociable person Renata managed to make a lot of friends among other Poles and some native and non-native speakers of L2. She cannot really imagine coming back to Poland as she claims that London gives her much more opportunities and she loves the fact that this city is so cosmopolitan. She misses her family back in her hometown but she does not consider coming back as she has finally settled down in the UK. She feels at home here and at the moment of recording she started studies in English at one of London's colleges.

Participant 12:

Bartek is Renata's boyfriend. He is a bit older than her – at the moment of recordings Bartek was 35 and he came to the UK in 2003. As he claims – he had significant problems with expressing himself in English, he could not create logical sentences and his pronunciation was nowhere close to British English or even RP. He had some basics, but he was unable to communicate successfully. Thanks to the arrival to the UK, Bartek started acquiring his L2 in such a naturalistic context as he was forced to use English in everyday life situations. He claims that he was lucky enough to be able to work among L2 speech community

(both native and non-native speakers of English) for the first few years of his residence in London. For him this was the real school of English. Interestingly enough, he did not obtain any formal education related to English – he managed to learn the language by means of daily communication and socialising with target language community. His English is really good now and he has no particular problems with using it. He uses a lot of slang and colloquial language that he picks up all the time. Although at the moment of recordings he claimed that he used more Polish, he was trying to listen to and read everything in English. Bartek has a very positive attitude towards L2 speech community and London itself. He claims that he would definitely settle down for good somewhere in the UK and he does not have any plans to come back to Poland after so many years spent on the British Isles.

Participant 13:

Dorota is another friend of mine who – at least initially - decided to emigrate to the UK for purely financial reasons. She came to London after EU enlargement, namely in 2005 and she was 22 at that time. Dorota claims that she could not speak English at all on the arrival as she just attended regular school classes in Poland and did not pay much attention to L2 learning at that time. Coming to London and being forced to interact with L2 speech community resulted in gradual improvement of her English speaking skills. She claimed that she had to use English all the time and in every situation, especially while doing shopping, working or simply communicating with both native and non-native speakers of English. Dorota misses Poland and she tries to visit the country at least three times a year, but she cannot imagine going back there after such a long time spent in London. Now when she speaks English fluently she has no particular problems with living in the UK and she would like to settle down in this country for good.

Participant 14:

Przemek is another speaker who agreed to take part in the study. He is Ania's cousin and he came to London in 2007 so he had already been to the UK for 4 years at the moment of recordings. Przemek claims that he had some English

classes at school but the teachers did not concentrate on practical L2 skills such as listening or speaking – grammar was always in the centre of the classes and due to that L2 acquisition was not very effective within the school environment. Przemek started acquiring practical English skills once he came to the UK. Similarly to other participants, he was forced to use L2 on the daily basis. After a few years of being there, he noticed that his L2 speaking abilities and pronunciation got much better.

Participant 15:

Damian is my classmate from secondary school. He decided to go to London with his twin brother Piotrek. They decided to go to the UK in 2009 after studying Japanese philology at the private college in Wrocław. They took a year off from their school and wanted to try something different. Piotrek did not want to participate in the recordings as he is an extremely introvert person unsure of his L2 pronunciation skills. Damian was more eager to take part in the study. He claims that his English on arrival was rather poor – of course, he had regular English classes at school, but – as well as other immigrants – such studying turned out to be useless in the naturalistic context. Damian was shocked at first, especially due to the fact that L2 spoken in the UK and English taught at school were actually kind of words apart. He admits that his proper L2 acquisition started taking place here in London where he was forced to communicate in English on the daily basis. Damian and Piotrek both worked in a factory that produced furniture at the moment of recordings, yet as far as I am concerned they still live in the UK, but not in London – they moved somewhere to the seaside town in the south near Brighton.

Participant 16:

Emila is another speaker who agreed to take part in the recordings. She comes from Piotrków Trybunalski and I have known her since BA studies as we studied at the same university (Emilka studied history). She came to London in 2010 as her boyfriend Rafał had already been there for a few years and he managed to find a proper accommodation and thanks to his connections in the city he was able to

find a job for his girlfriend. Emila claims that she came to London with very basic knowledge of English – in fact, she could not speak English and she admits that her L2 pronunciation was very poor. As well as in case of other immigrants, she started acquiring practical L2 skills after her arrival to the UK. At the moment of recordings she had been to London for two years and she claimed that she was going to stay there for longer as she could not see any prospects for herself in Poland.

Participant 17:

I met Przemek through my friend from university, Mateusz. Przemek came to London in 2011 as his brother Rafał helped him to find a job. Przemek claimed that he had some English lessons in vocational school, but the level of L2 taught there was no more than beginner. It means that when he came here, he could just say very few basic words such as “hello” and “goodbye”. Przemek was forced to speak English on the daily basis and at the moment of recordings he was not very proficient, although he tried hard to produce some simple logical sentences in English. He noticed that in his case L2 acquisition was going to be a long and complex process as his L2 learning aptitude was not satisfactory at any point of his education in Poland. Although Przemek seemed to like L2 speaking environment, he decided to stick to Polish community including his brother, his girlfriend and his cousin. Asked about possible plans of coming back to Poland, Przemek claimed that at that time he could not see any prospects for people his age in his hometown, Łódź.

Participant 18:

Mariusz is Przemek’s cousin. He came to London with Przemek in 2011. He finished his vocational school and decided to come to the UK straightaway. Przemek’s brother – Rafał – managed to find jobs for both Przemek and Mariusz. He also took care of the accommodation – that is why their arrival in the UK was not that problematic at the very start. Mariusz also studied English at school, however he admitted that he had not paid that much attention during classes as he did not think it would ever prove to be useful for him. At the moment of recordings he was not able to use L2 freely, but he made some effort to create very

simple sentences in order to answer the questions from the structured interview. Although he mainly works and lives with Poles, he tries to use L2 in everyday life situations in order to communicate. He hopes to be able to improve his English after a few years of residence in London. Mariusz claimed that he would probably never come back to his mother country as he sees more opportunities in the UK.

Participant 19:

Marek is a friend of Przemek, Rafał and Mariusz. At the moment of recordings they were flatmates as they rented different rooms within the same house. Marek came to the UK in 2011 straight after graduating from his secondary school. He went to technical college to train as a cook and he wanted to find such job in the UK as – in his opinion - it is much better paid than in Poland. Marek came to London with a basic knowledge of English. When asked, he speaks a bit about himself and answers the questionnaire's questions, but his lack of proficiency in L2 is clearly visible. However, Marek seems not to be worried about his poor L2 speaking skills – he hopes to learn English via everyday life interaction with native and non-native speakers of the language. He is quite optimistic about his life in London and he claims that the place really suits him. He is also satisfied with the money he earns and the neighbourhood he lives within (mostly Poles and non-native speakers of English). He loves Poland and he is proud of being Polish, but at the moment of recordings he said that he could not imagine coming back to his mother country as it has nothing to offer to people like him.

Participant 20:

Anita is a girl who – at the moment of recordings – lived with Przemek and his brother Rafał, Mariusz and Marek in the same house. She is a very shy and reserved person. Anita came to the UK at the end of 2010. She claims that her main motivator was to get out of Poland as this country is related to her bad experiences, for instance the death of her parents and being taken to an orphanage as a small child. She came to the UK in order to change her life completely and to cut herself off her previous experiences mainly. However, she also claimed that being in the UK was a great opportunity to master her L2. On arrival Anita was at

an elementary level – she could create simple sentences and communicate with basic everyday life situations. That is why she had no particular problem with adapting to the new circumstances. She decided to assimilate to her target language environment and English speaking community. She claimed that she does not feel any particular bond with Poland and she cannot imagine coming back to her native country at any point in the future. Despite her tough life back in Poland and a lot of terrific memories, she seems to be optimistic about her future in the UK.

Participant 21:

Ania is a friend of Krzysiek, mentioned at the beginning – they both know each other from their activity within Hillsong Church community in London. Ania came to London in 2010. She claimed that on arrival English was her L3 (her second language was French) and although she knew English at pre-intermediate level, she had lots of problems with getting her message across, especially at the very beginning. As she said, learning foreign languages at school does not prepare people well to use a given language while being abroad and being forced to use the language in its naturalistic context. At the moment of recordings Ania lived and worked away from Polish people so she hoped to improve her English pronunciation and become more fluent when it comes to speaking. She seemed to be really satisfied with her job and she admitted that she really liked London. As most of my respondents, she missed Poland but she agreed that living in the UK gives young and ambitious people more opportunities than our country.

Participant 22:

Sylwia is Ania's friend. She came to London at the beginning of 2012 so her length of residence to the UK is relatively short. However, she declared that on arrival she could use English on a communicative level and she did not experience any particular problems due to the lack of L2 speaking skills. Sylwia claims that she still needs to improve her English pronunciation, but at the moment of recordings she had already found a job in a company that hired mostly English people so she hoped to be able to get the proper British English accent. Her place of residence was also in favour of successful L2 acquisition – when we met for the

recording she lived in Canary Wharf, a district of London known for modern office buildings, expensive flats and well-educated people who performed highly prestigious professions such as managers, lawyers or office workers. Not many Poles live there as the prices of accommodation are really high. Sylwia is really keen on living in London – she misses Poland, but she does not even think of saving some money and coming back. She claimed that life is to risk – if you are not courageous enough to change your life dramatically, you will not be able to enjoy it. Similarly to other respondents, Sylwia cannot see any prospects for her in her native country.

Participant 23:

Marcin was my flatmate in London. We hired different rooms within the same flat and he came to the UK about half a year before me – at the beginning of 2012. Back in Poland he lived and worked in Warsaw, but he was not satisfied with his standard of living and the amount of money he was paid by his employer every month. Marcin learned English in Poland, but he did not think of the importance of L2 when he was at school. He admitted that his L2 skills are very basic and he was not very proficient at the moment of recordings. However, he hoped to acquire English in a naturalistic context by means of using his L2 on the daily basis. Marcin claimed that he was not that connected to Poland and such factors as being able to have good living and working conditions seem to be more important than the place of residence – that is why he enjoys his stay in the UK and he does not plan to come back to Poland, at least not in the foreseeable future.

Participant 24:

Michał is one of my friends that I met in Łódź as he comes from this city. He came to the UK in the middle of 2010. He was not unemployed after studies, but he wanted something different. His main motivator to come to London was the fact that he could live in a cosmopolitan city which is very lively and which creates millions of opportunities for ambitious and hard-working people. As most of the abovementioned participants, Michał studied English at school. However, the language he tried to acquire had – according to him – nothing to do with the ‘real’ English spoken here, in London. Michał is aware that his English pronunciation is

far from being perfect. He would like to master his speaking skills and he is sure that living in the UK creates the best conditions for that. Michał calls himself “a family guy” as he feels a strong bond with his relatives left in Poland, but on the other hand he is open to new experiences and new people in London. He took his girlfriend Kasia with him so he seems to cope with his separation with the family quite well. Asked about possible settlement in the UK for good Michał claims that it is very likely as he cannot imagine himself going back to Poland and living for the minimum wage until the rest of his life. At the moment of recordings he was really keen on exploring London and he seemed to be grateful for the chance he took.

Participant 25:

Kasia is Michał’s girlfriend. She came to the UK with him in 2010. On the arrival her L2 level was quite good – she could communicate in English in quite an easy way as she used to travel abroad before coming to London. She spend a few years in the USA and that is why she speaks in a manner similar to General American. Kasia is extremely open-minded and friendly so she has no particular problems with making friends in the UK, not to mention enjoying entertainment and lush nightlife that London has on offer. She hopes to master her L2 in a way that she would have no language barrier and could speak English freely all the time. Kasia is aware that living abroad may be difficult from the point of view of feeling lonesome far away from family. However, in her opinion benefits outnumber drawbacks – being in the UK does not only offer endless opportunities for those who would like to work hard and develop their skills, but it also creates the best possible conditions to learn English.

Participant 26:

Ewelina is a friend of mine. She is from Łódź and she studied psychology. She came to London at the beginning of 2012 in order to get a job, save some money and then eventually go back to Poland. She came to the UK with her fiancé Michał. Initially they planned to stay there for six months, but as soon as holiday came they decided to prolong their stay. Ewelina studied English at school and

then at her university. She came to London with substantial knowledge of L2. This means that she could communicate with native and non-native speakers of English without any serious problems. Although her L2 pronunciation needed improvement, she was convinced that using the language on the daily basis would possibly be the best school of English that one can imagine. Ewelina rented a flat practically in the centre of the first zone of London and at work she had contact mainly with native and non-native speakers of L2. She claimed that not many Poles decide to settle down in the centre of London due to the costs. However, it did not matter to Ewelina and Michał as they came here with some money saved back in Poland and they were lucky enough to get well-paid jobs in the heart of the city. Asked about Poland, Ewelina agrees that there is no way not to think of her family and friends. But on the other hand, good salary and higher standard of living was – at that time – something that London could give her so she had no regrets of coming here. Ewelina seemed to be very glad to have the opportunity to try totally different lifestyle.

Participant 27:

Asia is a friend of my friend from Cracow. She studied pedagogy at the Jagiellonian University and was sent to London to complete her MA thesis for a year. When we met she had already been to London for seven months. She came here at the very beginning of 2012 with her sister Justyna. Asia studied English from the very early age so at the moment of recordings she was able to use English fluently. She only complained about her L2 pronunciation, however language barrier did not seem to be any obstacle to her. Asia decided to stay in London until the end of 2012 and go back to Poland to defend her MA and then go straightway back to London. She loves the city and the people she meets all the time. As a very outgoing and sociable person she has no particular problems with making new friends. As most of my respondents, Asia sometimes misses Poland and some people who stayed there including her closest family and friends. But in the era of the Internet, social media and instant messaging including programmes such as Skype – the distance seems not to be a problem anymore. Asia is full of hopes and optimism for the future. She is not sure if London would be the place to settle down for good, but she definitely plans to connect her future with British Isles.

Participant 28:

Justyna is Asia's younger sister. She came to the UK at the beginning of 2012, half a year after finishing her BA studies in Cracow. Justyna claimed that she was looking for a job for more than six months back in Poland, but she could not find anything suitable. That is why, when Asia got a chance to go to London for a year, Justyna decided to go with her. Asia came to the UK with quite a good level of L2 – she is able to speak quite fluently and she has no particular problems with English pronunciation. She seems to enjoy living in London very much, she found a job there straight after coming here with Asia. She is really open and outgoing so making new friends and experiencing new culture is not a problem for her. Asked about possible return to Poland Asia states that she is not sure if her mother country could offer her something more than London. It means that she does not really consider coming back to Poland.

The second group of Polish immigrants were recorded in London in August 2013. This time all of the immigrants who wanted to help with the recordings were found via a social networking site – Facebook – by means of a post written on the Polish migrant group's public wall. Unlike in the previous group, this time the participants were chosen at random as they had no connections with the researcher. Initially, about 20 people who replied for the post agreed to take part in the recordings. However, due to various circumstances (mostly because of the limited length of researcher's stay in London) 10 people were recorded.

Participant 29:

Marcin came to London quite early, in 2004. He was 23 at that time and he came here for three reasons: to find a job, to study photography and to improve his L2. He came to the UK with quite high level of English as he has been attending regular English lesson at school since he was 7 years old. He also took private lessons from a very early age. Marcin claims that he had no particular problems with adjusting to the new L2 environment as language barrier was not an obstacle for him. He is lucky as he admits that there are hardly any Polish people in the area he lives in so he communicates in English practically most of the time as he

interacts with mostly native speakers of British English. Hence, his pronunciation is very good – almost native-like. Marcin set up his own successful business and he earns quite well as for a freelancer. He said that he does not feel such strong bond with Poland to come back there. In the era of social media and instant communication possibilities, he keeps in touch with his family and friends in Poland. He does not see any prospects for him in his native country and he does not even consider coming back there. Although Marcin is not sure if he would stay in London for good – he thinks of moving to Oxford – one thing for him is certain: he found his place on Earth in the UK and he sticks to it.

Participant 30:

Kasia has been to London since 2005. She claims that she studied English at school and she had private lessons with tutors at the same time. It resulted in a very good level of spoken and written English on arrival to the UK. Kasia confirms that she came here feeling quite confident about her L2 although she experienced quite a shock when she came here for the first time. Kasia came to the UK mostly to change something in her life – on the contrary to most of my other respondents, finding a well-paid job was not the highest priority for her. Of course, it was important but it was not the sense of existence. Kasia is a very outgoing and friendly person, she likes communicating with both native and non-native speakers of English. She also takes part in some cultural and social events in London and is generally keen on living there. Perhaps it is because the city offers a lot more opportunities and entertainment options than her hometown, Olsztyn. Asked about her future plans, Kasia states that she would probably stay in the UK for a longer while, but she is not sure about London as she is often tired of the crowds and the hustle and bustle related to the way of living there.

Participant 31:

Marta is one of the youngest participants to the study. She came to England in 2012 straight after graduating from her secondary school as she wanted to experience something new in her life. She claimed that she had never even been abroad before. Marta had been studying English from a very early age before she

came to London – that is why she felt quite comfortable and confident with her L2 skills. Of course, English pronunciation turned out to be much more difficult to understand than it was taught back in Poland – and this was the main obstacle for her at the beginning. However, days passed by and Marta got used to the so-called ‘real’ English spoken in everyday life situations both by native and non-native speakers. Marta came to London to join her boyfriend who had been there for about one year – she just wanted to take and then possibly pass her matura exam. She is very positive about L2 speech community and she really enjoys being in London. Compared to the place where she spent most of her childhood, this was a kind of the centre of the universe. Marta enjoys using L2 on the daily basis and interacting with other speakers of English. She managed to find a job as a florist so she has no problems with the cash flow. Asked about Poland, she admits that of course she misses her friends and family, but this is more about missing people, not the country as such. At the moment she was fascinated with her new life in London and she did not plan coming back to Poland. As far as I am concerned, she still lives there and is really pleased with it.

Participant 32:

Wojtek is one of the eldest participants to the study as at the moment of recordings he was 37 years old and he came to London in 2011, at the age of 35. Wojtek comes from Łódź and she claimed that he came to London with practically no knowledge of English. He had some classes in secondary school, but he agreed that this was really useless as – according to him - classroom learning has nothing to do with real life. At first he could not express himself in L2 at all, he also had numerous obstacles with understanding people speaking English. He found a job in London via Polish job agency as his situation in Poland became very difficult at some point. As soon as his application was accepted, he did not hesitate. Wojtek claims that L2 level was not such important for his future employer. What really mattered were his professional skills as a driver with driving licence for most of the categories of vehicles including lorries and buses. That is why Wojtek started working as a truck driver, then he became a bus driver. For him – as well as for many other respondents – daily living in London is the best school of English. When he is forced to use the language practically all the time, he had more

opportunities to acquire it. Wojtek misses Poland, but he is sure that when life situation forces you to emigrate then you have to adjust to the new circumstances and accept the fact that you have to earn money to live. For him it does not really matter if it is Poland or England – he would like to lead a normal life without constant problems with money and employment. When I asked him about his future plans, he admitted that he could not see himself in Poland back again. At that time he enjoyed what he was doing and he really appreciated the opportunity to live in London – one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world.

Participant 33:

Iwona comes from Katowice. She first came to London when she was 19 years old, but it was just for three months - she found a part-time job, earned some money and came back to Poland to start her studies. However, life in London seemed more tempting than sticking to her hometown so she decided to come back there in 2007 (she was 27 at that time). Iwona started learning English as a small child and she did not stop studying it until she finished studies. Hence, she considers herself quite proficient in L2. She admits that she felt quite confident with her English skills on arrival and she did not experience any significant problems due to the lack of fluency or language barrier. She was lucky as she managed to get a job that suits her qualifications and she did not have to work within the branch that had nothing to do with her education or interests. Iwona is really keen on learning L2 and she claims that living in London is the best school of English you can imagine – as long as you do not lock yourself up with other Polish people in one house. She takes every opportunity to interact with other L2 users, but – surprisingly enough – she had the impression that there are more non-native than native speakers of English in London. Iwona is very optimistic about her future in the UK. When asked about possible settlement plans, she did not hesitate and admitted that British Isles would be the best direction. As for London – she is not quite sure as the city seems to be really tiring in the long run.

Participant 34:

Paweł came to London in 2004, he was 22 at that time. He comes from Wrocław. Before coming to the UK Paweł studied English at school, yet the classes were held mainly once or twice a week and the level of L2 was rather basic. Apart from school education, he did not go to any private tutoring or he did not participate in any courses conducted by language schools – which he regrets now because when he first came to the UK he encountered numerous obstacles due to the lack of proficiency in L2. Paweł came to England basically to find a better job than in Poland and save some money. However, it was not his only purpose – he wanted to experience something new and improve his L2. His initial plan was to stay there for a few years and then go back home. However, he prolonged his stay a bit and at the moment of recordings he was convinced that coming back to Poland is no longer the case. Paweł lived in Ealing Broadway – the area where Polish people make up for the dominant group of residents. He claims that he likes the fact that there are so many Poles around although it may not be beneficial from the point of view of his English as he did not use L2 as often as he wished. Despite his strong bond with Poland, Paweł cannot imagine being forced to struggle in order to earn enough money to survive from one month to another. That is why he decided to choose the place which can offer him more and the UK is definitely more tempting than Poland. He claims that his home country did not give him anything and that is why there is no point in regretting his decision of leaving it behind.

Participant 35:

Kinga comes from Łódź and she decided to come to London in 2005. She graduated from the university, but she did not see any prospect for her in her hometown. Being unemployed for about one year, she decided to take a risk and change her life completely. Although she studied English for most of her life (at school and at home with numerous private tutors), at first she was not very confident about her L2 skills, especially those related to speaking. Language barrier was something that struck her on arrival, but thankfully she needed just a few weeks to get used to the new situation. Kinga likes being in London, the city gives a lot of opportunities and if you only wish you can develop yourself in every possible way. She notices that in the UK the situation is like that: the more ambitious you are and the harder you work, the more appreciated you are.

According to Kinga in Poland no one cares as the only thing that matter is having connections with appropriate people who can push you forward on the labour market. She is motivated to get more and more qualifications. At the moment of recordings she worked under qualifications (back in Poland she finished pedagogical studies and wanted to became a kindergarten teacher). Interestingly enough, Kinga is very active in terms of community's social life as she takes part in numerous organized actions such as marathons. She is also involved in plenty of charity organizations. She sometimes misses Poland, but right now the Internet gives countless possibilities to be in touch with friends and family so he has a regular contact with all the people she cares of. Kinga is proud of being Polish, but she is really open-minded and she does not reject other cultures, customs and beliefs. She claimed that being a part of a multinational society is one of the most valuable things in life: it teaches tolerance, cooperation and makes life more exciting.

Participant 36:

Marzena is from Rzeszów. She came to London in 2006 and she was 25 at that time. She came here after defending her MA dissertation. She came here with her husband because they both wanted to change something in her life. Initially they planned to stay there for a shorter period of time, but then they decided to stay there. Marzena admits that she studied English at school, but it was not particularly effective and the real school of English started here, on the daily basis when she had to ran errands every day. She is very keen on learning English and develop her L2 skills all the time as according to her opinion British people really appreciate the fact that immigrants care and try to learn English. Marzena works mostly with native speakers of British English and she takes every opportunity to get as much as she can from daily interaction with them, especially due to the fact that after work she comes back home where she uses mostly Polish while communicating with her husband, his sister and the rest of Polish relatives and friends. She misses Poland as everyone else, especially because she left her family behind and her family there is from her husband's side. Anyway, she has not time to think that much about it as she has to concentrate on living there in London – she managed to get a good job related to her education. She considers herself to be

really lucky and she plans to settle down in the UK. However, she claims that one can never be sure of what the future has in store for us. This is why she does not make any serious declarations.

Participant 37:

Kuba is the youngest participant to the study. He comes from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski and he came to London in the middle of 2012 straight after taking his matura exam. He decided to emigrate as he had always liked London and it was his dream to live there, meet international people and improving his L2 skills, especially English pronunciation. Kuba studied English mostly at school, but he claims that it was not the real language taught back in Poland and the proper L2 acquisition takes place here, in naturalistic context within L2 environment. He is able to speak quite fluently, but he has problems with pronunciation especially “th” sounds or stress position within words. Kuba does not miss Poland so much as he communicates with his family and some friends practically all the time via instant messaging or social networking sites such as Facebook. He managed to get a job in a restaurant and his social life develops all the time as he works with young people from such countries as Turkey, Netherlands, Sweden or Italy. Of course, he values interaction with native speakers of British English most, yet still every opportunity to use English is good for him. Asked about his future plans he was not sure at the moment of recordings. He admitted that he treated his stay in London more like a gap year, but he was rather closer to the idea of not coming back to Poland. He claimed that his home country is not the place for young energetic people full of ideas and ambitions. As a very young person without wife and children to feed he has nothing to lose and nothing really holds him back in Poland.

Participant 38:

Krzysiek is the last speaker I managed to record. He came to London at the beginning of 2013 at the age of 26 and he had strictly personal reasons to come here (he did not really want to talk about his motivation for coming here). Initially he was supposed to stay there just for three months or so, but he decided to

prolong his stay. He points out as English as his L3 as he was born on the territory of Russia and he had been acquiring Russian as his L2. Krzysiek studied English at school and he acquired the language through travelling. He seemed to be quite proficient at the moment of recordings as he did not have any particular problems with expressing himself in English. His pronunciation was quite good as well although he did not sound native-like at all. Krzysiek spoke in a way which is a mixture of Polish, Russian and English. He seemed to be well-oriented in the demographic structure of London and the cultural variety within the city. Krzysiek was generally positive about London – he points out that the city gives people a lot of possibilities and creates conditions for earning substantial amount of money. He was often looking for the company of native and non-native speakers of English in order to practice the language, but he points out that it is not very easy to come across the real native speaker as British people do not really maintain contacts with immigrants especially at the purely social level. Asked about his settlement plans, Krzysiek seemed to be sure that London is not a place he would like to settle down for good as for him the city was definitely too cosmopolitan and the cultural variety was something that put many people off including him. Krzysiek is a person who travels a lot and in fact he is constantly on the run switching between different countries around Europe so it seems that there is no particular place of settlement in his mind.

The total amount of speakers who took part in the recordings conducted between July and September 2012 and August 2013 is 39 adult Polish immigrants to the UK. However, one of the speakers had to be rejected as he was born in Poland and went to London with his parents at the age of six. As his situation was different in that he could not have been treated as an adult second language learner, he was not included in the study. Moreover, speakers whose length of residence was shorter than half a year were not included. 38 speakers were chosen for further investigation: nineteen male and nineteen female speakers. All of the participants were born in Poland, and their L1 is Polish. English was declared as the second language by all of the L2 learners taken into account in the study – there were no speakers claiming that English is their third or even fourth language.

At the moment of recordings, the age of participants ranged from twenty to thirty-five. They also performed various jobs in the UK – however, not many of them performed prestigious occupations such as bank clerks, managers or other executive positions. Most of

the respondents found employment in the so-called 'low-prestigious' professions such as au-pairs, cleaners, waiters/waitresses, drivers, cooks or factory workers. The respondents also come from different backgrounds – some of them were born in big cities within upper or middle-class, but others come from relatively small towns or poorer industrial areas. The speakers varied in respect of educational background as well – the vast majority of them are university graduates with diplomas obtained in Poland. The speakers also declared varied LoR (ranging from minimum half a year up to 9 years). Such variety is also related to the previous language experience: starting from those who declared practically no contact with English before coming to the UK, ending with those who rated their proficiency level up to B2 on arrival. The amount of L1/L2 used on the daily basis varied as well, as some immigrant L2 learners pointed out at using more Polish and others – more English in day-to-day interaction with L2 speech community. However, the L2 input was different among the speakers who declared more L2 used in everyday life situations as some participants claimed that they communicate mainly with native speakers of English while others admitted that although they use a lot of English on the daily basis, such interaction takes place mainly between them and non-native speakers of L2. As regards acculturation strategy, the one which was adopted by the majority of respondents was adaptation (also referred to as integration).

As the main objective of the study was to explore the effect of previous L2 experience among Polish adult immigrants to London and LoR, participants were divided into different groups according to a given variable taken into consideration – this means that Groups mentioned in the study may contain different participant in individual parts of the study. Numerous studies conducted by Flege (2001) revealed that L2 experience and the awareness of some aspects of the language can have significant influence on acquiring native-like pronunciation. Hence, it was reasonable to divide the speakers into groups with respect to their L2 proficiency on arrival and length of residence in a given L2 area.

For the purpose of investigating the VOT the speakers (whose total amount is 38) were divided into two groups according to different independent variables. It means that in order to investigate the effect of length of residence on aspiration the immigrants were divided into two groups of 19 speakers in each one: within the first group speakers with longer LoR were gathered (from two years and longer), within the second – those immigrants whose LoR was shorter (from 6 months up to 2 years).

Similarly, in order to explore the possible influence of L2 proficiency on arrival, the same speakers were again divided into two groups of 19 people in each group. The first group

included those L2 learners who were more experienced in English when they first arrived to the UK and the second – those immigrants who were less proficient in their L2.

The division was similar but not identical in case of investigating the second phonetic parameter – rhoticity. This time the speakers were divided in the same way as it was the case in VOT investigation: initially, two groups of 19 people were created in order to explore possible effect of LoR on the use of rhoticity: one group gathering speakers with shorter and the second – with longer length of residence. The same division was used for the purpose of exploring the effect of L2 proficiency on arrival: 19 speakers were less proficient in their L2 and another 19 immigrants had a significant L2 experience on arrival. At this point it has to be mentioned that in order to establish more straightforward pattern in the use of rhoticity, a follow-up division of groups was necessary. This time the independent variables were combined in individual speakers. Hence, four new groups composed of the total amount of the same 38 speakers who took part in the study were created: the first group comprises L2 learners whose LoR is short and who came to the UK without much L2 experience (10 speakers in total), the second group gathers L2 learners with relatively short LoR, but more proficient in their L2 on arrival (10 speakers in total), group number three focuses on those immigrants whose LoR is longer, but who came to the UK with the basic L2 skills or even without any previous contact with English (9 speakers in total). Finally, the fourth group involves those speakers who are both more experienced users of L2 and their length of residence is relatively long (9 speakers in total).

CHAPTER IV

Aspiration and rhoticity in Polish adult immigrants to London – results of the study

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study on Polish adult immigrants to London. Each section concentrates on a different aspect of the investigation. At the very beginning data analysis procedure is broadly discussed. Then, the results of measurements of two phonetic parameters – VOT and rhoticity (dependent variables) in L2 learners speech are discussed and contrasted with two factors that may affect immigrants' speech - LoR and L2 proficiency on arrival (independent variables). The third independent variable, acculturation strategy, proved not to differentiate the participants who declare integration and assimilation strategy tendency. The chapter concludes with the summary of findings which form an introduction to the analysis of achieved results to be presented in the following chapter.

4.1. Data analysis procedure

The study reported here is based on both qualitative and quantitative data. The former comprises the recorded questionnaire covering, for instance, different aspects of living in the L2 environment and the latter is composed of VOT measurements in /p/, /t/ and /k/ sounds (in the context for aspiration in English) and rhoticity (different contexts: post-vocalic, intervocalic and final /r/). It is divided into two parts and aims at exploring the effect of length of residence, previous language experience and acculturation strategy adopted by the group of immigrants under investigation. It ought to be explained that 'previous language experience' is understood as L2 proficiency level at the moment of arrival in the L2 country. As it is practically impossible to measure it, the data had to be obtained by means of a detailed questionnaire. In the first part of the study, possible L2 level on arrival in Polish immigrants to London was assessed on the basis of respondents' answers to the questionnaire.

As for the second part of it, the same questionnaire was analyzed in order to find out more about the quantity and quality of L2 input.

The study aimed at finding out whether Polish immigrants have a tendency to aspirate voiceless stops /p/,/t/ and /k/ at the initial position in a given word (followed by a vowel sound) and then to investigate the possible relationship between their L2 proficiency on arrival in the UK (previous L2 experience) and the quality of L2 input (native vs. non-native) and VOT measurements for /p/,/t/ and /k/. Moreover, the study was conducted in order to investigate possible differences between participants divided into two groups on the basis of such criteria as L2 proficiency at the moment of arrival and length of residence. VOT values were measured acoustically by means of Praat – a free scientific computer software package for the analysis of speech in phonetics. For the purpose of the study, it was decided to apply T-test for two-tailed and one-tailed independent samples.

In case of VOT measurements the main aim was to check if the previous L2 experience can affect the overall level of aspiration in Polish immigrants to London and if it is really the case that length of residence influences the SLA process. In other words, we can assume that those immigrants who came to London with a certain level of spoken and written English would use longer VOT values as well as those who had been living there for more than half a year.

The VOT was chosen as a phonetic parameter for two reasons. First of all, aspiration is considered to be one of the most salient features of English pronunciation. Secondly, it can be treated as the indicator of the positive attitude towards L2 speech community (Waniek-Klimczak, 2011).

The second part of the study concentrates on the use of rhoticity in immigrants' L2 pronunciation. As it is commonly known, rhoticity is supposed to be one of the most characteristic features of RP (Received Pronunciation) in English. Hence, it is expected that more experienced L2 learners would be more sensitive to some possible contexts of the use of rhoticity (for instance: lack of rhoticity at the end of a word/before a pause or after a long vowel and its presence between vowels as linking or intrusive /r/).

Another important aspect of the use of rhoticity is the quality of rhotic sounds produced by the speakers. If it is assumed that the learners have a tendency to produce rhotics in places where standard RP does not normally predict such sounds, the question of its quality remains open. It can be predicted that in such cases the most frequent realizations of /r/ will

be used: either retroflex/frictionless continuant associated with English varieties or a tap/a roll which is related to typically Polish pronunciation. The analysis performed here is categorical in nature and it was based on auditory judgment mostly due to various quality of recordings.

To start with, certain words related to the picture of a busy street produced in isolation were taken into account. The words chosen for further analysis were those which created appropriate context for the use or the lack of rhoticity: *roller, trailer, market, motorcycle, car, fire engine* and *digger*. In order to have even deeper insight on the issue of rhoticity in Polish immigrants to London, some questions and answers from the questionnaire were taken into account, for instance: *When and where were you born?*, *What's your mother (first) language?* Or *Are there any other languages you speak?* The investigated contexts included post-vocalic, intervocalic and final /r/.

4.2. Results

The results can be divided into two parts: one part presents the results for VOT, while the second discusses rhoticity. Both phonetic variables are correlated with two independent variables mentioned before (LoR and L2 level on arrival), as the third one (acculturation strategy) does not differentiate the respondents in a systematic way.

4.2.1 Voice Onset Time vs. L2 proficiency on arrival

As discussed above, VOT values were measured on the basis of spectrograms and waveforms generated by means of Praat. Since the main objective of the study was to explore the effect of previous L2 experience and the length of residence on English pronunciation, participants were divided into different groups according to the value of a given variable taken into consideration in the process of grouping results. As a result, it was reasonable to divide the speakers into two groups with respect to their L2 proficiency on the arrival: those immigrants whose level ranged from A1 to A2 and those with the L2 level ranging from B1 to B2. VOT was investigated both in reading words in isolation and describing the picture.

LG EXP	READING OUT WORDS IN ISOLATION					
less experienced	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	57.48	75.34	47.86	48.96	44.81	36.76
SD	13.89	23.91	18.78	13.32	18.61	10.64

Table 1. VOT in reading out the words in isolation by less experienced (A1-A2) Polish speakers of English (n=19), data in milliseconds (ms)

LG EXP	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
less experienced	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	52.39	63.72	46.85	45.94	44.47	39.67
SD	10.59	18.11	15.48	12.07	17.43	14.52

Table 2. VOT in picture description provided by less experienced (A1-A2) Polish speakers of English (n=19), data in milliseconds (ms)

LG EXP	READING OUT WORDS IN ISOLATION					
more experienced	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	64.34	95.68	66.69	64.85	60.79	50.45
SD	13.85	25.14	16.85	18.41	21.98	19.62

Table 3. VOT in reading out the words in isolation by more experienced (B1-B2) Polish speakers of English (n=19), data in milliseconds (ms)

LG EXP	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
more experienced	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	67.12	72.11	63.48	60.68	55.19	48.84
SD	17.3	18.84	13.05	20.16	20.75	17.9

Table 4. VOT in picture description provided by more experienced (B1-B2) Polish speakers of English (n=19), data in milliseconds (ms)

LG EXP	WORDS IN ISOLATION					
BOTH GROUPS	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	67.13	67.69	61.98	63.06	62.79	62.77
SD	14.12	25.14	20.02	17.78	21.66	17.05

Table 5. Standard Deviation for both groups (less vs. more experienced L2 speakers for the words produced in isolation), n=38, data in milliseconds (ms)

LG EXP	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
BOTH GROUPS	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	67.02	69.98	58.42	63.76	61.04	62.13
SD	15.99	18.72	16.45	18.01	19.67	16.74

Table 6. Standard Deviation for both groups (less vs. more experienced L2 speakers for the picture description), n=38, data in milliseconds (ms)

According to the general overview of the presented VOT measurements in the reading task (where the speakers were asked to read out particular words in isolation and to describe suggested picture of a busy street), it is clearly visible that – regardless of their L2 proficiency in English – most of the speakers are generally able to produce aspiration as they usually reach the minimum values for /p/, /k/ and /t/ which, according to Wells (1982), are the following: for /k/ > 50[ms], for /p/ and /t/ > 30[ms]. If we take a closer look at VOT values and compare them across the two groups (less experienced vs. more experienced L2 speakers in both tasks), it seems that those speakers who represented higher level of English on arrival are more successful in the use of aspiration than those who declared relatively low English level or no contact with the language on arrival. In case of both groups it can be also noticed that in such words as *taxi* or *pipes* aspiration is much weaker than in other words whereas *car* and *café* turned out to be strongly aspirated. In general, /t/ turned out to be aspirated in the weakest manner.

It also seems that the word stress influenced some VOT results – it can be noticed that many speakers were not sure which syllable is stressed in such words as *café*, *policeman* or *police car*. In case of those three words the variability in VOT measurements was the most visible as in those words more experienced speakers were more successful in the use of

aspiration than their less experienced colleagues. Another conclusion that we can draw from the result is that the speakers tend to produce longer VOT values while reading the words out in isolation than when describing a photograph. It shows that they control the use of aspiration in the reading task, but they do not pay that much attention to it while speaking. All in all, in respect of previous L2 experience/L2 level on arrival, the groups differ in the use of aspiration. The results of T-test (Table 7) applied for the independent samples in two groups (group 1: n= 19 and group 2: n= 19) with different L2 proficiency on arrival (ranging from A1 to A2 for the 1st group and from B1-B2 for the 2nd group) reveal that there are statistically significant differences between the groups. It means that L2 proficiency level on arrival plays a significant role in the acquisition of English pronunciation. It can be assumed that those speakers who came to London with certain L2 knowledge are more aware of RP pronunciation and their own accent and thanks to it they have an advantage over their less proficient colleagues.

Another interesting point for discussion could be the results presented in Table 8. It turns out that in picture description (speaking activity) statistically significant differences can be noticed in case of three words: *café*, *police car* and *policeman*. As it was mentioned before, those words were troublesome for both less and more experienced L2 speakers. It clearly indicates that many of the speakers had problem with the main stress in polysyllabic words, word stress affects aspiration, which is much stronger in stressed syllables. Interestingly enough, the speakers seem to have no particular problems with the word *taxi* which is also composed of two syllables. It probably results from the fact that *taxi* is one of the most frequently used English words and the speakers got accustomed to the correct pronunciation of this word (which occurs in Polish language as a borrowing as well).

Reading	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
T.TEST (P)	0.0448	0.0069	0.0027	0.0052	0.0214	0.0098

Table 7. The significance level of the t-test applied to the independent samples in two groups (group 1; n= 19 and group 2; n= 19) with different L2 proficiency on arrival – ranging from A1 to A2 for the 1st group and from B1-B2 (the 2nd group). *P* value is given in the box; data from the reading task.

Speaking	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
T.TEST (P)	0.009	0.096	0.001	0.005	0.064	0.063

Table 8. The significance level of the t-test applied to the independent samples in two groups (group 1; n= 19 and group 2; n= 19) with different L2 proficiency on arrival – ranging from A1 to A2 for the 1st group and from B1-B2 (the 2nd group). *P* value is given in the box; data from the reading task.

As far as the general results are concerned, the overall pattern as for the use of aspiration has been established. However, when we look at the data within the groups, it becomes obvious that speaker's individual pronunciations varied in both groups. For example, there are speakers who were less proficient in L2 on arrival, but despite that they are quite successful in the use of VOT (see: Appendix 4). The same can be said about the L2 users who declared more advanced level of English at the start – although most of them seem to have much stronger aspiration in the investigated words, there are individuals who find it difficult to use aspiration in certain words, especially those troublesome ones like *police car* or *police man* (see: Appendix 2).

Moreover, it is worth investigating if (and if yes – to what extent) aspiration in English affects Polish pronunciation of /p/,/t/ and /k/. In order to investigate that, twenty speakers (living in London for more than 4 years) were taken into account and divided into two groups: those with higher and lower level of L2 proficiency on arrival.

Another important aspect was to compare the words which were read out, both Polish and English ones. VOT for such English words as *café* and *car* was compared with VOT in their Polish /k/ sound counterparts *kawiarnia* and *kino*, similarly /p/ sound in *pipes* versus Polish *policjant* and *pompa*; finally /t/ sound in an English word *taxi* contrasted with Polish words *taksówka*, *targ* and *autobus*. Possible differences between the speakers were investigated by means of T-Test for paired samples and the results suggest that statistically significant difference occurs in one particular word – *car*. It means that – as regards the word *car* itself – VOT values in both L1 and L2 were different for less experienced group. However, there are no significant differences between those speakers in other investigated words (see Table 9 below).

Word(s)	LESS EXPERIENCED LEARNERS
café vs kawiarnia	P =0,000191
car vs kino	P=0,000184
pipes vs pompa	P = 0,377217
taxi vs targ	P= 0,064867

Table 9. The results of T-Test applied within less experienced group (n=19) in order to investigate differences between the use of aspiration in such English as words *café*, *car*, *pipes* and *taxi* as well as the Polish ones: *kawiarnia*, *kino*, *pompa* and *targ*.

The situation is very similar within the more experienced group. In this case T-Test shows no statistically significant differences between the use of aspiration in Polish and in English words across contexts. It means that the aspiration in English influences the production of /p/, /t/ and /k/ in L1. Hence, it can be said that more experienced L2 users generally ‘transfer’ their L2 pronunciation pattern into their L1 (see Table 10 below).

Word(s)	MORE EXPERIENCED LEARNERS
café vs kawiarnia	P=0,084674
car vs kino	P= 0,083598
pipes vs pompa	P = 0,070594
taxi vs targ	P= 0,161064

Table 10. The results of T-Test applied within more experienced group (n=19) in order to investigate differences between the use of aspiration in such English words as *café*, *car*, *pipes* and *taxi* as well as the Polish ones: *kawiarnia*, *kino*, *pompa*, and *targ*.

The abovementioned results indicate that L2 proficiency on arrival may play a significant role in SLA process. Due to the fact that more experienced L2 speakers had

already developed their L2 skills before coming to the UK, they seem to be more sensitive to every language change and they are more likely to acquire pronunciation typical for the region they live in.

4.3.2. Voice Onset Time vs. Length of Residence

So as to investigate possible influence that this factor could have on the use of aspiration in English, the speakers had to be divided into two groups according to their length of residence (LoR) in a given L2 area. There were 38 participants altogether and their LoR in the UK varied from half a year up to eight years. To be able to compare them between the groups, the speakers were divided into two groups: those whose LoR was between half a year and four years and those whose LoR was between four and eight years. In this case L2 level on arrival was not taken into account. Similarly to the previous task, VOT was investigated both in reading words in isolation and describing the picture.

LoR	READING OUT WORDS IN ISOLATION					
LoR<4 years	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	56.07	84.41	55.11	56.28	55.46	43.27
SD	12.67	24.62	20.51	19.45	24.81	15.36

Table 11. VOT in reading out the words in isolation by the speakers of English whose LoR was shorter than 4 years (n=19)

LoR	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
LoR<4 years	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	53.66	67.97	51.25	50.37	50.25	41.07
SD	11.91	20.23	16.37	16.31	16.75	11.02

Table 12. VOT in picture description provided by Polish speakers of English whose LoR was shorter than 4 years (n=19)

LoR	READING OUT WORDS IN ISOLATION					
Lor>4 years	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	65.03	86.51	59.45	57.53	49.77	43.02
SD	15.14	26.42	19.82	16.45	18.17	19.04

Table 13. VOT in reading out the words in isolation provided by Polish speakers of English whose LoR was longer than 4 years (n=19)

LoR	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
Lor>4 years	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
MV	65.86	67.85	59.08	56.25	49.4	46.8
SD	17.47	17.64	15.99	19.56	22.68	20.9

Table 14. VOT in picture description provided by Polish speakers of English whose LoR was longer than 4 years (n=19)

LoR	WORDS IN ISOLATION					
BOTH GROUPS	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
SD	14.5	25.21	20.02	17.78	21.64	17.07

Table 15. Standard Deviation for both groups (L2 speakers with shorter vs L2 speakers with longer residence period), n=38

LoR	PICTURE DESCRIPTION					
BOTH GROUPS	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
SD	15.99	18.72	16.45	18.01	19.67	16.74

Table 16. Standard Deviation for both groups (L2 speakers with shorter vs L2 speakers with longer residence period), n=38

reading	café	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
T.TEST (P)	0.024	0.402	0.0282	0.413	0.226	0.483

Table 17. The significance level of the t-test applied to the independent samples in two groups (group 1; n= 19 and group 2; n= 19) with different LoR – ranging from half a year to four years for the 1st group and from four years up to eight years (the 2nd group). *P* value is given in the box.

With reference to the general overview of the presented VOT measurements in the reading task, it is clearly visible that – regardless of their LoR in the UK – most of the speakers are generally able to produce aspiration as they usually reach the minimum values for /p/, /k/ and /t/ (for /k/ > 50[ms], for /p/ and /t/ > 30[ms]). If we take a closer look at VOT values and compare them with two groups (those whose length of residence was shorter than 4 years and those whose with LoR longer than 4 years) it does not seem obvious that those speakers who came to London seven or eight years ago are more successful in the use of aspiration than those who had been there for a year or two. In case of both groups it can be also noticed that in such words as *taxi* or *pipes* aspiration is much weaker than in other words whereas *car* turned out to be strongly aspirated. In general, /t/ turned out to be aspirated in the weakest manner. It also seems that – similarly to the case of L2 experience on arrival – that the word stress influenced some VOT results – it can be noticed that many speakers were not sure which syllable is stressed in *café*. Another important aspect is that the speakers generally tend to produce greater VOT values while reading the words out in isolation than describing a photograph. Again, this indicates that the speakers deal better with formal instructions such as controlled and slow-tempo while reading the words out in isolation. To conclude, as regards LoR there are no significant differences between the groups when it comes to the use of aspiration in English and such view is supported by the results of T-test (Figure 4) applied for the independent samples in two groups (group 1; n= 19 and group 2; n= 19) with different LoR (ranging from half a year up to four years for the 1st group and ranging from four up to eight years for the 2nd group) reveal that apart from the word *café*, there are no statistically significant differences between the groups. It means that LoR does not play any significant role in SLA process. Perhaps combined with other factors, LoR would turn out to be significant. However, it does not seem to be a factor influencing the level of English pronunciation as such. It can be concluded that apart from the length of residence in a given L2 speech community, other factors that occur “on the way” (such as the

level of L1/L2 use, motivation or attitude to L2 speaking environment) ought to be taken into consideration as well.

4.2.3. Rhoticity

As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, rhoticity has not been the subject of in-depth analysis in L1 migrants speaking L2 or – at least – there are very few studies dealing with the aspect of rhoticity in English, mostly in Polish students of English (as the study by Jaworski (2011) discussed above). Hence, it is interesting to investigate the use of rhotic sound in both formal and casual speech of Polish immigrants to London. It can be said that immigrants consist of those L2 learners who use their L2 in naturalistic context (via daily basis interaction with other L2 speakers etc.) and that makes them different than those L2 learners who are taught L2 ‘artificially’ in their own country by the teachers or lecturers, most of whom are non-native speakers of L2. In most cases the use of L2 is limited to the classroom meetings as for instance Polish students of English rarely have an occasion to use their L2 outside school. Immigrants are in different situation. Most of their interaction – whether they like it or not – with other members of L2 speech community takes place mainly in L2. As it was discussed previously, in case of English one of the most salient features of L2 speech is rhoticity or the lack of it – depending on the context (Wells, Johns, Sobkowiak, Roach, Cruttenden etc.)

For the purpose of the study, the use of rhoticity – similarly to the use of VOT - was analyzed between chosen representatives of the recorded speakers (38 speakers altogether) who are different in respect of previous language experience and length of residence. The speakers were divided into two groups of 19 subjects according to their L2 level on arrival and LoR. The use of rhoticity (or its lack) was investigated both in reading out the words in isolation (on the basis of the picture) and producing rhotic sounds in casual speech (based on the questions included in the structured interview mentioned before). The main aim of such division was to find possible similarities and differences in production of rhotic sounds both in formal and informal style of speech. The performed analysis was auditory as it was difficult to check the quality of this feature and the recordings did not make it possible to employ acoustical analysis of this feature across the subjects and styles of speech.

4.2.3.1. Rhoticity in separate words

Rhoticity in separate words read out in isolation was investigated in different contexts: /r/ sound before a pause (roller, trailer, car, digger), /r/ sound after a vowel (market, motorcycle) and finally in word boundaries between two vowels (the so-called ‘linking r’).

The quality of /r/ was also taken into account. If the sound occurred, it had to be classified. If /r/ quality was corresponding to RP then it was labelled as ‘YES’. If the quality of /r/ was more like American English (retroflex), then it was labelled as ‘YES/retroflex’. Finally, if the quality of /r/ was similar to Polish one – it was labelled as ‘YES/tap’. In case of the lack of rhoticity such word was labelled as ‘NO’. The speakers were divided into four subgroups: according to LoR (speakers with LoR < 2 years, but with varied previous language experience) and L2 experience on arrival (speakers with LoR > 4 years, but with different level of English at the very beginning).

To begin with, the use of rhotic sounds was investigated within the group of 19 immigrants whose length of residence in the UK at the moment of recordings was relatively short and ranged from 6 months to approximately 2 years.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
AnitaL	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/TAP	YES/tap	YES/tap
EmilkaM	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MarekO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarcinB	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/tap
PrzemekW	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Mariusz	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KrzysiekR	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
KubaI	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
DamianS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KasiaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MichałK	NO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
PrzemekH	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MartaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	NO
AsiaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
EwelinaG	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex

Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
AniaA	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
JustynaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex

Table 18. The use of rhoticity by L2 speakers with LOR < 2 years (n=19).

As it can be seen from the table above, in the majority of cases L2 speakers with shorter period of residence have a tendency to use rhoticity in most of the contexts where it should be omitted (for instance at the end of words after a vowel). It possibly means that their LoR made it impossible to ‘catch’ some features of native-like pronunciation and they need more time spent in the UK to speak better. Interestingly enough, there are not many speakers who use taps (so typically Polish quality of /r/). The majority of them use a retroflex variant associated with the pronunciation of /r/ typical for American English. It may be caused by the fact that such L2 speakers with shorter LoR came to the UK with certain habits of pronunciation (they probably got used to General American variant) and they are not sensitive to some major changes in the pronunciation of British English yet.

The second group created on the basis of LoR consists of 19 immigrants whose length of residence in the UK at the moment of recordings was much longer ranging from approximately 4 to 8 years.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
BartekB	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
DorotaK	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IlonaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
JarekP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MaciekJ	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
MarcinP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
Sebastian	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
Wojtek	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
KingaC	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
PawełS	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
AniaR	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	NO	NO
KrzysiekH	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KasiaK-M	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
RenataB	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

KasiaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IwonaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarzenaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 19. The use of rhoticity by L2 speakers with LOR > 4 years (n=19)

The results for the group with longer LoR suggest that those speakers are generally more successful in the use of non-rhoticity than their colleagues with shorter period of residence. It is especially visible in the context of /r/ sound at the end of words in such words as *roller*, *trailer*, *car* or *digger*. In general, the speakers are sensitive to the lack of rhotic sound in this position of /r/ within a word and it seems that their relatively long LoR allowed them to ‘catch’ some phonetic features out of the native-like pronunciation. However, there are also immigrants whose LoR did not influence their L2 pronunciation that much as they still have problems with producing /r/ sound after a vowel or at the end of particular words. Similarly to the previous group, if /r/ sound occurs, its quality is much closer to retroflex and it is not easy to explain why this happens. One possible explanation may be that the speakers stick to their old pronunciation habits preserved by attending English lessons at schools, listening to American songs and watching American films or TV series because such variant of pronunciation is somehow easier – in the questionnaire some speakers pointed out that thanks to ‘American like’ pronunciation they have less problems with understanding others and they are understood by their interlocutors (both natives and non-natives) while they speak. Another reason for that may be that Polish immigrants to the UK do not in fact assimilate to the local community to the extent they declare in the interview. In other words, they understand native-speakers of British English, they are able to get some nuances of their L2 and – probably – can notice the difference in /r/ production. However, they choose to stick to the variant they know or the one they find easier to follow.

Another division between 38 speakers taking part in the study was connected to the second independent variable – L2 proficiency level on arrival. Similarly to VOT, in this part the speakers were also divided into two groups: 19 immigrants who declared to be less or no experienced at all on the arrival and 19 speakers who claimed that they came to the UK with particular L2 knowledge and skills that allowed them to communicate with members of L2 speech community.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
AnitaL	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
EmilkaM	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MarekO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarcinB	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/tap
PrzemekW	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Mariusz	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KrzysiekR	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
KubaI	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MichałK	NO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
BartekB	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
DorotaK	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IlonaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
JarekP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MaciekJ	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
MarcinP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
Sebastian	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
Wojtek	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
PawełS	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 20. The use of rhoticity by less experienced L2 speakers (n=19)

Judging from the results seen in Table 20, no visible pattern of the use of rhoticity by less experienced L2 learners can be established. Many of the speakers use typically Polish quality of /r/ instead of the one typical for British English pronunciation. The majority of such speakers use rhoticity in some of the contexts, but not all. It seems that they are more aware of the lack of rhoticity at the end of words and this feature seems to be the easiest to ‘catch’ from native or native-like pronunciation they can hear while working and living in London. The quality of /r/ sound is not the right one as it is much closer to retroflex that occur in General American variant of English pronunciation. So much variety between speakers does not bring any straightforward answer to the issue of L2 experience on arrival and the use of rhoticity in English.

Table 21 provides an overview on the rhoticity results in those immigrants who declared to be more experienced L2 users on the arrival.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
DamianS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retorflex
KasiaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KingaC	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
PrzemekH	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MartaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	NO
AsiaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
EwelinaG	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
AniaA	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
JustynaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
AniaR	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	NO	NO
KrzysiekH	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KasiaK-M	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
RenataB	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
KasiaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IwonaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarzenaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 21. The use of rhoticity by more experienced L2 speakers (n=19)

Similarly to less experienced L2 speakers, this group is also varied and it is impossible to establish one straightforward pattern according to which the speakers use /r/ in their L2 pronunciation.

Due to the fact that dividing L2 learners into four main groups (two groups related to LoR and another two connected with previous L2 experience) did not bring any straightforward pattern in the use of rhoticity, a follow-up division was employed. This time the speakers were divided similarly, but according to the two criteria at the same time – the combination of LoR and L2 experience on arrival. Hence, four new groups were established (see: section 3.2.4.)

The first group comprises those speakers whose LoR is relatively short (from 6 months up to 2 years) and whose English level on arrival (declared in questionnaires) was

basic or who had no previous contact with L2 at all. There were 9 of such speakers and the table with rhoticity results for this group is presented above:

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
AnitaL	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/TAP	YES/tap	YES/tap
EmilkaM	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MarekO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarcinB	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/tap
PrzemekW	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Mariusz	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/retroflex	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap
Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KrzysiekR	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
KubaI	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MichałK	NO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 22. The use of rhoticity in reading out words in isolation by L2 speakers less experienced on arrival (n=10) with LoR < 2 years

It can be clearly seen that the majority of speakers use rhoticity and in many cases the quality of /r/ sound is typically Polish (taps) especially at the end of words (before the pause). Surprisingly enough, there are a few cases in which the speakers omit /r/, especially in the word ‘motorcycle’ which may be explained by the fact that there is no /r/ sound in Polish equivalent of this word (*motocykl*). On the basis of presented results it can be concluded that rhoticity is a feature which is not very easy to master and to achieve better pronunciation immigrants have to stay in a given L2 environment longer or they have to gain more language experience (if not before the arrival, then in naturalistic context).

The situation is a bit different with the speakers who declared shorter LoR, but who had more language experience on arrival at the same time. In this case it is clearly visible that the speakers are more successful in the use of rhoticity (or its lack) than their less experienced colleagues. What is the most interesting about this group is the fact that none of the speakers use Polish quality of /r/ sound. The majority of them produce rhotic sounds with the quality of retroflex (typical for General American English). It can be justified by the fact that those speakers who came to London with a certain knowledge of English were usually taught the

language at school in Poland where there is usually no pressure put on pronunciation and many teachers do not speak RP, but rather General American variant (according to what many of the speakers claimed in the structured interview). The table presented below clearly indicates that the speakers who use rhoticity in a typical RP manner are in minority.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
DamianS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KasiaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
MichałK	NO	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
PrzemekH	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MartaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	NO
AsiaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
EwelinaG	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
Sylwia	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
AniaA	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
JustynaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex

Table 23. The use of rhoticity in reading out words in isolation by L2 speakers more experienced on arrival (n=10) with LoR < 2 years

The results for both groups with shorter LoR point out that there is a difference between the speakers. Those L2 learners who came to the UK without any particular knowledge of English and had been living there for no longer period than 2 years are less likely to adapt this pronunciation feature and use it according to the principles of this accent variety. Instead they keep on producing /r/ in a typical Polish way as – yet - they are not aware of different quality of this sound in English. Those L2 learners with greater language awareness are definitely more successful in the use of rhotic sounds and the quality of such sounds is not Polish anymore. They probably notice the difference between Polish and English /r/ - but due to the fact that they had been to the UK for relatively short period of time, they were unable to pick up the accent relevant to their new L2 environment (in case of London it is supposed to be RP).

Another division into two groups of Polish immigrants to London comprises the individuals who came to the UK more than 4 years prior to the recordings. Again, they are divided into two subgroups. The first one includes L2 learners who have relatively long LoR,

but they did not know much English before coming to the UK. The second group is composed of those L2 speakers whose LoR is longer than 4 years, but who came here with substantial knowledge of English (some of them had even passed FCE exams before coming to the UK).

As can be seen from Table 15 describing the use of rhoticity in L2 speakers who were less experienced on arrival, most of the respondents have no rhoticity after a short vowel schwa (before the pause) and between vowels (linking) which corresponds to the use of /r/ in RP. However, there were two speakers who were consistent in producing their /r/ sound with typically Polish quality (tap) in most of the contexts. In fact, during the whole interview those speakers' English sounded more L1 than TL influenced. Interestingly enough, in case of three speakers /r/ in 'market' and 'motorcycle' appeared to have typically retroflex quality. It is not easy to explain this /r/ producing pattern as – by default – speakers living in London are expected to be exposed to RP variant of pronunciation. However, the use of retroflex /r/ may suggest that they were taught this variety at school before they came to the UK or they mostly interact with multi international interlocutors who produce English /r/ in many different ways (mostly an 'American' one as the default variety of L2 in General American English).

Another important observation is that almost all of the speakers (except for one person) use linking /r/ between two vowel sounds at word boundaries (which is considered to be typically British-like). What is even more intriguing is the fact that the majority of speakers do not use /r/ sound in the word 'motorcycle'. However, it is uncertain why this thing happens. It can be said that Polish pronunciation of this word influences the English one as in Polish the word is *motocykl* and there is no /r/ sound in this word at all. On the other hand, there are three speakers who produced the word with /r/ sound, but its quality has nothing to do with the one we know from RP. The table presented below sheds some more light on this subject.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
BartekB	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
DorotaK	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IlonaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
JarekP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MaciekJ	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
MarcinP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/linking	NO
Sebastian	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
Wojtek	YES/tap	YES/tap	YES/tap	NO	YES/tap	YES/linking	YES/tap
PawełS	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 24. The use of rhoticity in reading out words in isolation by L2 speakers less experienced on arrival with LoR > 4 years (n=9)

The situation looks slightly different when it comes to more experienced L2 users. Those immigrants who came to the UK with certain level of English were a bit more inconsistent with the use of rhoticity. First of all, there five were people who sometimes used /r/ before a pause and sometimes they skipped /r/ sounds in the same position within different words. The most visible changes occurred within the word ‘market’. Perhaps, the speakers got used to its Polish version which is ‘market’ and /r/ sound is clearly audible in L1 version of this word. Nonetheless, it is rather difficult to explain the variety within such words as *roller*, *trailer*, *car* or *digger*. What is worth noticing is the fact that in case of *motorcycle* just one speaker produced this word with /r/ sound. However, its quality is clearly retroflex. Other L2 users are either close to British-like pronunciation by the omission of /r/ sound in this word or they simply transfer Polish pronunciation pattern of this word (*motocykl*) where /r/ sound simply does not exist. On the contrary to the previous group, more experienced L2 speakers obviously have problems with the use of linking /r/ as four of them does not produce this sound between vowels. It is uncertain if this feature is something they can control or if it occurs naturally in the process of speech. However, it seems that linking /r/ is something that comes effortlessly and naturally in this context. Interestingly enough, there are no speakers who would use typically Polish quality of /r/ (taps) so it can be said that their pronunciation is TL-based and not of L1 influence.

Speaker	roller	trailer	market	motorcycle	car	fire engine	digger
AniaR	NO	NO	YES/retroflex	NO	NO	NO	NO
KrzysiekH	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
KasiaK-M	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/linking	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
KingaC	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
KasiaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
IwonaL	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO
MarzenaP	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES/linking	NO

Table 25. The use of rhoticity in reading out words in isolation by L2 speakers more experienced on arrival with LoR>4 years (n=9)

All things considered, each group is varied when it comes to the production of rhotic sounds in different contexts. Nevertheless, more experienced L2 learners seem to be more consistent in the use of /r/ and are rather more aware of possible changes and patterns in /r/ production in RP as the majority of them use non-rhoticity (and omit /r/ sound in accordance with pronunciation rules related to RP). Although half of them produce /r/ with retroflex quality typical for American English, they do not produce typically Polish tap which makes them different from their less experienced colleagues. Another important aspect of L2 pronunciation noticeable in case of the interviewed speakers is that length of residence – but only on condition that it is combined with substantial L2 experience on arrival - can be one of the factors that affect the use of rhoticity by Polish immigrants to the UK.

4.2.3.2. Rhoticity in casual speech

In this part of the study, rhoticity was investigated in selected questions chosen from the structured interview in those L2 speakers whose length of residence was longer than 4 years at the time of recordings and who declared substantial L2 experience before coming to the UK. The reason for such selection may be justified by means of the results which show that for the use of rhoticity a combination of previous L2 experience and LoR influences immigrants' speech to the greatest extent. In other words, those immigrants who had been living in the UK for more than 4 years and who came here with particular level of English are more likely to sound native-like or – at least – they are more aware of pronunciation changes in the speech they are exposed to on the daily basis. Another group chosen for comparison were those speakers whose LoR is also longer than 4 year, but who came to the UK with no L2 experience at all or with some basic knowledge of English. Each group consists of 9 speakers so there are 18 speakers altogether.

As it was mentioned in section 3.3.3.2., the occurrence of rhoticity or the lack of it depends on the position of /r/ sound in a word. That is why more than one context had to be taken into account. First of all, the presence or the lack of rhoticity can be easily determined

in the word final position, after a vowel and before a pause. In RP (or Southern British English in general) the /r/ sound at the end of such words is not expected to occur unless the next word begins with a vowel. As can be seen in Tables 26 and 27, the majority of less experienced speakers (marked in black, n=9) use rhotic sound at the end of words. Surprisingly enough, it turns out to be retroflex /r/, typical for General American English and its pronunciation pattern (in this case /r/ is expected to occur in the word final position). One of the possible explanation is that those speakers have been learning English in Polish schools, being taught by Polish teachers who seem to follow GenAm pattern of pronunciation rather than BrE one. Another important point is that their previous contact with the language was mostly related to films or music and – as it is commonly known – most of the film productions or music recordings that we are exposed to in Poland comes from the United States and this is why abovementioned speakers are more familiar with American English than British English.

On the other hand, if we look at more experienced learners (marked in red, n=9) – it seems obvious that their /r/ production is much more accurate and follows the patterns of RP pronunciation with the lack of /r/ at the end of words especially when preceded and followed by a vowel sound. However, the situation slightly changes in case of the word “born” – in this case the majority of more experienced learners produce retroflex at the end of this word. It can be concluded that although this group has more language awareness than the previous one, their performances are still influenced by the presence of General American pronunciation pattern. Those speakers have a tendency to mix two pronunciation variants (BrE and AmE) and not yet fully consistent in their pronunciation pattern. However, they show much more sensitivity to BrE way of producing /r/ sound – so the lack of it – in this position within a word.

Speaker	When and where	were you	born ?
BartekB	NO	NO	YES/retroflex
DorotaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IlonaK	NO	NO	YES/retroflex
JarekP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MaciekJ	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MarcinP	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
Sebastian	NO	YES/retroflex	NO
Wojtek	YES/tap	NO	NO
PawełS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
KingaC	NO	NO	NO
AniaR	Yes/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex

KrzysiekH	NO	NO	YES/retroflex
KasiaK-M	Yes/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	YES/retroflex	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO
KasiaP	Yes/retroflex	Yes/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IwonaL	no	no	YES/retroflex
MarzenaP	NO	NO	YES/retroflex

Table 26. Rhoticity investigated in the final position of a word, before a consonant or a pause (n=18).

Speaker	What's your	mother	first language?
BartekB	YES/retroflex	NO	NO
DorotaK	NO	NO	NO
IlonaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
JarekP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MaciekJ	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MarcinP	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
Sebastian	NO	NO	NO
Wojtek	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/tap
PawełS	NO	NO	NO
KingaC	NO	NO	NO
AniaR	NO	NO	NO
KrzysiekH	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
KasiaK-M	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	NO	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO
KasiaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IwonaL	NO	NO	NO
MarzenaP	NO	NO	NO

Table 27. Rhoticity investigated in the final position of a word, before a consonant or a pause (n=18).

Another interesting case is the occurrence of /r/ between two vowel sounds such as in words “are” or after a consonant as in “there” and “other” shown in table 27. Similarly to the previous case, this time less experienced speakers have strong tendency to use /r/ of the quality of retroflex whereas more experienced learners tend to omit it. It is interesting to point

out that in the sequence “there any” most of the speakers use /r/ in a position where it occurs in RP (linking ‘r’).

Speaker	Are	there any	other languages you speak?
BartekB	NO	NO	NO
DorotaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IlonaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
JarekP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MaciekJ	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MarcinP	NO	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
Sebastian	YES/retroflex	NO	YES/retroflex
Wojtek	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
PawełS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
KingaC	NO	NO	NO
AniaR	NO	YES/retroflex	NO
KrzysiekH	NO	YES/retroflex	NO
KasiaK-M	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO	NO
KasiaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IwonaL	YES/retroflex	NO	NO
MarzenaP	NO	NO	NO

Table 28. Rhoticity investigated in different contexts – between vowels in “are” and “there any” and after a vowel followed by a consonant “other languages” (n=18).

The last group of investigated patterns of /r/ is the context of its occurrence before a consonant in such word as “learn” or a sequence such as “before coming”. While looking at table 29, the difference in /r/ performance is very easy to notice. Almost all of those speakers who were less experienced on arrival to the UK have a tendency to put /r/ after a long vowel and before a consonant. They sound truly American in their way of production of /r/. The situation is different for those who had more L2 experience. Those speakers have a tendency to skip /r/ in the context where it should not be produced or does not occur in RP, however – still – they seem to be inconsistent in their pronunciation. It can be explained by the fact that they are more prone to catch the proper native-like pronunciation due to the fact that they deal with it on the daily basis, yet they cannot get rid of their pronunciation habits from the past. Such situation is very common among Polish students of English, especially on their first year

of English philology and at the beginnings of their pronunciation course (e.g. Waniek-Klimczak and Zajac, 2017).

Speaker	Did you learn English	before coming to the UK?
BartekB	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
DorotaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IlonaK	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
JarekP	YES/retroflex	NO
MaciekJ	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MarcinP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
Sebastian	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
Wojtek	YES/retroflex	YES/tap
PawełS	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
KingaC	NO	NO
AniaR	YES/retroflex	NO
KrzysiekH	YES/retroflex	NO
KasiaK-M	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
NataliaL	NO	NO
MarcinT	NO	NO
KasiaP	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
IwonaL	YES/retroflex	YES/retroflex
MarzenaP	NO	NO

Table 29. Rhoticity and its occurrence investigated before a consonant.

Generally, the issue of non-rhoticity turned out to be quite problematic for Polish learners of English who decided to immigrate to the UK. Those whose LoR was relatively short and their L2 experience was rather basic at the moment of recordings were expected to use rhotic sound /r/ in the contexts where it is not supposed to occur in the Southern British English variant of pronunciation. However, it was not the case in all of the speakers as the differences between participants were visible at every stage of the recordings. Hence, it cannot be said for sure that the shorter your LoR is, the less successful you are in the use of non-rhoticity in English. The same can be said about those immigrants whose LoR is very long and who came to the UK with particular L2 knowledge as they were expected to be more accurate in the use of rhoticity. In fact, just some of them produced the words and sentences following a native-like pattern. The majority of those experienced L2 learners kept on using

rhoticity in most of the context and – what is more – they had a tendency to produce /ɾ/ with retroflex quality typical for a General American variant of pronunciation.

4.4. Conclusions

In this chapter the results of the study on the use of VOT and rhoticity by Polish immigrants to London were analysed. The main focus of the study was to find out whether such factors as the length of residence (referred to as ‘LoR’), L2 experience on the arrival or acculturation strategies such as assimilation or integration can possibly affect speakers’ production of aspiration and the occurrence of rhotic sound /ɾ/ or its lack in appropriate contexts.

On the basis of results obtained in the course of the study, a few interesting observations can be made. Firstly, the majority of immigrants interviewed for the purpose of the study produce initial voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ before vowels with aspiration. The length of VOT varies among individual speakers, yet practically everyone was able to reach values that determine the presence of aspiration (>50 [ms] for /k/ and >30[ms] for /t/ and /p/). It means that as a phonetic parameter VOT is in fact one of the most salient features of spoken English and it is relatively easy for Polish immigrants to ‘catch’ and then include it in their own L2 speech.

Secondly, it can be noticed that in case of VOT the factor that matters is previous L2 experience combined with LoR (the more language experience and the longer period of residence, the more native-like the speech has the chances to be). It means that LoR as such (without any other factors occurring ‘on the way’) does not determine someone’s success in the use of aspiration in English. It is also worth mentioning that VOT values are noticeably longer in formal task (reading words out aloud) than in everyday casual speech (describing the presented picture). It might have been predicted that when the speakers have time to concentrate, their performance is much more target-like than during more spontaneous conversation where there is no time to think that much of the words you want to produce.

Another important observation is related to the use of non-rhoticity in Southern British English. On the contrary to what might have been expected, this phonetic parameter turned out not to be the one that was easy to acquire for speakers exposed to native-like

pronunciation on the daily basis. The study reveals that LoR or L2 level on arrival do not affect the speakers' production of rhotic sounds /r/ to a great extent. Longer length of residence and substantial L2 knowledge at the start may be helpful, but it is not always the case. It can be assumed that the majority of Polish immigrants stick to their own version of English pronunciation they have been taught at school (as a great deal of participants mention that their teachers used more 'American like' English pronunciation) or they remember from various American TV series or film productions, not to mention songs – the majority of those popular in Poland are produced in the US. Another important factor, i.e. the effect of spelling, requires further research.

Finally, it can be said that adaptation as acculturation strategy declared by the majority of L2 speakers can certainly help them in the development of their second language, but in case of the use of rhoticity it seems that Polish immigrants are immune to assimilate or integrate with L2 speaking society fully and utterly. They seem to adopt their L2, they do not mind new environment and new speaking community and they have generally positive attitude towards their new life situation. Yet, they still cultivate their own traditions, speak their own language whenever they can and they definitely look for the company of other Polish immigrants. In this respect the new immigration resembles the old one.

CHAPTER V

Aspiration and rhoticity in Polish adult immigrants to London: analysis and discussion

Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the results for VOT and rhoticity presented in the previous one. Sections 5.1. and 5.2 present the analysis of the two investigated phonetic parameters, i.e. aspiration and rhoticity and their relation to two variable factors that are claimed to influence the SLA process, i.e. the length of residence and the second language experience on arrival to the UK supplemented by a cover independent variable of acculturation strategy. Both VOT and rhoticity were assessed in words produced in isolation and within the sentence in casual speech. The speakers' responses to the questionnaire elicited in the course of a structured interview are also analysed to find a possible link between the learners' performance of L2 and their acculturation strategies. The resulting immigrants' profile is briefly presented, followed by the discussion of the results. Another important point of this chapter is section 5.3. which presents discussion related to the applied method and concentrates on the main weaknesses of the study. Finally, section 5.4. comprises possible implications for similar studies in the future.

5.1. The analysis of results

In this section the results of the study on the use of VOT and rhoticity are analysed and discussed. As it was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the main focus of the study was to find out whether such factors as the length of residence (referred to as 'LoR'), L2 experience on the arrival or acculturation strategies such as assimilation or integration can possibly affect speakers' production of aspiration and rhoticity.

5.1.1. The use of VOT

As it was mentioned before, Voice Onset Time (VOT) is considered to be one of the most important features of English pronunciation (Wells, 1993 or Sobkowiak, 1996). Numerous studies used as a point of reference in the previous chapter (Flege, 2001 or Waniek-Klimczak, 2011a) seem to confirm this assumption claiming that aspiration of voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ is placed among the set of features of a spoken language that are the most salient ones for non-native speakers of English. Rojczyk (2009) concludes that Polish learners have no particular problems with perception of /p/, /t/ and /k/ in English. Polish immigrants to the UK are expected to use aspiration in their L2 speech as they deal with the ‘real’ English in this L2 environment on the daily basis. Hence, they seem to be particularly prone to pick up this feature out of the pronunciation they are exposed to practically every day.

5.1.1.1. VOT and the length of residence

So as to find possible similarities and differences between the speakers and to determine possible factors that may affect their L2 pronunciation, it was necessary to divide the recorded speakers into groups in order to investigate both LoR and L2 experience on arrival. Having that in mind, the first hypothesis was formulated for the purpose of the study and it was assumed that those L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years would use longer VOT values both in English and Polish. On the basis of the results obtained by means of measuring the values in Praat, three things can be noticed. First of all, most of the speakers – regardless of their LoR or L2 proficiency level on arrival - produced initial plosives in such words as *café*, *car*, *police car*, *policeman*, *pipes* and *taxi* with the use of aspiration both when reading those words in isolation and producing them in more casual speech, i.e. during the activity of picture description. Secondly, the longest values of aspiration were obtained during the production of a voiceless plosive /k/ in the initial position, before a vowel in such words as *café* and *car* while the shortest in case of /t/ sound in *taxi*. There were – apart from the word *café* that turned out to be the most complicated one in terms of appropriate

word stress - no statistically significant differences between the speakers divided into two groups: those with longer length of residence and the speakers with shorter LoR declared in the questionnaire performed the task in a similar way. As regards picture description, there were differences between three words: *café*, *police car* and *policeman*. Although these are commonly used in English, many of the speakers (especially those with shorter LoR) had problems with placing word stress within them – which is very important for aspiration as stressed syllable is likely to have stronger aspiration than the one that is unstressed. It turned out that polysyllabic words such as *café*, *police car* or *policeman* are much more challenging for the speakers than monosyllabic ones such as *car* or *pipes*. Interestingly enough, no one had problems with the word *taxi* which is also composed of two syllables. It can be assumed that the speakers were familiar with this word as they also use it a lot in Polish (far more people are likely to say *taksi* instead of *taksówka*, especially in casual speech).

On the basis of all that was said before, it can be concluded that has not been found to be the factor that would play an important role in the acquisition of L2 in its natural environment. Such findings seem to confirm those reported by Flege (1988, 1991, 1992, 1996), Flege and Piske (2001), Flege and MacKay (2011) or Waniek-Klimczak (2011).

Therefore, the first hypothesis has to be rejected as it did not bring the straightforward answer to the question of LoR significance. Such situation may be explained by the fact that the length of residence as such needs to be combined with other factors, such as the L2 experience on arrival or the amount of L2 used on the daily basis as stated by Flege and Piske (2001). The fact that somebody has been living in a particular L2 environment (or the area where L2 is spoken as the official language) for many years does not necessarily mean that such speaker uses L2 actively on the daily basis. According to the answers given to the questionnaire, most of the Polish immigrants interviewed claimed that they lived and worked in the areas dominated by Poles. Of course, the majority of them declared frequent use of L2, but the quality of L2 impact is not always that straightforward as many of the speakers use L2 for communication with non-native speakers of English, not to mention some that declared occasional use of L2 as it is not necessary in their case.

5.1.1.2. VOT and L2 experience on arrival

The second hypothesis related to aspiration assumed that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival would use longer VOT values both in Polish and in English. Similarly to the previous case, the speakers had to read words in isolation and then describe the picture containing such words. As we look at general results, we can notice that all of the speakers use aspiration, although its strength varies when we take a look at the results from the point of view of individual speakers. However, more experienced learners seem to be more successful in the production of /p/, /t/ and /k/ in the initial positions within the words *café*, *car*, *police car*, *policeman*, *pipes* and *taxi*. As it might have been predicted, the strongest VOT values occur within the words with /k/ sound at the beginning of a word, before a vowel: *café* and *car*. Similarly to less experienced participants, their proficient colleagues also produced /t/ with the weakest aspiration. More experienced learners were slightly more target-like reading words in isolation than when producing them while describing the picture. Again, formal style and careful speech guarantees much better performance than informal style and casual speech. Interestingly enough, there were statistically significant differences between more and less experienced speakers in their speaking (picture description) task. Although the participants do not vary significantly in their production of aspirated sounds in words read out in isolation, the situation changes when they have to produce them in the course of casual speech. Here, the differences appear in three words: *café*, *police car* and *policeman*. This situation may result from the fact that less experienced speakers are not that sensitive to word stress and its patterns within polysyllabic words. As a matter of fact, the word *café* brought some problems with pronunciation in general – the production of this particular word is varied even between those speakers who were rather proficient on arrival. This is because there are two basic variants of pronunciation of *café*: in British English the first syllable of the word is stressed while in General American – the second. Hence, /k/ in the ‘American’ way of producing *café* is much weaker than it is in the British variant of pronunciation. What is worth mentioning is the fact that many of less experienced speakers had tendency to exchange *café* into *coffee* so it can be concluded that many of them did not know its right pronunciation and they were trying to substitute it with the nearest equivalent they could think of and as a result changed the default word completely. Thus, the second hypothesis has been weakly

supported by the data and although the results do not provide strong evidence, there is a clear tendency for more experienced participants to use more target-like values.

Apart for the hypothesis formulated in Chapter II, another interesting aspect taken into account was to determine if – and if yes, then to what extent – the speakers' use of aspiration in L2 can possibly affect their L1 pronunciation. For this purpose, both groups (less experienced and more experienced learners) were taken into account. Here, VOT was not only measured in English words read in isolation, but also English and Polish words which occurred in the form of structured interview (a questionnaire mentioned in methodology of the previous chapter). It was interesting to compare aspiration strength with respect to the style (formal instructions in a form of reading vs. casual speech in the form the interview).

VOT for such English words as *café* and *car* was compared with VOT in their Polish /k/ sound counterparts *kawiarnia* and *kino*, similarly /p/ sound in *pipes* versus Polish *policjant* and *pompa*; finally /t/ sound in an English word *taxi* contrasted with Polish words *taksówka*, *targ* and *autobus*. T-Test for paired samples applied in this case as well as the results suggest that statistically significant difference occurs in one particular word – *car*. It means that – as regards the word *car* itself – VOT values in both L1 and L2 were different for less experienced group. However, there are no significant differences between those speakers in other investigated words. When it comes to more experienced learners, the situation is slightly different in their case. It turns out that there are no significant differences between the use of aspiration in both L1 and L2. On the basis of such results, it can be assumed that the use of aspiration in English influences the pronunciation of voiceless plosives such as /p/, /t/ and /k/ in Polish. All in all, regardless of the L2 level on arrival, it appears that Polish immigrants to London generally transfer their L2 pronunciation pattern into their mother tongue.

Such findings appear to confirm previous findings by Flege (i.e. 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2009) and Waniek-Klimczak (2011a). It seems that those immigrants who came to the UK with certain knowledge of English are much more confident with their language abilities and they tend to be more open when it comes to everyday interaction, making new friends or taking part in a variety of social activities. It also appears that they are also definitely more aware of the language they speak being able to 'catch' it much quicker and they are sensitive to the occurrence of different pronunciation

features characteristic for their L2. To conclude, it can be said that L2 proficiency understood as the level of L2 on arrival plays an important role not only in the process of second language acquisition, but also influences the speakers' general confidence in their language abilities and create conditions for using L2 more extensively than those who came to L2 environment with no or very little previous language experience.

5.1.1.3. VOT and the acculturation strategy

It is commonly known that in the process of second language acquisition not only external factors such as curriculum, instructions or access to native speakers play an important role. To acquire the language successfully, internal factors such as age of learning, personality or motivation are also needed. According to numerous authors and their studies (Schumann, 1978, 1986; Berry, 1997, 2000, 2005; Ellis, 1985, 1994, Waniek-Klimczak, 2011), those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation while living in L2 environment are more likely to achieve better results than those who decided to become isolated. It is believed that through assimilation or adaptation the SLA processes are likely to become accelerated and the L2 acquisition is more successful as people who use such strategies are more open to their new situation which means that they are definitely more eager to learn or to use the language they like in a society they respect and value. This is why the third hypothesis was formulated. It was assumed that those immigrants who adapted such acculturation strategies as assimilation or integration (which – according to the studies mentioned above - create positive conditions for SLA) are more likely to achieve more target-like VOT results both in L1 and L2. The best way to find out about the participants' attitudes to their L2 was to ask them about it. For this purpose, the structured interview was prepared for each person taking part in the study. The questions related mostly to the aspects of living in the UK on the daily basis. The answers gave an overlook of each participant's acculturation strategy (see 3.2.6). Most of the subjects were found to use adaptation (sometimes also called 'integration'). It means that they are positive towards the L2 environment, they like the language, they socialize with other L2 speakers and somehow take part in cultural life of the area. However, they are proud that they are Polish, they speak their L1 at home or within the company of other Polish immigrants,

they cultivate Polish traditions (for instance, they celebrate Christmas or Easter typically for the customs related to their native country). It can be said that their approach to the situation they are in (living and working in the UK) can only help them in the process of second language acquisition as all of them seem to pick up aspiration (to a lesser or greater extent, but still) as the phonetic parameter very common for British English variant of pronunciation. They are willing to learn English, they generally like the melody and the overall sound of their L2 and many of them use English eagerly while interacting with other (native or non-native) speakers of the language. Hence, the third hypothesis may be confirmed although there is no strong evidence that assimilation or adaptation as positive acculturation strategies accelerate the process of SLA. Yet, there is also no evidence that it hinders the SLA processes. Consequently, while acculturation strategy could not have been used as an independent grouping variable, it is discussed as a general cover aspect of individual language use.

5.1.2. The use of rhoticity

This phonetic parameter was investigated in the course of the study as it is believed to be one of the most salient features of spoken English (Jones, 1981; Wells, 1983; Sobkowiak, 1996; Roach, 2000; Cruttenden, 2014). There are not many studies conducted on rhoticity in Polish learners of English and that is why it is not easy to determine the pattern according to which /r/ sound is produced or omitted depending on the context. For the purpose of the study three hypotheses related to rhotic sound /r/, its lack and presence in a particular context and – finally – its quality were formulated (See Chapter III).

5.1.2.1. The use of rhoticity in separate words

Similarly to the previous phonetic parameter (VOT), the use of rhoticity was also investigated between the immigrants with varied length of residence in the UK and different L2 experience on arrival. However this time the same participants were

divided not only into two, but also into four groups: speakers with shorter LoR and no L2 experience on arrival, speakers with longer LoR but no L2 experience on arrival, speakers with shorter LoR, but substantial level of L2 on arrival and speakers with longer LoR combined with significant L2 experience on arrival. The results were based on their reading of the following words in isolation: *roller, trailer, market, motorcycle, car, fire engine* and *digger*. The first group of participants recorded in the course of this study comprised those immigrants whose LoR was relatively short at the time of recordings and it ranged from 6 months to 2 years. In addition, in the questionnaire those particular speakers declared very little or no L2 experience on arrival. The results for them are not surprising: as it was expected – the majority of them used rhoticity in most of the contexts, especially at the end of words (before a pause). Moreover, the quality of /r/ they often produced was typically Polish (strong tap). It may be explained by the fact that their previous contact with L2 was very limited and that is why they were not sensitive to some possible pronunciation patterns. Most of them was taught English at school so they acquired some language in an artificial classroom surroundings. Their short length of residence did not allow them to notice some possible pronunciation patterns or to ‘catch’ such features within the course of speaking day to day.

The second group was composed of those recorded immigrants whose LoR also ranged between 6 months and 2 years, but who declared higher level of L2 on arrival. Here, the situation turned out to be slightly different: although those speakers were quite inconsistent with their use of rhoticity, the quality of /r/ sound that they produced was of retroflex (typical for General American English). It can be justified by the fact that those speakers who came to London with certain knowledge of English were usually taught the language at school in Poland where there is usually no pressure put on pronunciation and many teachers do not speak RP, but rather General American variant (according to what many of the speakers claimed in the structured interview). The learners were also exposed to numerous films or music tracks produced mostly in the US so by watching or listening to them, they got accustomed to such variety of English. It is worth noticing that similar tendency may be seen in Polish students of English during their first year at the university – when they come to study English philology, most of them use GenAm variant of pronunciation without even realizing it. Then,

during the phonetic course they find out about RP and some general differences between those two widely spread variants of English pronunciation.

The third group created for the purpose of the study involves those immigrants whose length of residence was relatively long at the time of the recordings ranging between 4 and 8 years. However, their L2 level on arrival declared in the questionnaire was rather poor. Yet when we look at the results, it can be clearly visible that those speakers are far more successful in the use of rhoticity than the previous groups. The main difference noticed here is the fact that this group does not use /r/ sound at the end of words such as *roller*, *trailer*, *car* or *digger*. They are still quite inconsistent when it comes to produce /r/ sound within the word (after a vowel), yet they were all able to – subconsciously or not – get linking /r/ in *fire engine*. The quality of /r/ sound they produced was also retroflex which proves that it is very hard to get rid of systematic patterns they had been following before they started using their L2 in naturalistic context, not the artificial school-like one.

The fourth group was composed of those immigrants whose LoR was relatively long (between 4 and 8 years) and who came to the UK with substantial L2 experience (some of the speakers even declared that they passed FCE exams). Situation in this group looks definitely different than in the previous ones. It can be easily noticed that there are no speakers who would use taps (so the typically Polish quality of /r/). Most of the speakers skip /r/ at the end of words and the majority of them is sensitive to its occurrence after vowels. However, there are few speakers who use /r/ within the words and – surprisingly enough – it is of retroflex quality.

It can be concluded that each of the four groups is different and rhoticity is a much more complex issue than it might seem at the beginning. It turns out that length of residence and the amount of L2 experience on arrival matter, yet there is no straightforward pattern universal for every speaker. On the basis of the results it can be said that in the production of rhotic sounds length of residence combined with previous L2 experience creates the best conditions for achieving target-accent pronunciation. Thus the data provide a weak support for hypotheses four and five as the factors and the predictions are combined and not only the presence of a rhotic, but also its quality is considered.

5.1.2.2. Rhoticity in casual speech

The abovementioned results are related just to the first type of task which was reading out the words aloud in isolation. Nevertheless, when it comes to rhoticity in casual speech and the position of /r/ in different environment within the whole sentences, it becomes much more complicated to establish one regular pattern. For this particular task only immigrants with LoR longer than 4 years were taken into account. Then, they were divided into two groups: more and less experience L2 learners on the arrival. As it can be seen on the basis of the results, here the speakers are not consistent at all. Both groups have a tendency to utter /r/ especially after a vowel and before a consonant that follows in such sentences as *When and **where** were you **born**?* or *What's your **mother/first** language?*

Interestingly enough, the quality of /r/ sound produced by the speakers resembles retroflex /r/ commonly used in American English and General American variant of pronunciation. It shows that regardless of the L2 level or the period of living in an L2 environment, many of the speakers still choose the variety they are probably accustomed to. For many years they have been taught English without phonetic knowledge and their teachers probably spoke the same way so they either used GenAm or they were mixing GenAm and RP in their pronunciation without paying much attention to the students' mistakes. After school the people were surrounded by various types of media such as TV series, films, music or websites with variety of stuff most of which was American and hence they kept on getting familiar with this particular pronunciation variant. Another possible explanation is that the UK (and London in particular) is a very cosmopolitan place where different nationalities and various accents or varieties mix. When the immigrants interact with each other, they are likely hear and get used to non-native pronunciation. Sometimes they adjust their pronunciation to their less proficient interlocutor so they accommodate their speech to other speakers involved in the conversation.

The first hypothesis formulated in connection with rhoticity assumed that L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to use rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (and on the other hand: those with the length of residence ranging from 6 months to 4 years are more likely to use /r/ in the majority of contexts).

The second hypothesis related to rhoticity stated that L2 experience on arrival plays a significant role in the production or omission of /r/ sounds. According to this hypothesis, more proficient L2 learners are more likely to sound non-rhotic (except for the contexts that demand the use of linking or intrusive /r/). Logically, it is supposed to work both ways: those L2 learners who were less experienced on arrival are expected to use /r/ in various contexts. The results obtained in the course of the study in both tasks: reading out the words in isolation and reading out questions included in the questionnaire clearly indicate that the use of rhotic sounds is varied within different groups and L2 learners tend to be inconsistent with its production. What is more, the quality of /r/ in those who produce it is not typical for British English being either typically Polish tap or American retroflex regardless of the context. Hence, it can be said that those hypotheses have to be rejected as no direct pattern of the use of rhoticity was established. There is also no point of reference to the existing literature because the studies on the production of /r/ in Polish immigrants to the UK simply do not exist. Interestingly enough, there is one particular dialect of English in which the production of rhotic sounds resembles the one that characterizes Polish immigrants – at least those recorded for the purpose of the study. According to Wells (1983) similar situation occurs in Jamaican accent. The author made an interesting observation and states that “the usual unmonitored pronunciation for all social classes in Jamaica is non-rhotic in respect of *letter* words” (ibid: 577) which means that those speakers have overall tendency omit /r/ sound at the end of words preceded by a vowel sound, especially after such consonants as /ɔ:/ and /ə:/. Similarly, /r/ sound very often does not occur in the middle of the words, after a long vowel. As the author points out, the results of the survey he conducted in London among Jamaican immigrants indicate that nearly 55 per cent of participants use /r/ sound in the word *horse*. However, only 8 per cent of respondents produced /r/ in the word *north* which means that there is also a huge variability within Jamaicans. Having that in mind, the following question arises: what if the production of /r/ sound within the word after a vowel is a natural pronunciation variant among Polish immigrants and should be treated as a kind of allophonic effect, not necessarily as a pronunciation error?

5.1.2.3. Rhoticity and acculturation strategy

As it was mentioned in case of acculturation and its possible influence on VOT, in the sixth hypothesis it was assumed that those L2 speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic. If RP is – by default – non-rhotic, then L2 speakers should try to imitate RP speakers and are not expected to use rhotic sounds in certain contexts such as lack of rhoticity after a vowel, at the word boundaries or before pauses. However, the results and the analysis show that it is not really the case. Obviously, more experienced L2 learners are more aware of the existence and the lack of rhotics in particular environment and are definitely more successful in the overall use or omission of /r/ than their inexperienced colleagues. Still, they are not consistent in such use as sometimes when they produce a given word such as *born* more than once they have a tendency to produce it differently – with or without /r/ - each time they utter it. Another important aspect of /r/ production by Polish immigrants is the fact that the quality of /r/ sound is not the one we would expect as it has the quality of retroflex and this one is typical for General American variant of pronunciation. What is the reason for that? Apart from the fact that the speakers may transfer their own learning habits into the new L2 environment or interact with numerous non-native speakers which is not the best way to improve their pronunciation, such situation may be explained by the fact that they do not fully assimilate or integrate with the society living in the UK. Although they have positive attitudes to English as their second language, L2 speaking community or the country's customs and culture, it seems that they still preserve their own language and prefer living or working within the communities of other L1 speakers. According to most of the answers about integration, the majority of respondents admitted that although they enjoy having contact with native or other non-native speakers of L2, yet – in the first place – they seek contact with other Polish immigrants. On the contrary to the previous findings (Schumann, 1978, 1986; Berry, 1997, 2000, 2005; Ellis, 1985, 1994, Waniek-Klimczak, 2011a), it can be concluded that assimilation or adaptation (at least as the strategies declared by the participants) are not necessarily decisive when it comes to the acquisition of certain features of English pronunciation.

5.3. An immigrant's profile

It is commonly known that nowadays more and more Polish people seek employment and better living conditions away from the country of their origin. Such decision is never easy as you have to give up the life you got used to, leave your family or friends behind, change your environment and start using foreign language in everyday life situations. Despite the potential problems waiting for every immigrant – especially at the beginning – many of them claim that the benefits of such decision very often outnumber the drawbacks. Such benefits are understood as finding a job which offers substantial salary (at least much higher than it was back in Poland), the opportunity to acquire the second language in ‘naturalistic’ context instead of artificial classroom environment and the chance to experience new culture first-hand or to explore some new places they would have never visited before if they decided to stay in Poland. On the basis of the answers given to twenty-two questions covered in the structured interview, an immigrant's profile can be created.

5.2.1. Background

The first set of questions (from 1 to 6) included in the questionnaire was related to the overall background of each participant. The questions were as follows:

- 1) When and where were you born?
- 2) What's your mother (first) language?
- 3) What's your second language?
- 4) Are there any other languages you speak?
- 5) When did you come to London? How old were you at that time?
- 6) Why did you decide to come here? To find a job/to study/to improve your English?

From the answers to the very first question, we can find out that all of 38 speakers taking part in the study are adults aged between 20 and 35 and that they are all Polish natives born in different areas of Poland (most speakers come from central part of the country, many of them come from Silesia). On the basis of the answers to the second question, it can be said that for all of the speakers Polish is their mother language (although some people had problems with that question as they misunderstood its intention and were convinced that the question was related to their mothers). As regards the third question and the aspect of the second language, for most of the speakers English is their L2 - in fact, only one female speaker claimed that French is her second language, which places English as her L3. Another question (the fourth one) was the one that speakers had no particular problems with: almost none of the speakers knows any other foreign language apart for English – however, there were a few individuals who claimed that they also speak a little bit of German. Nevertheless, it is practically impossible to determine the level of their L3 declared in the questionnaire. One speaker (mentioned before) claimed that she had been learning French for a long time and before coming to the UK this language was her L2 instead of English so it can be assumed that she is quite proficient in French. As far as the fifth question is concerned, the immigrants generally came to the UK at the age of 19 or 20 straight after their final high-school exam (the counterpart of GCSE in the UK). However, there are also many L2 learners who decided to immigrate after finishing their higher education so mostly at the age of 25 or 26. In fact, many of them are well-educated as they are graduates of universities or technical universities (they finished studies in Poland before coming to the UK). The last (the sixth) question out of this set was related to the reasons for coming to the UK. As it might have been expected, for most of the immigrants taking part in the study the basic rationale for leaving Poland was to find a job which offers better pay than in their native country. Another reason mentioned in the interview was the desire to improve their English - and obviously – living and working in the area where the language is used on the daily basis is the best opportunity to do so. Many Poles in the UK even joke that being here and having the chance to use English all the time is the most effective (and the cheapest) language course they could possibly imagine. There was also one male speaker who claimed that he loved travelling and he was simply looking for the best place in the world to settle down. Thus, in his case the reason of coming to London was not triggered by difficult material situation or the need to learn English from scratch as he seemed to be one of the most proficient L2 users at

the time of the recordings. Another case of a young female speaker is also slightly different: the speaker claimed that she had to escape from Poland because of her family situation which was really horrific. There is no point in going down to details, but life for this girl was so cruel that immigration was her only chance and hope to lead a normal life. As it can be seen, the reasons for immigrating to another country vary in each individual case and they cannot be generalised so easily.

5.2.2. Previous L2 experience

In the previous section the set of six questions related to the L2 learners' background was discussed. The next part involves four questions covering the aspect of overall previous L2 experience – in other words, it needed to be determined whether the speakers came to the UK with particular knowledge of English and - if yes – how proficient they were in this language. The following questions were included in the questionnaire:

- 7) Did you learn English before coming to the UK? If yes, how long was that and how did you learn the language (regular school classes, special courses etc.)
- 8) Have you ever been to different parts of the UK before?
- 9) How do you learn English in the UK? Is it important for you to improve your language skills?
- 10) How would you assess your English before you came here and now?

As far as question 7 is concerned, it turns out that most of the respondents have had contact with English before coming to the UK. Obviously, the majority of them attended English lessons at school and very often this was their only way to acquire the language. It is worth noticing that almost everyone – from those who studied English at school – agreed that it was not substantial and they just caught some basic vocabulary and grammar. Yet, they lacked productive language skills such as speaking or writing.

Many of them had problems with listening. Moreover, according to many speakers, the teachers did not pay that much attention to pronunciation as they did not correct students' mistakes. Some speakers claimed that the teachers themselves produced particular words in an inappropriate way and as a result such mistakes became rooted deeply in the students' mind. Although the majority of L2 learners had English lessons only at school, there were some who studied with private tutors or attended additional classes in language schools such as conversation or certificate courses. In other words – they were improving their language skills on their own as they felt that school classes were not enough. Of course, there were also examples of participant who confessed that although they had English lessons at school, they had not paid much attention to it as they did not think it would be useful in the future. However, there were a few instances of speakers who declared that they had never studied English before coming to the UK as some of them had been learning German or Russian as their L2.

Question 8 is related to the participants' previous residence to the UK. Almost everyone claimed that they had never been to other places in UK than London before. Therefore, their pronunciation is expected not to be influenced by any regional dialect of British English for example the Scottish one or the Welsh one.

The next question covers the issue of acquiring L2 in English speaking environment. Most of the speakers admitted that they did not go to any language school or any private tuition while in London. They claimed that improving the L2 was one of the most crucial aspects of their residence in London, however they did not get any formal education in this area – they learned English on the daily basis, mostly through daily interaction with other L2 speakers. Many of the immigrants also pointed out that they took an active part in a variety of cultural events (such as family picnics, marathons, open air cinemas etc.) where they met plenty of people from all around the globe and this is how they used L2 in such social situations. Others claimed that they read a lot of newspapers or magazines in English, not to mention watching British TV every day after work or - at least - a few times a week. In general, they agreed that this way of learning English – using the language in its 'naturalistic' environment – brings visible effects on the contrary to artificial classroom environment at schools.

Question 10 was very interesting from the point of view of SLA – the vast majority of immigrants declared that they could notice significant improvement in their English, especially in such areas as speaking and listening. It means that the new environment creates positive conditions for L2 improvement.

5.2.3. Life in the UK

Another set of questions was related to the amount of L1 and L2 used by the learners in the course of social interactions among other Polish immigrants and members of L2 speech community, including native and non-native speakers of British English. The questions were as follows:

11) Do you speak more Polish or English in everyday life situations?

12) How much Polish and English do you speak at home/at work/among friends/when you have to communicate with British people (while do the shopping etc.)?

13) Are there ore Polish or English people in the community you live in?

In this part, the answers were varied. Questions 11 and 12 provide information as to the amount of L2 used for communication. It turns out that a relatively large group of participants (especially those whose L2 was rather basic after coming to the UK and those whose LoR was not longer than 2 years) claimed that they mostly interacted with other Polish immigrants while being in London and for that reason they were using a lot of Polish. Many of them set families and brought siblings or close friends to London and at that time lived together. Others lived alone in the communities including mostly Poles. It can be said that they were looking for contact with people of the same nationality so it means that they were not that keen on forming friendships or seeking for interaction with the representatives of other nationalities. Perhaps their language skills created a significant language barrier or their length of residence was too short to

allow them to establish some new contacts between other native and non-native speakers of L2. However, nearly half of the participants agreed that they used English a lot on the daily basis. Those were the immigrants who came to London with substantial knowledge of L2. According to their answers, it can be concluded that they do not really mind where they live, they can adjust to a particular situation which means that – for instance - when they look for a place to live, the country their neighbours come from does not seem significant for them. What is intriguing about some of the speakers is the fact that they deliberately avoid the vicinity of other Polish immigrants. The reasons for that are different, but those who do so claimed that it was mostly the issue of learning English. Obviously enough, one does not use English much within the community that includes only Polish people.

This brings us to question 13 and – according to the answers – more than half of the immigrants taking part in the study lived in the areas inhabited by a great deal of Poles. The rest of them declared that they lived surrounded by non-native speakers of L2. Some Polish immigrants, however, settled down in the areas occupied by native speakers of English, yet such speakers were in minority.

5.2.4. Social identity

The next group of questions was strictly connected to immigrants' attitude towards their mother language and their mother country. This aspect included the following questions:

- 14) Do you read any Polish newspapers/magazines or watch TV/radio programmes or films in Polish? How often do you do that?
- 15) Are you interested in what happens in Poland? Do you follow the news about the country of your origin?
- 16) How often do you go to Poland? Do you miss your country when you are in London?

As it was said before, in this part of the questionnaire such aspects as immigrants' approach to L1 environment and language were investigated. The answers for those three questions were mostly negative which means that the vast majority of Polish immigrants taking part in this study was not that much interested in the country they left behind. Of course, they were in touch with their family or friends who stayed in Poland – but on the other hand, they had no need to follow the news of their native country. They also visited their relatives and other people they were close to, but not very often – they agreed that twice a year is sufficient (some of the respondents claimed that they used to visit Poland once a year or even less frequently). It seems that the immigrants are so occupied with their work and life in the UK that they do not pay that much attention to what is happening in Poland at particular moment. Some of them agreed that it was the UK that gave them work and offered them some new opportunities and this is why they stayed focused on their life in the L2 environment as they live here, work here and pay taxes here. For many of the respondents the UK became home.

The next intriguing issue is related to the way Polish immigrants see themselves in the UK. The questionnaire included two questions that dealt with that matter. These were:

17) How important it is for you to be recognized as a person of Polish origin?

18) Do you think the fact that you are Polish helps you in everyday life situations (like looking for a job etc.) or not? Are there any stereotypes of Polish people in the UK?

For those questions the answers were hugely varied, as some speakers declared that they were proud to be Polish and they did not have any intention to hide it. Furthermore, sometimes their nationality helped them in the job market. However, according to other immigrants, being Polish was not a thing to be proud of. They even claimed that sometimes it was a shame to confess that they were Poles and that fact did not help them in any way. To make matters worse, some of them declared that they had problems with getting a job or renting a flat because of their nationality. Perhaps such extreme situations were related to the stereotypes about Poles in the UK. Some bring positive opinion about a Polish nation saying that we are really reliable and hard-

working, but there are also negative views on Poles stating that we are no one but lazy bones, drunkards, thieves and benefit-takers. In general, the issue of social identity is not that simple to deal with as it varies among individuals.

5.2.5. Acculturation strategy

One of the most important aspects of living in the area away from the L1 environment is the strategy we adopt in order to find our place in a new society. It mostly depends on each individual which strategy to follow. However, in order to feel more confident and achieve success in the acquisition of L2 such strategies as assimilation and adaptation are advised to adopt. There were four questions covering this issue:

- 19) What do you think about English itself? Do you like the language, its melody etc.?
- 20) Do you like spending your free time with British people or do you prefer to have contact with your Polish friends? Do you take an active part in your community's social life?
- 21) What was the most difficult thing for you when you first came here? What kind of problems did you have as regards your new job, everyday life routine etc.?
- 22) Do you plan to settle down in London for good? Why?

Question 19 seems to be the most essential piece of information that would determine the overall attitude towards L2 as a language and the whole community using it. All of the immigrants who were asked this question agreed that they liked English which – in their opinion – sounds really nice and pleasant. Furthermore, the majority of participants claimed that English was in fact quite an easy language to learn and therefore they really enjoyed using and developing their L2. It can be said that their

extremely positive attitude towards language created a kind of advantage in learning right from the start.

When it comes to question 20, it seems that Polish immigrants are a little bit indecisive: although they declare they like meeting new people (both native and non-native speakers of English), they do not seek their company. Instead, they get involved in nights out or numerous social meetings with other Poles living in London. It can be said that they isolate themselves to a certain degree and build strong hermetic societies within which no other immigrants except for Polish ones are free to join. Interestingly enough, some Polish immigrants declare that they often took part in numerous social events within a given community for example charity events, marathons, street zumba classes, school picnics, fancy dress parties etc. Those participants who have families and small children are even more likely to be active within their communities. However, the vast majority of participants point out that they are not involved in their community's social life at all. They justify themselves saying that they are too busy after work or they are not interested in doing something they do not have to do. Some agree that nothing really worth attending happens in their neighbourhoods.

Question 21 is one of the most interesting from the point of view of living in the UK straight after the arrival. It turns out that for the majority of respondents their L2 was the most problematic aspect of their new situation. Although many of them could speak English reasonably well, they did not feel confident enough to come to the first person they met on the street and start a conversation with him or her. The language barrier and the so-called 'affective filter' made it hard for such people to believe in their L2 skills and open to the new community living around. Apart from the language, finding a job was a nightmare for many of the respondents, as they came to London with a limited amount of money they had been saving back in Poland, a few mobile numbers to people who could possibly help them in that and with the prospect of immediate visit to the local job centre. Some of the speakers claimed that they came to the UK without any plan, they just decided to go with the flow and see what would happen. Just a few individuals claimed that they had already arranged everything long before their arrival. Of course, there were some other more or less serious obstacles related to everyday life routine: some speakers mentioned left-hand traffic which was a shock for them at first and they needed a few weeks (or even a few months to get used to it). Others point at problems with finding appropriate accommodation, there were

also speakers who complained about the prices of goods and services or the quality of food. Again, there are different people and different situations and this is why this aspect has to be considered individually rather than as a group feature.

The last question covered the issue of future settlement plans. Polish immigrants were asked about their long-term plans connected with their possible stay. Almost everyone agreed that they would not come back to Poland within the next few years as they feel like home here in London: they started families, some of them run their own businesses here, others develop their skills and gain some more knowledge by participating in the variety of courses etc. It seems that they found their place on earth and they do not even consider coming back to Poland. Many of them have a feeling that there is nothing that would be left in Poland for them and there is nothing to come back to. Yet, there are individuals who want to save as much money as possible and then get back home in order to set up a business or build a house. However, such attitude is not the one shared within those 38 speakers who took part in the study. They may be attached to Poland somehow, but they are aware of the economic situation in our country and this is why they choose to settle down in the UK for good.

5.3. Discussion

The aforementioned study allowed to reach three goals: firstly, it determined factors that possibly affect L2 pronunciation by Polish adult immigrants to London, secondly, it analysed the immigrants' production of aspiration and rhoticity in English and – finally - it created an immigrant's profile on the basis of the structured interviews which were a part of the study. The results may not be fully satisfactory, but they revealed that in general Polish immigrants are successful in acquiring a phonetic parameter of aspiration. They possibly do not even realize that this feature of British English is considered to be one of the most salient features of this pronunciation variant, yet they tend to use it a lot in their speech. What is more, the use of aspiration in English (so their L2) influences their performance in Polish (referred to as L1). Another observation is that they seem to be aware of another phonetic parameter – rhoticity, but they are inconsistent in the use of this feature. It means that although non-rhoticity is

considered to be one of the most characteristic features of British English pronunciation (along with aspiration), Polish immigrants have some problems with the appropriate use or omission of /r/ sound depending on the context and – what is equally important – some problems with its quality.

The investigation of possible factors that may accelerate SLA process within Polish immigrants to the UK also shed some light on this issue as the study revealed that – for instance – length of residence (LoR) as such is not a factor that would determine the pace and the effectiveness of L2 acquisition. On the other hand, L2 experience on arrival turned out to be much more decisive than LoR, as those immigrants who are more proficient in English tend to be more likely to use it on the daily basis. The most effective way to acquire L2 in the environment where it is spoken seems to be the combination of LoR and the amount of previous L2 experience. It means that those immigrants who came to the UK with substantial L2 knowledge and who have lived here for quite a long time (>4 years) are much more prone to use more target-like variants in their L2.

Finally, as regards acculturation strategy, it can be said that almost every participant shows positive attitude towards L2 language and society as such, being eager to interact with other non-native or native speakers of English by taking part in numerous social events or through everyday interaction. Most of the respondents are satisfied with the new place of residence, they have jobs they are satisfied with, some started families or set up their own small businesses and they have no intention of coming back to their L1 environment. Such an attitude is believed to create positive conditions for SLA as well.

At this point it should be said that the present study has its limitations. To begin with, a relatively small amount of participants who agreed to take part in the recordings (38 speakers in total) may not be as sufficiently large as to investigate some regular features or patterns of pronunciation typical for Polish immigrants to London. A bigger sample would be needed for further studies.

Secondly, the design of the study is far from being perfect as, for instance, the words connected with the picture of a busy street were given on a single sheet of paper

– hence, some speakers made practically no pauses between given words and that could affect the quality of VOT. Although the words chosen for the purpose of the study create contexts for aspiration, word-stress (‘policeman’ or ‘police car’ would have weaker aspiration as the main stress falls on the second syllable in each of those words) or the tempo of reading (more careful reading creates better conditions for aspiration) could significantly distort aspiration level. As for rhoticity, it can be seen that the limited amount of contexts makes it hard to prepare more accurate analysis – for instance, there are no contexts for intrusive /r/ regardless of a type of the task (read or spoken).

Thirdly, some of the investigated words were far more frequent than others, which means that the participants were familiar with such words as ‘car’ or ‘taxi’ as they could often hear them and consequently, it could affect their performances to some extent. As regards the number of words investigated, it can be seen that there are limited contexts in which aspiration could be observed (i.e. there was just one word with /t/ as the initial sound). Further studies are needed to establish the pattern of VOT in voiceless aspirated stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ in broader contexts, as indicated by the VOT in participants’ responses obtained from the questionnaire.

Another important aspect is that some answers recorded in the form of a structured interview were imprecise - it was particularly hard to determine the exact time specification or the quality of previous language experience, such as how long they have been learning English, when did they start (early vs. late learners), where was it (Poland or English-speaking country) and were those classes regular or not (intensity of such classes/ courses ought to be pointed out). Language exposure may have been less substantial than the speakers declared in questionnaire. On the basis of such observations, the following question arises: how to measure or – at least – assess the quality of L2 input objectively? Perhaps longitudinal comparative studies ought to be conducted to take a closer look at this factor, but still there is no effective method of investigating such aspects as previous L2 experience or deciding on a precise amount of L2 input and its characteristics. As a result, researchers need to rely on participants’ responses which can be unreliable because of the lack of precision or the ability to self-assessment with such a high level of variability among the participants it would be

reasonable to investigate possible factors affecting SLA on the basis of individual differences in the speakers.

Finally, it might be helpful to conduct a kind of detailed comparative analysis exploring the use of aspiration in voiceless stops and rhotic sounds in two languages: English (L2, non-native language) and Polish (L1, native language). Thanks to such studies the effect of L1 on L2 pronunciation could be explored in detail. It seems that it might be a good point of reference for the possible follow-up study or further studies on this aspect in general as there is still a need for filling the gap in literature devoted to the issue of immigrant English.

5.4. Conclusions

The aim of the study was to examine the relationship between L2 pronunciation on the basis of two phonetic parameters: aspiration of voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ and rhoticity and three factors which are reported to influence second language acquisition process length of residence, second language experience on arrival and acculturation strategy. As discussed in Chapter Two, previous findings indicate that such factors as the length of residence in L2 speaking environment, L2 experience on arrival or the acculturation strategy adopted by L2 speakers may significantly influence their overall L2 pronunciation performance.

The study was concerned with the L2 pronunciation (the use of aspiration and rhoticity or the lack of thereof) in Polish adult immigrants to London. The participants were 38 Polish immigrants (both male and female speakers) who came to London as adults and their length of residence was no shorter than half a year and no longer than 10 years. Their age at the time of the recordings ranged between 20 and 35 and the speakers' L2 proficiency on arrival varied (from beginner to upper-intermediate level). Since the study is based on pronunciation recordings in both L1 and L2, the data collection procedure involved two types of data: in order to measure phonetic variables (VOT and rhoticity) in both L1 and L2 the visual material in form of a picture was applied. The speakers were asked to read out particular words surrounding the picture of a busy street and then their task was to describe the whole picture using the words

included in the material. In order to establish participant's profile and to specify the value of independent variables, a questionnaire in a form of a structured interview was applied – the speakers were asked to read out each of 22 questions aloud and answer them one after another (possibly at a natural speed). In case of the need for further clarification or explaining something in more detail, additional questions were asked by the interviewer.

Six hypotheses were formulated to be tested in the course of the study: The first hypothesis claims that those immigrants whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are likely to use more target-like VOT values. The second hypothesis assumes that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival will use longer VOT values both in Polish (L1) and in English (L2). The third hypothesis is related to acculturation strategies and assumes that those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation are more likely to achieve longer VOT results both in L1 and L2. The fourth hypothesis claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). The fifth hypothesis assumes that more proficient L2 learners are less likely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive /r/). According to the sixth hypothesis, the speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic.

The findings of the study clearly indicate that in general Polish immigrants are successful in acquiring aspiration, especially in the initial position within words or at the beginning of a stressed syllable. They possibly do not even realize that such feature of British English is considered to be one of the most salient features of this pronunciation variant, yet they tend to use it a lot in their speech. What is more, the use of aspiration in English seems to influence their performance in Polish. Another observation is that the participants seem to be aware of another phonetic parameter – rhoticity, but they are inconsistent in the use of this pronunciation feature. It means that although rhoticity is considered to be one of the most characteristic features of British English pronunciation (along with aspiration), Polish immigrants have some problems with the appropriate use or omission of /r/ sound depending on the context (the tendency is to leave /r/ out at the end of words, but not necessarily after a long vowel) and – what is equally important – some problems with its quality (plenty of speakers

produce retroflex quality of /r/ sound typical for General American pronunciation variety and some of them – especially the ones who are less proficient in their L2 – tend to produce taps). Investigating of possible factors that may influence SLA process within Polish immigrants to the UK suggests that length of residence as such is not a factor that would determine the pace and the efficiency of L2 acquisition. The situation changes with L2 proficiency on arrival – it turns out that this factor is much more decisive than LoR as those immigrants who are more proficient in English are usually more likely to use it on the daily basis. The most effective way to acquire L2 in the environment where it is spoken seems to be the combination of LoR and the amount of previous L2 experience. It means that those immigrants who came to the UK with substantial L2 knowledge and who have lived here for quite a long time (>4 years) are much more likely to achieve pronunciation close to the so-called ‘native-like. From the point of view of acculturation strategy, it is clearly visible that the vast majority of speakers use adaptation strategy and their overall approach to L2 language and environment they live in may create positive conditions for SLA as well.

CONCLUSION

The main idea behind the dissertation was to examine the relationship between L2 pronunciation and the socio-psychological factors that could possibly influence SLA process in Polish adult immigrants to London. Two phonetic parameters that were taken into consideration were the aspiration of voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ and the use of rhoticity (or its lack) mostly after a vowel sound within a word or at the end of the word (before a pause). Three extra-linguistic factors that were taken into account in the course of the study were as follows: the length of residence, the L2 proficiency on arrival and the acculturation strategy as according to numerous studies (Piske et.al, 2001; Flege, 2001; Schumann, 1986) these factors are believed to be among the most decisive, affecting the whole SLA process in a significant way.

The primary goal of the study was to examine L2 pronunciation (the use of aspiration and rhoticity or the lack of thereof) in Polish adult immigrants to London. The participants to the study were 38 Polish immigrants (both male and female speakers) who came to London as adults and their length of residence was no shorter than half a year and no longer than 10 years. All of them took part in the study voluntarily. Their age at the time of the recordings ranged between 20 and 35 and the speakers' L2 proficiency on arrival varied (from beginner to upper-intermediate level). Since the study is based on pronunciation recordings in both L1 and L2, the data collection procedure involved two types of thereof: in order to measure phonetic variables (VOT and rhoticity) in both L1 and L2 the visual material in form of a picture was applied. The speakers were asked to read out particular words surrounding the picture of a busy street both in Polish and in English (Appendix 2 and 3) and then their task was to describe the whole picture using the words included in the material. In order to establish participant's profile and to specify the value of independent variables, a questionnaire in a form of a structured interview was applied (Appendix 1) – the speakers were asked to read out each of 22 questions aloud and answer them one after another (possibly at a natural speed). In case of the need for further clarification or explaining something in more detail, additional questions were asked by the interviewer.

In the course of the study six hypotheses were formulated: three related to aspiration and three in connection with rhoticity. According to the first hypothesis, those immigrants whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are likely to use more target-like VOT values. The second hypothesis assumes that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival will use longer VOT values both in Polish (L1) and in English (L2). The third hypothesis is related to acculturation strategies and claims that those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation are more likely to achieve longer VOT results both in L1 and L2. The fourth hypothesis claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). The fifth hypothesis assumes that more proficient L2 learners are less likely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive /r/). According to the sixth hypothesis, the speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic.

The findings point out that in the majority of L2 speakers that took part in the study are successful in acquiring aspiration, which is especially noticeable in the initial position within words or at the beginning of a stressed syllable. In fact, they tend to use it a lot in their speech. What is more, the use of aspiration in English seem to influence their performance in Polish as some of the VOT values produced in L1 are close to L2.

Another important observation is that the participants seem to be aware of another phonetic parameter – rhoticity, however they turned out to be inconsistent in the use of this pronunciation feature. It means that although rhoticity is considered to be one of the most characteristic features of British English pronunciation (along with aspiration), Polish immigrants have some problems with the target variety use and omission of /r/ sound depending on the context (the tendency is to leave /r/ out at the end of words, but not necessarily after a long vowel) and – what is equally important – there are some problems with its quality, as many speakers produce retroflex quality of /r/ sound typical for General American pronunciation variety and some of them – especially the ones who are less proficient in their L2 – tend to produce taps which are associated with typical L1 pronunciation.

Investigating of possible socio-psychological factors that may influence SLA process within Polish immigrants to the UK suggests that length of residence as such is not a factor that would determine the pace and the efficiency of L2 acquisition. The situation changes with L2 proficiency on arrival – it turns out that this factor tends to be more decisive *than LoR* as those immigrants who are more proficient in English are usually more likely to use their second language on the daily basis and are much more prone to notice, differentiate and pick up native-like pronunciation patterns. From the point of view of acculturation strategy, it is clearly visible that the vast majority of speakers use adaptation strategy and their overall approach to L2 language and environment they live in may create positive conditions for SLA as well.

The aforementioned study and its findings made it possible to do three things: to obtain more insight into the factors that possibly affect L2 acquisition by Polish adult immigrants to London, to analyse the immigrants' production of aspiration and rhoticity in English and – finally - to create an immigrant's profile on the basis of the structured interview which was a part of the study.

Although the study has its limitations, its results might be used in the future in the process of teaching pronunciation due to the fact that it revealed which particular L2 pronunciation features are salient and which are not and make students aware of the existence of such features as aspiration or rhoticity, working for example on the quality of /r/ sound further during the classes.

I hope that thanks to my study more researchers will be encouraged to investigate L2 pronunciations in its naturalistic context and thanks to such studies the effect of L1 on L2 pronunciation could be finally explored in detail. It seems that it might be a good point of reference for the possible follow-up study or further studies on this aspect in general as there is still a need for filling the gap in literature devoted to the issue of immigrant English.

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SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates the relationship between L2 pronunciation (on the basis of two phonetic parameters mentioned above) and selected socio-psychological factors that are assumed to affect the process of second language acquisition in Polish adult immigrants to the UK. The thesis investigates the existence of this relationship which is being checked through length of residence and the level of L2 proficiency on arrival to the UK. For the purpose of the study six hypotheses were formulated. It is expected that the quality of L2 speech produced by the participants is influenced by three factors: their length of residence to the UK, the level of L2 proficiency on arrival and acculturation strategy used by each individual.

The first hypothesis claims that those immigrants whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are likely to use more target-like VOT values. The second hypothesis assumes that those L2 speakers who were more experienced on arrival will use longer VOT values both in Polish (L1) and in English (L2). The third hypothesis is related to acculturation strategies and assumes that those L2 speakers who decided to adopt such strategies as assimilation or adaptation are more likely to achieve longer VOT results both in L1 and L2. The fourth hypothesis claims that the L2 users whose length of residence is longer than 4 years are unlikely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). The fifth hypothesis assumes that more proficient L2 learners are less likely to have rhoticity in their pronunciation of English (except for the contexts of linking or intrusive r). According to the sixth hypothesis, the speakers who use adaptation or assimilation as their acculturation strategy are more likely to sound non-rhotic.

The dissertation is organised into five chapters: the first two provide theoretical background and discuss the previous findings related to the investigated phonetic parameters and factors affecting the process of SLA; the third one describes the complex methodology for the study, the forth discusses the results of the study and the fifth is attempted to analyse its findings. Chapter One provides an outline of the history of Polish migration movements and discusses the issue of today's migrant profile. The first part of this chapter presents the issue of Polish immigration to the UK from the

perspective of historical events such as the Partitions of Poland or the Second World War, but also more recent actions such as Post-Solidarity period or European Union Enlargement. The next part is devoted to general information about Poles living in the UK including demographic specification, educational background, origin, employment patterns or possible settlement plans. The next section is related to the issue of motivation for coming to the UK, social relationships between Poles and L2 speech community, the impact of Polish migrations to the UK in general and – in the light of latest events – current situation of Polish immigrants in the UK.

Chapter Two is devoted to the notion of acculturation which explains the whole process of cultural and psychological change that results from the clash of cultures. The effects of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels in both interacting cultures. At a group level, acculturation often results in changes to culture, customs, and social institutions. Noticeable group level effects of acculturation often include changes in food, clothing, and language. At an individual level, differences in the way individuals acculturate have been shown to be associated not just with changes in daily behaviour, but with numerous measures of psychological and physical well-being.

Acculturation may be defined as a complex process in which an individual is exposed to the L2 environment and L2 learning. The concept of acculturation has been studied scientifically since 1918. As it has been approached at different times from the perspective of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, numerous theories and definitions have emerged to describe elements of the acculturative process. Despite evidence that acculturation entails a two-way process of change, research has primarily focused on the adjustments and adaptations made by minorities such as immigrants or refugees in response to their contact with the dominant majority (Flege, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001). Contemporary research has been mainly concentrated on different strategies of acculturation and how variations in acculturation affect how well individuals adapt to their society.

This chapter also presents the selection of socio-psychological factors such as length of residence to the L2 environment, age of arrival, L2 experience on arrival or the amount of L1 and L2 used by immigrants on the daily basis, L2 learning aptitude or motivation for L2 learning. Such factors have been the subject of numerous studies conducted mostly on immigrants to a variety of English-speaking countries (Piske et al.,

2001, Flege, 1992, 1998, 2001) and it has been reported that they positively affect the process of second language acquisition in its 'naturalistic' context.

Chapter Three describes the methodology for the study on aspiration (VOT) and rhoticity in Polish adult immigrants to London and the possible influence of factors such as length of residence, L2 experience on arrival and the acculturation strategy on the process of acquiring English pronunciation. First, an overview of previous research on factors affecting L2 pronunciation is provided. The following sections are concerned with the aims of the study, hypotheses and methodology.

Chapter Four concentrates on presenting the results. Data analysis procedure and the charts that group the results are the most important parts of the chapter; the findings have revealed several interesting language and methodological issues that were addressed in the reported study.

Chapter Five provides a broader analysis of the results for VOT and rhoticity presented in the experimental part of Chapter Four as it involves the analysis of both phonetic parameters (aspiration and rhoticity) and their relation to three factors that are believed to influence SLA process (length of residence and the second language experience on arrival to the UK). The last section presented in the form of conclusions includes such aspects as weaknesses of the study and the implications for further studies in this area.

The final section of the dissertation (Conclusions) reviews the experimental procedure and summarises the results of the study. The appendices contain the materials that were used in order to elicit the data, including the questionnaire (presented to the participants in form of a structured interview) and two pictures on the basis of which the speakers were asked to read the words around it aloud. The pictures were also used for eliciting speech samples both in Polish and English in order to analyse them in the course of the study.

The findings point out that in the majority of L2 speakers that took part in the study are successful in acquiring aspiration, which is especially noticeable in the initial position within words or at the beginning of a stressed syllable. In fact, they tend to use

it a lot in their speech. What is more, the use of aspiration in English seem to influence their performance in Polish as some of the VOT values produced in L1 are close to L2.

Another important observation is that the participants seem to be aware of another phonetic parameter – rhoticity, however they turned out to be inconsistent in the use of this pronunciation feature. It means that although rhoticity is considered to be one of the most characteristic features of British English pronunciation (along with aspiration), Polish immigrants have some problems with the appropriate use or omission of /r/ sound depending on the context (the tendency is to leave /r/ out at the end of words, but not necessarily after a long vowel) and – what is equally important – there are some problems with its quality as plenty of speakers produce retroflex quality of /r/ sound typical for General American pronunciation variety and some of them – especially the ones who are less proficient in their L2 – tend to produce taps which are associated with typical L1 pronunciation.

Investigating of possible socio-psychological factors that may influence SLA process within Polish immigrants to the UK suggests that length of residence as such is not a factor that would determine the pace and the efficiency of L2 acquisition. The situation changes with L2 proficiency on arrival – it turns out that this factor tends to be more decisive *than LoR* as those immigrants who are more proficient in English are usually more likely to use their second language on the daily basis and are much more prone to notice, differentiate and pick up native-like pronunciation patterns. From the point of view of acculturation strategy, it is clearly visible that the vast majority of speakers use adaptation strategy and their overall approach to L2 language and environment they live in may create positive conditions for SLA as well.

The aforementioned study and its findings made it possible to do three things: to obtain more insight into the factors that possibly affect L2 acquisition by Polish adult immigrants to London, to analyse the immigrants' production of aspiration and rhoticity in English and – finally - to create an immigrant's profile on the basis of the structured interview which was a part of the study.

The dissertation has been motivated by the researcher's deep belief that the phenomenon of Polish immigration to the UK deserves attention and offers a unique opportunity to search not only for various external and internal features that shape the immigrants' L2 proficiency, but also possible patterns of acculturation adopted by those L2 learners and its effects on SLA and the use of the second language. As English has become a language of international communication across the whole world, it is spoken by many non-native speakers as their second language. The fact that Poland has been a member of the European Union since 2004 creates favourable conditions for more direct contact with English in L2 speech communities (such as England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland) for thousands of Polish people who have decided to settle down in the British Isles. Whatever the reasons for settling down in the UK may be, Polish immigrants need to use their second language in the environment where they are exposed to an extensive use of L2 on a daily basis. On the contrary to traditional ways and methods of learning L2 in Poland, living in the area where L2 is a default language imposes active use of that language on its learners. In other words, the process of SLA takes place constantly in a naturalistic context and is worth investigating for many reasons. Exploring the effect of everyday life exposure to the L2 in natural surroundings may be of interest not only from the scientific point of view but it can also be important for teaching and learning English as the second language in naturalistic context as well as within school environment where the language becomes more instructed and less spontaneous.

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejsza dysertacja poświęcona jest dynamice zmian w wymowie nierodzimych użytkowników języka angielskiego i – jak sam tytuł rozprawy wskazuje – koncentruje się na badaniu wpływu czynników socjopsychologicznych na poziom wymowy języka angielskiego u polskich imigrantów zamieszkujących teren Londynu.

Zmienne fonetyczne wykorzystane przy przeprowadzeniu badania to aspiracja oraz rotyczność. Pierwsza zmienna definiowana jest jako przydech i w języku angielskim występuje w bezdźwięcznych głosekach wybuchowych /p/, /k/ oraz /t/ na początku zdania przed następującą po którejś z tych spółgłosek samogłosce bądź też na początku sylaby akcentowanej zawierającej którąś z wymienionych głosek. Aspiracja zazwyczaj nie występuje lub jej wartości są stosunków niskie po spółgłosce /s/ poprzedzającej głoski /p/, /t/ lub /k/, w sylabach nieakcentowanych bądź na końcu wyrazu (przed pauzą). Druga zmienna fonetyczna czyli rotyczność opisywana jest jako obecność dźwięcznej spółgłoski /r/ zaliczającej się do aproksymantów. W języku angielskim o obecności tego zjawiska mówimy w przypadku występowania spółgłoski /r/ w słowie kiedy występuje po długiej lub krótkiej samogłosce, na końcu wyrazu bądź na granicach wyrazów zakończonych samogłoską, w przypadku gdy następne słowo rozpoczyna się również od samogłoski (tzw. kontekst interwokaliczny), a /r/ jest również zaznaczone w pisowni. Mówimy wtedy o /r/ łączącym. Łączące /r/ może mieć charakter zarówno naturalny jaki i intruzyjny – tzn. pojawiać się w miejscach, gdzie naturalnie nie występuje i nie jest zaznaczone w pisowni. Łączące /r/ pojawia się w większości dialektów, w których w sposób naturalny zanika w kontekście postwokalicznym. Zjawisko występuje głównie w tych dialektach, w których /r/ zanika w kontekście spółgłoskowym. Obydwie zmienne uchodzą za prominentne cechy akcentu typowego dla jego brytyjskiej odmiany RP – tzw. *received pronunciation*, będącej wymową standardową na terenie Anglii (Sobkowiak, 1996; Roach, 2000; Jones, 1981; Wells, 1983; Cruttenden, 2014).

Czynniki socjopsychologiczne, które zostały poddane badaniu a następnie szczegółowej analizie to długość pobytu w kraju anglojęzycznym (z ang. *length of*

residence), poziom zaawansowania języka obcego (drugiego) podczas przyjazdu do danego kraju gdzie ten język jest tzw. pierwszym językiem (z ang. *L2 proficiency on arrival*) oraz strategia akulturacyjna (z ang. *acculturation strategy*) przyjmowana przez każdego imigranta, który decyduje się na dłuższy pobyt w kraju docelowego pobytu. Wybór tych konkretnych czynników podyktowany jest tym, iż w literaturze poświęca się im dużo miejsca. Dotychczasowe wyniki badań poświęcone zjawisku wpływu niniejszych czynników na kształtowanie się poziomu biegłości językowej (np. Flege, 1987; Flege et al., 2003; Schumann, 1986) zdają się potwierdzać, iż to właśnie one najbardziej znacząco wpływają na proces przyswajania języka obcego drugiego – uznawanego za najważniejszy po języku ojczystym (z ang. *SLA – Second Language Acquisition*).

Dysertacja zawiera łącznie pięć rozdziałów. Pierwsze dwa rozdziały poświęcone są w całości kwestiom teoretycznym. Rozdział pierwszy przedstawia i omawia zagadnienia związane z historią polskich ruchów imigracyjnych z perspektywy historycznej, jak również koncentruje się na profilach imigrantów, ich motywacji dotyczącej decyzji opuszczenia rodzimego kraju, interakcji pomiędzy Polakami, a mieszkańcami Londynu, wpływ ruchów imigracyjnych na sytuację w kraju docelowego pobytu oraz bieżąca sytuacja polskich imigrantów na Wyspach Brytyjskich. Rozdział drugi skupia się wybranych czynnikach socjopsychologicznych, które – jak wynika z poprzednich badań prowadzonych nad tym zagadnieniem – zdają się mieć znaczący wpływ na kształtowanie wymowy języka obcego (drugiego). Do czynników tych należą między innymi akulturacja, długość pobytu, poziom zaawansowania językowego w momencie przyjazdu, wiek przyjazdu, częstotliwość używania języka ojczystego i obcego, zdolności językowe oraz motywacja. Rozdział omawia jednocześnie wcześniejsze badania poświęcone wyżej opisywanym czynnikom. Rozdział trzeci, czwarty oraz piąty niniejszej dysertacji to rozdziały badawcze. W rozdziale trzecim omawiane są cele, hipotezy, zmienne, uczestnicy, instrumenty, procedura pozyskiwania danych oraz metodologia prezentowanego w pracy badania. Rozdział czwarty koncentruje się na przedstawieniu wyników badania. Rozdział piąty stanowi szczegółową analizę uzyskanych wyników w odniesieniu do każdej ze zmiennych fonetycznych oraz ich odniesienia do poszczególnych czynników socjopsychologicznych. Dużą część niniejszego rozdziału stanowi profil imigrantów przygotowany na podstawie uzyskanych danych jakościowych oraz dyskusja zawierająca w sobie ograniczenia badania oraz implikacje co do kierunku jaki można

obrać w przyszłych badaniach poświęconych aspektowi wymowy polskich imigrantów zamieszkujących tereny gdzie język angielski jest językiem powszechnie używanym (L1).

W badaniu udział wzięło 38 polskich imigrantów (kobiet oraz mężczyzn) zamieszkujących teren Londynu. Wiek uczestników badania wyniósł pomiędzy 20 a 35 lat. Osoby te poproszone zostały o wzięcie udziału w nagraniach wymowy. Zastosowana metodologia opierała się na eksperymencie złożonym z kilku części. W pierwszej fazie eksperymentu uczestnicy badania poproszeni zostali o wypowiedzenie wybranych słów w języku angielskim znajdujących się dookoła obrazka przedstawiającego ruchliwą ulicę (Appendix 2). Następnie uczestników poproszono o krótki opis tego co dzieje się na obrazku, uwzględniając umieszczone dookoła niego słowa. W drugiej części eksperymentu zadaniem uczestników badania było zrobienie dokładnie tego samego – tym razem jednak obrazek przedstawiający ruchliwą ulicę zawierał słowa polskie, z których wybrane należało wypowiedzieć (Appendix 3). Następnym zadaniem było opisanie obrazka w języku polskim. Trzecia część eksperymentu dotyczyła ankiety w formie wywiadu mającej na celu nakreślenie profilu każdego z imigrantów oraz ustalenie stosowanego typu akulturacji. W tej części uczestnicy musieli przeczytać, a następnie odpowiedzieć na pytania zawarte w ankiecie, a dotyczące między innymi ich pochodzenia, doświadczenia językowego, nastawienia do języka angielskiego.

Przeprowadzone badanie miało na celu weryfikację sześciu hipotez. Według pierwszej z nich, osoby które przebywały w Londynie powyżej 4 lat będą stosować aspirację na poziomie zbliżonym do natywnego użytkownika języka angielskiego niż te, których długość pobytu wynosiła od pół roku do 4 lat. Druga hipoteza zakładała, iż osoby bardziej zaawansowane językowo w momencie przyjazdu do Londynu będą stosować aspirację zarówno w swoim drugim języku jak i języku ojczystym niż osoby, które wyemigrowały do Wielkiej Brytanii bez znajomości języka angielskiego albo odznaczające się małym zaawansowaniem w jego użytkowaniu. Trzecia hipoteza przewidywała, że osoby które jako strategię akulturacyjną stosują asymilację bądź adaptację będą wymawiać poszczególne wyrazy z większym poziomem przydechu. Czwarta hipoteza zakładała, iż osoby przebywające w Londynie powyżej lat 4 nie będą stosować (lub będą stosować bardzo rzadko) /r/ w kontekstach gdzie w typowym RP ono nie występuje (oprócz kontekstów dla /r/ łączącego oraz /r/ intruzyjnego). Według

piątej hipotezy, osoby bardziej zaawansowane językowo w momencie przyjazdu nie będą stosować (lub będą stosować bardzo rzadko) /r/ w kontekstach gdzie w typowym RP ono nie występuje (oprócz kontekstów dla /r/ łączącego oraz /r/ intruzyjnego). Ostatnia czyli szósta hipoteza zakładała, iż wymowa osób które jako strategię akulturacyjną stosują asymilację bądź adaptację będzie charakteryzować się ogólnym brakiem rotyczności (szczególnie w kontekstach, gdzie /r/ nie występuje).

Analiza akustyczna oraz statystyczna zebranych próbek mowy ujawniła, iż istnieje ogólna tendencja według której Polscy imigranci (zarówno osoby z dłuższym jak i krótszym pobytem oraz zróżnicowaniem zaawansowania językowego) stosują aspirację – szczególnie na początku wyrazów zaczynających się na /p/, /t/ lub /k/ po których następuje samogłoska oraz w sylabie akcentowanej. Większość osób zapytanych po wykonaniu wszystkich zadań o to czy zdają sobie sprawę z istnienia zjawiska aspiracji odpowiedziało przecząco – dowodzić to może iż jest to na tyle charakterystyczna cecha akcentu typowego dla *received pronunciation*, że łatwo ją wychwycić i używać w mowie. Na podstawie porównanych próbek mowy w języku polskim oraz angielskim można zaobserwować, iż większość badanych przenosi wartości aspiracji typowe dla języka angielskiego również na wymowę w języku polskim. Sytuacja ma się nieco inaczej w przypadku rotyczności, gdzie – o ile dla większości badanych jest to zjawisko znane i dające się łatwo wychwycić z mowy codziennej – występuje pewna niekonsekwencja w wymowie bądź opuszczaniu /r/ w odpowiednich kontekstach. Co więcej jakość wymawianego dźwięku jest również zróżnicowana, szczególnie u osób mniej zaawansowanych językowo - w wymowie których /r/ pojawia się bardzo często w kontekstach gdzie wystąpić nie powinno - przypomina ono jakością /r/ typowe dla odmiany General American English (/r/ retrofleksyjne) bądź nawet typowo polską wymowę tego dźwięku. Jeśli chodzi o wpływ czynników socjopsychologicznych na wymowę w języku angielskim, na podstawie uzyskanych rezultatów przyjąć można, iż długość pobytu w kraju gdzie drugi język jest językiem powszechnie używanym jako osobny czynnik nie ma większego wpływu na produkcję aspiracji czy też na rotyczność bądź jej brak – w przeciwieństwie do drugiego z badanych czynników czyli poziomu zaawansowania językowego w momencie przyjazdu. Osoby bardziej zaawansowane językowo mają łatwiej już „na starcie”, używając języka znacznie częściej i chętniej aniżeli ci, którzy nie posiadają takiej swobody w posługiwaniu się językiem mówionym. Co ciekawe, wyniki

przeprowadzonego badania sugerują iż najbardziej skuteczną metodą na osiągnięcie poziomu wymowy zbliżonego do tzw. *native-like pronunciation* jest połączenie dwóch czynników czyli długości pobytu z poziomem zaawansowania językowego przy przyjeździe, tzn. osoby, które przebywają na terenie Londynu powyżej 4 lat i które przyjechały tutaj będąc średniozaawansowanymi bądź zaawansowanymi użytkownikami języka angielskiego odznaczają się wymową najbardziej zbliżoną jakościowo do rodzimych użytkowników tego języka. Warto również wspomnieć, iż akulturacja może również odgrywać istotną rolę w procesie kształtowania wymowy. Jako, że większość badanych używa strategii adaptacyjnej i charakteryzuje się pozytywnym podejściem do języka drugiego oraz do społeczności zamieszkującej teren gdzie jest on używany – może to zdecydowanie pomóc w kształtowaniu poziomu biegłości językowej znacznie przyspieszając ten proces.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire used for the purpose of the study.

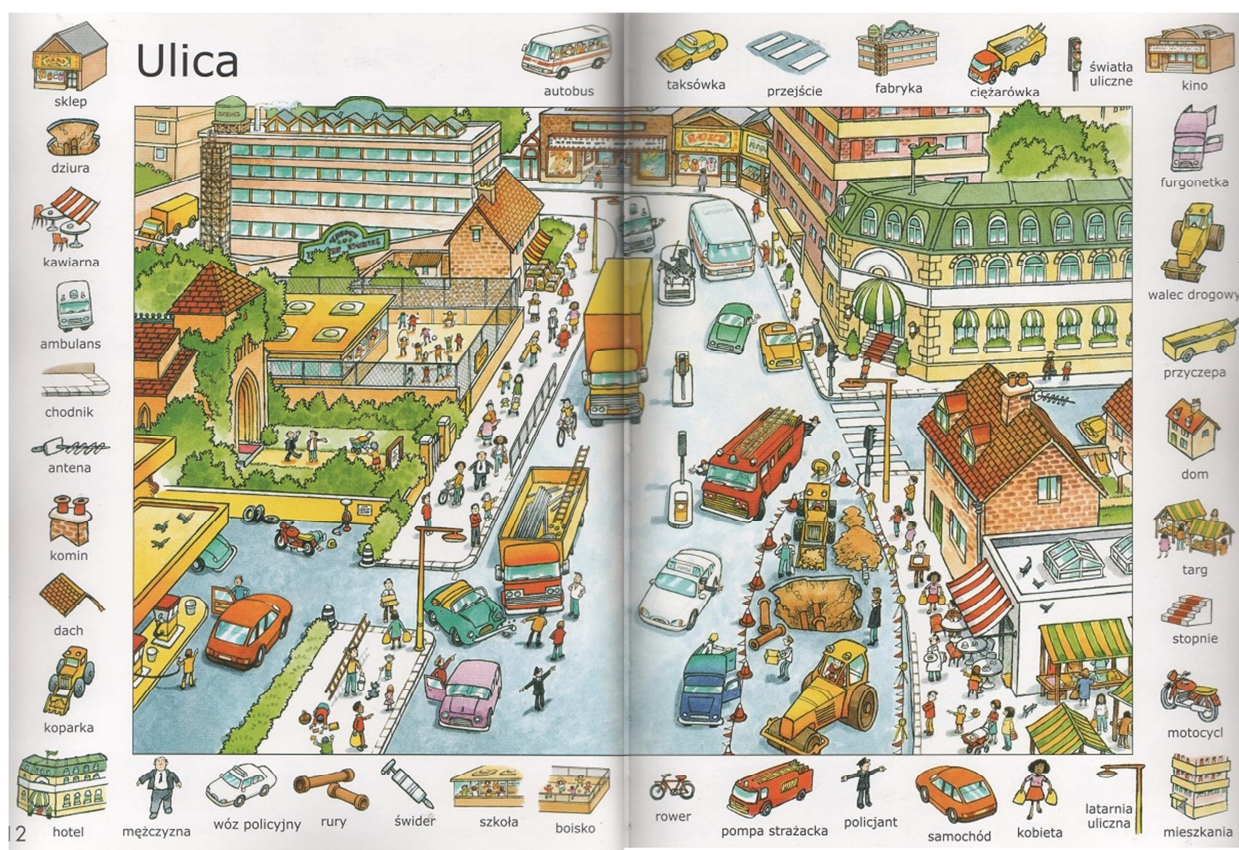
QUESTIONNAIRE:

1. When and where were you born?
2. What's your mother (first) language?
3. What's your second language?
4. Are there any other languages you speak?
5. When did you come to London? How old were you at that time?
6. Why did you decide to come here? To find a job/to study/to improve your English?
7. Did you learn English before coming to the UK? If yes, how long was that and how did you learn the language (regular school classes, special courses etc.)
8. Have you ever been to different parts of the UK before?
9. How do you learn English in the UK? Is it important for you to improve your language skills?
10. How would you assess your English before you came here and now?
11. Do you speak more Polish or English in everyday life situations?
12. How much Polish and English do you speak at home/at work/among friends/ when you have to communicate with British people (while doing the shopping etc.)?
13. Are there more Polish or English people in the community you live in?
14. Do you read any Polish newspapers/magazines or watch TV/radio programmes or films in Polish? How often do you do that?
15. Are you interested in what happens in Poland? Do you follow the news about the country of your origin?
16. How often do you go to Poland? Do you miss your country when you are in London?
17. How important it is for you to be recognized as a person of Polish origin?
18. Do you think the fact that you are Polish helps you in everyday life situations (like looking for a job etc.) or not? Are there any stereotypes of Polish people in the UK?
19. What do you think about English itself? Do you like the language, its melody etc.?
20. Do you like spending your free time with British people or do you prefer to have contact with your Polish friends? Do you take an active part in your community's social life?
21. What was the most difficult for you when you first came here? What kind of problems did you have as regards your new job, everyday life routine etc.?
22. Do you plan to settle down in London for good? Why?

Appendix 2. "The street" (adapted from "First Thousand Words in English" by Heather Amery, Usborne Publishing - Usborne Children's Books, 2007)



Appendix 3. "Ulica" (adapted from "First Thousand Words in Polish" by Heather Amery, Usborne Publishing - Usborne Children's Books, 2007)



Appendix 4. VOT results for all the speakers taking part in the study (n=38), data in milliseconds (ms); words read out in isolation.

	cafe	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
AniaA	73.72	116.04	75.32	104.21	79.03	42.06
AnitaL	55.01	102.08	83.03	53.43	42.09	34.06
DamianS	56.36	45.68	23.08	22.03	20.07	26.04
EmilkaM	32.05	84.07	24.57	26.08	30.14	29.03
KasiaK	47.13	70.97	73.82	59.61	36.04	25.14
MarekO	48.43	70.96	36.01	54.45	33.02	42.05
MichałK	56.83	67.19	68.21	49.01	56.88	42.25
MarcinB	64.06	111.69	79.16	46.01	99.55	26.02
PrzemekH	63.78	96.43	66.75	62.21	80.52	40.21
PrzemekW	38.13	43.58	35.02	33.32	42.03	38.33
MartaP	68.74	95.17	67.3	58.12	63.05	61.09
AsiaK	61.22	98.61	52.7	49.23	56.46	80.72
EwelinaG	77.72	112.25	64.4	56.03	42.09	51.62
JustynaK	63.06	93.22	44.1	66.42	55.34	52.72
Mariusz	39.04	70.95	17.09	45.15	23.63	32.11
Sylwia	60.49	129.1	67.99	82.95	113.51	72.97
KrzysiekR	54.04	65.44	71.01	76.92	63.02	43.17
KubaI	66.42	79.97	56.4	72.01	66.23	48.6
WojtekM	39.06	50.36	41.09	52.14	51.02	33.98
AniaR	71.02	133.71	59.53	68.13	41.15	42.4
BartekB	62.25	66.04	59.12	50.08	23.62	48.33
DorotaK	44.23	81.08	38.94	53.07	62.81	37.66
IlonaK	66.84	89.31	51.04	71.57	50.22	32.62
JarekP	59.01	38.8	22.14	28.45	21.03	11.48
KrzysiekH	59.39	98.3	102.43	78.39	61.09	52.94
KasiaK-M	72.09	78.26	65.03	46.68	42.26	42.83
MaciekJ	59.97	95.91	39.27	47.24	35.48	31.47
MarcinP	89.36	26.17	47.01	44.32	38.81	38.17
NataliaL	94.19	108.12	79.29	79.09	82.71	104.27
RenataB	98.45	110.1	41.03	36.12	80.1	44.73
Sebastian	71.45	90.54	38.02	37.01	40.63	22.01
Wojtek	57.82	69.85	50.15	39.58	33.01	34.03
MarcinT	57.11	93.03	73.23	68.95	74.02	61.41
KasiaP	47.63	54.7	61.33	57.81	59.28	43.65
IwonaL	66.46	88.3	71.56	66.84	53.51	37.88
KingaC	48.14	109.91	79.01	73.76	40.92	31.98
PawełS	55.61	107.11	65.18	63.5	68.73	38.51
MarzenaP	54.55	104.37	86.16	82.47	36.32	61.09

Appendix 5. VOT results for all the speakers taking part in the study (n=38), data in milliseconds (ms); words produced in sentences.

	cafe	car	police car	policeman	pipes	taxi
AniaA	67.53	104.76	76.4	99.51	84.32	46.96
AnitaL	63.04	105.37	88.21	62.06	51.06	39.43
DamianS	61.47	51.94	32.07	28.09	31.9	25.02
EmilkaM	34.94	79.55	37.13	29.58	31.7	33.58
KasiaK	42.31	63.14	62.59	61.06	36.92	30.04
MarekO	45.19	61.56	31.74	43.11	34.5	36.86
MichałK	50.47	61.42	58.6	47.06	53.02	38.4
MarcinB	45.55	67.84	40.47	37.15	78.69	28.54
PrzemekH	54.59	46.34	60.47	55.03	71.5	41.4
PrzemekW	40.18	37.56	38.95	35.07	39.86	41.07
MartaP	64.06	83.16	59.81	51.05	62.19	43.76
AsiaK	57.62	91.8	50.08	51.33	53.01	58.6
EwelinaG	65.81	78.39	53.08	46.61	36.04	49.22
JustynaK	59.49	81.4	54.6	62.09	51.11	48.73
Mariusz	32.27	63.89	21.04	39.17	22.78	30.79
Sylwia	70.33	72.07	65.7	66.76	62.34	70.56
KrzysiekR	53.61	60.4	53.79	49.6	60.93	54.17
KubaI	42.16	36.69	40.45	38.6	44.2	38.48
WojtekM	68.87	44.18	48.51	54.03	48.76	36.82
AniaR	72.01	95.12	76.94	57.04	77.34	41.37
BartekB	60.17	63.01	55.32	51.41	22.17	46.82
DorotaK	42.57	67.58	41.09	46.72	55.58	29.19
IlonaK	60.73	76.8	46.49	59.94	43.4	35.6
JarekP	54.07	34.57	26.98	20.14	19.03	15.78
KrzysiekH	70.97	73.82	59.61	36.04	25.14	51.62
KasiaK-M	68.7	66.75	62.21	80.52	40.21	67.99
MaciekJ	48.09	52.15	59.6	64.36	64.23	61.08
MarcinP	50.28	53.41	63.84	53.51	72.09	78.26
NataliaL	110.1	81.03	76.18	80.1	99.73	97.19
RenataB	85.68	103.08	89.03	98.07	78.04	39.84
Sebastian	65.94	83.07	33.81	35.66	39.36	26.48
Wojtek	54.2	38.48	36.82	35.54	20.54	22.83
MarcinT	58.2	52.62	63.76	53.67	71.56	70.97
KasiaP	52.26	61.94	61.02	44.36	39.23	41.69
IwonaL	72.09	78.26	65.03	73.07	46.72	43.96
KingaC	90.4	64.89	74.01	37.63	35.76	29.62
PawełS	86.74	60.47	61.18	66.58	54.27	32.87
MarzenaP	48.09	82.15	69.6	74.36	34.23	56.08