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CRITERIA TO DEFINE THE STANDARD LANGUAGE: A SURVEY AMONG POLISH STUDENTS*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 STANDARD VS NON-STANDARD

One of the most fundamental issues in language variation research is the standard/non-standard dichotomy. This dichotomy implies the existence of a situation in which non-standard varieties are definable on the basis of the extent to which they deviate from the standard language. In this view, the larger the number of deviations from the standard language, the more non-standard a variety is. The ultimate non-standard language, then, is the dialect, which deviates not only phonetically, but also on other linguistic levels, such as the grammatical and lexical. Hudson (1991: 32) indeed calls dialects simply 'non-standard varieties'.

However, non-standard varieties are not usually defined strictly on the basis of deviation from the standard variety. Instead, they are more or less viewed as autonomous entities. In linguistic circles, the definition of 'dialect' seems fairly straightforward: a regionally or socially distinctive variety, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures (Crystal 1995: 102-103). It is safe to say that among laymen stereotypical ideas of dialects are largely in line with this too. Speakers of these varieties are rela-

* This study was carried out during a leave of absence from the Catholic University of Nijmegen (Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen) in the Netherlands, to teach at the Centre for Dutch Culture (Ośrodek Kultury Niderlandzkiej) of the Catholic University of Lublin (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski) in Poland.

tively easily found: the so-called 'Non-mobile Older Rural Male' ('NORM') in particular is considered a likely speaker of the dialect of the area that he is from.

The definition of the standard language, on the other hand, is more problematic. Hudson (1991: 32) even considers the notion of standard language somewhat 'imprecise'. While for the definition of the dialect and its speakers a relatively limited array of characteristics suffices, for the definition of the standard language, a much wider range of criteria seems to be used. Not only are speakers that are not regionally identifiable often considered to speak the standard variety (Van der Wal & van Bree 1994: 21), speakers from certain areas are at the same time considered likely speakers of this variety. People in certain professions are strongly associated with standard speech, for instance newsreaders (Bell 1983). And, for instance, in certain types of media standard speech is thought to be found, such as radio (Bell 1983). The standard language is focused on here. The question is which of the possible criteria to define this variety can be considered most widely accepted, and can therefore be used in the search for exemplary speakers.

1.2 CULTURAL FACTORS

Few specific generalisations can be made regarding the standard language phenomenon. In different countries different political, cultural, etc. factors give the standard language its own specific position in the society in question. Therefore, any study of the standard language in a specific speech community should not as a matter of course be used to make generalisations about standard languages within communities in general. In the present survey, Poland is focused on. Few countries in the world have been threatened by neighbouring countries as much as Poland has. Over the centuries, Poland has been subjected to changes in size and shape, and the country has on occasion even disappeared of the map completely. This is likely to have had its effects on ideas of the function and nature of the national language.

This study was performed to function as comparative material for a survey performed in the Netherlands (Smakman & Van Bezooijen 1997). Similar surveys were held in two other speech communities: Japan and the north of Belgium (the Dutch-speaking area that is often referred to as 'Flanders'). These studies together will shed light upon the effects of cultural factors on ideas regarding the standard language.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY

In the above-mentioned surveys the standard language is the topic of investigation. In order to be able to compare the surveys, similar terminology needed to be used. For it was important that the respondents in all the surveys had more or less the same concept in mind.

In practice, terminology regarding standard languages can be both outdated and biased. In the Netherlands, for instance, there is some controversy as to the nomenclature regarding the standard language. The term *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* ('general civilised Dutch') is commonly used in lay circles. *Standaardnederlands* ('standard Dutch'), the more correct term to refer to the Dutch standard language, is a term that is not used regularly by laymen, but any Dutchman will nevertheless be able to understand it. In Poland, the same is true. There are three names that are well-known to refer to the standard language: *język polski ogólny*, *polszczyzna ogólna* (both meaning 'general Polish'), and *polszczyzna literacka* ('literary Polish'). However, in our survey we have opted to use the more correct – and less biased – name *standardowa polszczyzna* ('standard Polish'). Although this name is not usually used by laymen, any mother-tongue speaker of Polish will be able to grasp the concept that it refers to.

2. METHOD

2.1 RESPONDENTS

A group of respondents was looked for that would be able to give us some idea of living beliefs on standard Polish. The effects of listener variables (e.g. age, level of education, regional origin, and sex) were not tested. 140 students from the Catholic University of Lublin participated, varying in regional origin, gender, and – to a lesser degree – age. A typification of the group of respondents is presented in Table 1 on the next page.

Table 1: Characterisation of the respondents (all students at the Catholic University of Lublin) in terms of age, level of education, regional origin, and gender

Respondent variable		Number of respondents	
age	18-24	120	140
	25-31	20	
level of education	high	140	140
regional origin	north: Warmia & Mazury, Pomerania	29	140
	south-west: Silesia	6	
	west: Wielkopolska	3	
	central: Mazovia	14	
	south-east: Małopolska	88	
gender	male	59	140
	female	81	

The large majority of the respondents had the regular student age of 18 to 24, while others were a bit older than that, namely 25 to 31. The respondents' level of education is indicated to emphasise the fact that this group of respondents is in this respect far from average. Although all of them 'only' possessed a secondary school diploma, they were university students and on their way to achieving a high level of education. In Poland, being a university student is perhaps more of a privilege than it is in western countries.

The Catholic University of Lublin is situated in the south-east of Poland. Although its unique catholic nature is attracting students from all over the country, almost two thirds of the respondents were from the south-east of Poland. It should be noted, however, that this is a very large area, which included the major city of Cracow. Only a minority of the respondents were actually from the Lublin area. About a fifth of the respondents were from the north, and ten percent were from the central Mazovia area. Only a small number of them were from the west or south-west.

2.2 TASKS

The respondents were asked nine questions on standard Polish. The following matters were covered in the questions:

- a general description of standard Polish
- people with which professions speak standard Polish in particular
- whether males or females speak standard Polish in particular
- whether standard Polish is spoken on radio or television in particular

- which television presenters (from which channels) speak standard Polish in particular
- where in particular standard Polish is spoken
- the name of a famous speaker of standard Polish
- where the respondent learned about the criteria to define standard Polish
- whether the respondent him-/herself speaks standard Polish

Most of the questions were ‘closed’ questions, i.e. including response categories. Some of these closed questions contained an ‘open’ response category, i.e. one in which a word or phrase could be given by the respondent. The questions were asked in Polish. A copy of the original questionnaire is included in the appendix.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 DEFINITION OF STANDARD POLISH

The first task was to give a general definition of standard Polish. In this question, no response categories were offered. A wide variety of answers was given, which can nevertheless be categorised. The categories have been presented in Table 2 below. In the left hand column, a description is given of the category of criteria used by the respondents. In the middle column two examples are given of answers in this category. Of one category (‘various’), four examples are given, because the answers in this category were more diverse than the others. The right hand column contains the number of times the respondents referred to the category given on the left. As many respondents in their answer referred to more than one criterion, the total number of criteria used (=254) is higher than the number of respondents (=140). In fact, not all respondents answered this question, and 116 of them together presented these 254 criteria. Criteria used more than once by the same respondent have only been counted once.

It is clear from Table 2 that ‘correctness/grammaticality’ is considered the most important feature of the standard language. This criterion was used no less than 71 times, meaning that just over half the respondents applied it. The second most popular criterion was ‘generalness’. Sixty two respondents referred to this as an important prerequisite of standard Polish. This category can be subdivided into two subcategories. Many respondents (36) in this category referred to the high degree of understandability of standard Polish to everybody, while others (26) emphasised the non-elite character of this

Table 2. Responses to the question:
How would you describe standard Polish?

Type of criterion		Example	Number of times used	
correctness/grammaticality		'without grammatical mistakes' 'correct construction of sentences'	71	
general	commonly understood	'understandable to the majority' 'and understandable for all users'	36	62
	non-elite, Lingua Franca	'The language that we hear around us every day' 'and it is the language of the "mediocre" Pole'	26	
inherent qualities		'A soft language' 'Beautiful, melodic'	36	
regionally neutral		'Regional languages are not standard' 'Speech without words used only in a certain region'	35	
literary language		'literate' 'the language of contemporary literature'	8	
language from the media		'The language which is used by TV presenters (=the ones that say what's on next)'	7	
difficult		'it demands a lot of work, especially in the beginning' 'with many tricky parts'	6	
of a selected group	educated people	'The language of cultural and educated people' 'reflecting education'	3	5
	other	'used by certain groups of people' 'Not a great percentage in our society speaks correct Polish'	2	
nationalistic criterion		'without influence from foreign languages' 'and characteristic for inhabitants of Poland'	4	
natural		'without "stiff", created words' '"straight on", not too flashy'	4	
various		'without bad words' 'and one can't really state what the standard from of the Polish language is' 'Slavonic' 'without "backyard" words'	20	
Total number of criteria used			254	

variety, i.e. the 'common' character of standard Polish. According to the latter group it is the language that is accessible to everybody and is a binding factor for the Polish. More than a third of the respondents referred to the generalness of the standard language. This argument, therefore, carries great

weight. This is hardly surprising in a country that has geographically, and subsequently linguistically, been under threat so often and so severely.

Two other criteria that were also named often, were the (positive) natural qualities of standard Polish and its regionally neutral nature. Thirty six respondents described standard Polish on the basis of natural qualities, while 35 referred to standard Polish as the language variety that does not reveal the regional origin of speakers. These two arguments are well-known. Regional neutrality is perhaps the most popular criterion in linguistic circles (see 1.1), and outside these circles it is also regularly applied. Natural beauty, on the other hand, is more popular among laymen than among linguists. The effects of inherent qualities of language varieties are within language variation research increasingly dismissed as important factors in the evaluation of language varieties. Instead, norms imposed by society are considered important in the coming to existence of the aesthetic appreciation of language varieties (Giles, Bourhis, Trudgill & Lewis 1974).

Eight respondents referred to the standard language as a literary language, i.e. a language typical for writers. And it is true that language variation is less obvious when written, for pronunciation is not usually translated into orthography. The intellectual, 'deep', level of this type of language is another likely ground for its prestige. A surprisingly low number of respondents (7) associated standard Polish with the media. This may be due to the way the question was put. If asked where the standard language can be heard, the respondents might have given this answer more frequently. Six respondents considered standard Polish to be a difficult language. In some cases, the difficulty that foreigners experience when learning this language was put forward as an argument, meaning that these respondents were not juxtaposing varieties within Poland but rather standard Polish and other international languages. Five respondents referred to the standard language as a language that is spoken by a particular group of people. Three of these respondents in this respect referred to the high educational level of speakers of standard Polish, while the remaining two in more general terms considered it the language of a particular group. Four respondents gave answers that reeked of some mild nationalism. If interpreted differently, these answers could be added to the 'generalness'-category, i.e. referring to a language that binds the Polish people. Four respondents described the standard language as a natural language, or a language that is not forced in any way. Twenty criteria were brought forward that could not be categorised.

This general question about the definition of standard Polish was asked before all other questions. It is likely that of all the criteria that can be ap-

plied to describe standard Polish, these are the most important. For the respondents invented these themselves, whereas the criteria in the following questions were presented to them. The answers to these follow-up questions shed light on the relative importance of the variables within types of criteria, but the degree to which these criteria are actually used is not revealed clearly by these questions. Therefore, this first question can be considered the most important of all.

In the following questions, response categories were presented to the respondents. The answers to the questions have been visualised in figures. In these figures, the horizontal axis contains the response categories, and the vertical axis shows the percentage of respondents that chose each response category.

3.2 REGIONAL ORIGIN¹ OF SPEAKERS OF STANDARD POLISH

In the second question, the respondents were asked in which place standard Polish is predominantly spoken. Entities were presented as response categories that referred to different geographical orders of magnitude. First of all, the largest cities in the country were presented. Secondly, the main areas in Poland were offered as options. The respondents were also given the option of presenting a geographical entity of their own choosing. The total number of categories was 12. The answers can be seen in Figure 1 below.

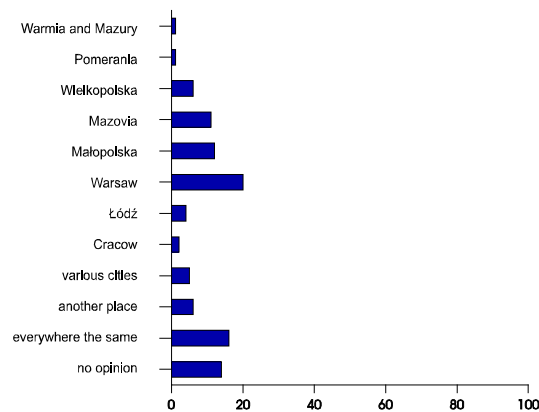


Figure 1: Responses to the question:
Where in Poland is standard Polish spoken in particular?

¹ The terminology in these place names is in Polish in those cases where English translations are nonexistent.

Interestingly, the two most frequent answers are contradictory. Of the respondents, 20% chose Warsaw as the place where standard Polish is most likely to be spoken, while regional neutrality ('everywhere the same') was chosen by 16% of the respondents. But both answers are in line with common assumptions on this subject. Capital cities are often named as places where standard languages are spoken. This is because the capital city is often the most dominant city within a country, i.e. the political, cultural, financial, etc. centre. It is therefore not surprising that it becomes linguistically dominant too. Poland is no exception in this respect. Regional neutrality, too, is in the literature considered an important prerequisite for a language to be standard, as was indicated in 1.1.

Małopolska (12%) and Mazovia (11%) were also chosen by a considerable number of respondents. Warsaw lies in Mazovia, the central area in Poland. So, this area is likely to be associated with this (capital) city. But such an association of an area with its most prominent city does not necessarily take place. The southeastern area of Małopolska (lit. 'small Poland') was chosen by only one percent more (12%) than was Mazovia, while its blooming cultural centre, Cracow, was only chosen by two percent of the respondents. Wielkopolska ('large Poland'), the western region bordering on Germany, with large cities such as Poznań and Gniezno, was chosen by six percent of the respondents. This area was part of the German Republic for long stretches of time, and it seems hard to explain why it should be preferred to all of the other answers. Łódź, the large industrial city close to Warsaw – also in the central Mazovia region – was chosen by four percent of the respondents. The northern region of Warmia & Mazury, which contains the city of Olsztyn, was chosen by one percent of the respondents, and so was the northeastern area of Pomerania. Five cities ('various cities') were mentioned by one or two percent of the respondents: the northeastern city of Białystok, the northern city of Gdańsk, the northwestern city of Szczecin, the western city of Poznań, and the southern city of Wrocław. In all of these cases, these were the cities where the respondents came from themselves. Six percent of the respondents named another place ('another place, namely...'). Regional origin of respondents seems to play a noticeable role and should be investigated further. Fourteen percent of the respondents had no opinion.

3.3 PROFESSIONS OF SPEAKERS OF STANDARD POLISH

Next, the respondents were asked to indicate which profession they associated most with standard Polish. The list of response categories consisted of professions that are likely to fulfil a linguistically exemplary function. Also, professions were offered within which speakers need to speak clearly. Furthermore, there were professions that were directly or indirectly related to the Polish language. Finally, the respondents were given the option of naming another profession. The total number of response categories was 11. The answers to this question can be seen in Figure 2 below.

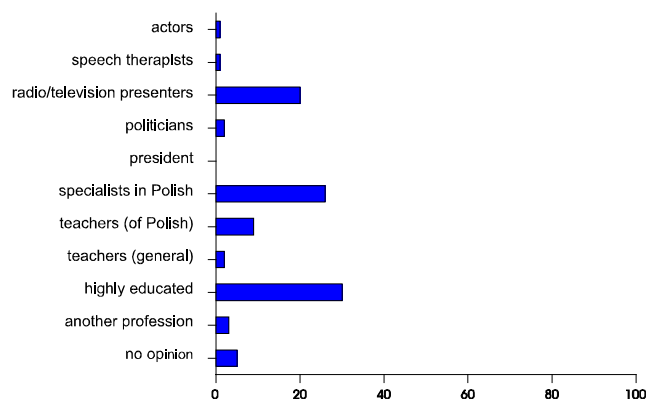


Figure 2: Responses to the question:
People with which professions speak standard Polish in particular?

The respondents strongly associated three groups of professions with standard Polish, namely highly educated people (30%), specialists in Polish (26%), and radio and television broadcasters (20%). Of these three groups, only the last one (media presenters) are in the literature named as stereotypical speakers of the standard language (see 1.1). Indeed, their speech needs to be neutral to people from all parts of the country, all social fractions of society, etc., so that the listeners' attention automatically focuses on content. It is, by the way, possible that the speech of broadcasters is considered standard merely because of the position they occupy. They have been considered fit for presenting national broadcasts, and viewers/listeners are aware of this.

The two most popular answers ('highly educated people'/'specialists in Polish'), on the other hand, can be considered surprising. In the literature, it

is uncommon for these two groups of people to be stereotypical speakers of the standard language, although theoretically speaking both are likely to approximate the standard. As far as highly educated speakers are concerned, the fact that they are a minority in Poland is a plausible explanation for any exceptional linguistic status that they might have. Research on criteria to define the standard language has focused mainly on western countries, i.e. countries where nowadays being highly educated is a rule rather than an exception. Experts of Polish occupy themselves professionally with the Polish language and pass on their expertise to others. It can be assumed that according to the respondents these professionals are particularly knowledgeable when it concerns the standard language.

The respondents make a noticeable distinction between teachers in general (2%) and teachers of Polish (9%). The specific expertise relating to the Polish language makes a difference in this respect, one might think. However, speech therapists (1%), who can also be considered to be professionally concerned with teaching the prestige language in Poland, are hardly associated with the standard language. Only two percent chose politicians, and no one chose the president. One percent of the respondents chose actors and another five percent had no opinion. Three percent of the respondents seem to have chosen another profession, but in fact they named highly educated people.

3.4 GENDER OF SPEAKERS OF STANDARD POLISH

It is sometimes claimed that within speech communities women approximate the standard more than do men. A large number of studies has reached this conclusion (e.g. Fischer 1958; Levine & Crockett 1966; Anshen 1969; Romaine 1978). The outcome of later research (e.g. Milroy 1980; Thomas 1987) suggested that this classic sociolinguistic pattern should be considered an overgeneralisation. In our study, instead of researching actual speech behaviour, presuppositions by listeners were tested. The respondents were asked whether they perceived a difference in the extent to which females and males approximate standard Polish. The total number of response categories was four. The responses to this question are shown in Figure 3 on the next page.

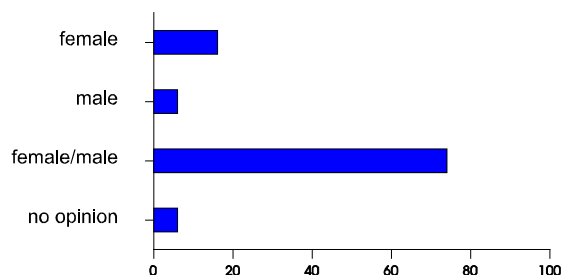


Figure 3: Responses to the question:
Is standard Polish spoken by females or males in particular?

The results are in line with what could have been expected on the basis of the literature. It is clear that basically females and males are considered to speak standard Polish to the same extent (74%). However, in most cases where respondents made a choice between the two sexes, females (16%) were chosen rather than males (6%). Another six percent were indecisive.

3.5 STANDARD POLISH ON RADIO OR TELEVISION

National media programmes are aimed at listeners from all ages, all parts of the country, and all layers of society. It can therefore be assumed that radio and television broadcasters speak a language that is widely considered highly neutral. At the same time, the possibility cannot be dismissed that radio speech is judged differently from television speech. For radio and television presenters have been selected on the basis of different criteria. Television presenters can be assumed to have been selected on the basis of not only their speech but their physical exterior as well. The respondents were asked about possible differences between the degree of standardness of the speech of speakers from radio and television. The results of this question have been presented in Figure 4 on the next page.

From this figure it becomes clear that radio speech (24%) and television speech (24%) are considered to be highly standard by the same percentage of respondents, which goes against what could have been expected. Forty eight percent of the respondents considered both types of speech to be equally likely to be standard. So, no distinction at all is made between radio and

television by almost half the respondents, while those that distinguished between these two types of speech (also almost half the respondents) were equally likely to choose either. Four percent of the respondents did not have an opinion.

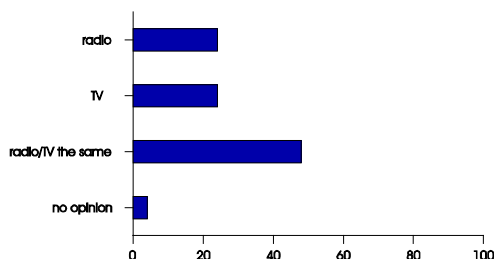


Figure 4: Responses to the question:
Is standard Polish spoken on radio or on television in particular?

3.6 STANDARD POLISH ON WHICH BROADCASTING CHANNELS

Next, the respondents were asked whether the speech of presenters on public or commercial television channels comes closest to standard Polish. As private (= commercial) broadcasting is less firmly established than public broadcasting, the speech from public (= non-commercial) channels is more likely to be considered close to the standard. The reason why only television was included in this question was that the subdivision of television channels into public and private is more topical and salient than that of radio channels. A distinction was also made between news broadcasts and other broadcasts. News broadcasts may be considered closer to the standard because of the stylised nature of the language used in them. The total number of response categories was eight. The answers to this question can be seen in Figure 5 on the next page.

The hypothesis that speech from public broadcasts is most often considered to approximate the standard, is supported by these results. So is the suggestion that on the news the standard is approximated most often, at least on public channels. Fifty eight percent of the respondents chose public channel speech: public news broadcasts (27%) were considered more likely to be standardlike than general public broadcasts (18%), and the public channels TV1 and TV2 scored five and eight percent, respectively.

Private channels were by only seven percent of the respondents considered particularly likely to broadcast standard speech: private news broadcasts scored three percent and private general broadcasts scored four percent. Twenty two percent considered speech from all broadcasting channels to be equally likely to be standard. Twelve percent did not have an opinion.

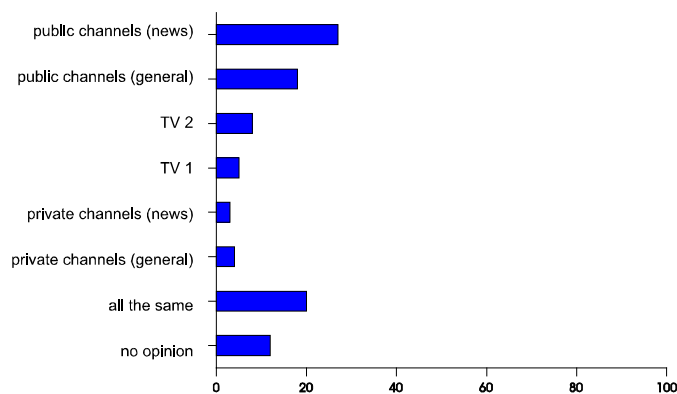


Figure 5: Responses to the question:
Which television presenters speak standard Polish in particular?

3.7 FAMOUS SPEAKER OF STANDARD POLISH

After the respondents answered all the questions relating to the nature and origins of standard Polish, and thus had familiarised themselves with the standardness phenomenon, they were asked whether they knew a famous speaker of standard Polish. A large variety of answers was given, only 11 respondents did not answer this question. In total, the names of 59 different speakers were given. Six of these speakers were mentioned more than once. These six can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The six most frequently mentioned famous speakers of standard Polish

Position	Famous speaker	Sex	Reason for fame	Number of times mentioned
1	prof. Jan Miodek	male	radio and television; professor of Polish	57
2	Krystyna Czubówna	female	television news show; famous for her 'oustanding' use of Polish	6
3	Tomasz Lis	male	television (foreign) news reporter	5
4	Krzysztof Zanussi	male	film director	3
5	Krzysztof Ibisz	male	television, etc.	3
6	Monika Olejnik	female	television, etc.	2

A striking first place is occupied by the famous professor Jan Miodek. He is a specialist in the Polish language, a linguist. He is the presenter of the Polish television programme on language, called *Ojczyzna Polszczyzna*, which can be translated as ‘Native Polish’ or ‘Motherland Polish’. Furthermore, he publishes articles on linguistic topics. In line with the answers of earlier questions, this professor is both highly educated and a television presenter. Moreover, he is portrayed as a language expert. Therefore, the fact that he is a linguistic role model is not surprising.

The second to sixth places are all taken up by people that have become famous through television and/or radio, but who are also known for other reasons. The remaining 53 famous speakers were largely known from the media. University lecturers were also mentioned often. The latter group consisted mainly of university professors that the respondents knew personally. It can be assumed that this type of linguistic model is typical for students. Finally, other speakers were mentioned that respondents knew personally. Most of these were not famous.

3.8 ORIGIN OF BELIEFS ABOUT STANDARD POLISH

To find out where the above-mentioned beliefs on standard Polish originate from, the respondents were asked where they obtained their opinions on standard Polish. ‘School’ and ‘home’ were two of the response categories, along with ‘I read it somewhere’. Furthermore, there was the possibility to give another origin (‘somewhere else, namely... ’). The total number of response categories was five, and the answers to this question can be found in Figure 6 below.

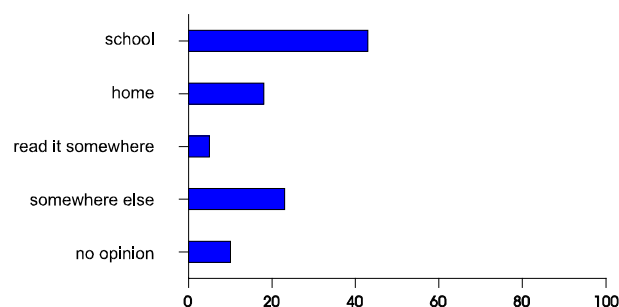


Figure 6: Responses to the question:
Where do your beliefs on the nature and origin of standard Polish originate from?

A large percentage of respondents (43%) claimed they had learned about standard Polish in school. Eighteen percent had learned it at home, and five percent had read it somewhere. Twenty three percent of the respondents ticked 'somewhere else, namely...'. When we look at the answers respondents wrote down in this response category, we see that they are too diverse to categorise. Some examples are:

'somewhere else, namely...'

'... life experience'

'... contact with people from different regions of Poland'

'... intuition'

'... being around people using standard Polish'

'... from observations and comparison'

'... from TV shows'

These seemingly ill supported grounds on how beliefs on standard Polish have come to existence may mean that what is asked may be something the respondents are merely passively aware of. Ten percent of the informants explicitly stated that they did not know where their beliefs on standard Polish originated from.

3.9 RESPONDENTS' OWN USE OF THE STANDARD LANGUAGE

Finally, the respondents were asked whether they spoke standard Polish themselves. It is often claimed that the standard language is spoken by only a small number of speakers. In the Netherlands, for instance, it was once estimated that only three percent of the Dutch population speaks the standard language (Kloeke 1951: 27-28). Due to the informalisation of standard languages and the fact that linguistic norms have slackened, it is likely that today speakers will be more likely to consider themselves speakers of the standard. It should be noted that estimates by linguists do not necessarily agree with the percentage of speakers that consider themselves speakers of the standard. The answers to this question can be seen in Figure 7 on the next page.

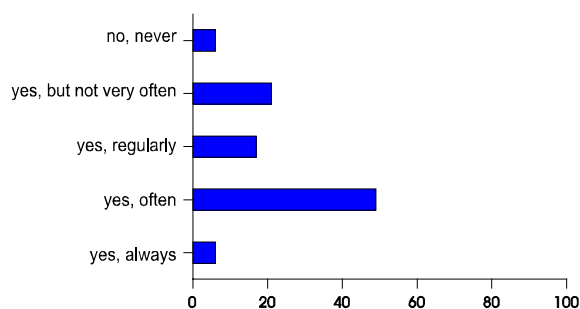


Figure 7: Responses to the question:
Do you speak standard Polish yourself?

All respondents were students and were therefore more than averagely likely to speak the standard language. When we add up all respondents that answered ‘yes, ...’ to this question, we see that a strikingly high percentage of 93% considered themselves capable of speaking the standard and claimed to actually use it. The respondents could be applying less strict norms, and could thus be including regional varieties of the standard. This is also a popular approach among some linguists today. Of the group of speakers that claimed to be able to speak standard Polish, most (49%) claimed to use it often. Six percent of the respondents claimed to use it all the time. Twenty one percent of the respondents claimed to speak it, but not very often, while 17% of the respondents claimed to speak it regularly. Six percent of the respondents claimed never to speak it. This does not mean that they are saying they are not able to speak it. This answer may, for example, be indicative of negative attitudes regarding standard speech, or of some moral linguistic stance.

4. SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

A study was carried out into the criteria that Polish students apply in their definition of the standard language in Poland. Students (n=140) from the

Catholic University of Lublin, in the south-east of Poland, participated. When asked to give a general description of standard Polish, correctness/grammaticality was mentioned most often as an important prerequisite for a language to be standard. It was also described as the language that Polish people have in common, and that functions as a *Lingua Franca*. The (positive) natural qualities and the regionally neutral nature of this variety were also frequently used as arguments.

The centrally located capital city of Warsaw was most often chosen as the place where the standard language is most likely to be spoken. Furthermore, the southeastern Małopolska area and the central Mazovia region were popular answers. Newsreaders are considered to be good speakers of standard Polish, along with people that have some professional interest in the Polish language, such as teachers of Polish and Polish linguists. The standard language is also associated strongly with highly educated speakers. Men and women are considered more or less equally likely to approximate standard Polish: there was only a minor bias towards females in this respect. On average, radio and television presenters are considered equally likely to be speakers of standard Polish, but opinions varied strongly in this respect. This variety is more likely to be spoken on non-commercial than on commercial channels. The most well-known speaker of standard Polish is Jan Miodek, the famous Polish television presenter of a language programme, and generally famous presenters from the media are considered likely speakers of the standard. School and home were mentioned frequently as the places of origin of beliefs on standard Polish. Almost all respondents considered themselves able to speak standard Polish, and a majority of the respondents claimed to speak it on a regular basis.

The results of this survey support many of the well-known assumptions about the standard language, while other results are by no means what could have been expected. It is surprising that highly educated speakers are by many considered good standard language speakers. The other results are in line with what could have been expected, for instance the fact that the capital city and the surrounding region is the place where the standard language is considered to be most dominant, and the link between media speech and the standard language. Finally, the research shows that the binding function of the standard language is particularly strong in Poland. The respondents seemed to take considerable pride in their national language.

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APPENDIX: THE ORIGINAL POLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

(p.t.o.)

ANKIETA

To jest ankieta o standardowości językowej w Polsce, jest przeznaczona dla studentów w celu porównania jej z wynikami uzyskanymi w Holandii. Podobne badanie zostanie przeprowadzone we flamandzkojęzycznej części Belgii. Te trzy ankiety pozwolą na stworzenie diagnostycznej części socjofonetycznych badań nad poziomem języka holenderskiego oraz nad „kryteriami standardowości językowej”.

Ankieta jest anonimowa.

DANE OSOBISTE

- *Jaki jest twój wiek?:*
- *Podaj swoją płeć:*
- *Z jakiej miejscowości pochodzisz?:*
- *W jakich miejscowościach mieszkałeś do 25-tego roku życia? (Podaj nazwy):*

.....

KWESTIONARIUSZ

1. *Opisz standardową postać języka polskiego:*

.....

.....

2. *Ludzie jakich zawodów posługują się standardową polszczyzną? Daj tylko jedną odpowiedź.*

- aktor
- logopeda
- prezenter wiadomości w radiu/telewizji
- polityk
- prezydent
- nauczyciel języka polskiego
- specjalista od języka polskiego
- nauczyciele generalnie
- człowiek wykształcony
- inny zawód (podaj nazwę)
- nie mam zdania

3. *Czy standardową polszczyzną posługują się szczególnie kobiety, czy też mężczyźni? Daj tylko j e d n ą odpowiedź.*
- kobiety
 - mężczyźni
 - mężczyźni i kobiety w tym samym stopniu
 - nie mam zdania
4. *Standardową polszczyzną spotykasz przede wszystkim w radiu, czy w telewizji? Daj tylko j e d n ą odpowiedź.*
- radio
 - telewizja
 - w obu przypadkach w tym samym stopniu
 - nie mam zdania
5. *Język którego spośród prezenterów telewizyjnych najbardziej odpowiada kryteriom standardowej polszczyzny? Daj tylko j e d n ą odpowiedź.*
- prezenter wiadomości telewizji publicznej
 - prezenter telewizji publicznej
 - prezenter TV1
 - prezenter TV2
 - prezenter wiadomości telewizji prywatnej
 - prezenter telewizji prywatnej
 - w obu przypadkach w takim samym stopniu
 - nie mam zdania
6. *Gdzie według Ciebie występuje najbardziej standardowa polszczyzna? Daj tylko j e d n ą odpowiedź.*
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Warmia i Mazury | <input type="radio"/> Wrocław |
| <input type="radio"/> Pomorze | <input type="radio"/> Gdańsk |
| <input type="radio"/> Wielkopolska | <input type="radio"/> Warszawa |
| <input type="radio"/> Śląsk | <input type="radio"/> Łódź |
| <input type="radio"/> Mazowsze | <input type="radio"/> Kraków |
| <input type="radio"/> Małopolska | <input type="radio"/> inne miejsce (podaj nazwę): |
| <input type="radio"/> Białystok | <input type="radio"/> na całym obszarze Polski |
| <input type="radio"/> Szczecin | <input type="radio"/> nie mam zdania |
| <input type="radio"/> Poznań | |
7. *Podaj nazwisko człowieka, który – według Ciebie – posługuje się najbardziej standardową polszczyzną, skąd znasz tę osobę?*
- imię i nazwisko:
 - jest ona mi znana z:

8. *Jak ukształtowałeś swoją opinię – gdzie i przez kogo – o zastosowaniu standardowej polszczyzny? Daj tylko j e d n ą odpowiedź.*

- w szkole
- w domu
- gdzieś o tym czytałem
- w inny sposób (podaj nazwę):
- nie mam zdania

9. *Czy mówisz standardową polszczyzną?*

- nie, nigdy
- tak, ale niezbyt często
- tak, regularnie
- tak, prawie zawsze
- tak, zawsze

Dziękuję za wypełnienie formularza.

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KRYTERIA DEFINICJI JĘZYKA STANDARDOWEGO:
ANKIETA PRZEPROWADZONA WŚRÓD STUDENTÓW POLSKICH

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Przeprowadzone badanie miało na celu poznanie kryteriów, jakie studenci polscy stosują, definiując język ogólnopolski. Badaniu zostało poddanych 140 studentów Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.

Proszeni o to, by podali ogólny opis polszczyzny standardowej, wymieniali bardzo często jako warunek podstawowy poprawność/gramatyczność. Język polski ogólny był również opisywany często jako język wspólny wszystkim Polakom, tj. jako ich Lingua Franca. Jego naturalne (pozytywne) cechy, jak i jego wolność od regionalizmów były też nierzadko podawane jako argumenty.

Centralnie położona stolica kraju, Warszawa, była często wskazywana jako miejsce, gdzie polszczyzną ogólną mówi się najprawdopodobniej najlepiej. Ponadto zazwyczaj był wymieniany obszar południowo-wschodni, jakim jest Małopolska, i obszar położony centralnie, jakim jest Mazowsze. Prezenterów medialnych uważano za dobrze władających polszczyzną ogólną – na równi z osobami, które poniekąd profesjonalnie są związane z językiem polskim, takimi jak: nauczyciele języka polskiego czy polscy językoznawcy. Polszczyzna ogólna kojarzy się zatem ściśle z osobami wysoko wykształconymi. Mężczyzn i kobiety oceniano mniej więcej tak samo pod względem władania polszczyzną ogólną. Tylko jeden raz pojawiło się mniej przychylnie nastawienie do kobiet. Prezenterów radiowych i telewizyjnych uważano za mówiących jednako poprawnie ogólnym językiem polskim, chociaż opinie pod tym względem wahały się znacznie. Przewagę przyznawano przy tym raczej spikerom z programów niekomercyjnych niż komercyjnych. Spośród wszystkich prezenterów medialnych za wzorowo mówiących po polsku uważano prezenterów wiadomości. Najbardziej znana osoba mówiąca polszczyzną ogólną, Jan Miodek, słynny w Polsce redaktor telewizyjnego programu językowego, a generalnie prezenterzy w mediach mówionych byli uważani za najlepiej władających polskim językiem standardowym.

Szkoła i dom rodzinny były najczęściej wymieniane jako miejsca poznawania zasad polszczyzny standardowej. Prawie wszyscy uczestnicy ankiety uważali siebie samych za zdolnych do mówienia polszczyzną ogólną, a zarazem znaczna ich większość utrzymywała, że mówi po polsku, opierając się na poprawnych zasadach.