

Sarah Cozens

University of Auckland

From the Heart of Europe to the End of the World

— **Language and Cultural Maintenance in Second Wave**

Polish Migrants in Auckland, New Zealand

The tripartite division of Poland between Prussia, Austro-Hungary and Russia, beginning with the First Partition in 1773, effectively annihilated the concept of Polish citizenship until sovereignty was restored in 1918. Research into Polish migrations for this period yields lists of 'Germans' or 'Russians' with distinctly Polish names and birthplaces¹ who, were it not for the vicissitudes of history, would have proudly borne the designation 'Polish citizen' and may not have found it necessary to leave their homeland. Although usually referred to as German citizens,² the naturalists Jan Rajnold Forster and Jan Jerzy Adam Forster, who accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage to New Zealand in 1772, could be considered the first Poles to have set foot on New Zealand soil. Of Scottish origin — their family having taken refuge in

Poland a century before — the Forsters nevertheless considered themselves to be Poles, as is evident from a letter published in Pobóg-Jaworowski (1990, 14).³ In subsequent years, Polish sailors crewed on whaling expeditions in New Zealand waters, but the explorer Paul Edmund Strzelecki was the second Pole documented as having landed here (ibid). He spent three months in 1839 in the Hokianga, Bay of Islands and Auckland areas. Polish gold prospectors came and went; however, the first, albeit unnamed, migrant specifically listed as a Polish citizen to have settled in New Zealand did so in the 1850s (Cholmondely 1854, 80). The 1860s saw a number of arrivals, including that of Gustaw von Tempsky, the commanding officer of the Forest Rangers (Pobóg-Jaworowski 1990, 14). Sygurd Wiśniowski, a writer and explorer, visited New Zealand in 1864 and based a travelogue and his 1877 novel *Dzieci Królowej Oceanii (Tikera or Children of the Queen of Oceania)* on his experiences here. From 1870 onwards, a distinct pattern in Polish migration to New Zealand emerged — the three mass migrations, which were politically conditioned, and intermediary individual arrivals, more for economic reasons and family reunification purposes. On the basis of Pobóg-Jaworowski's research and Census New Zealand figures, one would estimate that some 7,000 Poles have settled in this country.

To move from Poland to New Zealand, whether in the nineteenth or the twentieth century, was to leave a land situated in the heart of Europe for a remote location in the South-West Pacific. Poland's existence as a unified state dates back to the baptism of Mieszko I of the Piast Dynasty in 965 and her history lays claim to 1,000 years of Roman Catholicism, a rich cultural, scholarly and artistic heritage, significant military victories, a tradition of tolerance and parliamentary democracy as well as important links with European royalty. Tragically, that same country, with rich mineral reserves and a central geographic location which includes ports on the Baltic, has

been weakened frequently by internal conflict and fallen prey to the nationalistic aspirations of her neighbours. The three mass migrations to New Zealand (hereafter referred to as Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3) each reflect a period of major upheaval in Polish history. Wave 1 (1872–1883) occurred during the years that Poland was partitioned and mainly involved citizens from the Prussian-ruled sector of Poland. Wave 2 (1944–1952) saw the arrival of some 800 orphaned and 750 displaced persons and was a consequence both of World War II and the Marshall Plan, which placed Poland under the influence of the Soviet Union. The 330 Polish refugees selected from the camps in Austria or granted refugee status in New Zealand in the years 1981–1983 (Wave 3) reflected the precarious political situation in Poland with the rise of Solidarity, the threat of Soviet invasion and the subsequent imposition of martial law. Although chronologically and demographically diverse, each wave of migrants has shared the experience of departure from a country whose national destiny was no longer its own and whose very existence was in jeopardy. However, the internal political situation of a country is not the only factor to affect national identity. Emigration constitutes a significant threat to the identity of those who depart because one cannot simply transplant one's cultural universe from the birth to the host country. Resettlement poses challenges to individual and group values and these challenges, although different from those faced by those who remain in the country of birth, nevertheless have the potential to reshape, if not completely undermine, the very essence of what the act of emigration was supposed to preserve.

In this paper, the retention of their Polishness in the diaspora by second-wave migrants is examined. This group is of the greatest interest because one is able to examine the state of language and cultural maintenance not only in Generation 1 (the original migrants), but in their

New Zealand-born children and grandchildren (Generations 2 and 3). Stoffel (2000, 807) notes that numerically ethnic community populations tend to exceed the number of people using the languages in them. This suggests that the use of language is an indicator of the nature of personal and group identity and certainly a previous study of the Polish language in Auckland (Surus 1985) hinted at such a correlation. In this vein, particular attention will be paid to language maintenance and shift in Auckland's Polish population. Factors within a migrant group's control — the roles that Polish plays, community language consciousness in ethnic, political and religious terms, the prestige value of the native tongue, both in opposition and complementary to that of the host language — will be discussed in the context of their contribution to Generation 1 language maintenance. Simultaneously, the changing shape of cultural implementation will be discussed with regard to language shift and potential attrition in Generations 2 and 3.

The Poland our target group left came initially under the hand of a Stalinist regime which aspired to annihilate national identity by attacking and undermining those elements most dear to Polish hearts — church, language and culture. Davies' (1986, 8–9) account of those times includes the confiscation of church property, arrests and deportations of clergy, virulent anti-religious propaganda and the building of the dormitory steelworkers' city, Nowa Huta, without a church. All of these acts constituted an attempt to reinvent Poland as an atheist state. Polish history was rewritten to omit all mention of Poland's former power and influence and the works of numerous writers were banned for their supposedly bourgeois content. Intellectuals were harassed and artists and writers were expected to produce works of a socialist realist nature to extol the worker, the party and an optimistic future under socialism. Russian became a compulsory subject, the ultimate aim being its equal status with Polish as the official language. Attempts

were made to Russify Polish: the formal 'you' form using *Pan/Pani* was to be replaced with the Russian second person plural form *Wy*; the term *towarzyææ* (comrade) was intended to replace *Pan/Pani* as a title. D'bowska (1999, 67–69) describes how economic, social and political areas of Polish lexicon were inundated with Soviet-style terminology (*piêciolatka, aktyw partyjny*), military phraseology to convey the uncompromising and sacrificial status of party and worker (*front robot, bitwa o plan*) as well as strict rules binding terminology (i.e., not *strajk* but *przerwa techniczna*, not *podwy¿ka cen*, but *poprawa struktury cen*). Yet, Poles continued to worship, to recall their glorious past, to read forbidden works and, in the case of writers such as Zbigniew Herbert, to write 'for the drawer'.⁴ They studied Russian, but confined it to the classroom, the use of *Wy* and *towarzyææ* was confined to party circles and Soviet-style terminology remained largely in the public arena, unless used with considerable sarcasm behind closed doors. Stalin equated the introduction of communism to Poland with 'fitting a cow with a saddle' (Davies 1986, 3) and, with the benefit of historical hindsight, we are aware of the extent of Polish non-capitulation. The sheer force of numbers, cohesiveness in the face of the common enemy, the fact that economic survival was not entirely conditioned by the use of another language and the existence (even if often clandestine) of established religious, cultural and political organisations all played a part in the maintenance of a uniquely Polish identity and a language which would not submit to Russification.

However, not all the above conditions favouring resistance were available to Wave 2 migrants, for whom the act of leaving their homeland meant becoming an ethnic minority in a foreign country. Low numbers, the absence of established Polish cultural, religious and language institutions,⁵ the need to quickly learn English for economic survival and attendant pressures

from the host society to assimilate would force them to demonstrate considerable resilience in order to retain their Polish identity. The host language and culture had the potential to impinge on numerous areas of the migrants' lives and to force acculturation in a way in which no foreign invader could succeed. The issue of language and cultural maintenance hinges on a number of factors which potentially have a positive or negative influence on any migrant community's ability or, indeed, desire to retain its ethnic identity as well as on the aspects of that identity which it chooses to preserve. Thus, socio-demographic factors, the circumstances relating to the country of birth and to the host society as well as the values upheld by Auckland Poles collectively and individually provide a valuable insight into the nature of their identity in exile.

High numbers and concentrations can positively influence language and cultural maintenance, although they do not always guarantee it. A broader spectrum of community-based activities is possible, as may be the creation of an economically self-sufficient group. Such factors potentially limit the amount of interaction with the host society and therefore are conducive to greater resistance to its linguistic and cultural influences. Auckland's second-wave population numbers some 600; approximately one-third of who reside in the central western and western suburbs of Sandringham, Mt Albert, Titirangi, Kelston, New Lynn, Henderson and Green Bay. Economic self-sufficiency has not been possible, and there are no distinctly Polish streets or suburbs. Nevertheless, the numbers have been sufficient to maintain an active community centre, a Polish priest, regular social, cultural and sporting activities, language classes and a weekly Polish slot on Access Radio. Therefore, many Generation 1 informants have been able to mold their leisure time around the Polish church and community centre, thereby resisting more than perfunctory contact with New Zealand society. By contrast, the now-adult Generation 2 is less

likely to adhere to a similar lifestyle. Fluent in English and educated in the host society, most such informants declare that their social needs differ from those of their parents and their participation in the life of the Polish community is more sporadic and focuses to a larger extent on social occasions and church-going.

The role of the family structure can be significant in language and cultural maintenance. However, Stoffel (2000, 820) has observed that the nuclearisation of society (smaller, more widely scattered families, more adults remaining single, separations and reconstituted families) is such that the family may be less of a bastion against integration with the host society than it was. In addition, migration itself usually involves individuals or strictly nuclear, rather than multi-generational, family units. The absence of grandparents and the economic necessity of mothers joining the workforce (45% in Generation 1) means that opportunities to transmit the native tongue and aspects of culture have been limited.

The theoretical ideal is migrant intermarriage (this has occurred in approximately 60% of Auckland's second-wave Poles) in which both spouses positively view their native tongue and culture. Occasionally the children of such marriages also have claimed Polish as their first language. However, an earlier study (Surus 1985, 27) revealed that these children's command and use of Polish reflected second- rather than first-language status and there has been little evidence of continued proficiency or use in Generation 3. The offspring of mixed marriages frequently show greater interest and facility in the language as well as a greater understanding of the Polish parent's culture. This fact may be attributable to a more balanced exposure to both cultures, with less idealisation of all things 'ethnic' and a lesser sense of parentally enforced

marginalisation. School attendance and the resulting acquisition of English has tended to increase the use of English both with peers of Polish origin and with siblings. Tomaszczyk (1980, 132) also observes the unwitting contribution to the speech deterioration of their children made by Polish-American parents who imitate their anglicised pronunciation and who introduce English words into Polish-language conversations in an attempt to enhance inter-generational communication. This tendency and the parental habit of switching to English for the sake of comprehensibility has been observed among Auckland Poles.

Second-wave Polish migration to New Zealand did not significantly replenish or revitalise the first-wave community because the time span of 60 years had seen the deaths of most of the original settlers. The second and subsequent generations, even if not fully dispersed, nevertheless retained few cultural and/or linguistic links with their parents'/grandparents' country of origin (Burnley 1970, 128). The influx of Wave 3 migrants in the 1980s has replenished the number of native speakers of Polish in New Zealand, particularly in the under-10 and the 20–35 age-groups, but its effect on long-term language and cultural maintenance is debatable. A number of marriages between third-wave Poles and Generation 2 of Wave 2 took place and resulted in a slight upturn in second-generation use of Polish. The fact that Wave 3 arrived to find established Polish institutions, and therefore a number of domains for continued use of Polish outside the home, created more conducive conditions for maintenance than those initially faced by Wave 2. The advent of a new Generation 1, which prefers to worship in Polish, sends its children to Polish language school and upholds its ethnic identity, unarguably has extended the life span of Polish language and culture because it has revitalised some existing institutions and created new ones. However, conflicts between the second-and third-wave Poles, in which the latter have been

viewed as brainwashed rather than educated and of being inferior for their less impassioned political and religious opinions, at times have resulted in relatively limited interaction between the two factions. That and a greater tendency towards integration in the more educated third wave (see also Stoffel 1982, 136; 2000, 821) have lessened the impact of numerical replenishment on prolonged maintenance.

However, sole reliance on the role of demographics presents a very distorted picture. Comparisons by Harvey (1964, 131–143) of Dutch and Polish settlers in Australia show that even with high numbers and constant replenishment, the Dutch have assimilated more quickly with the host society than have the Polish settlers with lower numbers and fewer opportunities for replenishment. The role of behavioural implementation, which involves attitudes and circumstances relating to the host society and the country of birth, also is crucial to the vitality of a migrant language and culture.

Among others, Fishman (1966, 64), Sussex (1976, 64) and Stoffel (2000, 822) have written of changes in host societies' attitudes towards migrant languages and cultures. These changes have resulted in the recognition and treatment of migrant languages and cultures as a resource of value to the host society rather than as a barrier to integration. New Zealand's lack of a defined policy regarding its broad spectrum of migrant languages may be borne of neutrality rather than of antagonism, but the absence of support and funding suggests to migrants an official non-recognition of the value of their language and culture and therefore acts as a reminder of the need to assimilate. The experiences of Wave 2 Poles in relation to pressure from New Zealanders to assimilate vary among those interviewed — far greater, however, was their own recognition of

the need to learn English for the sake of economic survival. For Generation 1, group cohesiveness coupled with a relatively low rate of interaction with New Zealanders countered many of the pressures and compensated for the lack of official recognition of their culture. On the other hand, subsequent generations often need more concrete incentives and outcomes than group cohesiveness for the retention of any aspects of their heritage.

New Zealand institutionalisation of the language and culture — the weekly Polish programme on Access Radio transmitted since the 1980s and the introduction of Polish language and culture papers in 1997 at the University of Auckland — may be perceived as a reflection of a measure of host society acceptance. The programme uses Standard Polish and English. Its bilingual and bicultural nature is both an acknowledgment of the state of language and cultural maintenance in the New Zealand Polish community and an attempt to extend its outreach to Generations 2 and 3. For Generation 1 it provides another domain in which the native tongue is used, hence adds to the range of roles for Polish to fill. The paucity of listeners among Generation 2 and 3 informants (15%) is not solely a reflection of a low priority status accorded ethnic maintenance, but rather of a stated preference by audio-visually reared generations for a television programme. The perceived limited economic potential of Polish studies papers at tertiary level is thought largely to account for the low rate of representation in enrolments (30% of all students) by Generation 2 and 3 members of the community.

While the radio programme and tertiary Polish studies papers may be prestige enhancing, their contribution to the state of the language and culture in the New Zealand Polish community has been negligible, because institutionalisation has occurred some decades after resettlement. In the

interim, the first generation created its own range of roles for Polish within the home and ethnic grouping. The universality of English — not only in its role as a host, but also as a world, language — potentially works against the maintenance of Polish. Gradually deprived of major sentimental attachment, Generations 2 and 3 view Polish as a minor language with a limited range of roles and of minor relevance outside Poland and the émigré community. The presence of a majority of English speakers among Generation 1 Poles further reinforces the notion of the superiority of English in subsequent generations.

The notion of contact with post-war Poland was untenable for most of Generation 1 until the advent of Solidarity or until 1989. The rejection of the communist regime in Poland and of the Polish embassy in Wellington were important objectives of the New Zealand Association of Poles (Ducat 1990, 29). Such isolation from the major source of culture has resulted in the belief of many Poles in New Zealand that they, and not their compatriots in Poland, have preserved the purity of their language and culture. Therein lies its intrinsic value and hence the rationale for its maintenance; if these manifestations of Polishness are not preserved in exile, they will vanish altogether.

Undoubtedly, what is preserved is unique. From a linguistic viewpoint, there has been little evidence in Generation 1 speech of the archaisms one would associate with a lengthy period of circumscribed contact with the major source of culture. Conceivably, the existence of an active émigré press,⁶ the steady wave of post-second-wave migrants and the third mass-migration have prevented fossilisation of the lexicon and grammar in a number of areas. On the other hand, widespread borrowing of words from English occurs to cater for terms and concepts unknown

prior to emigration. The lack of formal education undertaken in Poland beyond primary stage has resulted in the maintenance of a first-generation culture with a primary focus on folk tradition rather than on a literary and artistic heritage. Perceptions of history are based on Poland's messianic role in world history and literary awareness follows similar trends. The acceptance of works of high culture is usually a reflection of the community's own religious and political sentiments and experiences of exile. Thus, writers such as the nineteenth-century Romantics are valued above all for their stirring of patriotic values. Twentieth-century émigré writers have not been assured of a positive reception by Poles in exile, however. Much of the subject-matter of the works of Miłosz,⁷ for example, has been viewed as being alien to émigré concerns and experiences, and Herling-Grudziński's respect for Russian literature is considered offensive.

The specific nature of Generation 1 Poles' background as well as the community and culture which have developed around them tends to set this migrant group apart from the host society. Most informants have a positive attitude towards their adopted country and its people, just as New Zealanders generally have no major reservations about the Poles.⁸ Host society attitudes towards Poles in New Zealand appear to be of little import to Generation 1 members, who are committed to maintaining their language and culture even if in isolation from the dominant society. While they are prepared to share the riches of their cultural heritage, its acceptance or rejection by New Zealanders does not influence the issue of its maintenance. In this manner Generation 1 has claimed and sustained numerous and varied roles for the Polish language and culture.

In subsequent generations the number and variety of roles has dwindled. Most views of Polish culture and of Poland in general expressed by Generation 2 are the result of their upbringing in the home and ethnic community and are based on their parents' memories of pre-war Poland and on negative accounts of communist Poland. Many informants have the impression of a rural and backward homeland lacking the attractiveness of New Zealand, which is perceived as a more progressive and affluent new world society. In addition, the earlier-mentioned idealisation of Polishness by their parents and enforcement of language and cultural maintenance in relative isolation from New Zealand society have had an alienating effect on a number of Generation 2 informants. Because they were born in New Zealand, their life experiences are closer to those of New Zealanders, from whom they do not wish to be unduly set apart. They are more concerned than Generation 1 about New Zealanders' perceptions of them. Therefore, the aspects of Polishness Generation 2 informants choose to retain (folk dances, observation of feast days, national costumes and special foods) are innocuous and non-controversial: they are interesting but non-threatening to the host society, and their maintenance does not require isolation from it.

A migrant group which places a high value on its culture and language engenders optimal conditions for their maintenance. Generation 1 informants have been unanimous in naming religion, language and culture as the key values to be retained. As language is treated as being synonymous with religion and culture in their purest forms, one may speak of language strongly equating with identity in Generation 1. The following statement by an informant is reinforced by similar quotations found in Ducat (1990, 24–25):

To be a Pole means to be a Roman Catholic, to love one's native soil and to be prepared to suffer for these things. As a Polish Catholic, I believe that God hears me best when I speak to Him in my native tongue. As a patriot, I believe my love for my homeland is best expressed in Polish. My deepest thoughts are nothing unless spoken in the language I acquired at my mother's breast.

While the family unit may be the starting point for the retention of such key values, the wider ethnic community, comprising like-minded individuals, plays an important role in bringing together large numbers of participants and in institutionalising language and culture in ways which are out of the scope of isolated family units. The strength of the convictions of Wave 2 Poles has resulted in a group cohesiveness which overrides demographic considerations.

Nationalism is an important component of the value system. Believing that the overthrow of communism was an inevitability, many Wave 2 migrants originally aspired to return to Poland and thus viewed their stay in New Zealand as a temporary one (Ducat 1990, 29). Language and cultural maintenance were a major priority and necessitated the formation of religious, cultural, social and political institutions which would support maximal monoculturalism on both personal and group levels. The eventual recognition that a return would be impossible does not appear to have resulted in any attempt at greater integration with the host society. Institutions such as the Polish Association (founded in 1948), charitable, recreational and cultural subgroups, as well as the services of Polish priests, provided continued support for group values by fulfilling spiritual and social needs, and limited the need for greater degrees of interaction with the host society. As

a result, most Wave 2 informants continue to view themselves as Poles who, because of political circumstances, reside in New Zealand.

Patriotic and religious values elicit strongly emotional and personal responses, which are most authentically expressed within the context of the native tongue and culture. The traumatic experiences of World War 2 and the need for unity in the face of a common enemy have contributed greatly to Generation 1 cohesiveness. Members of the host society are not expected to identify with the Poles' national causes, and therefore the group retains a domain for the exclusive use of Polish. That same cohesiveness is evident in the religious sphere, where the uniqueness of Polish Catholicism and its integral links with patriotism and national identity sets it apart from universal Roman Catholicism. Attendance of Polish masses allows the preservation of ethnic and linguistic traditions within the framework of faith and again limits the need for interaction with the host society. As a result, Polish language and culture in New Zealand can be equated with religious and political separatism (from both New Zealand and pre-1989 Polish society), which serves the cause of national identity retention.

Wave 3 Poles, who are generally better educated, have been less concerned with language and cultural maintenance beyond their own generation. Their outlook is in step with Stoffel's observation (1982, 136) that higher education equates with less passion for language maintenance. Important, too, is the fact that although Wave 3 migrants may subscribe to the above-cited set of values, they do so in a more diluted manner, free from the history of an imminent return to Poland. Their experiences and views of communism differ and many have tended to distance themselves from politics and simply forge a new life in New Zealand. Such a

disparity of convictions and experiences means that Wave 2 cohesiveness is not reliant upon numerical replenishment and that in many areas the two waves appear to lead separate lives.

Because the second wave's value system is so specific in its application, its retention by subsequent generations is problematic. The earlier-mentioned factors of a host-society education and of resulting broader-based contacts with it have seen Generation 2 monolingualism and monoculturalism develop at an early stage into bilingualism and biculturalism. These states have either remained stable or have further developed into the process of integration. Generation 2 members' categorisation of themselves as 'first and foremost New Zealanders' (Ducat 1990, 36) has escalated to the extent that for Generation 3 'the sense of Polish identity that was the cornerstone of the second generation Polish Youth Club is weakening ...' (ibid 37). The difficulties encountered by Generation 2 members in being expected to identify with their parents' causes and experiences probably has shaped their attitudes to language and cultural maintenance more than the fact of their upbringing in the host society. A number of informants have spoken of integration with New Zealand society as a process coinciding with their increasing alienation from their parents' causes; that Polishness was synonymous only with the past and that any relationship with the present lacked definition. A number of the children of Wave 2 migrants have claimed that their parents' monopoly on suffering for their homeland excluded all others and that true Polishness was elevated to an unattractive state of martyrdom. The consequence was the increasing attractiveness of the host culture, with its lesser demands on its citizens, and a greater sense of identification with it. In this context, the earlier-mentioned perceptions of the limited usefulness of Polish and its low socio-economic potential are as much a product of second-generation alienation from the Generation 1 value system as of their ultimate

integration into New Zealand society. The emotions and conflicts involved in Generation 2 heritage issues tend to be absent from Generation 3 attitudes to their origins. A majority of informants (60%) have only one parent of Polish origin, but generally Generation 3 is exposed to a more diluted manifestation of ethnicity, which, again, is most evident in culinary, folk and religious traditions. Polish heritage is treated positively; but only as a component, not the sum total, of Generation 3 identity. Informants are able to respect their grandparents' history from a distance and, for them, the language and culture maintained have a curiosity value. However, this curiosity rarely translates into active participation in language maintenance; with the result that Polish is in a state of attrition in Generation 3.

By and large language has been the major casualty in the process of integration, which has seen English predominantly being claimed as the mother tongue (Surus 1985, 43) and the retention of Polish a non-priority. The association between language and identity is rarely made. Generation 2 and 3 enrolments in the University of Auckland paper 'Introduction to Contemporary Poland' are higher numerically and percentage-wise than those for the language paper. The students surveyed expressed greater interest in learning about their country of origin as a means of discovering elements of their own identity than in learning their parents' or grandparents' language for the same reason. Generation 2 and 3 language loyalty can be equated with loyalty to the country of birth as opposed to the nebulous concept of heritage. Less demanding areas of maintenance, such as the observance of Polish customs, are accorded greater priority and, rather than being central to any form of identification with heritage, language assumes a marginal, curiosity value. The difficulties of acquiring and maintaining a communicative level of linguistic

proficiency and the low value of Polish as a tool for communication in the face of a majority of Polish bilinguals in Auckland have merely compounded second- and third-generation attitudes.

First Generation interviewees tend to view this non-prioritisation of language maintenance pragmatically. They prefer that subsequent generations succeed in their land of birth and they accept that a knowledge of Polish is of minor relevance to this. Such a view does not reflect any shift in Generation 1 Poles' own sentimental attachment to their mother tongue, but is an acknowledgment of their successors' identification with the host society and therefore of differing values and experiences. Some express concern at eventual linguistic and cultural attrition, but recognise its inevitability, particularly given the example of many Wave 1 descendants in Taranaki, who have retained only limited links with their heritage (Burnley 1970, 128) and certainly none with the language of their forebears. Auckland Poles place greater value on a knowledge of Polish history, particularly that of the twentieth century, the observance of national days and the retention of Roman Catholicism — those elements of heritage most frequently maintained by Generations 2 and 3. The ultimate survival of the ethnic church may also be tenuous (see Lemaire 1966, 267) as de-ethnicisation and anglicisation are likely to occur with the demise of Generation 1. Given the universality of Roman Catholicism, such a shift appears inevitable.

Less than optimal socio-demographic conditions, the prestige of the English language and degrees of host-society pressure to assimilate can all constitute formidable barriers to migrant language and cultural maintenance. Yet Auckland's second-wave Poles have not allowed their loyalty to their heritage to be undermined. Their strong political, religious and patriotic values

have resulted in a specific sense of community and ethnicity, which has been beneficial to the cause of cultural and language maintenance. Undoubtedly that sense of identity as Poles has been shaped by the forces of history and by emigration and has more in common with Polish émigré communities worldwide than with the country of birth. Its uniqueness lies in its preservation of a folklore, religion and patriotism, which all harken back to better days and a more innocent world; it is an identity developed and nurtured in isolation from the major source of culture and an expression of loyalty to a lost homeland. However, one should not regard Auckland Poles as prisoners of their language and culture. As Wierzbicka (1985, 187) stated:

It is not impossible (though very difficult) to leave the experiential world of one's native language for that of another language, or stretching the metaphor to the limit, to inhabit two different worlds at once. But when one switches from one language to the other it is not just the form that changes, but also the content. Languages differ from one another not just as linguistic systems but also as cultural universes, as vehicles of ethnic identities.

Language, culture and identity are inextricably linked. New Zealand's Poles have learned to inhabit different worlds, but they seek their greatest refuge and comfort in the world of the language and culture they have striven so hard to preserve.

NOTES

1. The present work relies mainly on the lists reproduced in J. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand 1776–1987* (Warsaw: Ars Polona, 1990) of migrants who originated from the Prussian-ruled area of former Poland. The author points to the difficulties involved in determining the actual number of Poles who settled in New Zealand before 1912 both as a result of the Partitions and because, until World War 2, the Department of Internal

Affairs kept records only of those migrants who chose to be naturalised and not of so-called aliens in general (Pobóg-Jaworowski 1990, 12–13).

2. See, for example, J. Asher in 'Georg Foster', in *The German Connection. New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. J.N. Bade. (London: Oxford University Press, 1993), 126–133. Pobóg-Jaworowski, on the other hand, claims Polish citizenship for both Forsters, on the basis that both father and son were born in pre-partitioned Poland, had Polish spouses and claimed allegiance to Stanisław-August Poniatowski (Pobóg-Jaworowski 2000, 13–14).

3. In a letter written before his death to the Prussian Government, Jan Jerzy Adam Forster stated: 'I was born on Polish soil, a mile from Gdansk Danzig, and left my Fatherland when it came under Prussian occupation, therefore I am not a Prussian' (Z. Fedorowicz. *Memorabilia Zoologica* L.7, Wrocław, 1961).

4. Soon after the Thaw, Zbigniew Herbert wrote an ode to his desk drawer, the repository for all the works that he had been unable to publish for so long. Committed to the stance of isolated opposition, Herbert writes of publication as a form of self-betrayal, a compromising of his status as a dissident (Z. Herbert, 'Drawer', in *Zbigniew Herbert. Selected Poems*, trans. C. Miłosz and Peter Dale Scott (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1968), 89).

5. The period of time which had elapsed between the arrivals of Wave 1 and Wave 2 and the fact that Wave 1 settled and generally remained in more rural areas while Wave 2 settlement concentrated in urban areas meant that any vestiges of Wave 1 cultural maintenance were of limited relevance to Wave 2.

6. The role of the Polish émigré press has been important in publishing the works both of Polish writers living abroad and of those who could not be published in Poland (see C. Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 535–536). It has allowed émigré communities access to writings more in step with their politics and background.

7. Miłosz describes his reception as a writer by émigrés and his outline of the nature of such a readership points to the disparities of views and expectations (Miłosz 1983, 529).

8. This statement is based on interviews of 30 New Zealanders regarding their perceptions of Poles resident in New Zealand. Only three interviewees spoke of negative impressions, based on first-hand experiences. The remainder spoke of Polish New Zealanders as being industrious, religious, friendly and good citizens. A number of informants spoke of Poles as keeping largely to themselves and their ethnic community, but did not treat this as a negative trait.

REFERENCES

- Burnley, I. H. 1970. The Poles. In *Immigrants in New Zealand*, ed. K.W. Thomson and A.D. Trlin. Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Cholmondely, T. 1854. *Ultima Thule*. London.
- Davies, N. 1986. *Heart of Europe. A Short History of Poland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dłubrowska, A. 1999. *Język polski*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie.
- Ducat, M., D. Mealing, and T. Sawicka. 1992. *Living in Two Worlds. The Polish Community in Wellington*. Wellington: The Hutt City Council.
- Fedorowicz, Z. 1961. *Memorabilia Zoologica*, L 7, Wrocław.
- Fishman, J.A. 1966. Language Maintenance and Language Shift: The American Immigrant Case within a General. Theoretical Perspective. *Sociologus*, 18–39.
- 1966. *Language Loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Harvey, S.J. 1964. National Language Use Amongst the Children of Dutch and Polish Immigrants in Canberra. In *Social Change in Australia*, ed. J. Edgar. Cheshire: Melbourne.
- Lemaire, H. 1966. Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in New England. In *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. J. Fishman et al. The Hague: Mouton.
- Miśosz, C. 1983. *The History of Polish Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pobóg-Jaworowski, J. 1990. *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand 1776–1987*. Warsaw: Ars Polonia.
- Stoffel, H-P. 1982. Language Maintenance and Language Shift of the Serbo-Croatian Language in a New Zealand Dalmatian Community. In *The Slavic Languages in Émigré Communities*, ed. R. Sussex. Carbondale: Linguistic Research Inc.
- 2000. Slav Migrant Languages in the New World. In *Sprachwandel in der Slavia. Die slavischen Sprachen an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert.*, ed. L. Zybatow. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Surus, S. 1985. *The Polish Language in Auckland, New Zealand: a study of lexical transfers and their integration in the speech of bilingual Poles within a sociolinguistic frame of reference*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland.

Sussex, R. 1976. *The Slavic Languages in Émigré Communities*. Carbondale and Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.

Tomaszczyk, J. 1980 On Accented Speech. The Polish of Polish Americans. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 12: 121–137.

Wierzbicka, A. 1985. The Double Life of a Bilingual. In *Polish People and Culture in Australia*. ed. R. Sussex and J. Zubrzycki. Canberra: Bibliotech ANUTech.