

AUSSIES *ARE* FRIENDLY AND POLES *AREN'T* RUDE:  
SOME REMARKS ON OVERCOMING PROBLEMS  
IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

EDMUND A. RNOWICZ  
*Macquarie University, Sydney*

1. *Introduction*

During the initial period after their arrival in Australia most Polish immigrants and visitors tend to praise Australians for being friendly and ready to help with problems they encounter while settling in. And, indeed, not only does the Australian government provide plenty of useful immigrant services and handouts, but most average Australians often go out of their way to help the new arrivals. Gradually however many Australians change their opinion about newly met Poles. As the novelty of the relationship wears off, the Polish custom of frequent shaking hands, hugging and kissing begins to be perceived as intrusive, a certain awkwardness exhibited when addressing others is considered rigid, open manner of discussing personal or controversial matters makes Poles look over inquisitive and opinionated and a characteristic directness of speech is often viewed as plain rude.

Also newly arrived immigrants from Poland tend to become disenchanted after a few months and begin complaining about a number of things. The main reason for this is that, like most people, they do not fully realise how much their daily life has been influenced by unwritten rules automatically accepted and applied within their social class, their neighbourhood, their country until, for one reason or another, they move into another culture, e.g. from one region to another, from town to countryside and particularly, from one country to another. It is only then that they realise they have problems with interpreting other people's actions and reactions, that the assumptions which have guided their behaviour at home are no longer valid, in short, that the newly adopted social environment follows a different set of rules, some of which may be quite difficult to comprehend.

For an adult, who has so far functioned competently within a familiar environment this is an excruciating experience, leading to feelings of disorientation, frustration and helplessness. This is especially true of immigrants who, whether forced

to leave their home country, or migrating of their own free will, usually arrive in the host country full of hopes for a better, easier life. Unfortunately, they soon find out that, more often than not, their qualifications are not fully recognised and hence they practically have to make an almost completely new start in life, that the ways they used to do things are not necessarily acceptable in the host country where people not only speak a different language, but they often seem to behave in strange and unexpected ways. After the initial euphoria with the new experiences, they begin to feel alienated and unhappy: they are experiencing the inevitable culture shock, a phenomenon that is experienced by all people who move from one culture to another.

As Brick (1991:9) aptly explains, "culture shock is the result of the removal of the familiar. Suddenly the individual is faced with the necessity of working, commuting, studying, eating, shopping, relaxing, even sleeping, in an unfamiliar environment, organised according to unknown rules. In mild form, culture shock manifests itself in symptoms of fatigue, irritability and impatience. (...) Some people may respond by developing negative stereotypes of the host culture, by withdrawing as much as possible from contact with host-country nationals, by refusing to learn the language and by mixing exclusively with people of their own cultural background. In extreme cases, rejection may be so complete that the individual returns immediately to their own culture, regardless of the cost in social, economic or personal terms."

Many of the cultural difficulties may be overcome by simple observation, or following advice from friendly native speakers. However, those connected with communication are more difficult to tackle, since immigrants, who often have to begin life in the new country by learning English, may not even be aware of the fact that they exist unless their ESL teacher assists them. Unfortunately, while a number of standard English textbooks do contain "elements of culture" in the texts and exercises, they almost never deal specifically with problems of intercultural communication. In other words, Lado's call for research into linguistic and cultural differences between native and target language and application of the results in language teaching (Lado 1957:2) has been treated by researchers and language teachers selectively: contrastive analyses of phonological, morphological, syntactic, etc., differences between languages have thrived, but comparatively few comparisons of cultural patterns of communication have been carried out to date, and the results rarely find their way into the regular teaching process in the ESL classroom.

And yet, apart from interlingual identifications (cf. Weinreich 1953:7), a very similar process of intercultural identification accompanies the processes of second language acquisition and may significantly influence the learner's interlanguage and resulting communication strategies in the target language. This phenomenon is very frequently observed in countries like Australia, which continually take large numbers of new immigrants. Namely, even people who have successfully completed ESL courses, and whose command of English seems relatively good, often continue to apply some cultural rules of communication of their native tongue, which are

quite different from those observed by native speakers of English. As a result, their linguistic behaviour is misunderstood, sometimes with dire consequences for them. For instance, Polish immigrants to Australia often run into trouble because they sound too direct, almost rude. An English speaker, e.g., the boss, who is unaware that no disrespect or impoliteness is intended, that an error in the application of cultural patterns of communication has been made, may gradually develop a negative attitude towards the employee in question, which may influence the person's chances for promotion, better pay and, in some instances may even lead to sacking.

During the eighties there was growing awareness among scholars of the need to address this problem and, as a result, professor Chris Candlin of the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research at Macquarie University in Sydney initiated in 1990 a research and publishing program designed to provide ESL teachers with suitable materials based on comparisons of cultural patterns of communication in English and a number of specific languages, including Polish. The purpose of the paper is to illustrate on two examples in the area of "interacting in society" how the results of contrastive analysis of cultural patterns of communication in English and Polish can be applied in the language classroom to help both teachers and learners overcome predictable problems in communication. The basic principle adopted is that the ESL teacher is given a summary of the results of CA, while the students, who must attain at least intermediate level in English before they can deal with the problems in question are given only very basic hints and then, with the assistance of their teacher, they attempt to find out the differences for themselves using specially designed tasks, many of which are mini-research projects.

## *2. Expression of opinions and disagreement in Polish and in English*

There are considerable differences in the way arguments are expressed in Polish and in English, irrespective of whether the situation is formal or informal. While the vocabulary and grammatical systems of the two languages do not differ dramatically in the relevant areas, it is the custom of avoiding confrontation, being pushy, or opinionated, characteristic of all English speaking cultures, that accounts for the adoption of different communication strategies in English than those used in Polish, especially in expressing one's own opinions and disagreement. There is less of a difference in the expression of agreement, as it is not a contentious issue. It follows that learning to argue in an accepted way in English will present serious difficulties to Poles since quite frequently, despite the existence of similar or equivalent grammatical patterns in English and Polish, different patterns will be used in the two languages to express opinions and disagree for cultural rather, than linguistic reasons.

If the situation calls on a native speaker of English to volunteer his or her opinion on a specific subject, it will readily be given, but special care will be taken to formulate the message in such a way that the person does not seem too authoritarian, impolite, or trying to impose his/her opinion on others. A number of

grammatical or lexical devices may be used to this end, e.g., the opinion itself may be preceded by softening phrases, or modals, it may be expressed in the conditional, in the form of a question rather than statement, or tag questions may be added at the end, for example, "It looks like...", "Maybe...", "It's possible that...", "I would say that...", "This might be...", "The ... could be true.", "What do you think?" This is even more pronounced in disagreement, where English speakers not only try to avoid the impression of being opinionated, they also make every effort not to hurt the person or persons they disagree with. An attempt will often be made not to disagree directly by either changing the subject, asking a supplementary question to make the speaker realise that he/she may be wrong, or volunteering a different opinion, solution, explanation as equally possible rather, than to contradict an opinion that has already been voiced. And if this is impossible, then the expression of disagreement will not only use all the devices mentioned above but, additionally, it will begin with phrases designed to further mellow down the effect, such as "I am afraid that...", "I am sorry, but..." etc.

Poles tend to be quite direct in expressing opinions and disagreeing, since an argument, as long as it is not abusive, is not only considered a good way of exchanging ideas, but also an enjoyable form of conversation. Consequently, the primary concern of an average Pole expressing an opinion will be to state it in a manner that will make his/her view clear and consistent. So, if one is relatively sure of what one is saying, openers like *Jestem absolutnie pewna, że...* (I'm absolutely sure that...), *Nie mam najmniejszych wątpliwości...* (I have no doubts whatsoever...), *Głową daję, że...* (I'll risk my head that...), *Każdy głupi wie, że...* (Every fool knows that...) are quite acceptable (These and following Polish examples are quoted after Czarnecka 1990), although the last two would not be used in a formal situation. If one is not very sure, one can use the conditional, or a host of milder openers, such as *Chyba...*, *Przypuszczalnie* (Probably...), *Jestem prawie pewien...* (I'm almost sure), *Myślę, że...* (I think that...), *Mam wrażenie, że...* (I am under the impression that...). The main difference between Polish and English usage will be that while some of the milder openers would be equally suitable for both languages, the proposition that follows will be straightforward in Polish and often modified in English. Thus, while a Pole would say something like *Mam wrażenie, że ten obraz jest bezwartościowy* (I'm under the impression that this painting is worthless). The English version would be much milder, e.g.: "I am under the impression that this is not exactly a very good painting".

As might be expected, dissenters do not beat about the bush in Polish either – if they disagree, they will say so without mincing their words, although in formal or official situations the expression of disagreement may be slightly more polite. Thus Poles will not hesitate to use a straightforward *Nie!* (No!) to disagree during an informal argument, as well as such phrases as: *Wcale nie!* (No way!), *Nic podobnego!* (Nothing of the sort!), *Nieprawda!* (Not true!), *Mylisz się!* (You're wrong!), *To jest bez sensu!* (There's no sense in it!), *Nie zgadzam się!* (I disagree!) *Chyba zwariowałeś!* (You must be mad!), although the customary titles *pan, pani, państwo* would have to be added where appropriate when talking to relative strangers. Ex-

cept for the last one, the above phrases could even be used in official situations after slight modification, mainly the addition of appropriate titles, and/or preceding openers, e.g.: *Pozwolę sobie zauważyć, że pani profesor myli się* (Let me note that you are wrong, professor), where the actual message – you are wrong – has been preserved, but preceded by a polite opener "Let me note/say" and by the title of the interlocutor "professor", thus making it acceptable at, say, an official meeting.

Many Polish immigrants tend to transfer into English without any modifications their Polish debating customs (cf. Wierzbicka 1985:201ff) and, consequently, if they find themselves in the company of native speakers of English they often sound rude and opinionated. The following tasks have been designed to make them aware of the existing differences and to assist them in learning to use correct communication strategies in English (cf. Ronowicz forthcoming).

### CLASSROOM TASKS

#### TASK 1

Most English speakers tend to avoid expressing opinions, especially disagreement, in a direct, straightforward way. This does not mean that they lack the ability to express disagreement in strong terms - if pushed hard, or angry, they will certainly do it. Under normal circumstances, however, they will take special precautions not to appear to be imposing their view upon others. The project you are about to undertake will take you a week or two and going to one or two social functions and meetings where various subjects are discussed would be very helpful. Your task will be to listen to conversations between native speakers of English in search of negative responses and expressions used to soften their effect. Use an extended version of the table below, in which two examples have been given to get you started.

What was said?	What was meant?
Well, I am not so sure about it...	I disagree with you.
I am afraid a different answer would be more appropriate.	Your answer is wrong.

At the end of the project compare your results with those of other students.

**TASK 2**

Marysia Sobieska, a relatively new immigrant from Poland, thinks she has discovered a good business opportunity. She has had the following conversation with Jane Goodall, an Australian friend:

**MS:** *Jane, I've just discovered an excellent way of making some money. All I have to do is address envelopes and I can make up to \$400 a week. It's fantastic, isn't it?*

**JG:** *How did you find out about it?*

**MS:** *Oh, I found an advertisement about it in the Sunday paper.*

**JG:** *Some of these advertisements are hoaxes, you know.*

**MS:** *Oh yes, I know Jane, but this one said it was "a respectable overseas company". Don't you think it is a good idea to send them \$20 and get into business?*

**JG:** *Are you sure, though, this is not one of those schemes that later turn out to be a lot of hard work for little money?*

**MS:** *I am sure it won't take me more than 3 hours a day and Jan and I could do with a little extra money now that we bought a house. So, what do you think, Jane, is it good, or not?*

**JG:** *Well, I'd think twice before I sent them \$20.*

**MS:** *So you don't think this is a good idea?*

**JG:** *Oh, I didn't say that. It's just that you've got to be careful with those ads.*

**MS:** *Oh, Jane, why will you never say "yes" or "no"! Come on, tell me, do you agree that this is a good idea, or don't you?*

**JG:** *Well, I suppose you know what you are doing. Incidentally, I heard you got a very good result in your computer course - isn't that exciting?!*

...

How does Marysia feel about the outcome of the conversation?

Do you agree with Marysia that Jane did not really tell her what she thought about the idea?

Look at the conversation again and explain in detail what Jane actually meant each time she spoke.

**TASK 3**

Look at these two obviously incorrect statements and think about how you would disagree with them in Polish:

1. The earth is flat.
2. Ford produces more luxurious cars than Mercedes.

Now think of 5 different ways of disagreeing with each of those statements in English and write them down. You will find material you and other students compiled while doing task 1 very helpful.

Compare your work with that of your fellow students and check it with the teacher.

### 3. Requesting and refusing things

Poles often sound abrupt and impolite when requesting permission, assistance, or service in English or when refusing to do something. It seems that the main problem here is the fact that the Polish language uses different means than English not only to formulate requests, but also to make them polite. This is accompanied by cultural differences in the use of the familiar forms in addressing people in the two languages, which lead learners to false generalisations regarding the use of familiar and formal styles for requests.

Polish reserves the use of the first name and second person of the verb for children in general, and for family and close friends. It is only to be expected, then, that in such informal situations the language used for requesting and refusing things does not require elaborate modification of the message to make it polite – children, family and close friends can, according to Polish custom, be asked or told to do or not to do things in a pretty straightforward manner.

The category of "other people", i.e. those who are addressed formally, using the titles *pan, pani, państwo* and third person of the verb is further subdivided for purposes of requesting and refusing. While high standards of politeness would be expected in social contacts with relative strangers, those considered superior (e.g., boss, much older person, a person of a very high social status) and those that are expected to assume the subordinate role (employee, young adults, people of lower social status) are not treated equally when it comes to making requests and refusing things in the work place.

While most requests, by their very nature, implicitly contain a command or directive, the use of the imperative in English is very restricted for reasons of politeness. In fact, every effort is made to avoid using it and, consequently, questions and statements containing the request in an indirect form, often including the use of the conditional are the preferred form. By contrast, the imperative and

various constructions with the infinitive are mostly used in Polish to ask or tell people to do things and, wherever applicable, first names, nicknames, and a whole range of their diminutives are used as the part of the message designed to make it sound friendly and polite. This can be illustrated well if we compare the usual way of making the same requests in Polish and in English in three typical situations:

1. A husband speaking to a wife in bed:

Polish: *Posuń się, Żabko* (Move over, Froggie. – where Froggie is an intimate nickname for the wife)

English: “Would you mind moving over a bit, darling?”

2. At a barbecue or party, when someone produces a pack of cigarettes:

Polish: *Daj Józiu papieroska jeśli masz.* (Pass me a cigarette, Joe, if you have one.)

English: “I wouldn’t say no, if someone offered me a cigarette now.”

3. At a formal dinner party:

Polish: *Czy mógłby pan prosić podać sól?* (Could you please pass me the salt, sir?)

English: “Could you kindly pass me the salt, please?”

In the first of the Polish examples the imperative is used, but the diminutive of the intimate nickname *Żabko* is used to stress the intimacy and warmth of the message. English, in fact, does not have as rich a range of diminutives as Polish and uses instead more elaborate modifications of the message. In this case, the corresponding English example above uses “Would you mind” plus the “-ing” form of the verb and the word “darling” to achieve the same effect. The same effects are achieved by a second degree diminutive of the name *Józef* (*Józiu*) in the next example. Note that the first two requests formulated correctly in Polish and then translated into English, which is what Polish ESL learners will often tend to do, would definitely sound quite abrupt and a bit strange.

Only the last example of a request made under more formal circumstances demonstrates a degree of both linguistic and cultural equivalence with English, except for the use of the word “sir”. However, this way of making requests is characteristic only of formal situations, in which the person making the request is in a subordinate social position in relation to the person being addressed. If the person making the request is in a superior position, e.g., if it is one’s boss at work, even polite requests will be quite far removed from the English standard of politeness. Here are some examples of requests that could be made by a person in authority, e.g. a university lecturer telling the students to sit down after he enters the classroom:

*Proszę siadać!* (Please, be seated!)

*Niech wszyscy siadają!* (All will sit down!)

*Państwo usiądą!* (You will sit down, ladies and gentlemen!)

*Państwo będą uprzejmi usiąść.* (You will kindly sit, ladies and gentlemen.)

The examples above have been arranged from the least polite to the most polite one could expect under the circumstances. Despite the words “kindly” and *państwo*, which is, in fact, less courteous than “ladies and gentlemen” and has no exact equivalent in English, the last example still sounds rather abrupt in English. And if the same message was intended as a demand, or order, one word – the infinitive of “to sit” – uttered sharply would suffice:

*Siadać!* (Sit!)

Very similar rules apply to the refusal of a request or demand. A plain *nie!* (no!) or such abrupt refusals as:

*Nie mogę.* (I can’t)

*Mowy nie ma!* (Don’t even speak about it! No way!)

*Ani mi się śni!* (I wouldn’t even dream about it!),

would be considered nothing out of the ordinary from a person in authority. The same type of negative answer would be quite in place among family and friends, provided a diminutive of the first name, or nickname is also used, thus immediately making it sound friendly. Sometimes Poles do use patterns which are somewhat similar to English, such as:

*Niestety, nie mogę.* (Unfortunately, I can’t.)

*Przykro mi, ale nie jestem w stanie tego zrobić.* (I’m sorry, but I am not in a position to do this.)

*Niestety muszę państwu odmówić.* (Unfortunately, I have to refuse you – the untranslatable word *państwo* standing for “you” and making it formally polite.)

The difference between Polish and English cultures is that such polite refusals would only be used in informal situations when someone is really trying hard to go out of his/her way to soften the refusal and in neutral official situations, such as a conversation between a clerk and a customer in a government office.

To put it in a nutshell, both cultures recognise the need to make requests and refusals sound polite, but the linguistic means to achieve this differ considerably in most situations. The greatest cultural difference between them concerns requests and refusals made by people in authority: except for obvious situations, like officers giving orders in the army, an English speaker may find Polish requests and refusals translated directly into English to be rather abrupt. In fact, these two areas of difference invariably cause considerable confusion in Polish learners. They are first confronted with the task of suppressing the urge to be formal with relative strangers, of calling almost everybody by their first name, and of using the second person of the verb in addressing them. If, on top of this we remember that most English speaking people they associate with will, out of politeness, make more friendly noises than the actual degree of intimacy might suggest to a Pole, our

Polish learners may come to the false conclusion that all English speaking people are so friendly that patterns used for communication with the family and close friends in Polish are appropriate for use across the board in English. The second area of confusion will be whenever our Polish learners find themselves in a superior position to those they are talking to. According to Polish custom, they are then expected to demand their due rather than request politely. If the custom is transferred directly into English, it may lead to problems for those Polish immigrants who are employed as foremen, managers, or develop businesses of their own and employ people. They are likely to have serious problems with their subordinates, who will consider them extremely rude. The following exercises may help overcome these difficulties (cf. Ronowicz forthcoming):

### CLASSROOM TASKS

#### TASK 1

##### Requesting things in English.

Native speakers of English are usually prepared to make a considerable effort to sound polite whenever they talk to each other. This is particularly true of situations in which they ask any favour of others, e.g., when asking for permission, advice, or service. The mini-research task below has been designed to help you find out what, if any, differences there are in the ways English speakers ask for things depending on who they are talking to. To complete the task you will have to take notes of as many expressions used to request things in five different situations as you can and list them under appropriate headings:

1. Among family members and close friends.
2. Among people meeting socially.
3. When the person requesting something has some authority over the person asked to do it, e.g. boss asking his employees, teacher asking students, etc.
4. The opposite situation, i.e. employees asking the boss, students asking the teacher, etc.
5. When service is required, e.g., in shops, restaurants, workshops, etc.

Having compiled the five lists, bring them to class and discuss your and the other students' findings with the teacher. **Do not destroy your notes as you will need them for the next task.**

#### TASK 2

You will need the expressions you collected while doing TASK 1 to complete this task. Choose 3 typical expressions in each of the five categories used in task 1 and write them into an extended version of the table below, then fill in columns 2 and 3.

EXPRESSIONS USED IN ENGLISH	EXPRESSIONS USED IN POLISH?	SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES
1. Family members and friends:		
2. People meeting socially:		
3. People in a superior position:		
4. People in a subordinate position:		
5. Service encounters:		

Have you noticed any outstanding differences between the English and the Polish way of making requests?

In which situations are the differences most striking?

#### TASK 3

Wanda Niedzielska is an outstanding specialist in industrial biochemistry. She was invited to Australia by a pharmaceutical company to head a team testing a new drug. The contract was initially for a year, with the possibility of extending it for three years, if the results seem promising. Her first letters home were quite enthusiastic. She was impressed with the friendly atmosphere everywhere and, in particular with the way she was welcomed and introduced to her new job and the team she was going to work with. It is now half a year since she began her job and it seems her impressions have undergone a dramatic change. Here is a fragment of a letter she recently sent her mother in Poland:

**TASK 3 (cont.)**

(...) *I must say that my initial impressions about working in Australia were quite exaggerated. It appears that the friendly attitudes I met here at the beginning are gone altogether - not so much in private contacts as at work. It seems that, after the initial enthusiasm, my employees have now changed completely - they seem unhappy to work with me, they are slow and lazy in doing what I ask them to do and do not show any involvement in developing proposals for the future. If it goes on like this, I will never be able to get an extension of the contract.*

Based on your understanding of differences in politeness strategies between English and Polish, what do you think might explain Wanda's experience?

Do you think that giving each member of the team their tasks in writing, with clearly stated time limits for their completion would solve the problem?

What do you think is the right solution? Discuss the matter with your teacher and fellow students in class.

**TASK 4**

You have just written an English exercise and you'd like someone to check it for you. How would you politely ask the following people to do it for you:

- your English speaking wife/husband
- Allan Smith, your friend from work.
- Geraldine Swan, your elderly neighbour, who is a University professor
- your English teacher
- a student from your language group
- Jack McPhee, your elderly neighbour, who is a builder
- your girlfriend/boyfriend
- Mary Low, a postgraduate student from the English department, whom you do not know very well
- Angela Lockwood, your mother-in-law
- Jacob, your 11 years old son, who is a native speaker of English.

**TASK 5**

You are going overseas and an elderly friend of yours has asked you to take a parcel weighing 2 kilograms and hand it to someone who will be waiting for you at London Airport. You will have plenty of your own luggage, so you have to refuse. Think of 5 different negative answers, ranging from very polite to flat refusal and present them in class.

**TASK 6**

1. Your friend Mary has agreed to give you a lift to town in her car. You've just started on your journey and are about to get onto a freeway the next exit of which is in the city, 10 kms away. You suddenly realise that you have left your wallet at home and you must stop your friend immediately. Think of 3 different polite requests that would make Mary stop quickly and go back to your place.

2. Tony, one of your fellow students has agreed to give you a lift home in his car. As soon as you started on your journey you realised that the car is unsafe and, additionally, Tony is a very reckless driver. You asked him politely to stop with no effect, so you have to be firm and demand that he stops. Provide 3 different versions of your demand.

3. You are employed as a foreman in a carpenter's workshop. It is morning and you are setting your subordinates their tasks for the day. How would you make the following requests in English: Larry Baxter is to fix a squeaky table and six chairs (the job must be done by 3 p.m.), then help John Sweet, who is to continue making shelves for a big order, Ian Laws is to start a new job - 24 chairs, and Sue Wills is to varnish all the shelves made yesterday by John.

**4. Conclusion**

Australia, which has officially pursued a very dynamic multicultural policy aiming at integrating the various migrant cultures into mainstream Australian culture for the last two decades is a particularly interesting environment to introduce a program in intercultural communication into standard ESL courses for immigrants (up till now for Chinese, Japanese and, shortly, Polish intermediate and advanced ESL students).

It is a well known and researched fact that immigrants, including Poles, tend to form ghettos in English speaking host countries, such as Australia, Canada, England, or the United States (cf. e.g., Pakulski 1985:99 ff; Smolicz and Secombe 1985:110). Even the more recent arrivals from Poland (post-Solidarity emigration of the early eighties), while they have not formed visible enclaves within city and countryside areas, continue to live in cultural ghettos, cultivating Polish traditions, socialising mainly with other Poles, and showing little interest in developing private, deeper contact with host country nationals and culture, irrespective of whether they have sufficient English and have successfully joined the workforce, or not. This is confirmed by recent surveys of native language maintenance and use among first generation migrants (cf. Smolicz and Secombe 1985: *passim*; Clyne 1991:112-156).

It is possible that one of the main causes of this phenomenon is lack of understanding of cultural patterns of communication in English and of the ability to

use them correctly, which have not been taught systematically until very recently. This may lead to continued feeling of alienation from the English speaking mainstream society, making it more difficult for immigrants to overcome the inevitable "cultural shock" totally. By now it is quite clear that a marked increase in the level of English competence among first generation immigrants, achieved thanks to a number of free ESL courses offered routinely to all new arrivals, has had a significant positive effect on adaptation in the professional field, but has failed to address the issue of cultural integration. In this context, it would be interesting to follow up the introduction of handbooks in intercultural communication by longitudinal studies assessing whether they have had any influence on the students' cultural integration into mainstream Australian society.

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