Language and identity in a transnational context: a sociophonetic study of the Polish of a group of migrants living in the UK.

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the process of identity formation among a group of 30 young Polish adults who moved to the UK to study and stayed to work. By examining the speakers' self-representations aided by observations from the fieldwork, two distinct sociocultural identities emerge: Polish Poles, who express nationally Polish identities, maintain Polish culture and language as well as orient themselves towards Poland and the Polish diaspora community, and Polish Cosmopolitans, who reject the concept of nationality as a basis for identity, bind their future to the English language and global economy and do not consciously maintain either the culture or the language. Between the two contrasting groups, there is an intermediate group of speakers who still identify themselves as Polish and maintain selected aspects of Polish culture, including the language, but orient themselves more towards Britain and the world. Linguistic analysis demonstrates that those three ways of experiencing the world go together with different ways of speaking: while Polish Poles and "In-betweens" maintain Standard Polish, Polish Cosmopolitans are developing new ways of speaking drawing on selected phonetic English features. In this thesis, two features, aspirated stops and fall-rises used as a floor control mechanism in narratives, are examined. Quantitative methods and conversation analysis are employed to show how phonetic detail is used in the context of the narrative of the self. It is argued that the new speaking styles developed by Polish Cosmopolitans result from negotiation of norms from two distinct linguistic and cultural systems, which allow for the creation of a new sociopragmatic order where the new ways of speaking are

perceived as desirable and in order. The use of variation is inflected by gender, which also shows that the ideological frameworks guiding one's linguistic behavior are based on the speaker's sociocultural positioning and rights and obligations.

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The greatest compliment is to be called a human being.
after Mark Rothko

1 Introduction

After the EU enlargement of 2004, Great Britain was one of the first countries to open its labor market to Eastern European migrants. The United Kingdom has since become a major destination for Eastern Europeans, Poles in particular. Even during the recession, although the number of migrants has declined, 'the volume of new arrivals remains sizeable' (McCollum and Findlay 2011: 1). The migrants coming to Britain are a mixture of young and old, educated and uneducated, people with considerable knowledge of English and those without any ability to speak the language. Thanks to cheap transportation and new channels of communication, they are able to maintain their home language and culture while speaking English when living in the UK. Many of them have been through the British education system and thus have become bilingual in English and Polish.

Polish migrants in Britain are an exemplary group of post-modern migrants. Due to the ease of mobility and new channels of communication, they can form new identities and lifestyles through symbols and resources drawn from multiple sites unlimited by territorial boundaries (Zhang 2001). Through their linguistic choices, they are able to manifest their new transnational identities. How do they position themselves in the post-modern world? Where do they belong and what is the role of language in their identity construction process?

This thesis explores the nature of the contemporary Polish transnational identity among a group of 30 young Polish adults who came to the UK to study and are now living and working in the British Isles. This group belongs to the first generation in the post-war history of Poland that was brought up in a non-communist Poland, and who when migrating did not have to choose between Poland and the West as their parents and

grandparents did, but, who like other Europeans, could easily move within the European Union. The study is based on fieldwork carried out over a year in the London area and in Oxford. The core of the analysis comes from the participants' representations of their experiences of living in the UK, their language ideologies and their stances toward Poland, Britain and the world. A qualitative analysis of the fieldwork identifies two distinct sociocultural identities Polish Poles and Polish Cosmopolitans, together with an intermediate group. The three groups define themselves differently and have broadly different views on nationality, culture and language. The interviews reveal a variety of ethnic experiences in the UK: from Polish Poles, who stress their Polish national identity, through In-betweens, who value certain aspects of Polishness as their cultural heritage, to Polish Cosmopolitans, who reject the concept of nationality and ethnic categorization. As is shown in the thesis, social stances and language ideologies presented by all three groups are reflected in their different linguistic practices, with Polish Poles and In-betweens speaking Standard Polish, while Polish Cosmopolitans are developing new speaking styles in their Polish, drawing heavily on English.

The choice of young Polish adults was not random precisely because during my preliminary fieldwork in 2012, it was among members of this group that I noticed new speaking styles in Polish. During one of the meetings of the Polish Society at the University of Oxford in 2012, I had a conversation with two graduate students. After exchanging names, we tried to establish where in Poland we were from. One of the students immediately said that he was from Silesia, to which I replied that I came from Warsaw, but the second student just said 'Oh, I'm from nowhere.' Neither of us expected such an answer and the other student urged him to state explicitly where he was from. It turned out that he was raised in a medium-sized city in northern Poland, but had family

members in Lviv[1] and completed the last year of his high school in Britain. We both accepted the explanation and proceeded to talking about the fields in which we worked. When the students heard that I was working on language change in the Polish spoken in the UK, they started sharing their observations with me. Suddenly, the student 'from nowhere' turned to me and asked 'Do I have different *p*'s and *t*'s?' Intrigued by the question, I inquired what he meant by this. He answered that he had often been told by other Poles that his *p*'s and *t*'s in Polish changed since he moved to the UK. This was picked up by the other student who stated, 'Oh, there are those who do that, but I don't.' During my later observations of young Polish adults at a variety of meetings, e.g. Oxford University Polish Society's meetings, Oxbridge and LSE dinners in Warsaw and during less organized interactions, I observed that in fact some of them aspirated plosives in selected linguistic contexts, while others did not. Additionally, as many of my interlocutors noted, intonation was also different from Standard Polish in the speech of some speakers. As demonstrated in the thesis, the two features are constitutive of their new speaking styles.

In this thesis, by analyzing different ways of presenting one self in the context of an interview focusing on the speaker's life story, I investigate how transnational identities are formed and developed in interaction. Following Agha (2007) and Mendoza-Denton (2008), it is argued here that identity is not confined to claiming membership in a given group, but it is rather constituted through smaller acts such as the use of particular linguistic signs that allow others to perceive a person as belonging to a given social group. Thus, I examine both the circulating language ideologies in the community and how the participants perform their identities in this particular context. The study provides

[1] Lviv – a city located in close proximity to the Polish-Ukrainian border with a history of Polish settlement and cultural heritage.

a contribution to the study of language and identity drawing on anthropological and sociolinguistic research that treats stylistic variation as part of a complex semiotic system where linguistic signs are continually imbued with a variety of meanings. By paying attention to the indexical potential of the studied features both in Polish society and in the new British context, it is shown how new models of indexicality are formed and how standard institutionalized Polish practices are reconfigured in the new context, where the implementation of selected English features allows some speakers to construct a new place and meaning in an existing sociocultural matrix. The thesis also demonstrates how the new features are being enregistered by other speakers of Polish resulting in various evaluations and understandings of the speaking styles contributing to the construction of social difference in the studied community. Thus, the main focus in the thesis is put on the social meaning of linguistic variation and its indexical power showing that ways of speaking are ideological and connected to the political economy, but influenced by individual preferences. It is also demonstrated how by speakers mutually calibrating their postions and role alignments in interaction, the meaning of new features, specifically, the fall-rise, is negotiated and as a result, incorporated into the new speaking styles.

The study focuses on the group of bilingual speakers who develop their new identities in a changing context, which like a few other sociolinguistic projects (Harris 2006, Mendoza-Denton 2008, Sharma 2011) shows that bilingual speakers do not just randomly transfer linguistic features from one language to another, but rather that linguistic variables in contact situations, as in monolingual settings, allow speakers to create social meanings that carry more complex ideological nuances. Thus, as is shown in the thesis, new ways of speaking Polish enable Polish Cosmopolitans to express themselves as human beings who cannot be ethnically and socially defined in a straightforward way and who orient themselves towards the world rather than Poland. In contrast, those speaking

Standard Polish present themselves as either nationally or culturally Polish, as those who for different reasons, still look back at the norms of Polish society. As the focus of the current thesis is on the immigrant language rather than the host language of British society, I intend to redirect the discussion of language and identity in bilingual settings to examine how migrants create social meaning in their first language and what factors can motivate language change in contact situations in general.

I begin the thesis by situating the project in its sociohistorical context, which is followed by a presentation of my approach to the study of language and identity in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I discuss the fieldwork in depth, which allows for the presentation of different sociocultural identities observed in the group in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, language contact phenomena and potential indexical meanings of the studied features are examined. In Chapters 6 and 7, I focus on language contact phenomena and linguistic detail, using quantitative and conversation-analytic methods to demonstrate how no longer territorially defined, contemporary Polish migrants engage in transidiomatic practices, that is, how they use features of both local and distant communicative codes, to create their transnational sociocultural identities.

2 Language and Identity

This thesis explores the relationship between language and identity in the contemporary world with a focus on one particular community, the Polish transnational community in the UK. In the first part of the chapter, the rationale for the choice of this group is provided showing its uniqueness and importance for sociolinguistic research as Poles in Britain constitute an exemplary group of post-modern migrants who form their identities drawing on multiple linguistic resources unlimited by territorial boundaries. I then go on to presenting how identity formation is approached in this thesis arguing for it to be constructed in interaction by means of ideologically mediated linguistic signs that constitute distinct speaking styles used by particular groups.

2.1 Why the Polish transnational community?

With 40 million members, the Polish diaspora is one of the biggest in the world. For several centuries, Poles have been migrating from Poland to other countries in Europe. There has also been a steady influx of Polish migrants to the United States of America, Australia and various other countries. In recent years, Great Britain has become a major destination for Polish migrants. In fact, a majority of the members of this Polish transnational community moved to the UK after 2004. This community is still forming, but over the course of nine years, it has grown to be one of the biggest immigrant communities in the UK (Office for National Statistics 2011). What is of particular interest for sociolinguistics is the fact that this community constitutes an exemplary group of post-modern migrants who thanks to cheap transportation and new channels of communication are able to move back and forth between the UK and Poland, maintaining their home language while speaking English in Britain. Like other post-modern migrants, Polish migrants in Britain organize their lives in various ways while sustaining selected

linguistic and cultural practices. However, before describing the linguistic and cultural practices observed in this study, I begin by providing more detailed information about this particular community in order to situate the project in a wider sociohistorical context.

Although the wave of migration that is of utmost importance for this project is the current one, first, the waves of Polish migration to the UK prior to the EU enlargement are also briefly described. In the last three centuries, Polish migrants in Britain as well as in other parts of the world belonged to two categories: 'political dissidents escaping political repressions and economic migrants' (Triandafyllidou 2006: 30). As Korys (2004) notes, in the second half of the 18th century and throughout the 19th century, Polish migrants were usually political refugees, whereas in the 20th century they were most frequently economically motivated migrants.

Thousands of Polish migrants came to the UK after the First World War, with most of them settling in London. Some of them decided to go back to Poland once peace was restored. Later, during World War II, the British government made a decision to allow Polish soldiers to demobilize and settle (Zubrzycki 1956) as well as permitting people from the labor camps in Europe to fill labor shortages in Britain (Tannahill 1958). Thus, following World War II most of the Polish combatants settled in the UK, where they established an anti-communist Polish government-in-exile (Triandafyllidou 2006). For the first time, Britain acquired a significant Polish diaspora of approximately 160 000 members (Burrell 2006). Some of them later moved from Britain to countries such as the United States of America, Canada or Australia (Waniek-Klimczak 2009).

Later, during the communist era, many Western states including the UK allowed Poles to come and settle if they expressed the will to do so (Triandafyllidou 2006). Most migrants that came to the UK after World War II worked in manual occupations, e.g. in the

building industry, agriculture, mining. Some of the professionals who settled in Britain, but had been trained in Poland managed to find employment as doctors, dentists, pharmacists, engineers, lawyers, artists or clergy (Waniek-Klimczak 2009). Most people coming from Poland had little or no knowledge of English. They began their lives in the British Isles as unqualified workers, but moved up the economic ladder after a significant period of time. Adapting to the new way of living and new reality was especially difficult for members of the Polish intelligentsia who moved to Britain. Polish workers were usually described as reliable, hard-working, ambitious, but also clannish, sticking with each other and not easily mixing with non-Polish colleagues (Waniek-Klimczak 2009). During this period, Poles established various ethnic Polish organizations such as the Polish Ex-Combatants Association that enabled them to preserve the wartime comradeship and maintain Polish culture.

Nevertheless, until the late 1970's officially registered emigration from Poland remained low (Kępińska 2004). The turning point for Polish emigration came in 1981 when the Polish communist government imposed martial law. Many Poles who by accident were travelling in Europe at the time decided not to go back to their home country. As Waniek-Klimczak (2009) suggests in her book, most of the migrants in the United Kingdom were young students who decided to stay in the UK for political and economic reasons. Officially, emigration from Poland did not increase significantly. However, many migrants left their homeland illegally. Britain was not a major recipient of this wave of migration. Yet, Sword (1996) suggests that up to a few thousand Poles came to the UK each year after 1956 with a peak of migration in the 1980's, after the introduction of martial law. In the 1970's and 1980's many Polish organizations were established in the UK. After 1989, when Poland was no longer a communist country, more educated Poles tended to cease migrating and some returned to Poland (White 2011). However, due to

the challenging economic situation in the 1990's, labor migration from Poland again increased. Many Poles moved to Germany at the time.

Not until 2004, when Poland joined the European Union, did the UK become the primary destination for Polish migrants. These migrants were usually younger people who thanks to the full access to the UK labor market and cheap transportation were able to study and find employment in Britain (White 2011). According to *Migration to and from the UK* by John Salt (2011), in 2007 Poles took over the first position as the largest national group working and living in the UK preceding the Irish and Indians. On the basis of the number of registered workers, the Office for National Statistics estimated that the most common non-UK nationality in England and Wales in 2011 was Polish with 558 000 residents (Office for National Statistics 2011). People born in Poland accounted for 14 percent of recent arrivals, half of them arrived between 2004 and 2006. According to the census, Poland, Ireland and India are the top three countries from where foreign-born people in England and Wales come. Moreover, it was noted that the Polish language is the second most spoken language in the British Isles. This increase in the number of Polish migrants living and working in the UK has been rapid, which is also new in the history of British society and migration to the UK. The 2011 census shows that there has been a significant increase in the number of Polish immigrants in the UK since 2001: nearly all (92%) of Polish born usual residents had arrived since 2001.

Eastern European migrants have become the subject of press interest both locally and nationally. According to Fomina and Frelak (2008), these newcomers have been described both as good workers and the 'foreign other' with unusual cultural habits who push up crime rates and destroy local services. More recently, Spigelman (2013) conducted a corpus-based discourse analysis of articles with the word 'Polish' in articles

from five daily tabloids and five daily broadsheet newspapers circulating in the UK. Despite positive economic effects of the arrival of Poles in the UK, the author states that '"[f]loods" of marauding Poles' have most often been depicted as those who 'steal the jobs of honest, working Brits. The negative framing of the Polish newcomers as invading outsiders threatening the extant population, legitimised by their dehumanisation as a natural disaster and bellwether of a wider phenomenon, conformed to previous ways in which immigrants in general have been portrayed in the "besieged" British Isles' (Spigelman 2013: 111).

Eastern Europeans, thus also Poles, have become the subject of interest for researchers too. Many scholars have concentrated on the economic nature of this migration. Some have drawn attention to the high unemployment levels in Poland, which reached 20% in 2003 (Drinkwater et al. 2006). It has also been argued that the opening of the UK labor market to Eastern European migrants was a crucial factor for the recent migration wave from Eastern and Central Europe to Britain (Pollard et al. 2008). When assessing basic statistics (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Earnings_statistics), compared to the UK, in 2010, Polish median gross hourly earnings were much lower: for the UK, it was 12.6 euros, while for Poland – 4.0 euros (average in Europe 11.9 euros). This discrepancy was also maintained for people with higher education: in Poland, median gross hourly earnings were 6.9 euros, whereas in the UK, they were 16.4 euros (European average – 16.3 euros). In comparison to other countries in the region, which exhibit the lowest median gross hourly earnings in Europe, Poland was doing a bit better. However, the difference between the UK and Poland still remains substantial, which might play a role for Poles' decisions for migrating.

However, other non-economic motivations for migration have also been proposed. As the majority – 81% – of the new migrants from Poland are young under 35 years of age (Błasiak 2011) – it has been suggested that for some migrants the stay in the UK is akin to 'a gap year' (Fabiszak 2007). According to Eade et al. (2007), many of the young migrants are 'searchers' who migrate not only for economic reasons, but also for new experiences and skills. Also, a growing cosmopolitanism among young Poles living in London has been observed (Datta 2007).

Many scholars have tried to establish whether new migrants will stay in the UK or whether they intend to live and work in Britain only for short-term periods. It has often been claimed that the migration is temporary (Pollard et al. 2008), although Ruhs (2005) shows strong evidence suggesting that many of the new migrants intend to stay in the UK for longer. Pollard et al. (2008) claim that the numbers of new migrants coming to the UK are falling and more people are going back to Poland, which is corroborated in Spigelman (2013). However, according to *Trends in East and Central European migration to the UK during recession (*McCollum and Findlay 2011), although the number of migrants has declined, 'the volume of new arrivals still remains sizable.' Researchers have identified various types of migrants with disparate intentions. Thus, among Poles living and working in the UK, 20% are the so-called 'storks' i.e. seasonal workers, 16% - 'hamsters' who come to accumulate capital as a one time event, 42% are searchers, 22% - 'salmon' i.e. those who are planning to stay in the UK (Błasiak 2011). Studies dealing with the structure of the labor force coming to Britain have demonstrated that the migration wave has been advantageous for employers since it allows them to fill in labor shortages relatively cheaply (Ruhs 2006). Additionally, it has been shown that migrants work in various conditions with the majority having temporary employment and weaker working rights than British citizens (Spencer et al. 2007). It has also been noted that qualified

young workers from Poland tend to take up low-skilled jobs (Okólski 2007) as most of the newcomers come to Great Britain due to higher wages (Błasiak 2011). According to Błasiak (2009), where more than 86% of the studied individuals had spent more than 24 months in the UK, the most common occupations of the new migrants include: factory workers (28%), workers in warehouses (6%), packers (6%), food service workers (6%) and cleaners (6%).

Many researchers argue that the English language plays an important role in the process of integration of Poles in British society. However, similarly to all studies on Polish diaspora in the world, where scholars most often look at language maintenance by means of statistical demographic data, the problem of identity understood as a psychological construct and the domains in which the Polish language is used by such speakers across the globe, (Clyne 1991, Dębski 2009, Janik 1996, Miodunka 2003, Nowicka McLees 2010), data concerning the ability of Polish migrants in the UK to speak the language is sparse. According to Błasiak (2011), almost 50% of the newcomers claim to know the English language very well, an additional 23% report a good knowledge of English and 15% claim to know English at a satisfactory level with 13% indicating poor knowledge of English and less than 1% no knowledge at all (Błasiak 2011). Błasiak claims that almost 30% of the Poles she studied speaks 'Ponglish', a combination of Polish and English replete with insertions, calques, interferences, code-switches, alternations, etc. from both languages.

In her study of Polish migrants in Bath, Bristol, Frome and Trowbridge, White (2011) observes various levels of language competence of Polish migrants working in the UK. According to White, Polish migrants express the need to acquire the language as it is perceived as a necessary tool to function in British society. With different outcomes,

many migrants succeed in learning some English. Many husbands seem to speak the language better than their wives when surrounded by English colleagues. Some men, however, do not speak the language even after living in the UK for several years due to the fact that they usually work with other speakers of Polish and thus, do not need English at all. Many of the subjects interviewed by White expressed frustration because of what they perceived as 'inadequate progress in learning English' (White 2011: 164).

Many Polish migrants come to the UK with their dependents. Thus, after 2004 large numbers of Polish children started attending British schools. In White's study, some of the subjects stated that 'their children's good knowledge of English was an important motive for staying in the UK' (White 2011: 160). According to Sales et al. (2008), Polish children and teenagers are doing well in English schools. However, Polish children and teenagers attend not only British schools, but the Polish Saturday Schools are now becoming more and more widespread in Britain. The organization that registers all Polish Saturday Schools, the Polish Educational Society, lists some 100 in the UK. In such schools, Polish students learn the Polish language, history and geography; they often also have religion classes with Catholic priests (White 2011).

As White (2011) has observed, the children of Polish migrants create a hybrid identity identifying themselves as Polish and English. Polish migrants are able to maintain links with their Polish families and friends as well as Polish culture by means of cheap travel, Polish television and the Internet (White 2011). Also, thanks to the availability of Polish products in many British supermarkets as well as Polish shops that have been established all over the UK, Polish migrants are able to prepare Polish national dishes on a daily basis, which allows them to assert 'continuity with the past in the 'unhomely' conditions of the present' (Rabikowska and Burrell 2009: 220). In her study, Błasiak (2011) shows

that for most of her respondents, Poles do not live surrounded by other Poles (21.9%) or numbers of Poles living in their neighborhood are low (43.8%). Only 18.7% of the respondents in Błasiak's study live in predominantly Polish communities.

For the members of British society, Poles constitute a fairly homogenous ethnic group (Garapich 2008). However, UK Poles often point to the distance between various members of the Polish community, especially between the old émigré community and new migrants who came to the UK after 2004. Old Polish organizations are being often replaced by newly created ones as the members of the two immigration waves seem to participate in disparate social events. Moreover, lack of solidarity between Poles in the British Isles has been observed (White 2011). However, lack of solidarity is not equal to simple fragmentation. 'Looked at more positively, the existence of sub-groups within the community testifies to the fact that by 2009 there was a sufficient number of Poles even in Bath for interviewees to be able to choose their friends. By 2009 (unlike in 2006) they all had Polish friends' (White 2011: 192).

As stated before, during my preliminary fieldwork in 2012, I observed new speaking styles among young Polish adults, hence, this subgroup of the Polish transnational community is of particular interest for this study. This group also makes the majority of Polish newcomers and happens to be especially important for Polish history as this is the first generation of Poles who did not have to choose between Poland and the West as their parents and grandparents did, but who, like other Europeans, could easily move within the European Union. This is also the first generation in the history of Poland who after more than 40 years of communism, were raised in non-communist Poland. Thus, it is relevant now to have a closer look at the socioeconomic situation of young Polish adults

in Poland to have a full picture of possible motivations and reasons for their migration to the British Isles.

After the fall of communism, the share of young people in unemployment in Poland remained substantial for many years (Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej 2013). However, the EU enlargement in 2004 brought changes to the situation of young Polish adults as in line with overall trends for unemployment in Europe and Poland, a rapid decrease in their unemployment rates was observed from 2004 to 2007. However, the economic crisis of 2008 severely hit young people in particular all across the European Union(http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/2016/youth_employment_201605.pdf). Young Polish adults were no exception. In Poland, the economic crisis resulted in a rapid turn and steady increase in unemployment rates for the young, but not for the whole population. The peak of the unemployment among the young (15-24 year olds) was reported in 2013 (http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/2016/youth_employment_ 201605.pdf), reaching 27.3% (10.3% for all age groups). When the data from the Central Statistical Office in Poland are taken into account, in 2010, 44.4% of individuals aged 15-29 years old were employed (49.5% - male, 39.2% - female) with Poles being most economically active between the ages of 30 and 49. The pace at which the employment of young Polish adults was decreasing after the crisis was reported to be faster relative to other European countries (Pańków 2012). When genders are compared, in general, in Poland men exhibit lower levels of unemployment than women. Moreover, there is a trend in Europe for women not to be in employment, education or training (NEET) more often than for men. In 2010 in Poland, 18-24-year-olds made less than 15% of NEETs. The percentage was higher for 25-29-year-olds (2% above the average for the EU) with women's percentage almost doubling that of men's. Overall Polish share in NEETs was similar to the average in the EU.

Apart from the crisis in 2008, the worsening situation of young adults on the market in Poland has been explained in the context of changes in collective and individual work relations resulting from the crisis in 1970/1980s onwards, the emergence of flexible contracts without typical social benefits, new segmentation of the job market and liberalization of legal provisions concerning employment (Pańków 2012). Perceptions of the young have also been changing: they are seen as mobile people who manage their time in new ways, which is perceived as advantageous and uncertain at the same time (Pańków 2012).

Statistics for the EU indicate that the transition from education to employment is difficult all over Europe. According to Eurostat, 'male, youth and long-term unemployment appear to be more susceptible to cyclical economic changes than overall unemployment' (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat), which is corroborated by the fact that youth unemployment rate worsened after the economic crisis in 2008 both in Europe and Poland. High youth unemployment rates are indicative of the difficulties that the young are facing upon entering the job market (Eurostat), which in the case of young Polish adults might constitute a motivation to migrate/stay abroad. However, it has to be borne in mind that statistics for the young are usually much higher than for all ages as some members of this age group study full-time.

All in all, as the current section demonstrates, young Polish adults constitute a unique group of post-modern migrants whose complex situation allows for creation of a new type of migrant community. Faced with a difficult economic situation in Poland, they might seek other ways to make a living. However, thanks to cheap transportation between Poland and Britain and new technologies, in comparison to previous migration waves, they may be arranging their lives in new ways. For sociolinguistics, it is important to

comprehend how they understand their identity in this new, changing context and what role language plays in their identity formation. In order to describe the relationship between language and identity in this context as well as to present the approach taken in this thesis, I now proceed to discussing what we already know about it.

2.2 Linguistic variation and social structure

One of the first sociolinguistic projects that looked at the relationship between language and identity was a study of centralization of diphthongs /aj/ and /au/ on an island in Massachusetts, Martha's Vineyard. The study was conducted by William Labov in 1963. By looking at the frequency and distribution of the phonetic variants in different parts of the island, among various age, occupational and ethnic groups, Labov described a local ideological struggle at the level of phonetic variation. As he was able to show, although island speakers had been following the trend from other parts of the state to lower the nucleus of the diphthongs, some of them started reversing the trend to recreate one of the most distinctive features of the island dialect. This move began with Chilmark fishermen who felt threatened by the tourist industry on the island. Thus, centralization helped islanders express their positive orientation towards their island and project an 'authentic' island identity. The results of the study suggested that variation could be used as a resource for the construction of meaning as well as an integral part of social change. However, the so-called first wave sociolinguistic projects that followed the study on Martha's Vineyard neglected this power of variation. Instead, later studies, tried to examine social identities by means of survey and quantitative methods in order to show how phonetic variants differed in relation to such factors as age, social class or gender.

Such treatment of linguistic variation in those early studies resulted from the focus put on the examination of the vernacular that is the most natural, most automatic and maximally

systematic speech. The vernacular was seen as reflecting the speaker's place in the socioeconomically stratified community and the aim of first wave sociolinguistic research was to capture the 'orderly differentiation in a language serving a community' (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968: 101). Labov's later studies, such as the New York City department store study or the Lower East Side study as well as other first wave studies (e.g. Macaulay 1977, Trudgill 1974, Wolfram 1969) were able to demonstrate that patterns of linguistic variation correlate with social structure. In these studies, the social categories were determined by means of socioeconomic indices often consisting of the speaker's income, education and occupation. Such large-scale studies frequently demonstrated that the speaker's socioeconomic position correlated with the proximity of their speech to the standard variety. They proved that language is heterogeneous and related to social structure. However, in this view one's vernacular was not affected by socially motivated correction. Rather than seeing social agency as speaker's choice, agency was limited here to self-monitoring. Linguistic changes were understood as emergent from pressures within the linguistic system, rather than resulting from human reflexive actions. As Penelope Eckert puts it, the perspective on meaning of the first sociolinguists 'was based on socioeconomic hierarchy: variables were taken to mark socioeconomic status, and stylistic and gender dynamics were seen as resulting from the effects of these categories on speakers' orientation to their assigned place in that hierarchy' (Eckert 2012: 90). As a result, for a couple of decades, sociolinguists isolated sets of variables, located them somewhere between standard and vernacular and correlated them with social categories in order to project social motivations and discern synchronic patterns of language change. One could posit that such studies presupposed social categories rather than aiming to understand their dynamics.

Later, the so-called second wave sociolinguists tried to fill in the gap in the relationship between linguistic and social characteristics by focusing on applying ethnographic methods to understand the local aspects of variation (Milroy and Gordon 2003). These later studies concentrated on the examination of the vernacular viewed as a form of expressing local identity. It was believed that the relationship between linguistic features and social structure could only be understood when variables were correlated with locally meaningful social divisions (Milroy 1980). Here, the concept of social networks was widely applied (Milroy 1980). Also, indices based on the local understanding of participants' social world were often developed. For example, drawing on sociological measures of multidimensional social characteristics, Cheshire (1982) established six key elements for the culture of the group of teenage boys that she studied in Reading, which allowed her to calculate the extent to which they adhered to the vernacular culture, classify them into categories and check how this correlated with their language use. Thus, by means of more locally understood units than those used in the first-wave studies, taking into account relationships and contacts between speakers, later studies tried to connect macro sociological categories with more local ones by means of which meaning was created. Such a focus on local understanding of social categories is implemented in this thesis as I make use of social networks and Polishness indices in order to have a better picture of the social structure under investigation.

However, the project differs from first and second wave sociolinguistic studies. In contrast with such studies, social categories are not perceived as static here. Moreover, I do not equate identity with category affiliation (Eckert 2012). Neither do I reduce the role of human agency to minimum. As I believe that language should be studied as a mode of social practice (Hymes 1974), in this thesis, instead of simply correlating presupposed social categories with linguistic variables, I have chosen to make use of theories that

center around speakers as social actors and their active use of language in order to inform our understanding of ideologies that underline observed patterns and of what kind of meaning is attached to the variables. In such theories, the concepts that become crucial for identity formation are style and stylistic variation, which are explained thoroughly in the next section.

2.3 Style and identity

In early sociolinguistic projects, identity is not linked to style, which results from the definition of style employed by scholars working in this tradition. As these researchers assume that linguistic variation reflects one's position in socioeconomic hierarchy, they are interested in one, particular type of speech. In fact, Labov (1972: 208) stated himself that 'not every style or point on the stylistic continuum is of equal interest to linguists.' The object of study for sociolinguists in this approach is, therefore, the vernacular, that is, 'the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech' (Labov 1972: 208). According to those early scholars, style should be treated as one of the three dimensions of variation: linguistic, social and stylistic. Therefore, for Labov, style consists of intraspeaker variation and is simply equal to the attention paid to speech. Here, stylistic variation can range from casual to careful and is always relative to the standard. Following assumptions of such studies, retrieving the vernacular allows the researcher to examine the speaker's natural speech, which can be correlated with static, macro sociological categories.

As stated in the previous section, the current project does not follow assumptions of the early studies arguing for non-static character of social categories. Thus, a definition of style as attention paid to speech is not useful for the analysis of the data presented in this thesis. Nor are other proposals that treat style as purely responsive to and reflective of social structure (e.g. Bell's Audience Design 1984). In this thesis linguistic practice is

studied as a way 'in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice' (Eckert 2012: 94) in a particular sociohistorical context. Variation is thus seen as part of speaking styles, which also takes on its meaning in the context of the narrative produced in the interview. Thus, a different understanding of style is employed.

The definition and emphasis on style drawn upon in this study stem also from the 1970's as it was the time when a key British cultural theorist, Raymond Williams, published *Marxism and Literature*. In this work, Williams argued for the importance of the concept of style for understanding social and cultural experience. As he wrote, 'no generation speaks quite the same language as its predecessors. The difference can be defined in terms of additions, deletions, and modifications, but these do not exhaust it. What really changes is something quite general, over a wide range, and the description that often fits the change best is the literary term "style"… For what we are defining is a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or of a period' (1977: 131). As a result, Williams' work drew attention to the role of individual voices expressed in different styles in constituting structured social meaning and creating cultural and social formations.

Building on this idea, Nik Coupland then explicitly linked one's speaking style with identity in sociolinguistics. In Coupland (1985), he looked at selected phonological variables typical of the Cardiff dialect (e.g. fronted and close (a:), alternation between velar and alveolar (ng), simplified consonant clusters) in the speech of a Welsh DJ working in the local radio station. The host in the study used both phonetic features of the broad-accented Cardiff English dialect and standard pronunciations. As Coupland was able to show, the choice and combination of the features depend on the micro-contexts

within the radio program and allow the speaker to project different identities, e.g. news anchor, member of the community. Thus, when making formal announcements, he would make greater use of the standard variety to present himself as a radio host, while when talking about the local events, he implemented the Cardiff dialect features. As a result, as Coupland suggests, instead of defining style as attention paid to speech, we should rather conceive it as 'persona management' since only then can we understand how speakers use and manipulate linguistic signs to create particular social meaning. What is crucial for the current project is the fact that identity and group marking are dynamic and phonological variation is seen as multi-dimensional. Thus, stylistic variation is meaningful only when studied in relation to group norms, but 'it is through individual stylistic choices that group norms are produced and reproduced' (Coupland 1985: 13).

Such a semiotic approach to stylistic variation is crucial for the analysis presented in this thesis. The article that helps us better understand these semiotic properties of style is Irvine's ' "Style" as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation.' In the article, Irvine builds on Coupland's ideas, but goes further by saying that style should never be 'assumed a priori to be an utterly different matter from style in other realms of life' (Irvine 2001: 21) and posits that it is characterized by distinctiveness. Her concept of distinctiveness is based on Bourdieu's notion of distinction, where it is argued that 'social space' constitutes space of relationships 'constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation' (Bourdieu 1985: 196). As in Bourdieu's analysis of French lifestyles and tastes, the pursuit of distinction, or distinctiveness, to use Irvine's term, expressed in different styles results in separations that are perceived and recognized by other members as legitimate differences. Thus, following Irvine, we see that the concept of style should not be defined as intraspeaker variation only, but it always functions as part of a social framework. Therefore, it cannot be fully understood when approached in

isolation. Instead, it should be studied in relation to other styles and 'contrasts, boundaries and commonalities' between them (Irvine 2001: 22).

Here, Irvine draws on early British cultural studies (Hebdige 1979), where different semiotic codes such as dress, posture or music choices were shown to form different youth subcultures: Mods, Teddy Boys, punks, Rastas, etc. The subcultures were characterized precisely by different styles, where selected objects, codes and practices became meaningful and systematically organized to express resistance to existing social norms based on particular social experience and position. Hebdige argued that style constitutes 'the area in which the opposing definitions clash with most dramatic force' (1979: 3). This can be seen when teds and punks are compared. For teds, the style is 'static, expressive, and concentrates attention on the objects-in-themselves' (Hebdige 1979: 124), which is seen in their combination of aristocratic Edwardian style with black rhythm and blues. In contrast, for punks, it is 'kinetic, transitive and concentrates attention on the act of transformation performed upon the object' (Hebdige 1979: 124), which is manisfested in their 'confrontation dressing' and music choices and dances undermining established conventions. Such distinctions can only be understood when we pay attention to styles and objects reflecting it as well as practices representing those objects and rendering them meaningful (Hebdige 1979). The objects are homologous with the group's main concerns, practices, relations, experience and collective image, all of which reflect its values.

Thus, following Hebdige and Irvine, it is argued here that the understanding of style and variation that constitutes it depends on the speakers' conceptualization of their social world together with its other non-linguistic semiotic resources and in order to be meaningful, style has to be interpreted by a group of people 'whose actions are informed

by it' (Irvine 2001: 22). Most importantly, as for Irvine, it is always positioned and not universal, but culturally specific and based on a particular experience of life. Thus, it is claimed here that style cannot be conceived of without referring to the cultural history and tradition within which it operates, but also in reference to the nuances within a particular system. Moreover, again, after Hebdige and Irvine, I posit that stylistic aesthetics (defined here as both distinctiveness and consistency of linguistic forms) center around 'locally relevant principles of value', which 'motivate the consistency of stylistic forms' (Irvine 2001: 23). As a result, style is mediated by ideology, a point to which I return in the next section of the chapter. All in all, following Irvine, we see that style can only be examined if we look at the way 'the speakers, as agents in social space, negotiate their positions and goals within a system of distinctions and possibilities' (Irvine 2001: 23-24).

Additionally, as in third wave sociolinguistic projects, the focus on the study of stylistic variation is shifted here to the examination of processes that lead to the creation of particular speaking styles (Eckert 2000, Zhang 2001, Podesva 2006). It is argued here that style is 'not a *thing*, but *practice'* (Eckert 2004: 43) and it is created through the process of bricolage, a term taken from Levi-Strauss (1966) to imply that style is made by appropriation and (re)combination of resources (Zhang 2005). Speakers as bricoleurs, Levi-Strauss' notion for someone 'who works with hands and uses devious means compared to those of a craftsmen' (Levi-Strauss 1966:17), pick and choose linguistic resources from a pre-constrained system, 'where they already possess a sense which sets a limit on their freedom of manoeuvre' (Levi-Strauss 1966: 19), to combine them into distinctive styles.

Thus, following third wave sociolinguists, style is seen here as 'a visible manifestation of social meaning' (Eckert 2004: 43), which is never static. For third wave sociolinguists, it can be understood if one studies communities of practice, that is, 'communities of co-present, joint engagement centered on specific activities that provide us with structured action, and through which we craft social meaning' (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 210). As shown in further sections of the thesis, in this thesis, the concept of a community of practice was not always useful as there was tension in the community and speakers did not engage in the same activities. However, where it was possible, observations made in such a community informed my understanding of the studied speaking styles.

The meanings of linguistic forms are, thus, established here within the context of the participant's narrative about their experience of life in the UK and by looking at local contexts in which these forms are used. This role of locality has recently been emphasized with researchers arguing that the meaning of linguistic forms is 'based in ideologies about what the locality is about – what kinds of people live there and what activities, beliefs and practices make it what it is' (Eckert 2008: 462). This is exemplified by such projects as Eckert's (2000) study of language of teenagers in a high school in Detroit, which showed how different use of linguistic variables created styles based in local ideologies of different groups: school-oriented jocks and school-alienated burnouts. Through an analysis of the teenagers' vowels, Eckert demonstrated that the burnouts were leading the newer changes in the Northern Cities Shift such as backing of (e) and (ʌ). Variation in this study also correlated with gender, as female speakers made greater use of almost all variables. The use of variation, thus, allowed jocks and burnouts to embed 'a linguistic opposition between city and suburb within a community to support a local opposition between urban- and school-oriented kids' (Eckert 2008: 458). Similarly, in her study of the speech of a wealthy elite in Beijing, Zhang (2001) was able to show how in a new

economic situation in China, through the implementation of particular linguistic resources in their speech, a new class of yuppies – young managers in the foreign-owned financial sector – created their identity in the opposition to their peers in state-owned financial institutions. Since the yuppies' value on the market depended on their presenting themselves as cosmopolitan, they created distinctive speaking styles that allowed them to present themselves as such: they used full tones, a feature characteristic of Hong Kong and Taiwan, which indicated their transnational identity together with local Beijing features such as interdental /z/ and rhotacized finals.

In these studies, the indexical character of variation, thus, becomes crucial for the examination of identity formation as it allows us to link macro sociological categories with micro sociological contexts. Such an approach is also taken in this thesis. Here, indexicality is understood in line with Silverstein's (2003) framework as presented in 'Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life', where he argues for the concept of an indexical order as being crucial to conceptualize how speakers as semiotic agents make use of macro sociological categories in micro sociological contexts. The concept of an index is taken here from Charles Peirce's (1931-1958) division of signs into icons, indexes (indices) and symbols, where an icon resembles the object that is being referred to, an index points to something else than the referent and a symbol is just an arbitrary sign established by social conventions. As smoke indexes fire, sociolinguistic variation in this model indexes other phenomena in interaction. Here, Silverstein echoes Volosinov, who had already in the 1970's stated that the linguistic 'sign does not simply exist as part of reality – it reflects, and retracts another reality' (Volosinov 1973). Therefore, a linguistic sign describes and stands for phenomena lying outside of itself. For Silverstein, micro social frames of analysis are linked to the macro social ones by means of the indexical order, which comes in ordinal, integral degrees (Silverstein 2003: 193). 'Any n-

th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort relative to which we can model the appropriateness of its usage in context' (Silverstein 2003: 193). Such an order leads to a contextual entailment produced through ideological engagement with the meaningfulness of the n-th order, which is created by culturally ritualized usage of the n-th order, its so-called ethnometapragmatics. The n-th order can then be conceptualized as n+1st order, that is to say, a different relationship guided by different values can be formed. As a result, the orders and their understandings always compete and are in a dialectical relationship with one another, which in turn drives language change. As various people use variables in various situations, their meanings are not identical across the population. The indexical meaning of any linguistic sign depends on its appropriateness to the context as well as its effectiveness in context, that is, its presupposition and entailment, which are mediated by a metapragmatic function (Silverstein 2003). The metapragmatic function is most often implicit as it has to do with the organization of talk itself, which makes it inherently dialectical and, as Silverstein argues, ideological, and thus anchored in cultural conceptualizations of the world connected to people's values, a point in line with Irvine (2001). In this model, linguistic signs used in interactional events allow speakers to play out their identities, which are positioned as people have different interests and intentions. The speakers essentialize linguistic forms, i.e. assign qualities to them, which when naturalized become part of their cultural conceptualizations of the world. Through repeated use of indexical signs, the signs become tropic, i.e. symbolically linked to other phenomena, and allow for the partitioning of social space. In this way macro social categories are enacted in micro social contexts. Thus, identity can only be established through the examination of the division of social space into groups, cultural values, essentializations of linguistic forms and conventionalization of the partitioning resulting

from repetitive behavior. In this approach, identity is not confined to claiming membership in a given group, but it is rather constituted through smaller acts such as the use of particular linguistic signs that allow others to perceive a person as belonging to a given social group.

Such an understanding of identity is implemented in this thesis. Thus, in order to analyze identity in the new Polish transnational community in the UK, I examine how the speakers use language in the context of the interview, how they imbue selected ways of speaking with cultural values and how they are related to their understanding of the world and social relations in which they engage. However, the term 'style' itself is reserved here for Asif Agha's (2007) and Susan Ervin-Tripp's (1986) definition, that is, that 'style is a way of talking about co-occurrence patterns' (Agha 2007: 186) and can be identified by various linguistic patterns: phonetic, lexical, syntactic, etc. Styles in this sense are established by identification of distinct semiotic devices that make them. Thus, '[t]o speak of co-occurrence styles in this sense is to speak of the emergent patterning of linguistic and non-linguistic tokens within observable events of semiotic activity and interaction' (Agha 2007: 186). Such a definition does not necessarily involve cultural intelligibility among language users.

This definition of style is useful for this study since as shown in later chapters some speakers from the community under investigation are developing new speaking styles in that selected features drawn from English co-occur in their speech. The new co-occurrence patterns are now being reflected upon by other speakers through the prism of existing cultural values associated with English features in Polish. Thus, in order to understand how co-occurrence patterns become imbued with cultural values and

subsequently, associated with certain qualities of speakers, I now turn to the discussion of relevant social processes.

2.4 Enregisterment, cultural values and language ideologies

As argued in the previous section, style itself, understood as co-occurrence patterning of language, does not have to be imbued with cultural values and does not always carry indexical stereotypes. However, it can be linked to such stereotypes through the indexical character of speech and become enregistered (Agha 2007), that is, widely recognized in the community as its members may differently respond and reflexively evaluate the co-occurrence patterns they encounter.

Selected styles can thus be linked to stereotypes through a sociohistorical process of enregisterment. Here it has to be noted that the common opposition between style and register used in linguistics is not relevant for this understanding of style and the concept of enregisterment since in this view, registers are tantamount to 'cultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including images or persona, interpersonal relationship and type of conduct' (Agha 2007: 145). Thus, every register is composed of styles, some of which become models of conduct. They are historical formations based on valorizations and countervalorizations among members of groups that make use of them, where 'widespread schemes of speech valorization associate particular forms of speech with commonplace value distinctions' or where social effects emerge from the organization of co-occurring signs in interaction (Agha 2007: 15-16). They are reflexively shaped and change both in form and value. It has to be noted that reflexive activities through which human beings shape them differ, e.g. in terms of explicitness and ways in which linguistic phenomena are typified to be indexical of certain attributes of speakers, etc.

They spread through processes of socialization as forms and values are produced and reproduced in ritualized human behavior. They are promoted by institutional action of various sort and some of them, e.g. standard varieties, become norms against which others are evaluated. As people have different access to institutions promoting different registers, normative systems are advantageous for some speakers only; usually only the most privileged have access to all registers. Thus, proficiency in a register is emblematic of one's identity as a member of a social group and the knowledge of registers points to social boundaries. As a result, speakers' evaluations of linguistic forms and enregistered styles depend on their proficiency and awareness, which are 'mediated by large scale communicative processes' (Agha 2007: 169). Therefore, they are 'linked to asymmetries of power, socioeconomic class, position within hierarchies, and the like' (Agha 2007: 146).

In this project, we observe how new ways of speaking become enregistered by members of the Polish transnational community and how this is connected to circulating stereotypes of English-influenced Polish more broadly. Such new, emerging enregistered styles, usually defined as English-accented Polish, are produced and evaluated within an ideological system of the Polish community (both in Poland and the UK). Therefore, it is crucial now to explain the ideological character of stylistic variation as it is understood in this thesis.

Following Silverstein, in this project, it is assumed that all linguistic behavior is equal to 'unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms, contextualized to situations of interested human use and mediated by the fact of cultural ideology' (Silverstein 1985: 220). The primary understanding of language ideology used here is the Silversteinian one, that is that these are 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a

rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979: 193). Ideologies of language are not seen here as pure conceptual mental phenomena, but rather as 'sets of representations through which language is imbued with cultural meaning for a certain community' (Cameron 2006: 447). They are social constructs that 'emerge from interaction with particular (public) representations' of the world (Cameron 2006: 448). Ideologies saturate everyday discourse in the form of common sense (Hebdige 1979), thus, they are not political or biased views. As noted by Althusser (1969), such a system of representations has little to do with consciousness since these are images, myths, concepts, 'but above all structures' (Althusser 1969: 233) specific to a particular sociohistorical context. They constitute 'perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally upon men via a process that escapes them' (Althusser 1969: 233). Ideology is thus 'the lived relation [both real and imaginery] between men and their world' (Althusser 1969 233) and it is imbued in linguistic forms, which are thus never transparent and which when appropriated, create social relations and processes. Therefore, we have to acknowledge that 'ideology and social relations are mutually constitutive' (Woolard 1998). This in turn enables us to notice that thought like representation has social origins (Woolard 1998) and that in this view, 'a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world' (Williams 1977: 21).

Following Irvine (1989), language ideology is also seen here as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989: 255). It is not a fixed belief system, but an ever-changing social construct that can only be understood through an examination of 'texts and practices in which languages are represented' as well as in the ways they are 'spoken and written about' (Cameron 2006: 448).

In this thesis, it is assumed that language ideologies are grounded in social experience and as thought relies on 'roots in or responsiveness to the experience of a particular social position' (Woolard 1998: 10), they are multiple since 'social experience […] is never uniformly distributed throughout polities of any scale" (Kroskrity 2004: 503). Since individuals are incumbents of various roles within partitioned social space, language ideologies have to be 'partial, interest-laden, contestable and contested' (Woolard 1998: 10). They constitute cultural frames for socially purposive role of language in society and are shaped 'in the interest of a specific social or cultural group' (Kroskrity 2004: 501).

The fact that I see language ideologies as multiple among members of the same speech community also allows for a close examination of potential conflict and contestation within the studied Polish transnational group together with its social consequences (Gal 1992). The multiplicity itself points to historical processes through which some groups make their ideologies hegemonic in a given sociocultural context (Blommaert 1999) as some groups may have 'total social authority' over other subordinate groups not only by imposing ruling ideas on them, but 'by winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant groups appears both legitimate and natural' (Hall 1977). As a result, subordinate groups, in case of this study, groups whose ideological frameworks are less national, operate within a seemingly natural and permanent ideological space, which 'appears to lie outside history, to be beyond particular interests' (Hall 1975). However, as the forms are never permanently normalized, this hegemony has to be won, reproduced and sustained (Hebdige 1979).

A number of projects show that ideology can shape and affect language use and structure, which is clearly seen in a study on gendered pronouns and pronominal change in the English language (Silverstein 1985) or that of Javanese speech levels (Errington 1998).

This is due to the very fact that representations are contested and allow for creation of new alternatives, which is clearly seen in Cameron's discussion of gendered speech and how the way women and men speak varies across different periods and cultures. Thus, it is worth noting that language ideologies are specific to a certain time and place and as Irvine (2001) suggested in her discussion of style, they are morally loaded as they organize and rationalize different ways of speaking in a given community. Finally, as people's consciousness of their actions (Kroskrity 1998) and access to ideological sites (Silverstein 1998) vary, the levels of awareness of language ideologies can be different among members of the same community.

Moreover, ideologies serve as a mediating factor between linguistic and social structure making linguistic forms indexically tied to sociocultural experience (Irvine and Gal 2000). As Gal (1995) states, ideas about linguistic conduct are always 'systematically related to other areas of cultural discourse such as nature of persons, of power, and of desirable moral order' (171). Irvine and Gal (2000) propose a framework consisting of three semiotic processes that help us understand the mediating function of language ideologies and their importance for the study of sociolinguistic variation. The three semiotic processes are: iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure. They are universal and play a key role in linguistic differentiation. The first of the processes, iconization, 'involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked' (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37). In this process, linguistic forms operate as images of social groups displaying their nature/essence. On the basis of shared qualities of linguistic signs and social images, speakers of a language make connections treating them as natural and necessary, whereas in fact these may be just historical, conventionally established constructs. In this way, particular sets of social relations and ways of organizing the world are essentialized as

universal and timeless by speakers (Hebdige 1979). As shown in Irvine's analysis of the Wolof greeting, we can see that speakers belonging to different castes are linguistically differentiated through the process of iconization where the contrast between laconic and austere with impulsive and elaborated speaking styles of different social groups is seen as derivative of speakers' temperament.

The next semiotic process distinguished by Irvine and Gal (2000), fractal recursivity, consists in 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level. For example, intragroup oppositions might be projected outward onto intergroup relations, or vice versa' (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38). Fractal recursivity allows for a link between 'subtle forms of distinctiveness with broader contrasts and oppositions' (Irvine 2001: 33) and reproduces meaningful distinctions within partitions creating subcategories. Again, a good example of such a process in which an opposition between categories is repeated at a different level of social relations can be found in Irvine's discussion of griot and noble speaking styles in Wolof, where not only the two extreme castes use the speaking styles, but everybody in society draws upon these styles reproducing subtler distinctions in rank. Moreover, this semiotic process enables us to understand the possible tensions within communities, where some members can be perceived as better representatives than others due to certain linguistic practices. Finally, the third semiotic process, erasure, makes some speakers and their linguistic practices invisible. As speakers pay attention to certain aspects of distinction, others are ignored, which is seen when speech communities are imagined as homogeneous resulting in eradication of all differences that exist in the community.

All in all, the above discussion reveals how speakers across different cultures draw on similar semiotic processes in which linguistic forms are used to create different linkages

to ‘such apparently diverse categories as morality, emotions, aesthetics, authenticity, epistemology, identity, nationhood, development or tradition’ (Gal 1998: 323). The formation of categories can only be understood if we pay attention to the discourses and practices circulating in a studied community as well as to the distribution of power and its consequences. As the current project focuses on a language contact situation, it is in order now to briefly describe what is known about the role of language for category formation, specifically identity construction, in bilingual and multilingual settings.

2.5 Language contact

As has been often shown, in multilingual settings, as in monolingual contexts, people also create definitions and distinctions, which together with particular linguistic strategies and practices allow them to organize their world and construct an identity. Although speakers rely on multiple formal linguistic codes, as in other linguistic scenarios, their linguistic practices are not random, but socially meaningful and linked to specific cultural contexts and models of appropriate conduct (Agha 2009). What is unique about language contact situations is the fact that they enable us to see how different linguistic and cultural systems interact often resulting in new ways of speaking as well as new social forms, which in turn informs our understanding of the relationship between linguistic and social structures and their role in identity creation.

Various projects in language contact situations have focused on social meaningfulness of bilingual and multilingual linguistic practices with studies of diglossia (Ferguson 1959) being the first to demonstrate that communities vary in extent to which they keep languages separate or mixed. Later, sociolinguistic studies of codeswitching proved that the use of different linguistic codes is ‘skilled’ and ‘resourcefully deployed to create systematic communicative effects’ (Woolard 2004: 75) with Gumperz (1982) arguing for

the importance of speaker's variable social positioning in language contact situations. He claimed that language choices made by bilingual speakers are part of presentation of self and the speaker's identity is multifaceted and shiftable, which is seen in codeswitching since conceptualizations of *we/they* codes (minority/majority codes) can change across different contexts and time periods resulting in various linguistic outcomes.

In order to create identities and socially meaningful ways of speaking, bilingual and multilingual speakers negotiate 'register models for type-hybridized practices with the persons with whom they engage through such practices' (Agha 2009: 10). In their speech, they draw on multiple cultural frameworks, where a specific linguistic behavior may be perceived as appropriate according to one categorial dimension within 'several dimensions of categorial structure' as linguistic expressions form category clusters (Agha 2009: 6). Bilinguals' linguistic borrowings are tightly connected to interactional frameworks that map their social roles and relations. During interactional events, they transpose linguistic items across contexts of use, which often results in reanalysis and transformation into new models of conduct (Agha 2009). Depending on their social experience and positioning, their linguistic behavior and outcomes of the process differ.

Such a negotiation of community norms at the language level is clearly seen in Morita's (2009) study of Japanese Americans' borrowing of the English pronoun *me* into Japanese. Morita describes how speakers with different life trajectories and thus, cultural models - two adults who moved from Japan to America, and one American-born English – Japanese bilingual – implement the new borrowing based on sociopragmatic reasons. Although in Japan the use of *me* as the first-person self-referential term evokes negative associations, in the bilingual context it becomes a tool to neutralize social differences and establish more egalitarian relations between interlocutors. The speakers' negotiation

between the two competing systems of norms results in a new sociopragmatic order where the borrowing is used.

The American-Japanese example demonstrates how norms for a particular linguistic form are established in relation to bilingual speakers' new sociocultural positioning in the world, which results in the incorporation of the form into bilinguals' speaking styles. Other linguistic projects have demonstrated that language contact can lead to the creation of entire languages used to express a new identity such as Mexicano, the syncretic language described in Hill and Hill (1986). Here, speakers bilingual in Spanish and Mexicano in the Malinche region of Mexico created a new 'syncretic language' that allowed them to refunctionalize selected features of Spanish, the majority code, in combination with Mexicano, the minority code, as a way to express their identity as indigenous community with a particular social position in the broader Mexican context. Finally, multilingual practices may also allow speakers to challenge existing linguistic and social boundaries as is the case with Rampton's (1995) phenomenon of 'crossing' in multilingual London, where non-members of the minority Caribbean community, South Asian and white teenagers, switch to Caribbean-based Creole.

As in monolingual communities, these linguistic practices and resulting social formations operate within sociopolitical contexts, which is clearly seen in studies of language shift. For instance, in Gal's (1978) study of a German-Hungarian bilingual community in Oberwart, it is shown that linguistic choices made by the speakers are bound to political economy and symbolize selected social categories within the local context. In Oberwart, German was associated with worker-status, modernity and more prestige than Hungarian, which was seen as indicative of the peasant way of life. Gal demonstrated that due to their

social position within the political-economic system in the village, young women shifted towards the German code more often than other groups.

Linguistic choices in bilingual settings, including the use of phonetic variation (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), are also underlined by ideologies. Research has proven that also in language contact situations language ideologies can influence linguistic behavior in various ways. In some groups they can lead to the separation of distinct linguistic identities as in Kroskrity's Arizona Tewa community, where all three languages spoken by the group, Tewa, Hopi and 'American', are perceived as distinct and shaping different identities (Kroskrity 1998). In other scenarios, they can lead its members to mixing languages as a way of celebrating hybrid identity as in Zentella's delineation of the Puerto Rican community in New York City, where codeswitching is valued and perceived as an expression of identification as bilingual (Zentella 1997).

As the current section reveals, language contact situations constitute an arena for new social forms and linguistic practices to emerge. The project depicted in this thesis aims to explore identity formation in such a language contact situation. What is new about the nature of the community under investigation, however, is the intensity and frequency of language contact with which the speakers are faced in the globalized world, where thanks to cheap transportation and new technologies they can use languages in previously non-existing ways. Thus, in the remainder of this chapter, I focus on delineating what is known about identity formation and the role of language in the globalized world.

2.6 Globalization, transnationalism and transidiomatic practices

In the era of globalization, previously taken for granted categories of identity, such as national identity, are questioned and reconfigured by new ways of living and new linguistic practices. Increased mobility operates within transnational space, where

different cultures and languages interact on a daily basis. As a result, the natural link between language and nationality is reexamined. However, before proceeding to the intricacies of the relationship between language and identity in the globalized world, it is worth analyzing how the European philosophies of Enlightenment and German Romanticism together with consequent political practice resulted in 'making a connection between the categories of "language" and "nation" appear a necessary, natural, and self-evident one, used as much in everyday political discourse as in scholarly arguments' (Gal 1998: 324).

Scholars had offered various explanations for the embodiment of collective spirit in the social category of a nation with Ernest Gellner's (1983) and Benedict Anderson's (1983) theories triggering the debate and arguing for nationalism and nation-states as being products of modernity. While for Gellner nationalism was understood as a political principle brought about by industrialization, for Anderson it emerged with the popularity of capitalism and the development of print as a commodity allowing for creation of imagined communities. In both theories, language played a crucial role: for Gellner, through standardized, shared languages people became loyal to high culture and through schooling mediated in the languages, nationalism was created; for Anderson, by propagating selected vernaculars by means of print, print-languages created nationalism.

Both theories and those that followed attribute a special role to language in the development of modern nation-states and national identities. They often assume ethnolinguistic modularity and predetermined character of nationalism, an assumption questioned by linguistic anthropologists working in postcolonial contexts. Instead, linguistic anthropologists stress the role of language ideologies in the creation of national identities as shaping the indeterminacy of ethnolinguistic identity. In her discussion of the

relationship between language and nation, Gal shows that conceptualization of language itself played a crucial role for the emergence of modern nation-states as the science of language, established in the late 18th Century, propagated an idea of language as natural and 'independent of individual voluntary acts and therefore not the creation of any self-conscious human will or intervention' (324). Thus, linguistic objectivity eradicated 'the "personal" and the "willed" from the project of scientific observation and analysis' (Gal 1998: 324), which in turn enabled people to seek justification for allowed political actions such as formation of nation-states in the objective characteristics of language. Apart from scientific epistemology, aesthetics also played an important role in the process as a uniform language was seen as a tool for communication among rational and mobile citizens allowing them to become modern and aware of their political rights (Hobsbawm 1990). The aesthetics often rationalized and justified human actions that eradicated the subordinate, less desired varieties of language.

Thus, it can be claimed that 'the national vision' is not confined only to the imagination of the nation, but it often includes the imagination of language and linguistic communities (Eisenlohr 2007: 25). Many projects have demonstrated that language ideology is present in the emergence of ethnic or national identities, where these are usually ideologies of elites that shape such identities (Ramaswamy 1997, Eisenlohr 2007). A contemporary European example comes from Jacqueline Urla's (1993) study of Basque nationalism, where it is argued that despite the fact that many nationals do not speak the Basque language, the imagination of Basque as a national language is a factor at play in conceiving of the nation.

As we can see, the development of modern nation-states has contributed to the propagation of an idea of language as a whole, bounded system tied to one nation,

frequently assigned to a particular, confined geographical area, which had profound consequences for creation of national identities. However, as we can now observe, 'the link between language, place and identity is broken' (Heller 2011: 5) in the post-modern, globalized world, where mobility and increased contact between languages become a norm and where we find 'competing visions of social organization and competing sources of legitimacy in attempts to reimagine – or resist reimagining – who we are' (Heller 2011: backcover). Language in the post-modern world is in motion 'with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another' (Blommaert 2010: 5), which calls for the reconceptualization of key concepts as discursive spaces have to be seen as 'assemblages of interconnected sites […] traversed by the trajectories of participants and of resources regulated there' rather than as parts of bounded systems (Heller 2011: 11). As Blommaert and Dong show, for many, language is no longer used for constructing local or national identity, but becomes a tool for mobility. Thus, 'in a context of mobility, the connection between a speech community and a set of established, and shared, forms of knowledge of languages and of language norms must be questioned' (Blommaert and Dong 2009: 382). We have to look at the dialogical nature of interactional events without a presupposed common ground for the interlocutors. This does not mean, however, that mobility operates in a vacuum. It is equivalent to a 'trajectory through different spaces' and is still 'stratified, controlled and monitored' (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 368), and linguistic differences still allow for the location of speakers within a plane of social categories.

In the post-modern world, migration does not necessarily result in 'an enduring change in the spatial organization of one's life' (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 369) and identity formation based on the new rules and resources results in the restructuring of modern subjectivity (Appadurai 1996), that is, the way the self exercises its own reason. The deterritorialized identity is 'light-years away from the corporate logic of the nation state'

(Jacquemet 2005: 263). What becomes crucial is the study of the interplay of global and local processes where local social positioning is anchored within global cultural flows (Jacquemet 2005). As Jacquemet argues, this may result in ideological hardening of the local identity or the construction of new creative forms of identity, with the first scenario being more frequent. Both are observed in the current project.

Today, people create multiple allegiances in terms of language and culture; the media are based on translocal modes of production and reception and are responsible for the spread of procedural knowledge; global power elites are formed with locally based semiotic operators that is people proficient in commodified international languages such as English (Jacquemet 2005). This results in new ways of producing and reproducing hierarchies together with new power relations. The new social forms rely heavily on multilingual practices. The concept that is useful to comprehend what is happening is that of transidiomatic practices, that is, 'communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes present in a range of communicative channels' (Jacquemet 2005: 264-265). As argued above, although mixed and hybridized, linguistic practices operate within a social context, where they are still indexically structured.

Thus, it is fundamental to pay attention to diversity, inequality and mobility in order to understand the social organization of the post-modern world and its identities (Heller 2011), where mobile people intersect through mobile texts and where the dominant groups still put limits on the access to linguistic resources of transnational, less privileged minorities. The fact that people interact in multiple spaces and have elective networks (Jacquemet 2005) is tightly connected to political economy and sociocultural supremacy of 'globalized governmentality' or 'mobile sovereignty' (266). As Jacquemet posits, the

intellectual labor is now divided between ‘cosmopolitan elites’ and ‘either local semiotic operators under their direct or indirect control or transnational migrants forced to commodify their linguistic knowledge to enter the global workforce’ (266). In the process, international languages such as English become desired commodities enabling social as well as pan-territorial mobility, while communication in general becomes crucial for the market. As a result, ‘language, culture and identity are tied to the emergence of niche markets and added value’ (Heller 2011: 20) and new ways of speaking and language ideologies become ‘reterritorialized within the local environment’ (Jacquemet 2005: 267).

Therefore, the study of these transidiomatic practices is essential for us to understand the process of language change together with group formation processes and ideological frameworks guiding people in the post-modern world, where we still evaluate our performance as desirable and in order, but by means of new rules and resources. As shown in the thesis, the Polish transnational community in the UK provides an excellent case study to explore how post-modern migrants express their multiple voices, what they think about them and how they construct their new identities in the world. The exact research methods used in the study are discussed in the next chapter of the thesis.

3 Field Methods

This study is based on the fieldwork conducted from July 2013 to August 2014 in the counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Greater London in South-Eastern England. In this chapter, the general characteristics of the speakers who participated in the project as well as the data collection methods and the reasons for applying them are described.

3.1 Speakers

All speakers who participated in the project are young Polish adults aged between 22 and 32 (at the time of the interview). Fifteen were female and fifteen were male; all had moved to the United Kingdom after the EU enlargement in 2004 and had spent between three and a half and ten years in the British Isles, the majority of them - more than five years. The great majority (24) had arrived in the UK at the age of nineteen, though six were slightly older at the time of arrival, with ages ranging between 20 and 26.

Most participants come from a range of medium-sized and large cities located in several regions of Poland.[2] The majority are from Mazovia (11 speakers), a region in central and eastern Poland, where the capital Warsaw is located. Seven speakers come from the southern part of Poland, Lesser Poland, while eight are from western (Greater Poland - 4 speakers) and southwestern (Silesia - 4 speakers) parts of Poland, in close proximity to the German border. A further four speakers come from Gdańsk, which is in Kashubia in northern Poland. The participants' cities of origin are marked on the map in Figure 3.1. All regions mentioned on the map correspond to regions where five Polish dialects are spoken: dialects of Mazovia, Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Kashubia and Silesia

[2] One speaker comes from a village next to Tarnów in Lesser Poland, but was educated in Kraków. The speaker's place of origin is marked as Tarnów on the map.

(Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999). Two speakers come from Wrocław, which is situated in the region of 'new mixed dialects.' This does not constitute a problem for the coherence of my sample since in Poland Standard Polish (*język ogólny*), which is characterized by common phonemic inventory and grammar across Poland, is spoken by all educated individuals in everyday life and is perceived as superior to regional dialects and slang (Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999). Speakers of regional dialects who participated in the study were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 3.1 Map of the speakers' places of origin in Poland.

At the time of the interview, all speakers lived in South-Eastern England. 23 speakers lived in the London area, five in Oxford, one in St Albans and one in Reading. Those locations are represented on the map in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Map of the speakers' places of residence in the UK.

All speakers whose interviews are analysed in this thesis are native speakers of Polish who originally came to Britain to study at university. The use of these criteria for selecting informants was intended to ensure that they would all have comparable linguistic profiles, with similar (and high) levels of proficiency in both English and Polish. As all were educated in Poland before coming to the United Kingdom, all of them can be assumed to have both oral and written proficiency in Standard Polish. The participants' English was only impressionistically assessed, but it is reasonable to assume that speakers who came to the UK to study already had a good knowledge of English, certified by official examinations, since this would constitute a condition of admission.

The speakers had received higher education at the universities of Oxford, London, Cambridge, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Southampton, South Wales and St. Andrews (for information about the schools the speakers attended, refer to Appendix 2). The most common subjects studied were economics and business (9 speakers), biological and chemical sciences (5), history and international relations (5) and computer science (3). There was a clear tendency for male speakers to study economics and business or hard sciences. The female speakers' educational choices were more diverse, with most having studied subjects from the humanities and social sciences e.g. modern languages or psychology. 25 speakers (13 female and 12 male) came to Britain to pursue undergraduate degrees, of whom fourteen (8 female and 6 male) continued their education at the graduate level. Five speakers (2 female and 3 male) moved to the UK for their graduate studies. During their studies they were required to perform in English at an advanced level, working alongside native speakers.

After graduating, all the speakers stayed in Britain to work in white-collar jobs requiring the use of both spoken and written English in a variety of situations. The selection criteria used mean that in addition to having similar profiles in both languages, the speakers in the sample have similar levels of education, and (on the basis that education is closely related to socioeconomic status in Poland) they are also comparable in terms of social status.

Today, most speakers are living and working in the south east of England. Their jobs require a high level of oral and written proficiency in English. At the time of the interview, the majority (14 speakers: 3 female and 11 male) were employed in the corporate sector. Others worked in a variety of professions, e.g. in education, the media or advertising. Six were still graduate students: two men were pursuing PhD degrees and

four women were studying at Master's level. None of the graduate students expressed an intention to go back to Poland immediately after their studies; two had already secured jobs in Britain which they were to start after the completion of their studies. For detailed information about all participants, refer to Appendix 1.

The discussion presented in this section suggests that the participants in this study often had similar social background and exposure to English, which does not allow for a conclusion that the ways they spoke differed due to class distinction. Interviews were conducted with 40 young adults (21 female and 19 male), but only 30 of these interviews were analysed. The rest were excluded either because of technical issues with the quality of the recording, or because it became apparent that the interviewee did not meet all the selection criteria described above (e.g. they did not know any English when they came to the UK, or they had not been in the UK for the three-year period that was set as a minimum, or they were speakers of a regional dialect rather than Standard Polish).

3.2 Data collection methods

3.2.1 Recruitment methods and interview setting

The initial idea had been to study a community of practice and to recruit all speakers through a snowball technique. Thus, I expected that most speakers would belong to the same network or be recommended by other interviewees (Weiss 1994). However, this method proved not to be a satisfactory way to recruit a diverse range of participants. I found that individuals speaking Standard Polish expressed negative attitudes towards those speaking in new, innovative ways, and those who spoke in new, innovative ways often did not stay in contact with Poles speaking Standard Polish. The snowball technique would thus have skewed the sample towards people whose ways of speaking most closely

resembled those of the initial recruits and therefore, the aim of the project to investigate the multiplicity of language ideologies and speaking styles would have not been achieved.

The speakers were thus recruited through a variety of methods. The first participants were part of the social networks that I had developed during preliminary fieldwork in Oxford and in Poland during the academic year of 2012/2013. Additionally, a broadly phrased advertisement in Polish and English was sent to a variety of groups found online, ranging from Polish Societies at different UK universities to networks of alumni of various universities in the London and Oxford areas. The advertisement called for participants for a study of young Polish adults who had moved to the UK after 2004 to study and later, stayed to work; it also mentioned that the study would examine the role of languages in their daily lives. Additionally, I made use of my own social networks from Poland, approaching my Polish contacts' friends and acquaintances in the UK who met all the criteria for selection. When it became clear that finding men who met all the criteria would be challenging (an issue discussed further in Chapter 4 below), I turned to social media such as LinkedIn (www.linkedin.com) and professional networks such as Polish Professionals in London (https://www.polishprofessionals.org.uk) as supplementary recruitment tools.

The number of participants was determined in the data collection process by means of thick-description and analysis of the fieldwork and the aim of the study was not to secure statistical representativeness, but to achieve saturation (Small 2009) of the emergent social categories. Thus, each interview attempted 'to replicate the prior ones' and 'through "literal replication" a similar case [was] found to determine whether the same mechanisms [were] in play; through "theoretical replication" a case different according to the theory [was] found to determine whether the expected difference [was] found' (Small

2009: 25). I did however try to identify an equal number of female and male speakers in each group.

Before the beginning of the interview, each participant was asked to read a participant information sheet describing the aim and character of the study and to sign an informed consent form approved by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC)[3]. Most participants were paid a sum for participation in the study for which I used grants from the Faculty of Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics at the University of Oxford and Somerville College. All interviews were stored on my password-protected computer kept in my apartment and backed up in the university secure backup and archiving system, HFS. In the thesis, no personal data are used and all speakers are referred to using pseudonyms, which are Polish names no one in the sample had.

The interviews were conducted by myself in Polish over a period of one year from July 2013 to August 2014. Seventeen interviews were conducted in the speakers' homes in Oxford and London, eight took place in cafes and pubs in London, five - in various locations at the University of Oxford. The majority of the interviews were conducted in low-noise environments. As the speakers selected the venues, I could not interview all participants in their homes. However, to secure a reasonably good quality of the recordings made in public places, they were told that I was seeking 'quiet places' that would be convenient for them to meet. Additionally, I tried to choose times of day when it would be quiet with few other people around. The interview lasted between 48 minutes and 1h and 32 minutes. A Marantz PMD 660 recorder and two lapel Audio-Technica AT8531 microphones were used to record the interviews. The sample rate was 48 kHz

[3] CUREC Research Ethics Approval No: SSD/CUREC1A/13-121. The consent form each participant had to sign can be found in Appendix 4.

with 16 bits per sample. The recordings were made with two audio channels and were digitized into Waveform audio files that were later analyzed in Elan (Wittenburg et al 2006) and Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012).

3.3 Researcher's positionality and the fieldwork

As in this thesis it is claimed that linguistic variation constitutes resources for the construction of identity throughout one's lifetime, it is assumed that the speech examained here cannot be taken out of the context of the narrative of the self, which as discussed later, was the main topic of the interview. Thus, the primary objective of the project was not to use 'unobtrusive measures to control the interactive effect of the observer' (Labov 1972: 69), or to follow the classic Labovian principle that the aim of a sociolinguist is 'to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed' (Labov 1972: 61). Following Eckert (2000), it is rather posited here that interviewers play dominant interactional roles in interviews since they co-construct the content of the interaction. It is important to acknowledge the researcher's positionality, that is their placement within the sociocultural structure, as one cannot assume that the object of sociolinguistic research is just 'out there' and does not depend on the researcher's actions. On the contrary, the researcher is not a neutral instrument as they filter and interpret information that they encounter through their own sensibility and interpretation (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 44).

At the time of the interview, the speakers knew that I was a young Polish adult and a graduate student at the University of Oxford, who was interested in language use of Poles living and working in the UK. In order not to reveal my own political views or cultural preferences, efforts were made to minimize information available about myself on the Internet. However, the participants could learn that I studied Polish diaspora in the USA during my MA studies, that I had worked at the University of Warsaw and in the non-

governmental sector in Poland and South East Asia, and that I originally came from Warsaw.

The interview was the first time they had met me. Before the actual meeting, only short exchanges by phone, Facebook or email had taken place. During the interview, as a speaker of Standard Polish from Warsaw, I made use of the variety I would typically use when interacting with my peers back in Poland inserting phrases and collocations typical for my peer group in informal settings, which put people at ease. Apart from established English loanwords that are commonly used in Poland, English was not used. My own Polish would thus not resemble new ways of speaking described in this thesis. My position as a female researcher from Warsaw who had not lived permanently in the UK before the research project was conducted, but who had substantial international experience and vast knowledge of arts and cultures in the world is likely to have influenced the nature of the data I was able to collect as well as the interpretation of the larger picture which I forged in the course of the fieldwork. Given the one-to-one nature of the interview, the speakers might have had a tendency to use more standard forms than in their everyday life, although based on my observations, it seems that innovative ways of speaking have become identity markers that are displayed regardless of the situation/addressee when interacting with one's peer group.

Moreover, it is not claimed here that every researcher will be able to replicate the results of the qualitative part of the project (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4), since the conversations with the speakers resulted from real-time decisions made in interaction, my ethnographic observations and the interlocutors' circumstances and backgrounds. In contrast, the sociophonetic part of the study (presented in depth in Chapters 6 and 7)

should be replicable provided the same data together with similar measurements and statistical methods are used.

Finally, the interviews I conducted with the speakers were not typical sociolinguistic interviews that aimed to 'elicit a wide range of contextual styles from an individual speaker' (Becker 2013: 92). In this study it was important to investigate the speakers' language ideologies and ethnic experiences, and how the linguistic variables under study have been imbued with cultural values. As a result, the study combines some variationist principles with insights from qualitiative analysis of content and interaction as it makes use of discussion of particular linguistic topics and language forms (Duranti 1997).

Where possible, data from the interviews are complemented by participant observations at a variety of events in the UK as well as at events organized in Poland for Poles living in the UK. Such events include meetings and events organized by Polish Society at the University of Oxford, Congress of Polish Societies organized in 2014 at the University of Oxford, and Oxbridge and LSE dinners in Warsaw as well as encounters with individual speakers. Here it has to be noted that more nationally oriented participants formed a community of practice, which was more thoroughly observed. Less nationally oriented Poles were observed during informal encounters, whenever that was possible.

3.3.1 The interview

There were nineteen key questions which all speakers were asked during the interview. These were designed to allow me to collect information on a number of topics related to participants' experiences of living in the UK, the language ideologies and views on nationhood and on Polish and British cultures, and stances they took towards the UK, Poland and the world. All questions are listed in full in Table 3.1. The exact wording of the questions differed from interview to interview, since they were treated as topics to be

covered during a semi-formal conversation with each speaker. Each interview began with an equivalent of 'So, can you tell me your story in the UK?', which was intended to allow the speaker's response to set out the direction of the interview. The order of the key questions and the additional questions was determined by our interaction and by information provided by the speaker. Thus, after the first question the interviewee's interest in talking about a particular topic dictated how much time I spent on each question. As a result, each interview constituted a different encounter with a particular individual, focusing on topics that were of interest to her or him, or facts which s/he chose to treat as relevant for the purposes of the interview.

No	Question
1	What is your story in the UK? Why did you decide to come to the UK?
2	Do you have any relatives in Britain?
3	What were your beginnings in the UK like (culturally, linguistically, etc.)? Has anything changed since you came?
4	Is there a stereotype of a Pole in the UK? If yes, what is it? What is your attitude towards the stereotype?
5	Have you ever attended Polish organizations? Why?
6	How often do you go to Poland?
7	Do you have friends with whom you can speak Polish? Where are they? How did you meet them?
8	What do you think about the Polish language? What do you think about the English language? Have your views on the languages changed over time?
9	Have people commented on your English? And on your Polish? Here or in Poland? How did you feel?
10	Do you think your Polish has changed since you moved to the UK? How? And your English?
11	Do you codeswitch? If so, when do you think it happens? What do you think about it? If you decide on one language, which language is it? Why?
12	Do you think there are some new ways of speaking Polish typical of Poles in the UK? What do you think about them and the people who speak like that?
13	If you had to define yourself, what would you say?
14	How would you define Polishness? What do you think about Polish culture? And

	British culture?
15	Where do you think you belong? Is place important for your identity?
16	What is the UK for you now? And Poland?
17	Would you like to go back to Poland? Why?
18	Where do you see yourself in ten years?

Table 3.1 Key questions asked during each interview.

After each interview, each speaker was asked to provide information about their social networks, in the form of a list of the people they interacted with in their daily lives. The task took between five and fifteen minutes and the speakers were not recorded while completing it. Due to time limits, four speakers completed the task at home and submitted their lists a few days after the interview took place. For the purpose of this task, on an ordered list of groups named by each speaker (e.g. relatives, friends, acquaintances), the speakers provided information about each contact's place of origin, place of residence and relationship to the speaker, what language the speaker speaks with them and a ranking of the frequency of contact (on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is *distant*, *rare* and 5 is *close*, *frequent*). Afterwards, a network score for each speaker's social networks was established. The exact network scores of speakers' social networks are discussed in more depth in Chapter 4 as are the speakers' interview responses showing that despite similarity in social background and exposure to English, participants' linguistic and cultural practices diverge.

4 Polish identity in a changing context

4.1 Sociocultural positioning as a non-linguistic variable

After the fieldwork was concluded, the 30 interviews selected for analysis were orthographically transcribed using the linguistic annotator Elan (Wittenburg et al 2006). Each speaker was given a serial number and a pseudonym. [4] Transcription was followed by a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the fieldwork. In this section, I discuss some of the insights that emerged from this process.

There was considerable variation among the speakers in terms of their answers to the interview questions, and also in their social networks. However, following Cheshire's (1982) index of vernacular culture described in Chapter 2, on the basis of both the interview data and other observations made during the fieldwork, it was possible to identify eight cultural foci that were centrally important for the culture of the group under study, in that they often made reference to them and used them to distinguish between different members of the UK Polish community. These cultural foci are the degree to which a person:

1. self-identifies as Polish
2. says s/he cares about the Polish language
3. maintains Polish traditions in their life in the UK
4. is a member of one or more Polish organizations in the UK
5. expresses the intention of going back to Poland
6. is religious
7. eats Polish food

[4] The list of all 30 speakers together with their demographic characteristics, e.g. place of origin, place of residence, age, etc. can be found in Appendix 1.

8. has or would like to have a Polish partner

The eight foci are treated as discrete since they come up in the interviews as separate and distinct cultural symbols. Additionally, the fact of having or expressing a wish to have a Polish partner is treated as a separate factor since it is likely to be a significant influence on language use because one spends a significant amount of time interacting with one's partner.

Moreover, apart from the eight cultural foci enumerated above, the results from the task of mapping the speakers' social networks are treated as the ninth factor that is crucial for making a distinction between the speakers. On the basis of the task mapping each speaker's social networks together with questions about the speaker's social networks asked during the interview and observations from the fieldwork, it emerges that the speakers develop and maintain social networks with various levels of Polishness of contacts other than kinship, which affects their use of language to a great extent. The network scores represent the ratio of all Polish contacts other than kinship to all listed contacts other than kinship for each speaker, expressed as percentages. The decision was made to analyze only contacts other than kinship in order to focus on contacts developed and maintained out of each speaker's personal choice. The percentages of the network score established for each speaker range from approximately 12% to 83%. In this thesis, an analysis of the detailed information of close/distant relationship and the contacts' place of residence was not included due to variability and inconsistency in the interview data. All network scores for all speakers are presented in Table 4.1, all ranked in descending order.

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Network score
P4	Łukasz	M	83%
P8	Tomasz	M	74%
P15	Olaf	M	71%
P9	Maria	F	67%
P2	Ewa	F	65%
P10	Paweł	M	59%
P1	Adam	M	56%
P3	Kamil	M	54%
P5	Artur	M	50%
P6	Barbara	F	50%
P16	Ela	F	50%
P17	Stefan	M	50%
C4	Kaja	F	50%
P12	Emil	M	46%
P11	Bartosz	M	41%
I6	Adrian	M	40%
C1	Paulina	F	40%
C7	Natalia	F	38%
P7	Daniel	M	35%
I1	Agata	F	35%
C2	Rafał	M	33%
I5	Iwona	F	30%
P14	Monika	F	29%
I4	Daria	F	29%
C3	Iza	F	29%
C6	Maja	F	27%
I2	Sylwia	F	23%
P13	Marek	M	20%
C5	Jacek	M	14%
I3	Edyta	F	13%

Table 4.1 Network scores for all speakers based on contacts other than kinship in descending order of the score.

In order to establish that the network score was not correlated with other cultural foci, a number of tests were run to assess the relationship between the variables. The network score was treated first as a continuous variable, then as a categorical one. The results of the first treatment are reported in Figure 4.1 below. The boxplots suggest that there might be differences between groups for each cultural focus (self-identification as Polish, care about language, Polish traditions in the UK, membership in Polish organizations, intent to

go back, religion, food, having a Polish partner). However, results of ANOVAs comparing the network score for positive versus negative values of each cultural focus showed that there was a statistically significant difference in only one case, between subjects who did or did not express a with to have a Polish partner. This suggests that cultural practices do not depend on networks alone, they represent individuals' independent choices.

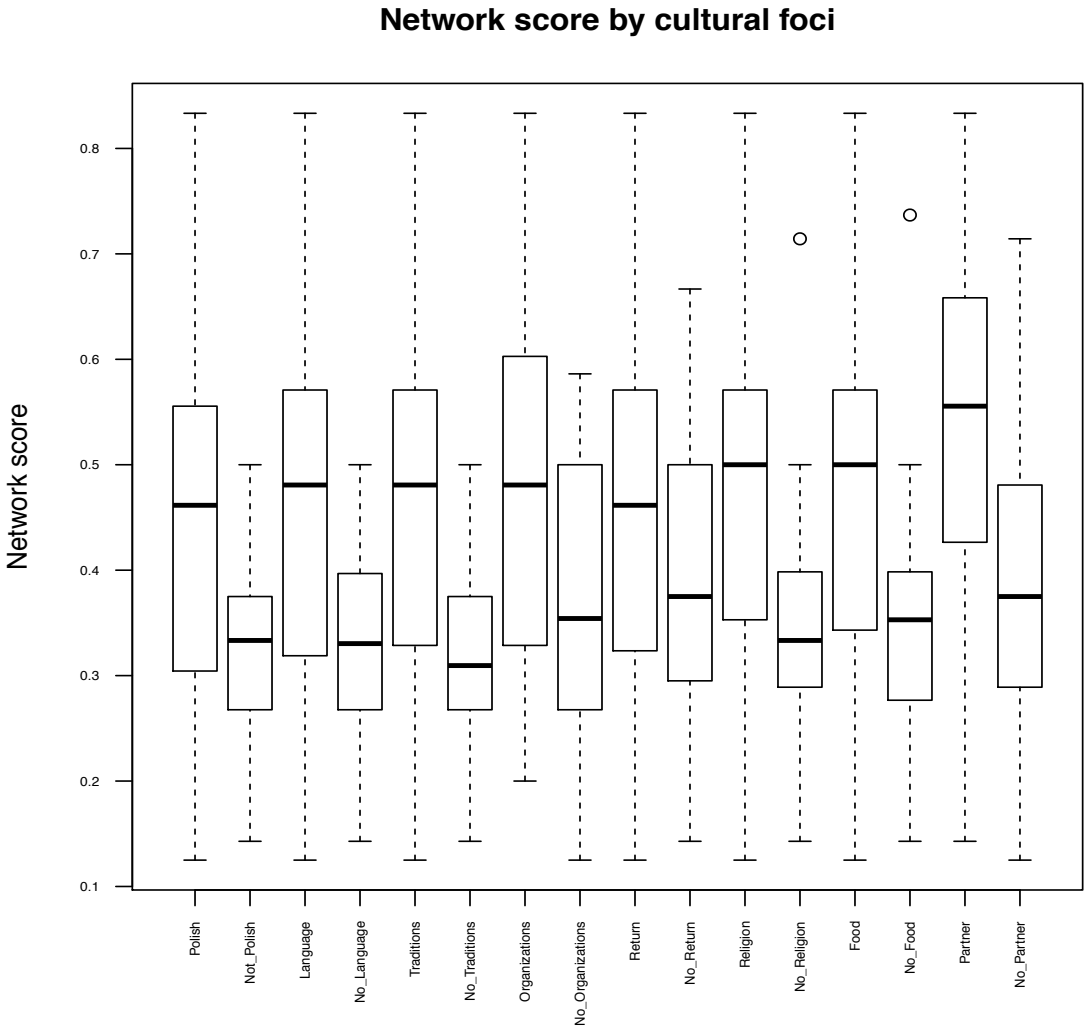


Figure 4.1 Boxplots representing the mean network score for speakers with positive and negative ratings for each of 8 each cultural foci. Mean network score on y axis, foci (first, [focus+], then, [focus-]) on x axis.

Additionally, when the network score is treated categorically (either below or above 50%), the results are similar. There is no significant association between the network

score and any of the foci except for Polish partner. The significance results presented in Table 4.2 are based on Fisher's tests conducted for each cultural focus.

Cultural focus		Network scores <50%	Network scores ≥50%	Significance
Self-identification as Polish	+	4	1	ns
	-	13	12	
Care about Polish	+	5	1	ns
	-	12	12	
Polish traditions	+	5	1	ns
	-	12	12	
Membership in Polish organizations	+	7	3	ns
	-	10	10	
Intent to go back	+	7	4	ns
	-	10	9	
Religion	+	9	2	ns
	-	8	11	
Food	+	9	2	ns
	-	8	11	
Polish partner	+	14	5	Significant
	-	3	8	

Table 4.2 Numbers of speakers with network scores below or above 50% by positive or negative cultural foci.

When all cultural foci are added together and then, the aggregate is correlated with the network score, the relationship is statistically significant (p= 0.0164). As the cultural foci and network score are correlated, the decision was made to combine them into a single index (discussed in the next section).

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Aggregate score of cultural foci	Network score
P1	Adam	M	8	56%
P2	Ewa	F	8	65%
P3	Kamil	M	8	54%
P4	Łukasz	M	8	83%
P5	Artur	M	7	50%
P6	Barbara	F	7	50%

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Aggregate score of cultural foci	Network score
P7	Daniel	M	8	35%
P8	Tomasz	M	7	74%
P9	Maria	F	7	67%
P10	Paweł	M	7	59%
P11	Bartosz	M	7	41%
P12	Emil	M	7	46%
P13	Marek	M	7	20%
P14	Monika	F	7	29%
P15	Olaf	M	6	71%
P16	Ela	F	6	50%
P17	Stefan	M	6	50%
I1	Agata	F	6	35%
I2	Edyta	F	6	13%
I3	Sylwia	F	6	23%
I4	Daria	F	5	29%
I5	Iwona	F	5	30%
I6	Adrian	M	4	40%
C1	Paulina	F	3	40%
C2	Rafał	M	3	33%
C3	Iza	F	1	29%
C4	Kaja	F	0	50%
C5	Jacek	M	1	14%
C6	Maja	F	0	27%
C7	Natalia	F	0	38%

Table 4.3 Network score and aggregate score for cultural foci for each speaker ranked in descending order based on the aggregate cultural score.

4.1.1 Polishness Index

In this thesis, sociocultural positioning is understood to comprise ideological stances and network-linked practices. Therefore, the eight cultural foci and the network score were put together to yield a 'Polishness index'. Like Cheshire's (1982) vernacular culture index, the Polishness index is constructed similarly to the indices of socioeconomic class that are widely used in the social sciences. One point is given for each cultural focus reported by the speaker during the interview (shown as + above). Additionally, one point is allocated for a network score of 50% or more. Thus, an individual speaker's Polishness

index can be any integer from 0 to 9. The Polishness indices for all speakers are presented in Table 4.2 below, in descending order. All indicators are displayed on a Guttman scale, where the coefficient of reproducibility is 0.89, which shows that the data are scalable. Coefficient of reproducibility was calculated as follows: (1-errors)/total responses. The number of errors is equal to the smallest number of responses that must be changed in order for the pattern to fit the scale.

Speaker			Cultural foci									Polishness Index
Serial number	Interview	Gender	Self-identification as Polish	Care about language	Polish traditions in the UK	Membership in Polish organizations	Intent to go back	Religion	Food	Network score	Polish partner	
P1	Adam	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**9**
P2	Ewa	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**9**
P3	Kamil	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**9**
P4	Łukasz	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**9**
P5	Artur	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	**8**
P6	Barbara	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	**8**
P7	Daniel	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	**8**
P8	Tomasz	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	**8**
P9	Maria	F	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	**8**
P10	Paweł	M	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	**8**
P11	Bartosz	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	**7**
P12	Emil	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	**7**
P13	Marek	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	**7**
P14	Monika	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	**7**
P15	Olaf	M	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	**7**
P16	Ela	F	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	**7**
P17	Stefan	M	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	**7**
I1	Agata	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	**6**
I2	Sylwia	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	**6**
I3	Edyta	F	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	**6**
I4	Daria	F	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	**5**
I5	Iwona	F	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	**5**

Speaker			Cultural foci									
Serial number	Interview	Gender	Self-identification as Polish	Care about language	Polish traditions in the UK	Membership in Polish organizations	Intent to go back	Religion	Food	Network score	Polish partner	Polishness Index
I6	Adrian	M	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	**4**
C1	Paulina	F	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	**3**
C2	Rafał	M	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	**3**
C3	Iza	F	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
C4	Kaja	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
C5	Jacek	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
C6	Maja	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
C7	Natalia	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**

Table 4.4. Polishness Index for all speakers presented on a Guttman scale.

The results represent the full range of possible scores. The serial numbers are based on the Polishness indices suggesting that the indices fall into three different groups, which are discussed in more detail in the next section.

4.1.2 Sociocultural identity

Additionally, a qualitative analysis of the contents of the interviews and fieldwork has been conducted (depicted in depth in Sections 4.2 and 4.3), which has revealed that the speakers present themselves in different ways: a group of speakers expressed Polish national identities, while others rejected nationality and did not consider being Polish to be a significant constituent of their identities. The qualitative analysis combined with the Polishness indices allowed me to distinguish between two main groups: one comprising seventeen speakers whose scores of Polishness indices are very high, between 7 and 9, and who present themselves as nationally Polish, and the other comprising seven speakers whose scores are very low, between 0 and 3, and who reject nationality as a basis for

identity and present themselves as cosmopolitan. These two 'extreme' ranges, together with the speakers' different ways of presenting themselves during the interview point to the existence of two contrasting categories of sociocultural identity, groups which I will call 'Polish Poles' and 'Polish Cosmopolitans', though these labels are not my own invention, but are used by some speakers themselves in the interviews.

As will be shown in Section 4.2, Polish Poles identify very strongly with being Polish. They maintain the Polish language and culture in the UK by celebrating Polish traditions, being religious and eating Polish food. They actively participate in the life of the UK Polish community by belonging to Polish organizations, and surround themselves with other Poles. By contrast, Polish Cosmopolitans reject nationality as a basis for identity, do not maintain Polish culture in their daily lives in the United Kingdom and have more international social networks. They do not actively engage themselves in the Polish community in the British Isles and, as is shown in more depth in Section 4.3, they do not care about the Polish language.

Between the two extremes, there is a substantial intermediate group of six speakers with Polishness index scores between 4 and 6. Speakers in this group still identify themselves as Polish, maintain the Polish language and selected aspects of Polish culture, but based on their reports, they do not surround themselves with Polish contacts to the same extent as Polish Poles. Nor do they participate in the life of the UK Polish community to the same degree as Polish Poles.

It has to be borne in mind that in this thesis the understanding of national identity and culture is used in line with the Polish language, where *naród* 'nation' and *narodowość* 'nationality' are used to refer to belonging to a nation, defined as a group of people living in the same territory, speaking one language, sharing common history, culture and

political and economic interests (sjp.pwn.pl). When used by the speakers, terms *kultura* 'culture' or *dziedzictwo kulturowe* 'cultural heritage' are used to talk about society's material and intellectual attainment.

Moreover, when the contrasts between the three identities are derived quantitatively from the Polishness Index, only tentative trends can be reported. Table 4.5 shows that there are much fewer In-betweens and Polish Cosmopolitans whose networks and partners are Polish and who eat Polish food and are religious than there are Polish Poles. However, due to different distirbutions of the foci for the two groups, it is difficult to make any firm claims about similarity of In-betweens and Polish Cosmopolitans on the basis of the quantitative data alone.

Sociocultural identity	**Polish networks**		**Polish partners**		**Religion**		**Food**		**Total**
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
Polish Poles	12	5	9	8	16	1	16	1	17
In-betweens	0	6	0	6	3	3	2	4	6
Polish Cosmopolitans	1	6	2	5	0	7	1	6	7

Table 4.5 Number of participants who have predominantly Polish networks, Polish partners, are religious and eat Polish food.

Similarly, when orientation towards Poland and the Polish diaspora is derived quantitatively from the Polishness Index, the number of participants who self-identify as Polish, care about the Polish language, maintain Polish traditions in the UK, have belonged to Polish organizations and expressed a wish to return to Poland differs for each sociocultural category. Table 4.6 demonstrates that the proportion is the highest for Polish Poles, In-betweens come second and Polish Cosmopolitans exhibit the lowest scores for Polish orientation. Due to the differences in quantitavely-derived trends across the groups, the three groups are defined not only on the basis of the Polishness Index, but a

thorough qualitative analysis is carried out to better represent the differences between the categories.

Sociocultural identity	Poland oriented/traditions		Total
	+	-	
Polish Poles	13	4	17
In-betweens	3	3	6
Polish Cosmopolitans	0	7	7

Table 4.6 Number of participants who are Poland-oriented per category.

The distribution of the speakers in relation to the two sociocultural identities that emerged from the interviews is presented in Table 4.7. From the table, it can be seen that Polish Poles constitute the biggest group: there are seventeen individuals who express such an identity, the majority of them being male speakers (12). Polish Cosmopolitan identity is represented by seven speakers: five female and two male. Interestingly, the group In-between is composed mostly of female speakers (5). The numbers of individuals belonging to each group are not equal because sociocultural identity was not used as a criterion for sampling. Rather it emerged as a potentially significant variable in this project during the fieldwork and qualitative analysis. Thus, no firm statements about the distribution of sociocultural identities in the young Polish diaspora community can be made on the basis of the current project. Additionally, all discrepancies between the two genders are addressed and elaborated on in more detail in Section 4.5.

Social Identity	Female	Male	TOTAL
Polish Poles	5	12	17
In-betweens	5	1	6
Polish Cosmopolitans	5	2	7
TOTAL	15	15	30

Table 4.7 Distribution of sociocultural identities among all speakers.

The identities that emerge from the interview data can be represented on a continuum from the 'most Polish', where Polish national identity, culture and language are

maintained, to the 'least 'Polish', where the concept of national identity is rejected and so is the maintenance of culture and language. In between there is a range of attitudes, with speakers emphasizing the importance to them of certain aspects of Polishness.

This section has shown how a non-linguistic variable, sociocultural identity, emerged in the course of the fieldwork, and how it was specified more precisely in the context of the interview by developing a Polishness index based on nine indicators of an individual's positioning in relation to Polish nationality, culture and social networks. The Polishness index together with the qualitative detail showing different ways of presenting oneself (demonstrated in detail in Sections 4.2 and 4.3) allowed me to place the speakers along a continuum from most to least 'Polish', and this suggested that there were two distinct groups – Polish Poles and Polish Cosmopolitans – as well as an intermediate group.

A thorough qualitative analysis of the two sociocultural identities that emerged in the study together with the group in-between is presented in depth in the next sections of the chapter, where each group is examined in terms of the way they present themselves in the interview in relation to their views on nationality, culture and language ideologies. The sections demonstrate that individual voices expressed in the interviews constitute structured social meaning, where different groups of speakers are found to make sense of the world in multiple ways with language playing different roles in the process. As is manifested in further chapters of the thesis, what the participants say about language translates into their actual linguistic practices.

4.2 Polish Poles

The Polish Poles constitute a group that identifies very strongly with Poland and the Polish nation (*naród)*. The group is composed of seventeen speakers: five female and twelve male. During the interview, when asked how they would define themselves, Polish

Poles usually express surprise at the question itself and immediately reply that they are Polish. For them, Polish *narodowa tożsamość* 'national identity' is an important component of their personal identities, as exemplified in (1), an excerpt from an interview with a 25-year-old female speaker, Ela, who had spent six years in the British Isles and who was about to begin her new job in advertising in London.

(1) Ela (P16, female)
When asked about the importance of Poland.
no, for sure, it is important because even if I live here, I'm Polish, with small exceptions, I would never deny that *jakby* ('as if')[5] I think that that's something that defines me as a person, like especially when living abroad […] it's a very important part of who you are

Many Polish Poles explain their need for self-identification as Polish as an essential factor for living and working in British society at the time of the interview, which allows them to find their place in the social structure in the UK. However, their identities are dynamic as many agree that their views and strategies for life have changed over the years. (2), a fragment from an interview with a 27-year-old male speaker, Adam, who had moved to Britain eight years before the interview and who was working in the corporate sector in London, illustrates how such a need developed in his case.

(2) Adam (P1, male)
When asked about the importance of national identity.
at the beginning for me, I didn't need to, because for me it was an experience, I wanted to learn the language as well as I could, integrate, understand other people's perspectives and the priority was not for me to meet with Poles […] but the perspective's changed with time because being a student's changed into living a life in the UK, so now you can say that we have put down little roots *(we = he and his Polish wife)*, so we are now looking for a right balance, it's no longer only a matter of exploration or attempt to constantly learn, but now it is an attempt to find a balance in life

In the interviews, Polish Poles often stress the fact that they see themselves as part of the Polish nation *naród*, towards which they usually feel obligations and which makes them

[5] *jakby* is a discourse marker used by some speakers of Polish like the English *like*. The exact translation is not relevant. Thus, in the remainder of the thesis it is translated as *like*.

who they are. The identification with the Polish nation gives them a sense of belonging, which they often reinforce by using the first person plural to express their views and the views of the whole Polish community. Some explicitly argue for Polish national identity to be a source of their own self-esteem, which can be observed in (3), an excerpt also from the interview with Adam.

(3) Adam (P1, male)

> the need for identity is quite big, we live in a country where we will never be English and we don't, at least I don't have such a desire and, and I would like others to perceive us in a clear way that we aren't Russians, we aren't Czechs, but we are Poles
> […]
> *When asked about his understanding of Polishness*.
> it's some national identity, it's attachment to a certain social group, it is, uhm some economic identity also, yes? or, or, or rather economic patriotism, it's also some sort of pride of cultural achievements, yes? and the will to make it better and, and participation in it and, and what else? so, probably also, it's also self-esteem, yes? it's a feeling, it's a feeling of some autonomy, a feeling which allows us to live in society and go through life with this confidence

The self-identification as Polish allows Polish Poles to function in British society also because in their opinion, British society expects them to be Polish. If they accept the fact that they are Polish, it will be easier for them to live in the UK, a claim expressed by Marek, a 25-year-old male speaker who had spent six years in the British Isles and who at the time of the interview was working in the corporate sector in London. In (4), Marek also posits that other ways of self-identifying are fake, a belief often expressed by Polish Poles.

(4) Marek (P13, male)

> and another thing is that other people see you as a Pole, and someone always associates stereotypes or at least puts people into different categories, and, and I know that people will see me as a Pole or someone from Eastern Europe, so if they have to see me as such, then I should deal with it and as one says, live with it and I don't want to think that I'm someone who I'm not

As Polish Poles claim they will always be nationally Polish, their reasons for staying in the UK do not have to do with national sentiments towards Britain. When asked why they

decided to stay in the British Isles after their studies, Polish Poles argue that life is 'easier' in the UK than it is in Poland for both economic and social reasons. Most of them mention the current economic situation in Poland as the reason for their staying in the UK since in Poland it is difficult for young adults to find reasonably paid, permanent employment. In contrast, in Britain their skills and qualifications are valued, which is also reflected in much higher salaries than in Poland. Most male Polish Poles argue that they want to stay in the UK for several years to gain professional experience, which would make them more competitive in the Polish job market later on and which would allow them to return to Poland to be employed at higher positions in international companies. During the interviews, Polish Poles also admit that life is 'more pleasant' in British society, in which one can feel better respected and in which people are 'nicer' to one another than in Poland.

In general, Polish Poles are a Poland-oriented group in that Poland and Polish nation are points of reference in their daily lives. If they are interested in current affairs, they claim that they are usually more interested in Polish politics than British politics. Thus, they are more likely to follow Polish events than the British ones. Many male Polish Poles express a wish to return to Poland to actively participate in the changes in the country[6]. In contrast to Poland, for Polish Poles, Britain is a country of opportunities, which has allowed them to better themselves. They often express respect and gratitude towards the United Kingdom, but at the same time stress that they do not identify themselves strongly with Britain. They see the world from a Polish perspective. An excerpt from an interview with Bartosz, a 25-year-old male speaker who had spent six years in the UK and who at the time of the interview was pursuing his PhD degree at the University of Oxford, shows such a Poland-oriented stance. In (5), Bartosz provides a rationale for such an attitude,

[6] This is a gender-specific attitude, which is discussed further in Section 4.5 below.

arguing that Polish young adults have a responsibility towards Poland since historically they are the first generation that can benefit from the European Union freely.

(5) Bartosz (P11, male)
but you know, I generally think that our role as Polish students who go to Great Britain is more important than only the fact that you educate yourself and do something with it in the future, I think that especially our generation, people born around 1989, right? I wanted to believe that we have a historic role to play, we're the first generation that does not remember communism, we're the first generation who can go abroad to study and I think that it'd be utterly unfair of us, if we later didn't use our skills for the good, for the good of Poland and of course, I don't oppose the fact that absolutely, I promote an opinion that you can do good for Poland also when you never go back there, living all the time abroad, this is of course, true, but I think each of us should do everything also to have a possibility to go back to Poland if we so decide, no? to be in contact with the culture all the time, to all the time later, and later after this comeback, not to be treated as people from outside

Since Polish Poles are Poland-oriented, they also embrace Polish culture. In the interviews, they report celebrating Polish traditions, e.g. celebrating Christmas and Easter in a typical Polish way with Polish dishes. Polish Poles are usually religious and most of them declare membership of the Roman Catholic church[7]. They also admit that they eat Polish food in Britain since they like it, long for it or as some claim, in this way they want to 'help their compatriots.' Furthermore, all Polish Poles are active in the Polish community in the UK either through membership to Polish organizations in the British Isles or by surrounding themselves mostly with other Poles. All Polish Poles except two have been members of Polish societies at their UK universities, with many of them having held posts in the organizations, which allowed them to play important roles in the lives of their Polish student communities.

The vast majority of Polish Poles have mainly Polish social networks. It is worth noting that Polish Poles constitute a group with the highest scores of Polishness of their

[7] According to the National Census of Population and Housing 2011, 87.58% of Poles in Poland who answered the question about religious affiliation declared membership in the Catholic Church.

networks other than kinship. Table 4.8 displays network scores for all individuals categorized as Polish Poles, ordered in descending order.

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Network score
P4	Łukasz	M	83%
P8	Tomasz	M	74%
P15	Olaf	M	71%
P9	Maria	F	67%
P2	Ewa	F	65%
P10	Paweł	M	59%
P1	Adam	M	56%
P3	Kamil	M	54%
P5	Artur	M	50%
P6	Barbara	F	50%
P16	Ela	F	50%
P17	Stefan	M	50%
P12	Emil	M	46%
P11	Bartosz	M	41%
P7	Daniel	M	35%
P14	Monika	F	29%
P13	Marek	M	20%

Table 4.8 Network scores for all Polish Poles ranked in descending order.

As can be seen, twelve of the seventeen Polish Poles have network scores equal to or above 50%, while for one individual the score approximates 50% (46%). Among the three male speakers with lower network scores, one individual, Daniel, is the only person in the group who came to the UK to attend a British high school, which could have influenced the nature of his social networks in Britain. One, Bartosz, is what di Leonardo (1984), who studied ethnic experiences of Italian-American families with various economic status in Northern California, would label an ethnic broker, that is, he has many Polish friends and acquaintances, while simultaneously reaching out to international contacts. The last third, Marek, is the only overtly gay speaker who participated in the study and due to traditionally conservative character of Polish culture he might have developed his social networks also outside of the Polish community. Overall it would appear that female speakers are developing different strategies to adjust to living in the

UK from men, which may be reflected also in one's social networks[8] as in the case of Monika and which is discussed in depth in Section 4.5 below.

Finally, as Polish Poles embrace Polish culture and are active in the Polish community, they also care about the Polish language. They report that they want to keep the language while living in the UK since this is 'their' language, a language that is key to their Polish *tożsamość narodowa* 'national identity'. Participant observations corroborate this trend as Polish Poles use mostly Standard Polish and, when they do insert English phrases, many draw on Polish phonotactic rules as is the norm in Poland (although there is variation among speakers). According to the interviews, the ability to speak 'proper' Polish is an essential part of themselves. When I asked Maria, a 27-year-old female Polish Pole who had spent eight years in the UK and who at the time of the interview was working in the corporate sector in London, about her Polish, she explained that she had always had a very emotional attitude[9] towards the Polish language, which allowed her to express herself as Polish. In (6), Maria points out the reasons for different linguistic behaviors that she has observed in the UK Polish community, arguing that for her Polish is a language 'close to her heart.'

(6) Maria (P9, female)

When asked what she thinks different ways of speaking Polish could depend on.

as I said on a situation you are in, how much you speak Polish […] so I think this is one thing and the second, I don't even know how to define this if it's upbringing, if it's a worldview or just attitude towards the language because I also wanted to study Polish for some time, so for me, Polish's always been very close to heart, so I don't want to murder it, but if I didn't care about the language, then what's easier for me to communicate, then I'd speak like that

For most Polish Poles, the ability to speak Standard Polish similar to the standard spoken in Poland has become iconic of being 'really' Polish. Thus, they often argue that speaking

[8] No significant association between the network score and gender was established here (p=0.119).

[9] Male Polish Poles less often defined their relationship with Polish as 'emotional.' When describing their attitude towards Polish, they often used such phrases as 'my language.'

Polish replete with English phrases or spoken with an English accent would mean pretending to be someone whom one is not, a claim that is substantiated in (7), another fragment from the interview with Maria.

(7) Maria (P9, female)
but in Polish, I am from Poland, so why should I have a British accent, and I have no excuse to have an English accent because if I lived here alone, didn't go to Poland and didn't have Polish friends, I feel it would be more acceptable, but because I speak Polish, so I feel that I would be an awful snob, and very arrogant, if I went to Poland and suddenly began speaking as if I had a frog in my mouth, and pretended that I was from Great Britain, so I think it would be a bit pathetic

This is projected from Polish society, where the opposition between Poles living in Poland and Poles living abroad is expressed in terms of language: Poles in Poland speak Standard Polish and can insert new elements from English at will, while those living in English-speaking countries are perceived as having already forgotten how to speak Polish if they introduce 'foreign' elements into their Polish.[10] Therefore, in order not to differ from other Poles in Poland, Polish Poles who want to be perceived as Polish claim they try not to insert too many English phrases into their Polish, especially when they go back to Poland. In the interviews, most report that they want to maintain the language in its standard form, which they present as conscious decision. Excerpt (8), from the interview with Kamil, a 27-year-old male speaker who had moved to Britain eight years before the interview and who was working in the corporate sector in London, illustrates reasoning behind such an attitude.

(8) Kamil (P3, male)
I think I'm one of a few people who are trying, as far as possible, to speak Polish correctly, I mean I'm sure there are many people like this in Poland, I have an impression that many of my friends (m) whom I meet here, friends (f), when it's easier, they use an English word because it's a bit natural and like you start using it, when I'm in Poland or speak Polish, then I try, even on purpose, to translate some things just on principle
[…]
When asked why he cares about the Polish language.

[10] This is not limited to the Anglo-context.

> I don't know, I think it's worth caring about Polish for it to remain Polish and not some Polish, where, where you use key words because they're on the Internet, because it's cool, because something sounds more English […] mainly that I could consciously, and I always try to consciously care about words not to use English words where you can use Polish and so on […] probably because I think Polish is some part of Polish identity and the moment I admitted to myself that I was losing it, that is that I didn't control it especially when I'm in Poland then it would mean that I was less of a Pole that like I went away and actually lost something […] I think this is exactly it, speaking English Polish or I don't know, using English words, as if the Polish language was not important to me and it is, I think it's part of my national identity and I treat it as such

In the interviews, many Polish Poles claim that they try not to use too much English in their Polish. Some of them even become linguistic purists when speaking Polish. Adam (P1) is a good example of this: he wanted to play an important role in the Polish community in the UK, he participated in various events organized by the Polish embassy and Polish charity balls in London and throughout the interview with me used the word *twarzoksiążka*[11] to refer to Facebook, an English word which together with a few of its diminutive forms is usually used in Poland. Similarly, during the interview, another Polish Pole, Bartosz, who was very active in the community and who by some was jokingly called 'the king of Polonia[12]', picked on my usage of *ok*, which is commonly used in Poland, and argued that 'we would try not to use it.' Instead, he argued for the use of Polish equivalents such as *w porządku*. Such instances show that as a result of fractal recursivity some Polish Poles in Britain become hypercorrect when speaking Polish, usually at the lexical and phonetic rather than syntactic levels.

For some, the ideal of pure language can go together with more nationalistic stances towards Polishness, that is to say, with the idea of pure Poles without any foreign traits, exemplified in Excerpt (9) from the interview with Kamil. However, such views are rarely exposed.

[11] This word was not typically used in Poland at the time of the interview.
[12] Polonia – a term used to refer to the Polish diaspora community.

(9) Kamil (P3, male)
and it is not that Poland is only composed of pure Poles, on the other hand, this idea, which is somewhere in my head to be a Pole without any foreign traits, maybe it's fake ,I don't know, but this is an ideal that I have believed in for a long time

In contrast to Polish, English is usually not a language with which Polish Poles have an emotional connection. They often treat it as a tool for communication which is necessary for them to function in British society. Some Polish Poles express a wish to speak proper English as a sign of professionalism. However, others argue that they have accepted the fact that their English will never be perfect, a claim that is corroborated by (10), excerpt from the interview with Maria, who had served as the President of the Polish Society at her university and who identifies very strongly with being Polish.

(10) Maria (P9, female)
I don't want to pretend that I am someone who I'm not, I'm not British and obviously, I'd like to speak English with a beautiful British accent, but I've come to terms with the fact that it'll probably never be the case, that I can try and have a more or less good accent when I speak English

When in a mixed group of Poles and non-Poles, Polish Poles claim that they would always turn to English in order not to exclude any interlocutor. However, speaking English to a fellow Pole would be perceived as 'weird' or 'snobbish.' Excerpt (11) from the interview with Daniel, a 24-year-old male Polish Pole who moved to the UK in high school and who at the time of the interview was working in the corporate sector in London, illustrates the case.

(11) Daniel (P7, male)
it depends who is with us of course, we aren't any snobs and we don't talk with one another in English, but if there is at least one person who doesn't know Polish, then we automatically switch and there is no problem with that and […]

In summary, Polish Poles constitute a group that identifies very strongly with being Polish. They understand Polishness as *narodowa tożsamość* 'national identity.' Being nationally Polish allows them to find their place in the social structure in Britain, while simultaneously giving them a sense of belonging. In the United Kingdom, they position

themselves as Poles who do not have a desire to become British. In consequence, they orient themselves more towards the Polish diaspora community and Poland than towards Britain and the world. As a result, they embrace Polish culture, participate in Polish organizations and surround themselves with other Poles, which enables them to express their cultural and national affiliation in their daily lives in the UK. The Polish language is a means to express themselves as 'really' Polish. Therefore, they claim they care about the Polish language. In the next section, I examine the group at the other end of the scale, the Polish Cosmopolitans, together with their views on nationality, culture and language.

4.3 Polish Cosmopolitans

Polish Cosmopolitans comprise a group of seven speakers (5 female and 2 male) who reject national identity (*narodowa tożsamość*). When asked how they would define themselves, Polish Cosmopolitans usually reply that they are human beings. They do not deny being Polish; on the contrary, when asked where they come from, they would say they were brought up in Poland. However, for them being Polish does not make it who they are. In (12) Kaja, a 30-year-old female speaker who had spent ten years in the United Kingdom and who at the time of the interview was working as a teacher at a school in London, presents such an attitude by arguing against any national identity.

(12) Kaja (C4, female)

> I mean I don't have a need probably, exactly, I don't have a need to like, like to include myself in any nationality because I know, because I know that no one'll take it away from me that I'm Polish and I don't have to prove it to anyone, and in the same way, I don't have to now prove to anyone that I'm English, for sure people would never even think that I'm English because I don't have an English passport […] or thinking about what it would give me if I call myself that I'm Polish or that I give myself a label that I'm from England

Since Polish Cosmopolitans see themselves as human beings, they often say they do not want to distinguish between people on the basis of nationality (*narodowość*) alone. Many of them altogether repudiate the idea of categorizing people by giving them national

labels. Such reasoning can be observed in (13), excerpt from an interview with Maja, a 29-year-old female speaker who had moved to the UK nine years before the interview and who at the time of the interview was working in the corporate sector in London. In the excerpt, Maja explains why being Polish has never been an important part of her personal identity arguing against classifying oneself in any way.

(13) Maja (C6, female)

When asked about her identity and Polishness.

this, this, because you see the question about Polishness also has, it also is a question whether you see yourself as a person, I mean, whether, whether you see yourself as a person who belongs somewhere, I don't, I never felt part of any group, never so in fact it is whether, whether, whether I feel a bit like Gombrowicz[13] *(laughter)* I mean I hate it if I have to define myself in any way, I don't feel that there is one type, one way to live your whole life […] so for me, Polishness never meant what it might have meant to others because I, I never felt part of this […] uhm but I just feel that the world has simply too much to offer, simply there is so much beauty in the world, that, that I'd like for sure I feel that it enriches me when I live in different places and, and uhm I don't know where I belong and I don't know, I don't know why I should define myself in any way

When asked about their reasons for staying in the UK, Polish Cosmopolitans contend that Britain enables them to be whoever they want to be. They usually explain that Poland would not allow them to have the lifestyles they want to have, which is often connected with the local economy in Poland and social norms prevalent in Polish society. (14), excerpt from an interview with a 32-year-old male speaker, Jacek, who had moved to Britain six years before the interview to pursue his PhD degree, demonstrates the case where the local economy in Poland does not provide opportunities in his chosen profession.

(14) Jacek (C5, male)

it's mainly about the jobs in my current profession, so I can choose between London, New York, Hong Kong, Singapore and maybe Boston and San Francisco,

[13] Witold Gombrowicz (1904-1969) – a Polish novelist, dramatist and essayist writing in Poland, Argentina and France. His writing style is defined by paradox, deep psychological analysis and absurdity. He emphasized the role of the individual against the social and cultural forces. Gombrowicz often touched upon the issue of nationalism and is still perceived by some Poles as 'anti-national' (Plonowska-Ziarek 1998).

London is the closest to Poland, I studied here, in London, I have most friends like it makes sense for me to be in London, as a global investor, there is nothing like this in Poland

Similarly, (15), excerpt from an interview with Paulina, a 23-year-old female speaker who had moved to the UK three and a half years before the interview and who was a graduate student at one of the universities in London, shows that the UK has developed a range of social positions which are not available in Polish society, but which suit Polish Cosmopolitans, while simultaneously enabling them to be financially independent.

(15) Paulina (C1, female)

but in my opinion, it's not really a matter whether you want or don't want, but more whether you can, if I now went back to Poland then, then I would completely lose my professional position which I'm in, yes? I can go, go here to work and be a completely different person in social hierarchy, I'd say, than I was in Poland, yes? and there is no such position altogether, yes? that I would like to have in Poland, so in fact I don't have a choice

Polish Cosmopolitans constitute a world-oriented group. For them, Poland is a place where they come from. They visit Poland as their families live there, but they explicitly say that they do not want to go back. In contrast, they may express very positive attitudes towards Britain as in (16), excerpt from an interview with Paulina, who like all other Polish Cosmopolitans acknowledges that she enjoys British culture.

(16) Paulina (C1, female)

you know what, I like English culture very much, I feel very good here and, so for example, American culture - not so much because I have this that I wouldn't like to live in the US forever, but in this culture I feel very good

Polish Cosmopolitans do not see the world from a Polish perspective. On the contrary, they take a stance oriented towards Britain and the world, where they have decided to live. Excerpt (17) from an interview with a female speaker, Kaja, illustrates the case.

(17) Kaja (C4, female)

I'm very attached to the fact that I live here and I don't think about going back to Poland […] I think [it's connected] with one's private life, with whom I spend time here and like I've accepted the fact that I'm in England and that like I chose this because like I had wanted to be, in the end I chose this when I was twenty years old when I came here, if I had wanted to be in Poland, then I would have stayed in

Poland, then I would go back to Poland, like I made such a decision, but such a, like, unconscious decision because I started living here, I started studying here, like my life was moving more towards England than towards Poland

The comments made by Polish Cosmopolitans may even lead to a desire to self-identify with Britain as in the case of Natalia, who had moved to the UK three and a half years before the interview and who after working in a consulting company was about to begin her graduate studies in Oxford. In (18) Natalia expresses a wish to become British.

(18) Natalia (C7, female)

you can't hide the fact that I'm Polish, but I don't know if I can ever change this, but when I made a decision to move to England, I would like to be a British citizen, I want to be British

Such strong statements are, however, rare. For some, Britain is a step in their journeys as Polish Cosmopolitans are often open to moving to other places in the world, for instance, should a good job opportunity arise. If they are interested in current events, they claim to be interested in world events rather than Polish ones and if they sometimes follow Polish news, they see it as part of their general knowledge of the world rather than national obligation.

For Polish Cosmopolitans, Polishness is not equated with national identity, but rather related to childhood memories and a link with their families. (19), an excerpt from an interview with Jacek in which he elaborates on his attitude towards Polishness provides an example of common reasoning of Polish Cosmopolitans in regard to Polishness and Polish culture.

(19) Jacek (C5, male)

anyone who has good childhood memories, if it was a good childhood, so these are more such childhood sentiments rather than the national ones, I think and since in my home there was no obsession with Polishness, I don't have it

They also distance themselves from Polish culture. In general, Polish Cosmopolitans reject Polish culture in their daily lives in the United Kingdom. When asked about Polish traditions, they typically say that they do not consciously maintain any traditions while

living in the UK. They usually report not being religious. Nor do they attend Polish shops in Britain, eat Polish food or long for it. Besides enjoying British culture, they often express positive attitudes towards the multicultural practices that they can engage in, particularly in London or Oxford. Excerpt (20) illustrates the case, where Natalia explains that her own Polishness is not a conscious creation. In the fragment she also explicitly states that her feels without a nationality (*narodowość*) as such.

(20) Natalia (C7, female)
When asked about her Polishness.
for sure there is, but rather, it isn't a conscious creation in my Polishness […] uhm so I feel that it is, but I am not aware of it and it is rather, it sometimes is an intruder in my conscious creation […] I don't know, I feel without nationality as such

Moreover, Polish Cosmopolitans do not actively participate in the life of the Polish community in the United Kingdom. In the interviews, all of them except one female speaker report never having been active members of any Polish organizations in Britain. When asked why, they often quote their wish for freedom and privacy, which is in opposition to engagement in public and political life in any nation-state. (21), an excerpt from interview with Jacek demonstrates such reasoning as he explains why he would not like to engage in Polish political life.

(21) Jacek (C5, male)
but you know if I had to go back at some point to become the Prime Minister of Poland, then, but again, I wouldn't like to be, like I wouldn't like to be exposed to general public anywhere, so no, I wouldn't like to be a politician because I value my privacy, as I am saying, no nationality impresses me

Furthermore, Polish Cosmopolitans do not surround themselves by fellow Poles to the extent that Polish Poles do. However, again, network scores alone do not suffice to make any firm claims about the speakers language use. Table 4.9 demonstrates the network scores of contacts other than kinship for all Polish Cosmopolitans, ranked in descending order according to their Polishness index scores.

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Network score
C4	Kaja	F	50%
C1	Paulina	F	40%
C7	Natalia	F	38%
C2	Rafał	M	33%
C3	Iza	F	29%
C6	Maja	F	27%
C5	Jacek	M	14%

Table 4.9 Network scores for Polish Cosmopolitans ranked in descending order.

The figure shows that for all except one Polish Cosmopolitan, network scores of contacts other than kinship are below 50% (except in the case of one female speaker, Kaja). Most scores range between 14% and 40%. Both male speakers have social networks with low levels of Polishness (14% and 33%), while for four female speakers the range is between 27% and 40%.

As Polish Cosmopolitans have more international social networks and are a world-oriented group, the language of the most importance to them is English. They express very positive attitudes towards the English language, often claiming that they would like their English to be perfect. Simultaneously, as they want to stay abroad, they bind their future to the English language. Even if they do not limit themselves to living in the United Kingdom, they report that they would like to work in international companies, where speaking English is a requirement. Adjusting to the demands of the global economy, they care about their English to a great extent, arguing that they would constantly like to improve it and speak it as much as they can. As a result, in contrast with Polish Poles, they report that they speak English when in groups of Poles and non-Poles and accept speaking English to fellow Poles, for instance, to their Polish spouses.

Concomitantly, the Polish language has become a language of lesser importance in their lives. As they do not want to go back to Poland and do not bind their future to Polish society, they confine the usage of the Polish language to their private lives, where they

usually speak it to communicate with their families and Polish friends in social situations. When asked whether their Polish has been commented, Polish Cosmopolitans usually admit that other Poles in Poland often comment, arguing that they use many English phrases and speak Polish with an English accent. Polish Cosmopolitans do not, however, recall this as a bad experience. On the contrary, when asked how they felt about being commented on as having an accent in Polish, they argued that they do not care about it, accept it or even like it. This is confined to the phonetic level to some extent, as they often claim that at the grammatical level they do not want to use grammatical forms that are stigmatized in Polish society as if such behavior was still iconic of their being educated. This is substantiated by observations made during the fieldwork. At the phonetic level, some Polish Cosmopolitans explicitly say that they enjoy speaking in new ways since it allows them to express their new transnational identities as in the case of Maja, who in Excerpt (22) says that she likes having an accent as a means to feel 'from abroad.'

(22) Maja (C6, female)
When asked how she felt about her Polish.
somehow, you know, somehow I don't, I don't really care, somehow, uhm in fact, somehow […] I like to feel that way, that I'm from abroad

Moreover, participant observations and other claims made by the Polish Cosmopolitans during the interview suggest that they do not change the way they speak even after having been commented on their Polish as sounding foreign. A typical behavior of a Polish Cosmopolitan in such a situation is described in Excerpt (23), from an interview with Kaja, where she explains that she does not change the way she speaks even when her Polish is commented on.

(23) Kaja (C4, female)
and they laugh at me that, and that I can't come and speak Polish, I always have to throw something English, but I have this approach that if you don't pay attention to something too much, it'll go away anyway, so if someone says something, I just and if I have to get into a conversation and discussion on this, then it'd be a problem,

that an issue like problem, but if I like I leave it and don't comment, then they'll maybe understand that I maybe in fact, don't ca, I'm not interested

As Polish becomes their private language, which is often supplanted by English even in their private lives to some extent, Polish Cosmopolitans often argue that they do not have time or reason to work on their Polish. Paulina, who in the UK surrounds herself mostly with British and international friends, acknowledges that the way one speaks 'says something about them.' However, in (24), she admits that her Polish has become worse and she does not intend to work on it.

(24) Paulina (C1, female)
and for sure, now that like I had people who'd come and tell me, God how you speak an amazing Polish, now it'll never happen, yes? because I don't use such a super language, it's a bit something like something for something, yes? well, I live here and I work to have this better British, but a cost of this is that my Polish is getting worse, like I don't have time to work on it now

Finally, Polish Cosmopolitans usually claim that they would like to pass on the Polish language to their future offspring so that they could communicate with their families in Poland. They often explicitly state that they do not want to pass on Polish culture and Polish national thought, but only the language as they perceive bilingualism or multilingualism to be an asset. In the interviews they usually say that being multilingual is beneficial in the job market, but more importantly it allows one to understand the world better. Excerpt (25) from an interview with Maja illustrates such reasoning.

(25) Maja (C6, female)
When I asked her if she wanted to pass on the Polish language.
yes
When I asked if she wanted to raise her offspring in Polish culture.
uhm no, not necessarily, I want to uhm […] I presume that my kids'll be bi- or trilingual because I would for sure want them to know Polish, I know their Polish will never be perfect because if I settle somewhere, I don't know where, it'll be some Polish, mm multilingualism will enrich them very, very much so probably just because of that and obviously conversation with grandparents, contact with grandparents that it's closer mm, but yes, and probably this that, that this person could somehow understand Poland that, that they could come to Poland and feel uhm because it enriches, similarly I have a cousin here who speaks Polish uhm and this, this obviously when it comes to jobs or, or anything so and it is another like

experience and as if an asset that you can use and apart from that uhm like it allows you to […] yes broaden your life and experiences in the world so […]

Extremely negative attitudes towards passing the Polish language on do occur, but are rare. This is exemplified in (26), from an interview with Natalia, where she admits that she does not see a point in passing on neither the language or the culture.

(26) Natalia (C7, female)
When asked if she wanted to pass on the Polish language.
no
When asked why not.
I don't know, for sure there were, it would depend with whom I was mhm obviously, but even if then I would like to stay here for sure, right? […] so the aim I don't know what aim I would have in teaching my kids Polish except the very passing on of the culture which I don't want to pass on

To sum up, Polish Cosmopolitans constitute a group that rejects nationality and orients towards the world and the UK rather than Poland. For them, Polishness is tantamount to a link with their families and childhood memories rather than national identity. In comparison with Polish Poles, they do not seek a sense of belonging either in the Polish diaspora community or in Polish society. Britain and the world have become central points of reference in their daily lives as they wish to be part of the English-speaking world and the global economy. As a result, their social networks are more international than those of Polish Poles and the English language has become a language of utmost importance in their lives. The fieldwork shows that they do not consciously maintain Polish culture and do not care much about Polish, which is reinforced by the fact that in the interviews they claim that even when their Polish is commented on, they do not change the way they speak. Instead, they claim that they want to use English as much as they can.

As can be observed above, the two 'extreme' groups differ significantly in terms of their positioning in relation to Poland, the UK and the world. However, there is also an intermediate group which retains some aspects of Polish culture, but which orients itself

more towards Britain and the world than towards Poland. A thorough depiction of the group in-between is presented in the next section.

4.4 A group in-between

A group of six speakers, five female and one male, exhibits lower Polishness index scores than Polish Poles, but higher ones than Polish Cosmopolitans. Their scores range from 4 to 6. During the interviews, the group present themselves in a different way from Polish Poles and Polish Cosmopolitans. Thus, on the basis of their Polishness index scores and qualitative analysis of the interviews and observations, the group has been classified as a group in-between, which does not embrace Polish culture to an extent that Polish Poles do, but which does not reject nationality and Polish culture like Polish Cosmopolitans. Instead, the six speakers present themselves as 'international' but still Polish.

When asked how they would define themselves, the six speakers do not list being Polish as the first and foremost constituent of their identities. However, they still include being Polish as one of the components of their identities. In Excerpt (27), Agata, a 30-year-old female speaker who had moved to Oxford to pursue her PhD degree seven years before the interview and who at the time of our meeting was working in academia, argues that she feels like a citizen of the world, as do Polish Cosmopolitans. However, for her, being Polish is part of this as well.

(27) Agata (I1, female)

I feel more like a citizen of the world than a Pole, which some of my friends make fun of because: how come? because you speak Polish, your parents are from Poland, on the other hand you live in England, so why don't you accept British citizenship? […]
When asked whether she feels Polish in any way.
yes, yes, of course
When asked how it goes together.
as a square is a rectangle

In a similar manner, Edyta, a 27-year-old female speaker who had moved to the UK eight years before the interview and who at the time of the interview was working as a headhunter, defines herself as not just Polish, arguing that her experiences of living abroad have influenced her understanding of the world, which she sees as divergent from that of her peers in Poland. Thus, she decides to use 'an international Pole' as a term to define herself:

(28) Edyta (I3, female)
When asked on her self-identification.
I don't know, an international Pole, but I don't know if that's a good term in that, that I still feel like a Pole, but I've lived abroad for so long and you know and we've travelled so much that I think, that like I have, have a bit different approach to the world than Poles who stayed in Poland, my age, who let's say have seen less or are less open to other cultures

When their motivations to stay in the UK are considered, the six speakers claim that Britain allows them to better themselves in terms of their career development and personal growth. Like Polish Poles, they agree that economically Britain offers more possibilities and that their skills and qualifications are more valued here than in Poland. They also agree that in British society they feel more respected than in Poland. Moreover, they do not exclude a possibility of going back to Poland, although in the interviews they admit that it seems unlikely that they will as the local economy in Poland cannot provide them with similarly demanding and financially advantageous jobs to those they have in the UK. In Excerpt (29), the only male speaker in the group, Adrian, a 32-year old who had spent eight and a half years in the UK after moving to Cambridge for his graduate studies, explains his motivation for staying.

(29) Adrian (I6, male)
if someone in Poland offered me an excellent job on excellent terms, maybe, but it would have to be a strong, so-called, pull factor for us to land there *(we = he and his family[14])* the same way we could land in Mongolia, so in this sense it is important for me because I think that a job and a salary that I am interested in are no longer

[14] Adrian is married to a Georgian wife.

available in Wrocław *(the city he comes from),* it would have to be Warsaw, so it would be a similarly foreign city like any other city in the world

The fact that the six speakers do not exclude the possibility of going back to Poland demonstrates their stance towards Poland and the world: they are more world-oriented than Polish Poles, but they still look back at Polish society. They claim that they enjoy British culture, which thanks to their studies they know well. Similarly, they enjoy their lives in the UK, where they feel at home. However, none of them identifies themselves as British. If they follow the news, they are interested in British politics and from time to time in Polish politics as well. By accepting the fact that they are Polish, they are able to find their place in the world and in Britain, where as they often claim that by being different from the majority of British society, they have to reflect upon their origins more often than they would have had to in Poland.

For the members of this intermediate group, Polishness does not mean national identity. Being Polish is, as they say, rather equated to their cultural heritage, which they intend to keep while living abroad. In comparison with Polish Poles, they do not, however, embrace Polish culture as a whole, but select certain aspects that they wish to maintain in the British Isles. These aspects vary: some of them report being religious, while others enjoy reading Polish literature or poetry in their free time; some of them have been members of Polish organizations at their UK universities, while others have not. Their attitudes towards Poland and Polish culture are positive. A typical understanding of Polishness of a member of this intermediate group is exemplified in Excerpt (30) from the interview with Sylwia, a 27-year-old female speaker who at the time of the interview had spent seven and a half years in the UK and who was working in a media company in London. In the fragment Sylwia explains that for her Polishness is not equal to national identity, but has a more sentimental value as it constitutes her cultural heritage.

(30) Sylwia (I2, female)

I associate Polishness with traditions, precisely with this calendar of almost Catholic holidays, it's positive, but for me it has a sentimental value, maybe not a superior value, but probably Polishness has a historical-cultural-tradi, traditional dimension for me

As they are more world- and Britain-oriented than Polish Poles, these individuals do not surround themselves with fellow Poles to an equal extent. Thus, as can be observed in Table 4.10, where their network scores of contacts other than kinship are presented, as in the case of Polish Cosmopolitans, their social networks are more international.

Serial number	Interview	Gender	Network Score
I6	Adrian	M	40%
I1	Agata	F	35%
I5	Iwona	F	30%
I4	Daria	F	29%
I2	Sylwia	F	23%
I3	Edyta	F	13%

Table 4.10 Network scores for all In-betweens ranked in descending order.

All speakers belonging to the intermediate group exhibit lower levels of Polishness of contacts other than kinship than Polish Poles. Their network scores range from 13% to 40%, which is lower than the range of results for Polish Cosmopolitans (27%-50%). Interestingly, the only male speaker in the group has the highest score (40%), while for all five female speakers the Polish ethnicity scores range from 13% to 35%.

The aspect of the culture that all of the members of the intermediate group care about and express a wish to keep while living abroad is the Polish language. They express very positive attitudes towards the language, which can be observed in Excerpt (31), where Sylwia states that for her, like for Polish Cosmopolitans, Polish is an intimate language.

(31) Sylwia (I2, female)

for sure, it is a very close and such an almost intimate language for me, I think that if I started writing a diary, I would write it in Polish

However, for them Polish is not a constituent of their Polish national identities, but rather a component of their cultural heritage and similarly to Polish Cosmopolitans, a link with home. In Excerpt (32), Edyta explains that for her the ability to speak Polish reminds her of her own heritage.

(32) Edyta (I3, female)
When asked what Polish was for her.
a link with home, I don't know, I feel that if I stop speaking Polish, then I don't know like I'll forget where I'm from […] for oneself, that it's such a pride, a bit of the language and not that I feel that I neglected the language, you lose your heritage a bit

As all speakers are well-educated and still look back at Polish society, they draw on norms of Polish society, where the ability to speak Standard Polish is iconic of being well-educated. Thus, they find it desirable to speak proper Polish. Moreover, since they do not exclude the possibility of going back to Poland and having high positions in their chosen professions, they maintain the language in its standard form. Finally, they argue that they want to speak any language well since it demonstrates one's professionalism, exemplified in Excerpt (33).

(33) Sylwia (I2, female)
I think it's in general because of a level of education, I think that these people try to speak properly in any language

Similar reasoning is presented in (34) by Adrian, who defines himself as 'a person for whom language is important', for whom what he would see as linguistic slovenliness would be against the cultural and social norms that Poles in Polish society adhere to.

(34) Adrian (I6, male)
I wouldn't call myself a linguistic purist, but a person for whom language is important and who works with languages and maybe because my mom is a linguist and we often talk about language matters, so I think that the concern about clarity, you can call it this way, that is grammatical correctness is important […] because I would like to speak Polish because it is a language which I'm most able to speak, to sum it all up: English – mainly for professional reasons because I know that I'll make use of English, so for me Polish is at least for now mainly a private language, in this private language it is important for me, yes, yes, I think it is important, but I think it is because of the general principle that if you speak a language and you speak it

fluently, you should do it correctly now, there is also this factor that I have a son who is half-Polish, so I would like him to speak it

All six speakers report that they care about the Polish language and would not like to lose the ability to speak it properly. Also, whenever observed outside the interview situation, they followed Standard Polish rules. Like all other groups, in the interviews, they claim that if surrounded by non-Poles and Poles, they would use English in order not to exclude any interlocutor. However, like Polish Poles, they do not like talking in English to other Poles. They also report that they try not to use too much English in their Polish as they consider it odd if someone loses the ability to speak Polish without inserting English elements. As additional observations suggest, in very limited contexts, they insert some English features, but there is considerable variation in terms of their pronunciation and reasons for code-switches. All of them argue that the feature that they do not approve of is having an English accent in one's Polish (more on this in Section 5.4.2). In Excerpt (35) Sylwia contends that too many English insertions and other English features in one's Polish are a matter of 'bad taste.'

(35) Sylwia (I2, female)

On using English words in Poland.

I think it's bad taste, I don't know that I'm in Poland and I use some English phrases, I find it so pretentious […] yes, I'd like to maintain proper Polish, I wouldn't like to speak in weird phrases and use linguistic calques, I don't know, on a daily basis […] because I don't think after a few years an accent or an ability to express oneself should drastically change especially that I don't think that, somehow most Poles uhm, that most Poles have a chance to use the language and it's not that one never speaks in Polish, never has a chance to express oneself, so I'm always a bit surprised if this English, if this Polish somehow worsens very much after just a few years

In summary, the intermediate group between Polish Poles and Polish Cosmopolitans retains certain aspects of being Polish (selected aspects of Polish culture, the Polish language), but orients itself more towards the world and their lives in Britain than towards Poland, which is expressed by their wish to be defined as 'international' or 'cosmopolitan.' Like Polish Poles and unlike Polish Cosmopolitans, however, the

members of the in-between group still identify themselves as Polish to some extent, which allows them to place themselves in the world. However, they no longer understand Polishness as their *narodowość* 'national identity', but rather as their *dziedzictwo kulturowe* 'cultural heritage.' Since language constitutes an important component of their cultural heritage, they perceive it as natural to maintain it in its standard form. Therefore, they care about it by not inserting too many English elements while speaking Polish to other Poles.

As the two identities and a group in-between are differently distributed among the representatives of the two genders, in the next section I address the discrepancies between female and male speakers and possible reasons for such a phenomenon.

4.5 Gender differences

The purpose of this section is first, to describe gender-based differences observed in the study and then, to provide possible explanations for the gender imbalance.

4.5.1 Gender-based differences

The unequal distribution of gender across the observed sociocultural identities has already been evident in earlier sections of this chapter. While for the fifteen female speakers, there is an equal distribution (five speakers in each group), for the fifteen male speakers this is not the case. There are twelve male speakers who have been classified as Polish Poles, two as Polish Cosmopolitans and one as a representative of the intermediate group.

Apart from the fact that for the fifteen male speakers the distribution of sociocultural identities was unequal, the contents of their interviews differ as well in that men, mostly Polish Poles, express a wish to go back to Poland more often than women. All but one male speaker classified as Polish Poles (11 speakers) express a wish to return to Poland in

the near future, for the majority defined as a few years (for one speaker– 'twenty, thirty years'). Additionally, one male representative of the intermediate group does not exclude the possibility of going back, although he claims it would be highly unlikely. The situation is different for female speakers, who express a wish to go back to Poland less often than male speakers and who even when doing so, usually talk about 'indefinite' time rather than near future. Three female Polish Poles report they could return to Poland at some point, while two do not express a wish to go back. All female members of the group in-between (5 speakers) argue that they 'could' go back, but admit that it is 'highly unlikely.' Finally, as argued in Section 4.3, no Polish Cosmopolitans, both female and male, wish to return to Poland. This suggests that there is a trend for women, even if nationally oriented like Polish Poles, to be less willing to return to Poland than men.

Women and men also differently explain their wish for staying/going back to Poland. In analysis of the interviews, three common reasons emerged for male speakers' wish to return to Poland: socioeconomic reasons, family and psychological comfort, and national obligation. First, as shown in Section 4.2, most male Polish Poles stated that they would like to stay in the UK to gain professional experience and then return to Poland to hold senior positions in international companies. The fact of having international education and professional experience should enable them to climb the career ladder easily and avoid the exploitation and unstable employment characteristic of lower-status positions typically held by young adults in Poland.

Additionally, many male Polish Poles argue that Poland would be an ideal place to set up their families, for example Paweł, a 25-year-old who had spent six years in the UK and who was working in the corporate sector in London, states that the UK is not a place where he would like to raise his children arguing for Poland being 'safer' and Polish

education being better at primary and secondary levels. Moreover, some argue that not only do they associate Poland with safety and family values, but also with 'psychological comfort' as Adam explicitly states in Excerpt (36).

(36) Adam (P1, male)
When asked where he would like to live.
when it comes to my inner need or, or, or 100% comfort, psychological comfort I think Poland

Also, as Polish Poles express Polish national identities, they see it as their national obligation to participate in the changes happening in Poland. Excerpt (37) from an interview with Daniel, who had moved to the UK in high school and who at the time of the interview was planning to go back to Poland, demonstrates that he is planning to participate in the changes in Poland preferably by joining the Polish government or setting up his own business in Poland.

(37) Daniel (P7, male)
we live in the times that are a huge, huge, let's say, such a window of possibilities for our country and it'd be great to be part of these changes and, and you know and, and to contribute to this, this all […] and if I feel such a need or, or someone calls me and says [Daniel] it'd be great if you came back because we're beginning to, I'm setting up a company and I think it'd be great to work or a possibility to work in a great organization opens up or on the government's side, then I'd think about it

In contrast, most female speakers claim that they enjoy living in the UK and that Britain gives them more possibilities and lifestyles that they can choose. They often voluntarily report their positive feelings towards British culture. As an example may serve here a Polish Pole, Maria, who states that life in the UK is easier and that she enjoys it much more than her Polish partner. She describes her partner as more Polish than her and claims he is not well assimilated into British society.

(38) Maria (P9, female)
When asked about the reasons for staying in the UK.
such small things that make life easier here made me feel less like going back because when you go back to Poland you can feel that they put skids under everything you do and here it's easier yes, probably forever, yes *[i.e.staying in the UK]*

On her partner.

he would like to go back, but not yet, he wants to go back in ten years, but for sure, and I'm saying maybe and he's saying for sure, so we're having a debate like this […] because he probably hasn't assimilated that well with the Brits and it's a result of what is happening in his international company, he doesn't have to do with the Brits that much, I work in a company where in fact 90% are British and I get along with them very well, so for me it's natural to be here and get along with them and live with them

Some female speakers, especially Polish Cosmopolitans, explicitly point to social reasons as the key justification for their staying in the British Isles. They often refer to the monolithic character of Polish society, where people marry and have families quite early on in their lives. Multiplicity of lifestyles in the UK seems to suit women as can be observed in Excerpt (39) from an interview with Iza, a 30-year-old female speaker who had moved to the UK seven years before the interview and who was working in a social media company.

(39) Iza (C3, female)

I don't know, people my age, here it's entirely different, who are thirty years old constantly have, I don't know, go to parties for example or so, and in Poland it's like, I don't know, from twenty, the age of twenty-five years they have kids, families and just close themselves up at home and nothing happens in their lives and women just cook and men, their bellies just grow and they drink beer and that's it, practically it's only work – home, work – home, work – home, and here people have ambitions more or a different concept of life

Additionally, in general female speakers less frequently have or express a wish to have a Polish partner than male speakers. Out of fifteen female speakers only three have or wish to have a Polish partner, while twelve women are either in relationships with English or international partners, or do not limit themselves to having a Polish partner. All female speakers who have or wish to have Polish partners were classified as Polish Poles. Ten of the men have or wish to have Polish partners, while five do not. Interestingly, most male Polish Poles and both male Polish Cosmopolitans have or wish to have Polish partners. Among the speakers who do not have or wish to have Polish partners there are four Polish Poles and one member of the intermediate group. The gender differences in choices of

partners point to disparate strategies for life of the two genders: as women enjoy their lives in the UK and are more willing to stay in Britain than men, they might be more interested in international partners. In contrast, having Polish partners easily allows men to move back to Polish society. The choice of the partner can also have an influence on the participants' language use as one spends a significant part of their life, interacting with their partners. This implies that women in my sample may be using English more often than men, which in turn may have a greater effect on their Polish than in case of the studied Polish men.

Finally, female speakers have less Polish social networks than male speakers, which is illustrated in Figures 4.6 and 4.7 below, where network scores of speakers' contacts other than kinship are presented for female and male speakers respectively. Within each figure speakers are ordered in descending order according to their network scores.

Figure 4.2 Network scores for all female speakers ordered in descending order.

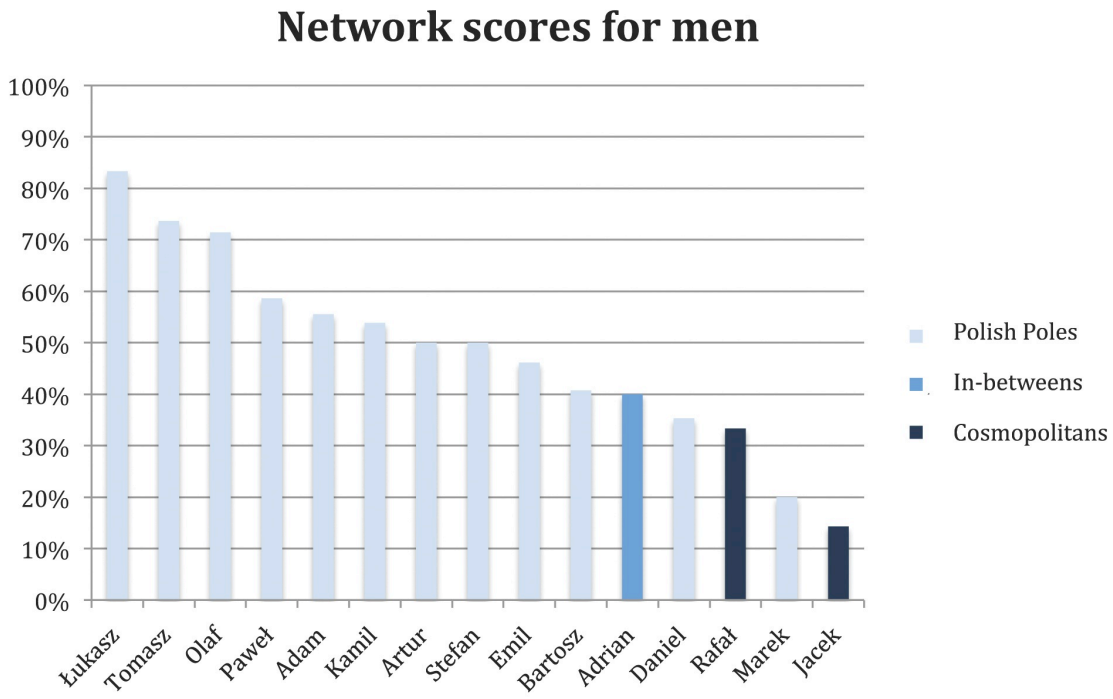


Figure 4.3 Network scores for all male speakers ordered in descending order.

The figures show that male speakers tend to display higher levels of Polishness of contacts other than kinship than female speakers. The score exceeds or equals 50% only for five female speakers. The majority of them (4) are Polish Poles, one is a Polish Cosmopolitan. Other speakers' ethnicity scores are lower than 40%, with In-between speakers having the lowest scores. By contrast, eight out of fifteen male speakers have Polish ethnicity scores for contacts other than kinship that are 50% or above. All of them are Polish Poles. The male In-between speaker's score is 40%, while for the two Polish Cosmopolitans the scores are 33% and 14%. However, ANOVA of the network score and gender does not show that the association is significant. Both raw proportions of contacts other than kinship and divergent attitudes towards having or expressing a wish to have a Polish partner point at how disparate strategies are developed by female and male speakers while living in the UK.

4.5.2 Possible explanations for gender imbalance

It could be argued that the chosen methodology might have affected the distribution of speakers across sociocultural identities as the groupings emerged in the course of the fieldwork as a significant variable and as I was not aiming at statistical representativeness. In general, since Polish Cosmopolitans do not generally spend time with Polish Poles or participate in UK Polish community groups, my initial recruitment strategies, which focused on Polish organizations and on finding new contacts through existing informants, were more likely to produce a sample biased towards Polish Poles. Nevertheless, an equal number of female speakers expressing the three identities were recruited with similar ease.

Additionally, it is in order to mention here the fact that during the fieldwork I encountered problems with finding male informants who would meet the criteria (there

were no problems with finding female speakers). This could have been affected by my own positioning as a female researcher. However, during my fieldwork when I asked participants about possible recruits for my study, I was often told that many of the Polish men whom my speakers knew had gone back to Poland, an observation which could indicate a trend in the studied group, but which requires further investigation. If it is true, it could be claimed that the men who had gone back were also more nationally oriented, hence, my distribution is not a coincidence.

Most importantly, the discrepancies between female and male speakers discussed in this chapter must be explained with reference to the informants' positions in Polish society and their symbolic value in Polish culture. Although in comparison to previous decades a significant increase in the number of Polish women who work and educate themselves has been observed (Central Statistical Office 2007), scholars argue that Polish society remains patriarchal in some respects (Gal and Kligman 2000, Graff 2001, 2008, Środa 2012). As in other countries in the region, in the years of political and economic transformation in Eastern Europe, women in Poland became 'associated with the idealized and even romanticized private' usually having 'unstable, part-time work and multiple jobs', whereas men belonged to the public sphere and usually had 'regular and secure jobs' (Gal and Kligman 2000: 61). Moreover, in Poland men hold the vast majority of positions of power. Similarly to other countries in the region, after the 1980s and 1990s the proportion of women within political representation decreased significantly. In recent years, an increase in female political representation has been reported, however, at the time of the fieldwork, the percentage of female parliamentarians was still within 25% (Central Statistical Office 2007, Fuszara 2011). In terms of female participation in local government, a slow but steady increase has been observed: from 16% in 1998 to 24% in 2010 (Fuszara 2010). In Poland as in Eastern Europe in general

(Fuszara 2010), female participation diminishes with rank in local politics (Dersnah 2012). A disparity between urban and rural locations can also be observed.

Furthermore, when compared to other European countries, while being professionally active, Polish women are expected to perform their roles as mothers and wives quite early although a significant increase in the average age at which one marries has been noticed in the past two decades. According to *Basic Information about the demographic growth of Poland till 2013,* the median age of first-time brides and bridegrooms in Poland is 26 years old and 28 years old respectively[15]. The image of a woman as a mother and a wife is often reinforced in Polish public discourse, where right-wing parties[16] and the Catholic Church often give femininity a symbolic, maternal significance as it is often associated with the Holy Mary, Matka Polka (Mother-Pole) or Poland itself (Graff 2008: 15). In general, for Polish national thought a woman-mother plays a superior role in comparison to single and childless women and sexual minorities (Graff 2008). Moreover, as traced by Janion (2004), the Polish romantic tradition portrays a female who demands equal rights and attention of men as competition.

All these factors may have an influence on the patterns observed in this study. When in the British Isles, Polish men may more often express Polish national identities as Polish national thought is more advantageous for them than it is for female speakers. By playing important roles in the Polish community in the UK, Polish men often hold positions of power that allow them to play important roles in Britain (otherwise they would have to compete with everybody else in the UK), and which is in line with the social order they know from Poland. In contrast, female speakers may develop less-Poland oriented

[15] In 2011, the median age for first-time brides in the UK was 29.1 years old and for first-time bridegrooms, 30.9 years old (Office for National Statistics 2011).
[16] In the Elections 2011 to the Sejm and Senate of the Republic of Poland, the right-wing Law and Justice came second receiving 29.89% of the general vote (http://pkw.gov.pl).

identities since they may find the lifestyles and possibilities available in British society more appealing and advantageous for them. Therefore, they may be developing different strategies for life in the UK than male speakers do: having English or international partners and more international social networks. Finally, Polish men more frequently intend to return to Poland because in their opinion in Poland they will be able to hold prestigious positions in international companies and play important roles in Polish society. Going back may be less beneficial for the female speakers for both economic and social reasons.

When compared with other linguistic scenarios, the gender imbalance observed in this study resembles global findings in terms of gendered differences linked to the use of innovative variables. Many scholars have previously reported that men and women often differ in terms of their orientation toward traditional cultural practices. Younger men have been shown to participate more in social and work activities within their cultural and local communities as well as to express more positive attitudes towards traditional cultural values in a variety of contexts, e.g. in Belfast (Milroy 1980), in the German-Hungarian village of Oberwart (Gal 1978), in South Carolina (Nichols 1979), among Cajun English speakers in Louisiana (Dubois and Horvath 1998) or in the Punjabi community in London (Sharma 2011).

In summary, the two different identities are differently distributed in my sample. While for female speakers there is an equal distribution across the groups, male speakers express Polish Pole identities most frequently. This section has examined possible reasons for such a phenomenon, concluding that the characteristics of Polish society may have an impact on the fact that Polish men develop more Poland-oriented identities. It has also been argued that the gender differences in the orientation toward the local community and

its traditional values observed here square findings from other cultural situations. However, more research is in order to corroborate such a hypothesis.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have shown how in the course of the fieldwork two distinct sociocultural identities emerged. By developing the Polishness index and analysing the interview data qualitatively, I have demonstrated how the young Polish adults who participated in the research project expressed different views on national identity, Polish and British cultures and divergent stances towards Poland, the UK and the world as well as disparate language ideologies. Among the 30 speakers, seventeen (5 female and 12 male) have been identified as Polish Poles, for whom Polish national identity constitutes an important component of their personal identities, which results in them embracing Polish culture and language and actively participating in the Polish community in the UK. Seven speakers (5 female and 2 male) comprise a group labeled Polish Cosmopolitans, who reject nationality and orient themselves towards the UK and the world by having more international social networks and not maintaining Polish culture and language consciously. Additionally, six speakers (5 female and 1 male) have been classified as intermediate between the two 'extreme' sociocultural identities. They perceive themselves as 'international' or 'citizens of the world', in which they include being Polish. However, for them being Polish is equal to their cultural heritage, where they still care about selected aspects of Polish culture including the Polish language.

The qualitative analysis of the interviews and observations presented above have demonstrated how young Polish adults with seemingly similar linguistic profiles develop various sociocultural identities, which influence their reported strategies for life in the British Isles, their cultural and linguistic practices as well as attitudes towards the English

and Polish languages. A variety of representations construe a structured whole, where the three sociocultural identities expressed by individual participants in the study point to collective ways in which young Polish adults living in the UK experience their conditions of life. The chapter describes on the one hand, the perpetuation of the national ideology and on the other, the creation of a new Cosmopolitan identity and the intermediate stage between the two. As the speakers are aware of each other as representatives of the same generation of Poles, the three identities remain in a dialectical relationship with one another. The analysis stresses importance of human agency for linguistic and cultural practices. As observations made in the chapter suggest that speakers expressing different sociocultural identities also speak in divergent ways, the next chapters of the thesis investigate whether the three identities are confirmed in the informants' language use and whether in the context of the interview, the new, innovative ways of speaking index Polish Cosmopolitan identity.

5 Language contact and linguistic variables

During the fieldwork, the three sociocultural identities were also observed to go together with distinct speaking styles. As mentioned before, Polish Cosmopolitans were found to be developing new ways of speaking characterized by selected segmental and suprasegmental features drawn from English. Their speaking styles are new in that they are not identical to stereotypically English-accented Polish known in Polish society. During my fieldwork, some Polish Cosmopolitans reflected upon the new ways themselves arguing that 'no one here in the UK speaks in a stereotypically English-accented way, like Max Kolonko', a Polish-American producer, writer, journalist and a U.S. correspondent known for speaking Polish with an American English accent, often presented as a stereotypical speaker of English-accented Polish.

The new speaking styles consist of a number of features drawn from English, including aspirated stops and falling-rising intonation. Other features such as dark *l* and palatalized fricatives have been observed. However, due to their lower frequency, they are not analyzed in this thesis. This chapter begins with an overview of Polish and English phonologies to see whether there is potential for the two variables examined in the project to be affected in a language contact situation and whether my observations square findings reported elsewhere.

5.1 Typological differences between Polish and English

In order to see what linguistic outcomes can emerge in the context of Polish-English language contact, I now proceed to the description of typological differences between Polish and English phonologies with special focus put on aspiration of voiceless stops and intonation.

In general, Polish has a rich consonantal system (31 consonants) with a tendency for heavy consonant clusters (Jassem 2003). The Polish vowel system consists of six vowels and there are no meaningful distinctions in terms of vowel length. In contrast, the consonantal system of English is smaller consisting of 24 consonants with a more limited range of clusters (Ladefoged 2009). British English differentiates between 20 vowels (7 short, 5 long, 8 diphthongs). Existing phonemic inventories of both languages are presented in Appendix 4.

5.1.1 Aspiration

In language contact situations, aspiration in Polish has been reported. Doroszewski (1952) observed aspiration in some dialects of Western Poland (Wielkopolska), which he related to the influence of German, where aspiration occurs. Additionally, it has been argued (Doroszewski 1952, Rubach 1974, Ruszkiewicz 1990) that in Polish, voiceless plosives can be aspirated when they occur in emphatically stressed syllables. However, in Standard Polish aspiration is not treated as a phonetic category (Jassem 2003, Waniek-Klimczak 2011): it is argued that it does not occur or if it does, it is 'extremely weak and generally escapes the speakers' attention' (Wierzchowska 1971).

Polish distinguishes six[17] stops: bilabial /p,b/, dental /t,d/ and velar /k,g/. The vocal cord vibration is the main cue for the voiced/voiceless opposition; there is no difference in the force of articulation and the opposition is neutralised in final positions. There are limited data on Polish aspiration (Keating et al. 1981, Kopczyński 1977, Waniek-Klimczak 2011), but when aspiration is measured by VOT, the studies that do exist report that Polish contrasts negative and short-lag VOT. It has to be borne in mind that all projects

[17] Some scholars argue for eight stops (/p,b/, /t,d/, /c,ɟ/ and /k,g/), including Jassem (2003), but for comparative purposes I follow Keating et al. (1981) and Waniek-Klimczak (2011). As neither of the scholars provides a full phonemic inventory for Polish, in Appendix 4, Jassem's system is presented.

on the Polish VOT are laboratory experiments. Results from Keating et al. (1981), an experiment conducted in Wrocław (Lower Silesia, close to the German border) and Łódź (central Poland), are presented in Table 5.1. The data were obtained from five native speakers of Polish from Łódź who read a list of 42 disyllabic words ten times. The stops were in initial position and since in Polish word stress is fixed (almost always falls on the penultimate syllable), each syllable containing the stop was stressed.

Stop	Mean VOT (ms)	Standard deviation	Number of tokens
/b/	- 88	40	340
/d/	- 90	33	309
/g/	- 66	38	259
/p/	+22	10	378
/t/	+28	9	338
/k/	+53	20	282

Table 5.1 Mean VOTs of initial Polish stops. Based on Keating et al. (1981)

In contrast to Polish, in English aspiration is a phonetic category. Similarly to Polish, there are six stop consonants in English: bilabial /p, b/, alveolar /t, d/ and velar /k, g/. The voiced/voiceless opposition in English is preserved in all positions (initial, medial and final), but the primary differentiating factor between voiced and voiceless plosives is the force of articulation. In English, voiceless stops /p t k/ are aspirated when in the onset of stressed syllables (Lisker and Abramson 1967), which is reflected in the contrast of short VOT values of /b d g/ with long VOT values of /p t k/ (Rojczyk 2009). In comparison with the Polish VOT, the English VOT has been studied extensively. However, most studies come from laboratory experiments with only a few projects based on natural speech data.

Table 5.2 illustrates the results from Lisker and Abramson (1964), which is based on a list of initial English stops pronounced in isolation by four native speakers of American English.

Stop	Mean VOT (ms)	Stop	Mean VOT (ms)
/p/	58	/b/	-101/1[18]
/t/	70	/d/	-102/5
/k/	80	/g/	-88/21

Table 5.2 Mean VOTs of initial English stops in a word list. Based on Lisker and Abramson (1964)

The mean VOT values of single voiceless stops from Docherty (1992) are demonstrated in Table 5.3, where British English stops were produced by five male speakers of Southern British English who were between 18 and 21 years of age. The results come from a list of 207 words in isolation and as parts of carrier phrases.

Stop	Mean VOT (ms)
/p/	42
/t/	63
/k/	63

Table 5.3 Mean VOTs of British English stops. Based on Docherty (1992)

As the project presented in this thesis is based on natural speech data, two studies that look at connected speech are presented here are as well. Both projects are based on American English data. The first, Byrd (1993), comes from the TIMIT corpus, developed for the purpose of automatic speech recognition systems. The data used in the corpus are composed of 2342 sentences read by 630 speakers. The mean VOT values from this study are presented in Table 5.4.

Stop	Mean VOT (ms)
/p/	44
/t/	49
/k/	52

Table 5.4 Mean VOTs of American English stops from the TIMIT corpus. Based on Byrd (1993)

Table 5.5. presents results from Yao (2007), which examines data from the Buckeye speech corpus developed at Ohio State University, based on casual interviews with 19

[18] In Lisker and Abramson's sample, positive and negative VOT values were distributed within two discontinuous ranges; there was also interspeaker variation.

residents of Ohio. Here only voiceless stops in initial positions were taken into account. As shown in Table 5.5, when compared with Byrd (1993), Yao's findings are similar, but the VOT values for all voiceless plosives are a bit longer.

Stop	Mean VOT (ms)
/p/	48
/t/	51
/k/	58

Table 5.5 Mean VOTs of American English stops from the Buckeye corpus. Based on Yao (2007)

In general, it has been noted that the following linguistic factors might influence mean VOT in English: sentence position (Lisker and Abramson 1967, Baran et al. 1977), stress (Lisker and Abramson 1967), number of syllables in a word (Lisker and Abramson 1967, Klatt 1975), height of the following vowel (Maddieson 1997, Klatt 1975, Ohala 1981, Summerfield (1975), speech rate (Kessinger and Blumstein 1998, Volaitis and Miller 1992, Allen et al. 2003), place of articulation (Maddieson 1997). Speaker-related factors that also affected the mean VOT values in some studies[19] are: gender (Whiteside and Irving 1998, Koening 2000, Ryalls et al. 1997, Whiteside and Marshall 2001, Awan and Stine 2011, Whiteside et al. 2003) and age (Ryalls et al. 2004). These are examined in more detail in Chapter 6 Section 6.2 below.

When Polish and English interact, voiceless stops are reported to be affected as in Waniek-Klimczak (2011). Although Waniek-Klimczak confirmed that emphasis creates favorable conditions for the occurrence of aspiration in Polish, she argued that its occurrence and duration depend on speaker's experience of English, which suggests that if Polish is in a language-contact situation with English, aspiration is more likely to be observed. Interaction of stops in other linguistic contexts and interaction of other features

[19] Other studies did not report correlation for gender (Ryalls et al. 2004, Syrdal 1996) and age (Petrosino et al. 1993, Neiman et al. 1983). Also, Lisker and Abramson (1967) did not report a correlation between VOT and speech rate.

in Polish-English contact situations are discussed in further sections (Section 5.2 and Section 5.3 respectively).

5.1.2 Intonation

Intonation in Polish-English contact situations has not been investigated. However, the two languages differ in terms of possible intonation patterns, which are now presented in more depth. All observed intonation patterns for both languages are discussed in this section.

Polish intonation has most often been described in British-school influenced frameworks (Demenko 1999, Jassem 2002, Francuzik et al. 2002), which posit one obligatory element of the intonational phrase, the nucleus. The unmarked position for the nucleus in Polish is the penultimate syllable in the phrase, but in emotional speech or marked utterances it can be moved towards the beginning (Grabe and Karpiński 2003).

The number of possible pitch movements defined for the Polish nucleus differs from scholar to scholar. Jassem (1962) distinguishes six basic melodies: high rising, low rising, high falling, low falling, low level, high level. Biedrzycki (1972) lists low falling, high falling, low rising, high rising and falling-rising[20]. In their comparative study of English and Polish intonation, Grabe and Karpiński (2003) examined a set of sentences read by six native speakers of Polish aged 25-30 years old, which allowed them to differentiate between six nuclear accent types in Polish, analysed using ToBI (Beckman and Elam 1997): HL, ML, LL, LH, LM, MH.

The only corpus that looks not only at read sentences, but also at semi-spontaneous speech is the Polish Intonational Database, PoInt (Francuzik et al. 2002, 2005, Karpiński

[20] Fall-rise is limited to questions about detail in Biedrzycki (1972).

2006). The corpus consists of read texts, semi-spontaneous monologues and dialogues, and broadcast recordings. All the speakers were from Western Poland (Wielkopolska) or had spent a number of years there before the study was conducted; they were between 18 and 40 years of age, had at least college education and no reported speech deficiencies (Karpiński 2002). On the basis of their analysis of the PoInt data, Francuzik et al. (2002) distinguish rising (LH, LM, MH, HxH), falling (HL, HM, ML, LxL) and flat (MM) intonation in Polish. The most frequent pattern in their data is falling. They also report gender differences: men more often use falling patterns than women, whereas women use rising intonation patterns more frequently (Francuzik et al. 2005). The PoInt database was also used in Karpiński (2006), where the following intonation patterns were identified: falling/ low tones, rising/ high tones; and falling-rising (rare) and rising-falling (rare). Falling tones are associated with completeness, rising ones with incompleteness, falling-rising and rising-falling are limited to emotional contexts (Karpiński 2006).

In comparison to Polish, English intonation has been more extensively studied, leading to the emergence of various frameworks and terminology. In this work, only a few selected studies of British English are presented for comparative purposes. In those projects, the nuclear accent in English has been defined as the last accented syllable in an intonational phrase (Grabe and Karpiński 2003).

Scholars associated with the British school such as O'Connor and Arnold (1973) distinguish seven tunes for English: low fall, high fall, rise-fall, low rise, high rise, fall-rise, mid-level. Cruttenden (2001) lists five nuclear accents for British English: falling, rising, falling-rising, rising-falling and level. In her autosegmental approach to intonation, Pierrehumbert (1980) argued for the following pitch accents for English: H*, L*, L+H*, L*+H, H+L*, H*+L and H*+H.

A project that serves as a primary source for comparison in this thesis is the IViE (Intonational Variation in English) corpus created in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Cambridge and further developed in the Phonetics Laboratory at the University of Oxford. For the purpose of this project, nine urban dialects of English spoken in Britain were recorded between 1997 and 2000 (a total of 36 hours obtained from 108 16-year-old speakers from London, Cambridge, Leeds, Bradford, Newcastle, Belfast, Dublin). The tasks performed by the speakers included: reading a list of sentences, reading and retelling a familiar fairy tale, performing two interactive tasks.

The IViE corpus distinguished 13 nuclear accent types for English: HL, ML, LL, LH, LM, MH, HH, HM, LHL, LHM, HLH, MLH, MHL (Grabe and Karpiński 2003). For Southern dialects of English (Cambridge, London), which are of interest to this project, six nuclear accent types were identified: ML, HL, LH, MH, HLH, MLH. All studies based on the IViE corpus (Grabe and Karpiński 2003, Grabe 2004, Grabe et al. 2005) showed that falling intonation pattern, specifically HL, is the predominant nuclear accent type in declaratives in Southern British English. When typologies of meaning of intonation patterns in English are considered, the following general meanings are often listed: 'falling nuclear tones are separative, matter-of-fact, and assertive […], whereas both simple rises […] and fall-rises […] are continuative, implicative, and non-assertive. Level tones belong with the rising tones in the sorts of meanings they convey' (Cruttenden 2001: 267).

As can be seen from the discussion in this section, English makes use of falling-rising intonation frequently, including in declaratives in Southern British varieties of English, whereas in Polish falling-rising intonation occurs very rarely. Therefore, there is a possibility for an intonational shift in terms of this variable.

5.2 Phonetic variation in language contact

In the light of the typological differences between Polish and English, there is potential both for aspiration and intonation to be affected in my study, especially as interaction of phonetic and phonological systems is characteristic of language contact situations. In this section, I report what outcomes of such an interaction can be for phonetic variation in general as well as for the two variables in particular.

It is widely recognized that phonetic and phonological systems interact in language contact situations with various linguistic results (Sankoff 2006). It is also now taken for granted that in order to understand outcomes of language contact situations, one has to consider the sociohistorical context of the variables (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Sankoff 2006). As in this study some speakers are introducing English features into their Polish, that is, into their native language (L1[21]), in this section, the focus is put on the outcomes of one linguistic process, namely, borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), more specifically, phonological borrowing (Van Coetsem 1988), that is 'the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 21) as opposed to substratum interference – when first language structures influence those of the second language.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) were one of the first to describe results of borrowing for phonetic variation. They argued that in 'more intense' situations with attitudes favoring borrowing some phonemes can be lost, while new ones introduced. In such situations, prosodic features such as stress placement can also be influenced by the second language

[21] In linguistic literature, it is often assumed that speakers are defined in terms of their first and second languages, while groups are seen as fairly homogeneous (Sankoff 2006). This is not a problem for this study, as Polish is the language all speakers acquired first, while English is their L2.

and constraints on syllable structure and morphophonemic rules can be added or lost. In 'intense contact', they argue for entire phonetic and/or phonological categories in the first language being added or lost together with various morphophonemic rules. Moreover, in intense language contact situations, 'lost phonemes merge with other phonemes rather than disappearing entirely and added phonemes usually replace preexisting phonemes' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 88).

A number of empirical studies show that phonetic and phonological interactions are a major characteristic of contact-induced change. Lexical items introduced from other languages often undergo phonological adaptation to the rules of one's native language (e.g. Pereira 1977), with foreign patterns triggering innovation in the borrowing language. This has been observed for English loanwords in Italian (Socanac 1996), Japanese (Tsuchida 1995), Irish (Stenson 1993) and Quebec French (Walker 1982) and Spanish borrowings in the Huave language pronounced with new stress rules (Davidson and Noyer 1997) and partially assimilated Spanish loanwords in four Mayan languages (Penalosa 1990). Mixed results of language contact have also been found in French loanwords in Fula (Paradis and Lacharité 1997) and Moroccan Arabic and Kinyarwanda (Paradis 1995).

Research shows that not age-related and 'non pathological loss of a native language within an individual' (de Leeuw 2014: 25) due to acquisition of a new language is also a common process. This process of language attrition has been observed in multiple contexts suggesting that language develops dynamically throughout one's lifetime. Language attrition affects both segmental and suprasegmental features of one's native language. For example, when word-final devoicing in the speech of Russian speakers who acquired English in late adolescence in the USA was examined, it was shown that

Russian native speech was affected by English (Dmitrieva, Jongman and Sereno 2010). Also when /l/ of German speakers in English-speaking Canada was analyzed, the German category was reported to be aligned within the English norm (de Leeuw 2014). Vowels have also been demonstrated to undergo attrition as in Flege's (1987) study of /u/ in the French of bilingual French-English speakers in the USA. In his study of native Korean speakers living in the USA, Flege (2007) also demonstrated that the more native-like one's second language is, the less native-like their first language becomes in terms of accent. Finally, some studies report that the speech of bilingual speakers can be perceived as non-native (de Leeuw 2014, Sancier and Fowler 1997). Results of language attrition for aspirated stops and intonation are described in more detail in the next two subsections.

5.2.1 Aspiration

In this section, I focus on reported results of contact-induced change in terms of aspiration. Aspiration, measured by voice onset time, is examined here in relation to projects concerning consecutive or taught bilinguals, that is, people who learned their second language after the native one. According to the few existing studies on VOT in such contexts, there seems to be a crosslinguistic tendency for VOTs to be affected by L2 of a bilingual speaker. For example, in Major's (1992) study of bilingual migrants in Brazil whose first language was American English, a correlation between proficiency in Portuguese and rate of attrition in English measured by means of VOT was observed. However, it was not reported for the subjects' formal speech and variability across speakers was noticed. Flege's (1987) study of American English native speakers living in France and French native speakers living in the USA for a decade showed that the VOT of L1 became similar to the VOT of L2. However, here again, interspeaker variability was observed suggesting that not all speakers participated in the process of merging. Additionally, Dutch native speakers who were highly proficient in English produced their

Dutch /t/ with a shorter VOT than a group of less proficient speakers of English moving away from both the English and Dutch values (Flege and Eefting 1987). Finally, Nagy and Kochetov (2013) examined VOT in three to five generations of established immigrant communities (Russian, Ukrainian and Italian) in Toronto, where a drift toward English VOT values in L1 was observed across the generations for Russian and Ukrainian, but not for Italian. More importantly, Nagy and Kochetov employed a questionnaire to assess speakers' ethnic orientation, which demonstrated that there was a correlation between ethnicity and one's VOT for Russian and Ukrainian, but again not for Italian: the lower the score, the more English-like the VOT with first generation speakers having higher ethnic scores and lower VOT values than other groups.

5.2.2 Intonation

In contrast to segmental phonology, intonation in language contact situations has rarely been studied (McMahon 2004). Some have looked at intonation in established immigrant communities; for example Queen (2012) showed that second- and third-generation Turkish-German bilinguals living in Germany use new intonation patterns from what is typical for monolingual Germans, two 'phonetically, phonologically, and pragmatically distinct rises'. Queen (2006) demonstrated that Turkish-German bilingual children use the patterns also in their Turkish. Moreover, Mennen (2004) looked at Dutch speakers of Greek showing their inability to produce Greek tonal alignment. At the same time, their Dutch tonal alignment was influenced by Greek, resulting in them neutralizing the peak timing differences between Dutch statements with long and short vowels in accented syllables. However, not all speakers followed the pattern: one speaker's tonal alignment was in line with both Greek and Dutch norms in respective languages. Finally, De Leeuw et al. (2011) examined the prosody of ten German native speakers who had lived in English-speaking Canada since late adolescence/early adulthood, finding changes in their

native German tonal alignment in prenuclear rises. Again, interspeaker variability was reported.

5.3 Ideological character of phonetic variation in language contact situations

Observations from the fieldwork suggest that there is interaction between Polish and English in terms of both variables. However, during the fieldwork, it was observed that Polish Cosmopolitans made greater use of aspirated stops and fall-rises in their speech than other participants. This suggests that the variability across my speakers is connected to the participants' ideological stances and network-linked practices, which is consistent with findings from other studies that argue that phonetic variation in language contact situations is not randomly transferred, but ideologically underpinned.

Some studies have shown that phonetic and phonological variation in contact situations is tied to the local understanding of cultural norms. For example, Duranti and Reynolds (2009) demonstrate how negotiation between competing norms in a given community can be played out at the level of phonological variation. In their study, interactions between members of four Samoan families in California reveal that the studied American-Samoans use kinship terms and proper names against Samoan phonotactic rules and violate 'the co-occurrence rules characteristic of a particular phonological register ('bad speech') for Samoan proper names of members of the younger generation' (Duranti and Reynolds 2009: 3). Therefore, younger speakers in the community make use of English pronunciation patterns in borrowed kinship terms. They also rely on phonological rules of one register, 'good speech', typically associated with literacy activity, teaching and prayers, for Samoan names, rather than using the default 'bad speech', a register used for daily interactions in Samoan culture. This change at the phonological level is indicative of a social change where a new conceptualization of the family influenced by the

American model results in adoption of new kinship terms. Moreover, the lack of phonological variation in children's English and Samoan names points to a drift from a typically Samoan contextually defined notion of person, to the American-influenced understanding of speakers as permanent entities, which results from speakers relying on multiple cultural frameworks for the interpretation of their social experience.

Other projects have also demonstrated that phonetic variation in contact situations participates in identity and group formation processes. It has to be borne in mind, however, that unlike the current project and studies described in the previous section, most studies that look at the ideological character of phonetic variation in language contact situations focus on the influence of L1 on L2, specifically on English. Mendoza-Denton's (2008) study of Latin American teenage gangs in California was one of the first to quantitatively demonstrate the link between variation and ideology. In her study, she analyzed how English-speaking and Americanized Norteñas and the Mexican or Latin American-oriented Spanish-speaking Sureñas employed phonetic and other linguistic resources drawn from Spanish and English in order to present their disparate social positioning as members of opposing gangs with conflicting ideologies. Through her analysis of the speakers' realizations of /ɪ/ in English together with other linguistic features and semiotic codes, Mendoza-Denton was able to identify how the teenagers created styles that indexed complex ideology-based identities, where Norte and Sur were recursively projected onto language and race as well as onto whole countries, differentials of class and privilege. Using quantitative methods, she showed that both linguistic and social factors condition variation. However, upon closer examination of different patterns of discourse-marking pronominal expressions, TH-pro, with the raising of /ɪ/, social affiliation proved to be a crucial factor conditioning variation.

In the British context, phonetic variation has also been observed to be used to express complex social meaning. This was manifested, for example, in Harris' study of the creation of new social identities and language practices in a multilingual setting in London. The study was based on self-representations of linguistic practices of 30 South Asian teenagers in Blackhill. By analyzing selected phonetic and grammatical features of British Asians' speech, e.g. T-glottaling, *I done it*, *innit*, the speakers' use of family languages and ways they were woven into distinct patterns, Harris was able to show how Blackhill youth combined local London features with their Asian languages in order to construct their new ethnicities. He demonstrated that local features dominated in the teenagers' speech, simultaneously making their identities 'unambiguously dominated by Britishness' (Harris 2006: 92). However, diasporic ties to traditions from the Indian subcontinent allowed the speakers to inflect this Britishness in a new way, so Harris used the term 'Brasians' to refer to them. The examination of self-representations and actual, everyday language use of Brasians provided insights into the new ethnicities formed by post-colonial migrations and how they were contested and formed in a process influenced by human agency and experience. The cultural and linguistic practices of the group formed structured patterns of experience and affiliation, where the present coexisted with the historical and where the collection of individual representations pointed to 'a particular encounter with the world being experienced in a contingent social context' (Harris 2006: 77). The phonological variation in this project embodies the local, Londonness, which together with other local and global features of language allow Brasians to construct their hybrid identities and present themselves as distinct from other members of society.

Moreover, in her study of Punjabi speakers of English in Southall, Sharma showed that phonetic variation and 'individual dialect repertoires can reveal systematic changes in

social structure' (2011: 486). Sharma's study of young and old individuals' repertoires consisting of such Punjabi features in English as retroflexion of /t/, the FACE vowel, the GOAT vowel and coda /l/ demonstrated that older second-generation British Asians combined features of Punjabi and English to re-inscribe 'linguistic markers with new social indexical values', which later became 'available for continued use by younger generations' (Sharma 2011: 487). She observed that younger women exhibited different patterns of the variables from those of younger men. Younger women spoke more Standard English, with a dramatic decline in the use of retroflexion, which allowed them to reflect their membership in multiple communities as they tended to shift from traditional Punjabi roles to more Western ones. Younger men, in contrast, exhibited high levels of retroflexion since they identified themselves more with Punjabi culture. Finally, Sharma's study demonstrated also that different ways of combining Punjabi and British phonetic features reflected various identities and network-linked practices within the British Asian community in the UK.

Her further work with Rampton provides more fine-grained detail about the linguistic patterns observed in Southall, which also shows that variation is connected to sociocultural experience. Using the lectal focusing index, a 'proportional measure of fluctuation in style over the course of a segment of interaction' (Sharma and Rampton 2015: 12), Sharma and Rampton analyzed 13 phonological variables typical of recognized lects used in the community (Standard British English, Vernacular British English, Indian English) in relation to generational differences among Punjabi men. Older men regularly deployed Asian variants, which was indexical of their ethnopolitical valuation and served as acts of identity, whereas younger men seemed to 'exploit such orientations less, possibly operating at a lower level of awareness, as part of a "fused lect"' (Sharma and Rampton: 25). According to Sharma and Rampton, the discrepancy in

the strategic use of the variants should be explained in the context of the changing sociopolitical experience of the Punjabi community over the last sixty years: from being a minority Asian community, where now older men were exposed to 'authentic' Asianness through close ties with India facing hostile attitudes in Britain, to being a majority Asian community within Southall, where the young men had been brought up with weaker ties to India and a more positive ethnic experience in the UK. Thus, the differences in the way phonological variables are employed by the two groups can be seen as a shift from negotiating two separate ethnic identities to a more fused new ethnicity similar to that presented by Harris in Blackhill.

Identity formation has not been investigated in the UK Polish community. However, a few projects in the UK have focused on the interaction of Polish and English phonetic systems and the acquisition of English phonetic variation by Polish immigrants from a sociolinguistic perspective stressing the importance of social constraints on variation (Clark and Schleef 2010, Meyerhoff and Schleef 2012, Drummond 2010). For example, Meyerhoff and Schleef (2012) explored the limits on the acquisition of variation in the speech of Polish teenagers in Edinburgh and London arguing for systematization of the variable (ing) among immigrants. In the two settings, Polish teenagers were found to rely on various strategies to replicate the variation. In Edinburgh, social networks played a key role: Polish teens with mostly Scottish or mixed networks were found to produce velar tokens of the variable. In London, variation was inflected by gender: Polish boys were significantly more likely to produce velar tokens of (ing) than girls. This did not replicate the patterns reported for native speakers of English, but suggests that the speakers translated variation into sociolinguistically meaningful patterns.

In the light of the projects discussed in this section, it is in order to investigate how phonetic variation in my language contact situation is linked to the local understanding of the world and the speaker's sociocultural experience and how it participates in identity construction. Such an analysis can tell us more about the ways speakers reanalyze and transform existing norms into new ones at the phonetic level, which in the globalized world often results in the creation of positional identities that are 'more political, more plural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical' (Hall 1992: 309).

5.4 Indexicality of the variables

In the current project, in order to understand the variability in the speakers' use of the studied phonetic features, a field of all potential indexical meanings that can be acquired by the variation has to be discussed. As participants exhibit various levels of awareness of the new speaking styles, with some being able to name particular consonants such as *t* or *p*, and others talking about people speaking with an English accent more broadly, I begin with a short description of indexicality of English features in Polish in Poland. I then describe how the variables have been imbued with cultural values in the UK. Finally, I proceed to the discussion of aspiration and intonation and their indexical character, using evidence from literature and metalinguistic data from my corpus, to show how the speakers have typified and evaluated these particular linguistic variables.

5.4.1 Indexical meanings of English features in Polish

In recent decades, an increase in the use of English features and loanwords in the Polish language has been observed in Poland (Chłopicki 2002, Grybosiowa 2003, Otwinowska-Kasztelanic 2000). It has been reported by some of my participants as well. For example, in (1), Bartosz, a 25 year-old male Polish Pole, recalls his internship in Warsaw as a time where everybody spoke a mixture of Polish and English.

(1) Bartosz (P11, male)

> and the language that was the official language was English and all like materials were in English, there were also many workers who came from non-Polish branches, so naturally we spoke English a lot, but if there were only Poles, we spoke only Polish, I mean our intention was to speak Polish, but it turned out that we spoke an ugly mixture of Polish and English which although I'd lived in the UK before for four years, I'd met an infinite number of Poles or Polish students or someone else, I'd never encountered such a mixture of Polish and English as in the office in Warsaw talking to people who'd never, I mean people who used the mixture had never lived abroad, but like, maybe this corporate culture promoted something like this there and, and you know and what was the funniest, I absolutely, my Polish at the beginning, I tried to avoid this of course, but later you know when in Rome do as the Romans do, right? and I after, I mean I can certainly say that after these three months there, my English, my Polish, I'm sorry, deteriorated much more than after having lived in the UK for four years

This increasing spread of English into Polish has been attributed to various factors, including foreign capital investments entering the Polish market, ongoing globalization and specialized literature that favors English loanwords for previously non-existent concepts, typically spreading from the English-speaking world (Korcz and Matulewski 2006). It has been argued that English is especially influential in certain fields, namely those related to economics and computer science (Korcz and Matulewski 2006).

The English features in Polish are widely recognized in the public as well as in the academic world, which shows that they have been under the ongoing process of enregisterment. Over the past few decades, social groups within Polish society have been reflexively shaping models of social indexicality linked to the presence of English features in the Polish language spoken in Poland. Members of Polish society agree that English features are foreign elements in the Polish language, but the stereotypical values associated with them vary for different social groups. In general, differential evaluations of the forms diverge by ideological stances regarding social changes happening in Polish society.

Firstly, due to their foreign origin, English features can serve to index being global rather than local, which is corroborated by Kołodziejek (2008), who argues for them being emblems of overall globalization as well as of a modern Pole who, thanks to them, can easily function in the European Union.

However, for some members of Polish society, using English features, be they loanwords or phonetic and phonological features, is perceived as being snobbish, which is seen as being in opposition to a down-to-earth Pole. This evaluation circulates widely within the society and is attested in the linguistic literature. Korcz and Matulewski (2006) report the dominance of the English language in business settings which makes the English features indexical of social prestige 'and in extreme cases of professional snobbism' (160). Maternik (2003) goes a bit further, implying that English loanwords and proficiency in English in general index prestige and snobbery especially of the management boards of big companies operating in Poland. For Lubaś, English features inserted into Polish are also associated with snobbery. However, he argues that they are indicative of more than 'stupidity and cultural primitivism', but also of new social phenomena that promote utilitarian values over spiritual ones, such as patriotic or national values, and are being propagated by the new, emerging middle class (Lubaś 1996).

The use of English features is also linked to the East vs. West debate that has been prevalent in the region for centuries, where sentiments towards the West have been fluctuating between superiority and inferiority, with material standards to measure the progress being imposed by the West (Peteri 2010). Thus, the Western elements, including the English language, became desirable commodities for some groups in Polish society. English features in Polish as being from the West can also evoke those imaginings to some extent.

Moreover, the use of English features can be understood within the tradition vs. modernity or conservatism vs. innovation dichotomies. It is also embedded in a greater cultural debate that has been taking place in Polish society for a long period of time, where Polish nationalism highly influenced by the Romantic tradition (Janion 2004) has been contrasted with an urge to seek a new social and cultural form propagated by such 20th Century writers as Witold Gombrowicz (Gombrowicz 1986).

However, English features may also be indexical of being from abroad. As Poland has large diaspora communities in the UK, the USA and Australia, and members of those communities come into regular contact with Poles in Poland, code-switching and English-accented Polish have come to index being 'from abroad' meaning 'not really Polish' or 'foreign.' This view is mediated by large-scale communicative processes such as instances of parody in the Polish media, where Poles speaking English-accented Polish are made fun of. More generally, one of the attributes of a 'real' Pole in Poland is the ability to speak 'proper' or Standard Polish, which for many has been a symbol of national unity (Duszak 2002). Such reasoning has been propagated by standardization processes and Polish purists from the 16th Century onwards (Walczak 1995, Duszak 2002), although in general 'a backlash against former speaking habits and the official constraints that regulated them has been observed in recent years' (Duszak 2002: 217). Thus, in Polish society foreign elements become imbued with yet another meaning, that is to say, with that of being 'foreign' or 'different' in terms of one's Polishness defined on the basis of the place one comes from.

As can be seen from the discussion so far, English features have been imbued with particular, competing cultural values in Polish society. For all speakers, the linguistic value of the elements is at one level as they all see them as foreign elements in Polish.

However, further indexical meanings are assigned in various ways as the models of indexicality of the features are mediated by processes of socialization with the forms. They are also related to asymmetries of power and prestige present within the Polish-speaking community. As a result, competing valorizations coexist as members of each group see the normative facts as incorrect when interpreted by other groups. Since participants in this study were raised in Poland, they are familiar with at least some of the indexical properties of English features in Polish. However, as is shown in the next section, new models of indexicality of English features in Polish are also formed in the new context in Britain.

5.4.1 Indexicality in the new, transnational context

In this section, I examine how English features in Polish, which are tropic, i.e. symbolic of particular groups, in Polish society are reinscribed with new meanings in the UK. In the new transnational context, where the host society demands English, the language is perceived as a necessity for success. As a result, for some, the ability to speak English becomes a quality of successful migrants and a matter of personal ambition. This in turn may be projected onto English features in Polish as in Excerpt (2), where Ewa, a 25-year-old female Polish Pole, argues for English and English features in Polish as being indexical of success and integration into British society and at the same time a feature that differentiates between migrants:

(2) Ewa (P2, female)

maybe it's easier, that there are people who find English easy maybe that these people don't even notice that they switch, that they constantly switch between Polish and English […] and maybe these people are more integrated, among friends from Poland and maybe there's an element of jealousy among the Poles for whom this English isn't that easy, who maybe you know, there are people who I think, ok, their written English is perfect, but such communication, conversation in a pub is a problem, although sometimes on weekends, after five days of work, I don't want to think in English, I want to go for a beer and speak Polish with someone, so there are people who want to speak Polish and then someone comes and shows off their

English all the time, so maybe something like this, I think, I think there's an element of showing off because, ok, someone has, I don't know bad pronunciation in English and doesn't feel fluent in English, they won't be inserting English words now and then, or whole English phrases, it may happen occasionally, but someone who really switches Polish and English, I think it'll be a person who, who feels very comfortable with English, so maybe there's something in it, I don't know if it's an intentional or not willingness to show off

Ewa agrees that for her such behavior is 'uncool', but later on when she discusses various English features and the ability to speak English in general, she explicitly argues for them being an emblem of success in the community.

(3) Ewa (P2, female)

I think it's perceived rather negatively, I mean that it's for sure some indicator of success that many very different people came to England, some succeeded and some did not, some succeeded less, for someone who came here to study a sheer fact of having a job, like this isn't, ok cool that they have a job, but it's nothing you know, this isn't anything abnormal, but if you, so from such a person, you expect that they'll be able to communicate at work, but also have friends in the UK, a social life that doesn't focus on their relationship with Poland, so then, so like you understand fluency in English to be associated with this I think

English features in Polish may also become emblematic of one's education, an important factor to differentiate between members of the Polish transnational community. However, this varies for speakers with different sociocultural identities. For Polish Poles and In-betweens the ability to speak Standard Polish at all levels (grammatical, lexical, phonological) is perceived as indexical of being educated, which is exemplified in Excerpt (4) from the interview with Sylwia, an In-between speaker, discussing her friends' Polish and the fact that due to their level of education they want to speak any language properly.

(4) Sylwia (I2, female)

I don't think, I don't think, although I know that I'm usually among people who also like me try to speak in a normal way and somehow properly, I think that, yes in general because of such a level of education, I think these people want to speak properly any language and I think, yes, I think, yes, I think that's a level of education

By contrast, for Polish Cosmopolitans, the levels that index their education are confined to broadly defined grammar and lexicon. In (5), Maja, a Polish Cosmopolitan claims she

cares about Polish and lists certain socially stigmatized lexical items that she hates to justify her position. Later on, however, she acknowledges that she likes having an accent in her Polish as it allows her to feel from abroad (see (22) in Chapter 3 Section 3.2). This demonstrates how for Polish Cosmopolitans the phonetic level becomes a level to express oneself in a new way and no longer indexes level of education.

(5) Maja (C6, female)

I mean I value and would like to preserve such a purity of the Polish language uhm and somewhere till this day it shocks me when someone says *któryś raz z rzędu* ('in a row') I mean I'm sorry *pod rząd* ('in a row') or, or *w każdym bądź razie* ('anyway')[22], this irritates me

However, for Polish Poles, especially, this new way of speaking Polish with English phonetic features does not evoke positive associations. Daria, a 23-year-old In-between, reflects upon her friends who speak in new ways and provides a rationale for the situation. She explains why other Poles respond negatively to such linguistic practices, implying that it has to do with the fact that some groups interact with other Poles specifically to enact their national identity and to be Polish.

(6) Daria (I4, female)

for some, it [the accent]'s changed and when I think about them, these are rather people who are surrounded by the British because many Poles stick to the Polish environment and there's this tendency that if you find the Poles, then they are a group and do everything together, and then there are the people who go apart and rather have, I don't know, the British around them, then I see that this English, this Polish, I'm sorry, is deteriorating, so when I have friends who for example have British boyfriends or many British friends, then they insert more English words and even the accent is changing a bit, so yes, I have in fact noticed that […] maybe it's connected with fashion, being cool, it's hard to tell […] no, I think it isn't well perceived, there's this sentiment towards Poland and Polish especially in those quite closed groups, that one should cultivate and thus they're all friends, because they want to be Poles and want to be together, so when someone leaves this model, right? so then I think, they like it less, I think it's criticized more and or pretend or yes, pretend that one's someone else, I think there might be various theories being created

[22] These are stigmatized phrases considered incorrect and illogical by speakers of Standard Polish.

For Polish Poles and In-betweens, the down-to-earth vs. snobbish opposition from Polish society is projected onto the migrant community, where the new speaking styles and English features in Polish in the UK are often associated with being 'pretentious'. In (7), Sylwia, an In-between, reflects upon English-accented Polish, which in her opinion is a matter of 'bad taste' and 'being pretentious.' She also associates this with one's level of education.

(7) Sylwia (I2, female)
I think this is a bit bad taste, I don't know, that I'm in Poland and use some English words, I find this so pretentious […] because I don't think that after a few years accent or an ability to express oneself should drastically change especially that I don't think that most Poles, uhm that most Poles have a chance to use the language and it's not that they never speak Polish and have no chance to express themselves, so I'm always a bit surprised if this English, if this Polish deteriorates a lot after only a few years […] I think it's level of education

The qualities assigned to the speakers using new speaking styles can be even more negative as for some Polish Poles in my sample they have become typical of 'weird people' who are pretending to be someone whom they are not. This is again projected from Polish society through the process of fractal recursivity where English-accented Polish and English features can be associated with not being really Polish. However, as the speakers know that the new migrants were born and raised in Poland, there is yet another indexical order here, namely, that of being 'funny' and 'ridiculous' (understood pejoratively), whereas for foreign-born Poles it is partially justified not to be really Polish (according to this logic, the only real Poles were born and live in Poland). Excerpt (8) exemplifies such an attitude.

(8) Marek (P13, male)
but the friend was from Poland and I remember that it was so uncomfortable, there were only Poles in the room and she spoke English to us even when someone told her to speak Polish, she'd start speaking Polish and use English words and in general she spoke with a weird accent, so no one liked her, everybody said she was very weird […] there are people like that for sure, but I don't have maybe, that's why I don't have closer friends like this because these are such weird people

Some Polish Poles even explicitly talk about 'social ostracism', where those speaking in new ways are excluded from the community. Again, this mechanism is employed through fractal recursivity of the real vs. unreal dichotomy taken from Poland, where Poles living in Poland should speak Standard Polish and those speaking with a foreign accent are perceived as not really Polish and not from Poland, and by defining such speakers as 'funny' and 'weird.' In (9), from the interview with Adam, a 27-year-old speaker living in London, the tension between the two opposing groupings is clearly described. As Polish Poles perceive Polish Cosmopolitans as weird, they do not want to be friends with them. They also situate the tension within the West vs. East debate and those trying to speak in new ways are defined as those that strive for social elitism in Britain by neglecting their Polish heritage.

(9) Adam (P1, male)

I know people who tried to change their accent at all costs and became, quickly faced social ostracism, so when we meet, then, then we comment on Polish, no, I don't know anybody who, I won't theorize too much, yes *(in a joking manner)* they were stoned, no, I'm joking, of course, because some wanted to be more English than the English so then, then … it isn't that this antagonism's emerged among Poles, but generally it's such a funny phenomenon and both Poles and Brits see it, so, so some've changed that and some are no longer friends with us, I mean no, among our friends no one has such a situation, some do it, those who did that, as I said, we aren't in touch with such people, but I also think that for some, it's also an attempt to advance their social position, yes? nevertheless, English, England and the West for a small group of people are associated with elitism and they're trying to stress this which, which as I said is a bit fu, funny […] I had a friend who wants to be ... who settled in England, has a family here now and, and her husband is English and yes, and she tries at all costs, so to say, to separate herself from Polish culture and this is related to her negative experiences in Poland

As can be seen from the discussion so far, the two opposing groupings of sociocultural identity assign different cultural values to English features in Polish. Since Polish Poles orient themselves towards the Polish diaspora community and Poland and see the Polish language as an essential part of who they are, they care about their Polish and thus, perceive English features mostly negatively as being indexical of snobbism, elitism, lack

of education, being funny and unreal. For the members of the intermediate group, English features in one's Polish are still associated with being snobbish due to the fact that the ability to speak Standard Polish is indexical of being well-educated. In contrast to both groups, Polish Cosmopolitans see the English features mostly in positive terms as they bind their future to the English language and orient themselves towards the global economy rather than Poland. Thus, as they claim in the interviews, for them, English features in Polish can become indexical of a migrant's success and integration in British society, ambition, being global, modern and finally, as a way of expressing their new sociocultural positioning in the world.

5.4.2 Enregisterment of the linguistic variables

Polish Cosmopolitans' ways of speaking do not resemble stereotypically English-accented ways of speaking in Polish and thus, Polish Cosmopolitans appropriate only selected English elements into their Polish, which are now being enregistered as constitutive of the new speaking styles by some members of the community. In this section, I discuss sociocultural practices through which aspiration and intonation in particular are enregistered in existing literature and metalinguistic comments made by my participants.

5.4.2.1 Aspiration

The aspiration of plosives is identified as an English feature in Polish as spoken in Poland by Konert-Panek (2009), who lists aspirated stops as one of the segmental features that 'occur in the language of the young generation' and which 'resemble the phonetic system of English' (112). Konert-Panek claims that certain social and professional groups within Polish society may be more likely to implement those features 'due to their close contact with the English language' (2009: 114). She attributes the spread of English phonetic

features into Polish to the cultural closeness of languages in the contemporary world and international character of the English language. Moreover, Waniek-Klimczak (2011) argues that aspirated stops in Polish depend on the speaker's exposure to English and indicate proficiency in English. Conversely, lack of aspiration in stops in English has been studied in other contexts, where it was defined as a 'stigmatized dialect feature' with class, stylistic and ethnic characteristics (Labov 1966). In New York City, for instance, it is perceived as a feature of immigrant English of groups such as Poles (Labov 1966, Newlin-Łukowicz 2014). It may be that Polish speakers of English who are aware of those associations, which are often propagated by teachers of English in Poland, may be aware of the stigma and thus, make an effort to produce aspirated stops when speaking English.

In this study, some participants have identified aspirated stops as a typical feature of new speaking styles observed in UK Polish (refer to Introduction). (10) is an excerpt from a conversation with Zuzanna, where she reflects on the speaking style of one of the Polish Cosmopolitan speakers and lists stops as one of the features that undergoes change.

(10) Zuzanna[23] (female)

> my flat mate is a very good example, she's been here for nine, ten years and she speaks very bad Polish, she doesn't speak perfect English either, surprisingly, she has this accent a bit, I mean there are such certain, I don't know letters like l or t that sound different in English and she, when speaking Polish often pronounces the letters with like an English accent, she speaks poorly, for instance she translates things literally from English into Polish, my mom noticed that she speaks, she was terrified that the [the person's name] speaks such a bad Polish, but I don't know how this works because she's in touch with her family in Poland and I don't know, I don't know how that's happened, I mean she teaches at school

[23] This person does not have a serial number because the interview is not included in the main analysis.

5.4.2.2 Intonation

In general, intonation in Polish is understudied with no studies in contact situations. Thus, my other variable has not been described as a feature of English-accented Polish by linguists. Nevertheless, intonation was reported and reflected upon by many of my participants as a feature that is undergoing change. In (11), Barbara, a Polish Pole living in London, comments on her friend's changing intonation suggesting that it is a feature characteristic of the Polish spoken in the UK.

(11) Barbara (P6, female)
my friend has a totally as if she's changed her intonation […] this is a bit totally different, I don't know, because it's totally as if the fluency of the language is different […] but I've noticed that my friend that when she utters a sentence then … I don't know, totally differently from someone who's come straight from Poland or for example when someone comes from Poland who hasn't lived here than you can hear this and especially when they speak English you can hear their different intonation

Moreover, Polish Cosmopolitans identify their intonation as the main feature of their Polish that is undergoing change, as in (12) from the interview with Iza.

(12) Iza (C3, female)
my friends are telling me that my accent's changed, for example that I have such a singing accent

Maja, a 29-year-old Polish Cosmopolitan also reflects upon her intonation in (13):

(13) Maja (C6, female)
but precisely also different, intonation's of course changed, precisely in Polish, so often not even the accent, but this intonation and that my Polish is becoming somehow more melodic more than, because Polish is a very flat language, I mean such a, it doesn't have any melody in fact it only rustles, uhm so I think that, that this can be noticed by people

At the same time, the default Polish intonation pattern for declarative IPs, i.e. falling intonation, is used in different pragmatic contexts in English than it is used in Polish. As some participants noted that they used 'Polish intonation' in their English, they made conscious effort to change it, since falling intonation often did not allow them to achieve their interactional goals. As is demonstrated in (14), from the interview with Kaja, a

Polish Cosmopolitan who had lived in London for ten years, in her work at a British school her falling intonation in English was perceived as rude or demanding by her English pupils, which was not her intention. Thus, she consciously worked on her intonation in English in order to sound friendlier and more polite.

(14) Kaja (C4, female)

> I mean, have something, sometimes that when I hurry in English my accent, I mean my intonation … people may think that my English intonation, like they may not understand me properly, like my intentions […] yes, in English and this is in fact, I'm in trouble sometimes because of that, because some people at school, when I for example write something and say something quickly, they like think that I'm, that like I was making demands or something like this and I think that's no, oh God not at all did I want to say anything like this, God I didn't want to say that at all and they understood me that way and it's sometimes because if one's in a hurry, one doesn't notice that I mean, doesn't look at, in such a, how I intone my utterance sometimes, because intonation in Polish is different from English and I think that it's somehow mixed, I mean I have to sometimes even when [boyfriend's name] tells me that sometimes, that I say something to him and it seems to him that I'm, he gets it wrong I think that I've said it in a different way from what he understood and it's the same at work sometimes

As for her, like for other Polish Cosmopolitans, Polish has become a language of lesser importance, the feature might have spread to her Polish, which has at the same time allowed her to express her new sociocultural positioning. This together with other observations reported in this section demonstrates how the two phonetic features studied in the thesis are being recognized as part of the emerging speaking styles used by Polish Cosmopolitans.

5.5 Conclusions

The chapter shows that there is potential for interaction of English and Polish phonetic systems for both aspirated stops and fall-rise accents. In light of the discussed studies arguing for ideological character of language transfer of phonetic features and in light of various models of social indexicality of English features in Polish circulating in the community, it is likely that the three sociocultural identities will be represented in

different speaking styles and thus, in the participants' use of both variables. Therefore, I now turn to the examination of the actual data. In order to analyze whether and how the sociocultural identity is instantiated in interaction, in the next chapters of the thesis, I conduct a thorough examination of the features produced by speakers in the micro sociological context of the interview. First, aspirated stops are analyzed.

6 Aspiration of /p t k/ among Polish transnationals

In this chapter, I focus on the examination of aspiration of stops in my participants' speech in order to see how the observed sociocultural identities translate into their use of this segmental variable. By conducting mixed effects modeling analysis, I provide a fine-grained analysis of linguistic and sociocultural factors conditioning the use of aspirated stops across my speakers. It is demonstrated that the speaker's sociocultural positioning has an influence on the use of aspirated stops.

6.1 Data and methods

For this analysis, I identified and extracted all audible, good quality tokens of voiceless stops in up to an hour of a speaker's interview. During the fieldwork and data analysis, it was established that the variability in aspiration in the speech of some interviewees occurs in non-cluster syllable onset positions in the nucleus of the intonational phrase.

Example (1) from an interview with a Polish Pole (P9) illustrates the context for the variable in question as it presents an intonational phrase with a nuclear accent falling on the penultimate syllable of the last prosodic word of the phrase *BryTAnię*. The analyzed token is the dental stop /t/, which is the onset of the nuclear syllable **TA**, marked in bold capital letters.

(1) Maria(P9, female)

wymarzyłam	sobie	właśnie	Wielką Bry**TA**nię
dream-PAST-FEM-1SG	REF	precisely	Great Britain

I dreamt precisely of Great Britain.

After identifying and extracting all audible tokens of /p t k/ for each speaker, all words with the target tokens were labeled at word level on a separate tier in Elan. Table 6.1 demonstrates the distribution of tokens for 25 speakers (15 female, 10 male). As before,

the speakers are ordered according to their Polishness Index scores ranked in descending order from highest to lowest score.

Speaker	Gender	p	t	k	Total
P1	M	18	30	16	64
P2	F	42	49	24	115
P3	M	28	40	20	88
P4	M	48	42	30	120
P5	M	35	28	29	92
P6	F	28	29	24	81
P7	M	47	25	25	97
P8	M	31	35	25	91
P9	F	68	57	30	155
P10	M	33	44	9	86
P11	M	31	69	25	125
P13	M	25	26	15	66
P14	F	44	38	21	103
P15	M	37	37	24	98
P17	F	49	44	14	107
I1	F	26	37	16	79
I2	F	22	48	14	84
I3	F	42	50	17	109
I4	F	19	9	12	40
I5	F	58	39	34	131
C1	F	34	38	27	99
C3	F	25	25	25	75
C4	F	32	30	15	77
C6	F	33	34	25	92
C7	F	21	19	21	61
Total		876	922	537	2335

Table 6.1 Distribution of all stops for 25 speakers (N=2335).

The total number of all tokens is 2335 with 876 tokens of /p/, 922 tokens of /t/ and 537 tokens of /k/. The average number of tokens per speaker is 35 tokens of /p/, 37 tokens of /t/ and 21 tokens of /k/ per speaker. The number of tokens varies from speaker to speaker and from stop to stop due to differences in frequency of the stops in Polish as well as due to the differences in length of the samples. A preliminary analysis showed a lexical effect in the word *tak* 'yes' for all speakers, with the dental stop not being frequently aspirated, which may be due to the word's frequency in the Polish language as well as in this

particular setting, thus, it was excluded from the main analysis.

In order to analyze the aspiration acoustically, the interview transcripts were exported from Elan as text-grids to Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2014). Aspiration was established by means of two tasks. Firstly, I used the close listening technique and relied on my own auditory judgments marking the stops as aspirated or non-aspirated. The judgments were verified after a few months. In addition to the judgment task, which rests on the assumption of binary alternation, I measured absolute VOT values of all the tokens. Such an approach does not group linguistic phenomena into binary categories, but allows for a more detailed examination of the patterns observed in the sample. All VOT measurements were conducted manually in Praat. A second measurement was conducted after a few months which secured consistency of the data. Only clearly audible tokens were selected for analysis. VOT was measured from the onset of the stop burst to the first zero-crossing of the first periodic wave of the vowel following the stop. Figure 6.1 illustrates how the VOT of a token of /p/ in *Polka* 'a Pole' from the interview with speaker P9 was measured.

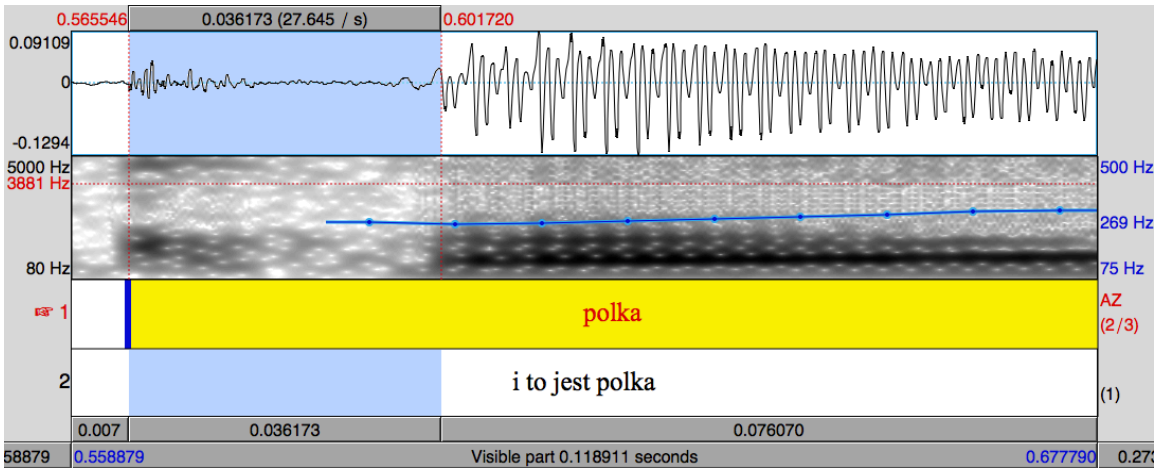


Figure 6.1 Measurement of VOT for a word-initial /p/ in Polka 'a Pole' uttered by speaker P9.

Separate analyses were conducted for each measurement. The data were analyzed in R (R Development Core Team 2009) using the R package nlme (Pinheiro and Bates 2015) for continuous dependent variable (VOT) and the R MASS package (Venables and Ripley 2002) for the results of the auditory task.

6.2 Variables

Each token was coded for one dependent variable, ten independent variables (4 – sociocultural, 6 – linguistic) and one random effect, all presented in Table 6.2 and discussed in more detail below.

		Variable	**Type**
Dependent		Aspiration	categorical with 2 levels: aspirated, non-aspirated
			continuous: VOT
Independent	**Linguistic**	Following vowel	categorical with 2 levels: high, low
		Preceding phonetic segment	categorical with 2 levels: voiced, voiceless
		Speech rate	continuous
		Number of syllables in a word	categorical with 3 levels: 1,2, more than 2
		Corpus word frequency	continuous
		Place of articulation	categorical with 3 levels: bilabial, dental, velar
	Sociocultural	Index	continuous
		Identity	categorical with 3 levels: Polish Pole, In-Between, Cosmopolitan
		Gender	categorical with 2 levels: Female, Male
		Number of years spent in the UK	continuous
Random effect[24]		Speaker individuation	

Table 6.2 Variables used in statistical analysis.

[24] Word was not included as a random effect as word frequency was used as one of the independent variables.

6.2.1 Dependent variable

The dependent variable is aspiration, measured in two ways. Results of the auditory judgment task are treated as a categorical dependent variable with two levels (aspirated, non-aspirated). Auditory judgment task was studied as perception of English stops relies on the phonological contrast between short and long VOT. Also, some speakers' metalinguistic comments might suggest that speakers perceive aspiration in categorical terms. Additionally, VOT measurements were treated as a continuous dependent variable. As the data were not normally distributed, log-transformed VOT measurements are used.

6.2.2 Independent variables

6.2.2.1 Extralinguistic variables

The tokens were coded for four extralinguistic variables. A random effect of speaker individuation was included for idiosyncratic variation. The speaker's sociocultural positioning is defined by means of two variables: the Polishness Index score and sociocultural identity. Each token could receive any integer between 0 and 9 for the Polishness Index (See Chapter 4 Section 4.1.1). The index is treated as a continuous variable in all statistical models. Each token was also separately coded for sociocultural identity, determined in the way described in Chapter 4. Sociocultural identity constitutes a categorical independent variable with three levels: Polish Pole, In-between, Cosmopolitan. Speakers were also coded for a categorical variable of gender (two levels: female, male). Finally, tokens were also coded for the number of years the speaker had spent in the British Isles, established on the basis of the interview data. Each speaker could receive any number ending either in 0.0 or 0.5. The number of years in the sample ranged from 3.5 to 10 years. In the statistical analysis, it is treated as a continuous variable.

6.2.2.2 Following vowel

A tendency for the vowel following a voiceless stop to influence its VOT has been reported in a number of projects, although initial observations from Lisker and Abramson (1967) suggested that vocalic environment did not influence the VOT. This trend was first confirmed for English when Klatt (1975) observed that the VOT values of voiceless plosives were longer before high vowels than before /ai/ and /ɛ/. Ohala's (1975) study of English, Japanese and Russian confirmed this claim. Summerfield (1975) demonstrated that /ki/ and /ka/ significantly differed on average by less than 10ms, but Ohala (1981) reported greater differences: in his study, the mean VOT for English /pi/ was 85ms, while for /pa/ it was 40ms. It is now claimed that the trend for vowel height to affect the VOT of preceding stop is a crosslinguistic universal (Maddieson 1997). It was also reported for Polish. Waniek-Klimczak (2011), who studied aspiration in the speech of monolingual Polish speakers and bilingual Polish-English speakers in Poland, demonstrated that VOT is usually longer before high vowels than before non-high vowels in Polish.[25] Additionally, vowel tenseness has been observed to have an influence on VOT: Weismer (1979) showed that VOT is longer before tense vowels than before the lax ones (a difference of less than 10ms), a claim that was confirmed by Port and Rotunno (1979). However, as Polish has regular phonemic length distinctions in vowels, vowel length and tenseness are not considered in this study. The influence of the following vowel on VOT is analyzed only in terms of its height. Following Jassem (2003), I differentiate between six vowels / i ɨ e a o u / in Polish. Thus, each following vowel was first coded separately, e.g. in the word *Polska* 'Poland' the following vowel is /o/, then with two levels of a categorical variable: high (i ɨ u) or low (e a o) (thus the vowel in *Polska* is "low").

[25] This is the only study that looked at the relationship between VOT and the following vowel in Polish.

6.2.2.3 Preceding Segment

Preceding segment has also been observed to affect the VOT. Perception studies of the English VOT continuum (Repp and Lin 1989, 1990) showed that the phonetic voicing status of the preceding segment influences perception of the stop as voiced or voiceless. For example, in the study of *pin-bin* continuum, a clear shift towards *pin* was observed when tokens were preceded by *this*, not when preceded by *the.* No observations about the relationship between the preceding phonetic segment and the VOT in Polish have been reported. However, all my tokens were also coded for the specific phonetic segment preceding the stop and then as a categorical variable with two levels (voiced, voiceless). As pauses were extremely rare, all tokens preceded by pauses were excluded from the main analysis.

6.2.2.4 Speech Rate

A number of production and perception studies have found a correlation between English VOT and speech rate (Kessinger and Blumstein 1998; Miller et al. 1989; Volaitis and Miller 1992). From a perceptual perspective, Summerfield (1981) showed that manipulation of speaking rate of a precursor phrase in English affects the perceptual boundary on VOT continuum: the slower the rate, the more responses in voiced category. Production studies also corroborate the trend. Allen et al. (2003) found that 82% of the total variability in their sample of tokens of 18 monosyllabic English words beginning with voiceless stops produced was due to speech rate. Also, Yao (2007) confirms that speech rate has a significant effect on the release duration in the spontaneous speech of American English speakers from the Buckeye corpus. However, Midtlyng (2011) claims that'[o]n the production side, the effect of speech rate on VOT is not equal for all voicing contrasts' (Midtlyng 2011: 106). Thus, it is not a universal feature found in all languages.

In studies on the Polish VOT, no correlations between VOT and speech rate have been reported so far. Nevertheless, since the projects on English and other languages (e.g. Icelandic – Pind 1995) have shown that speech rate can have an influence on VOT, and since Nagy and Kochetov (2013) argue that this might be the case in a bilingual setting of heritage languages (Ukrainian, Russian, Italian) in Toronto, I decided to test it as an independent variable. Each speaker's speech rate was established in Praat. Following Yao (2007), the global speech rate, measured in number of syllables per second, was used. In order to count speech rate, only the audio-files belonging to the speaker's tier were analyzed (established by means of two Praat scripts: Lennes (2002) and Ryan (2005)). The Jong and Wempe (2008) script was then run to calculate the speech rate. In the sample, the global speech rate ranged from 3.2 to 5.4 syllables per second.

6.2.2.5 Number of syllables in a word

As Lisker and Abramson (1967) demonstrate, there may be a relationship between VOT and the number of syllables following the main sentence stress. Additionally, in all sentences of their recorded set there was a significant difference between word-initial /k/ in sentence-final positions (mean: 59ms), i.e. where the main sentence stress occurred, and other positions. A relation between the number of syllables and VOT has been reported in a few other projects; however, they were laboratory experiments focusing on word-stress rather than sentence stress (e.g. Klatt 1975). In the case of Polish, Waniek-Klimczak (2011) studied VOTs of voiceless stops in main sentence stress positions (either in carrier sentences or in emphatic contexts in humorous dialogues) and reported a correlation between the number of syllables and VOT. For most disyllabic words in her sample, VOT was shorter than for monosyllabic words. In the light of these observations, I coded all tokens for number of syllables. Number of syllables was treated as a categorical variable with three levels: 1, 2, more than 2.

6.2.2.6 Corpus word frequency

As most studies on VOT both in English and Polish come from laboratory experiments, information about the relation between the word frequency and VOT in natural speech is scarce. However, Fosler-Lussier and Morgan (1999) demonstrated that there is a relation between frequency and VOT. Also, in his study of spontaneous American English speech, Yao (2007) did find an effect of word frequency, measured as 'the number of tokens of that word divided by the total number of target cases (i.e. tokens) of the same speaker' (Yao 2007: 217-218). Following Yao (2007): '[i]f some words occur extremely often, it is possible that they become the target of changes in production, for instance, acceleration, phone reduction and coarticulation. Therefore if the frequency variable is shown to have an effect on duration values like closure and release in stops, it can be a sign of the presence of these processes' (Yao 2007: 218). No data on the relation between word frequency and VOT in Polish are available. However, in the light of the arguments made above and my own observations (e.g. lexical effect of *tak* 'yes'), all tokens were also coded for word frequency. Existing corpora for Polish are mainly based on written texts with a few very small projects conducted on spoken Polish. Due to these limitations, I decided to focus on local word frequency, in line with Yao (2007). Word-frequency was established in AntConc (Anthony 2015), which allows checking word frequencies for word lists (here: lists of words with the aspirated tokens). Word-frequency is equal to the number of occurrences of a token divided by the total number of tokens in all interviews. This measurement provides a raw estimate of corpus word frequency with no lemma lists included. The frequencies obtained this way were subsequently log-transformed in R as they were not normally distributed. In all models, word-frequency constitutes a continuous variable.

6.2.2.7 Place of articulation

Crosslinguistically, VOT is influenced by place of articulation: the further back the place of articulation, the longer the VOT (Maddieson 1997). Thus, velar stops tend to have longer VOT values than other stops although the results of Peterson and Lehiste's (1960) analysis of fronted and /k/ allophones contradicts this prediction. Here, I follow Maddieson (1997) and include place of articulation as a categorical independent variable with three levels: bilabial, dental, velar.

6.3 Gender differences

First, gender differences are described for Polish Poles. Then, sociocultural positioning for female speakers is analyzed. Separate subsections for analyses with categorical and continuous dependent variables are included.

6.3.1 Gender and the categorical dependent variable

As shown in Chapter 4, sociocultural identities are not equally distributed for male speakers in my sample. Thus, only one category of speakers is compared here in terms of gender – Polish Poles. In this section, I present results of mixed-effects models with a categorical dependent variable (aspirated, non-aspirated). A total of 1488 stop tokens are examined with 564 tokens of /p/, 593 tokens of /t/ and 331 tokens of /k/. As can be seen in Table 6.3, Polish Poles have between 5% and 31% of tokens classified as aspirated in the auditory judgment task.

Speaker	Gender	Aspirated (N)	% Aspirated	Non-Aspirated (N)	% Non-Aspirated	Total
P1	M	9	14%	55	86%	64
P2	F	13	11%	102	89%	115
P3	M	19	22%	69	78%	88
P4	M	24	20%	96	80%	120

Speaker	Gender	Aspirated (N)	% Aspirated	Non-Aspirated (N)	% Non-Aspirated	Total
P5	M	8	9%	84	91%	92
P6	F	24	30%	57	70%	81
P7	M	14	14%	83	86%	97
P8	M	8	9%	83	91%	91
P9	F	27	17%	128	83%	155
P10	M	22	26%	64	74%	86
P11	M	27	22%	98	78%	125
P13	M	14	21%	52	79%	66
P14	F	15	15%	88	85%	103
P15	M	5	5%	93	95%	98
P16	F	33	31%	74	69%	107

Table 6.3 Aspirated and non-aspirated stops for 15 Polish Poles (N=1488).

6.3.1.1 Linguistic constraints

First, linguistic constraints together with any linguistic interactions are discussed. In the model for all stops, the significant fixed effects are: number of syllables in a word and corpus word frequency. Following vowel, preceding phonetic segment, speech rate, place of articulation or any interactions are non-significant. Table 6.4 demonstrates the results (in the thesis, only significant interactions are presented).

Variable	Value	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	-0.28	1.68	1461	-0.17	0.8687
VowelLow	-0.64	0.43	1461	-1.48	0.1387
PrecedingSegmentVoicelessObstruent	-1.06	0.87	1461	-1.22	0.2244
SpeechRate	-0.33	0.28	11	-1.19	0.2586
SyllablesInAword2	-0.57	0.27	1461	-2.09	0.0364*
SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.90	0.30	1461	-3.04	0.0024**
CorpusFrequency	-0.09	0.04	1461	-2.30	0.0216*
PlaceOfArticulationDental	0.85	0.45	1461	1.88	0.0606
PlaceOfArticulationVelar	0.44	0.58	1461	0.76	0.4496

Table 6.4 Linguistic fixed effects for model with gender and binary dependent variable for all stops (N=1488).

As shown in Table 6.4, stops in monosyllabic words are aspirated more often than stops in both disyllabic (p=.0364) and polysyllabic words (p=.0024), which is in line with

Lisker and Abramson (1967). Stops in more frequent words in all interviews are less often aspirated, which like Yao (2007) shows that word frequency has a significant effect on aspiration (p=.0216).

6.3.1.2 Sociocultural constraints

In this model, neither gender nor length of stay in the UK is significant. Table 6.5 demonstrates the results. Additional three models, for each stop treated separately, confirm that gender is not significant.

Variable	Value	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	-0.28	1.68	1461	-0.17	0.8687
GenderM	-0.16	0.32	11	-0.50	0.6295
YearsUK	0.08	0.12	11	0.72	0.4837

Table 6.5 Results for sociocultural fixed effects for model with the categorical dependent variable and gender for all stops (N=1488).

6.3.2 Gender and VOT as a continuous dependent variable

In this subsection, gender differences are examined in relation to the continuous dependent variable. Table 6.6 shows that for Polish Poles, mean VOT for all stops per speaker is in the range between 26 to 38ms.

Speaker	Gender	Mean	St.Dev	Number of Tokens
P1	M	32	15	64
P2	F	29	13	115
P3	M	34	21	88
P4	M	32	13	120
P5	M	30	16	92
P6	F	38	14	81
P7	M	27	13	97
P8	M	28	11	91
P9	F	31	14	155
P10	M	34	15	86
P11	M	34	13	125
P13	M	34	14	66

Speaker	Gender	Mean	St.Dev	Number of Tokens
P14	F	30	14	103
P15	M	26	9	98
P16	F	30	17	107

Table 6.6 Mean VOT (ms), standard deviations and number of all stops for 15 Polish Poles (N=1488).

6.3.2.1 Linguistic constraints

In the mixed-effects model with VOT as a continuous variable, three linguistic fixed effects and all interactions turned out to be non-significant: following vowel, preceding segment and speech rate. Factors that were significant in this model are: number of syllables in a word, place of articulation and corpus frequency.

Variable	Value	Detransformed VOT	Std. Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	3.43	31	0.37	1461	9.36	0.0000
VowelLow	-0.17	26	0.09	1461	-1.94	0.0526
PrSegVoicelessObstruent	-0.08	29	0.15	1461	-0.54	0.5861
SpeechRate	-0.07	29	0.06	11	-1.06	0.3116
SyllablesInAword2	-0.16	26	0.05	1461	-2.99	0.0028**
SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.22	25	0.06	1461	-3.86	0.0001***
CorpusFrequency	-0.03	30	0.01	1461	-3.64	0.0003***
PlaceOfArticulationDental	0.32	43	0.10	1461	3.39	0.0007***
PlaceOfArticulationVelar	0.52	52	0.12	1461	4.20	0.0000***

Table 6.7 Results for linguistic fixed effects for model with VOT and gender for all stops (N=1488).

As can be seen in Table 6.7, number of syllables in a word has a highly significant effect on VOT: monosyllabic words have the longest VOT values, disyllabic ones come second and polysyllabic words have the shortest VOT, which supports findings observed elsewhere (Lisker and Abramson 1967). Corpus word frequency has a highly significant effect on VOT with more frequent words having slightly shorter VOT ($p<0.001$). Finally, VOT is longer the further back the place of articulation (highly significant for both dental and velar stops: $p<.001$), which is in line with Maddieson (1997).

6.3.2.2 Sociocultural constraints

Gender is not significant in the model for all stops. Neither is the number of years spent in the UK. I further explored the relationship between VOT and gender by looking at each stop separately: all models corroborated the observation with gender being non-significant. The results for the model with VOT as a continuous dependent variable are presented in Table 6.8.

Variable	Value	Detransformed VOT	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	3.43	31	0.37	1461	9.36	0.0000
GenderM	0.00	31	0.07	11	-0.03	0.9740
YearsUK	0.01	31	0.03	11	0.40	0.6993

Table 6.8 Results for sociocultural fixed effects for model with VOT and gender for all stops (N=1488).

This is the only sociocultural group where there is a comparable number of male and female speakers. There is no evidence of a significant gender difference in aspiration, however it is measured.

6.4 Sociocultural differences

6.4.1 Sociocultural positioning and a categorical dependent variable

Due to unequal distribution of the observed sociocultural identities for the two genders, sociocultural positioning is examined only for female speakers. The analysis is based on 1408 tokens of stops with 543 tokens of /p/, 546 tokens of /t/ and 319 tokens of /k/. As presented in Table 6.9, Polish Cosmopolitans have between 52% and 67% of all stops classified as aspirated in the auditory judgment task, In-betweens have between 11% and 37%, while for Polish Poles the range is between 11% and 31%.

Speaker	Aspirated (N)	% Aspirated	Non-aspirated (N)	% Non-aspirated	Total
P2	13	11%	102	89%	115
P6	24	30%	57	70%	81
P9	27	17%	128	83%	155
P14	15	15%	88	85%	103
P16	33	31%	74	69%	107
I1	22	28%	57	72%	79
I2	12	14%	72	86%	84
I3	12	11%	97	89%	109
I4	10	25%	30	75%	40
I5	49	37%	82	63%	131
C1	65	66%	34	34%	99
C3	50	67%	25	33%	75
C4	40	52%	37	48%	77
C6	51	55%	41	45%	92
C7	36	59%	25	41%	61

Table 6.9 Aspirated and non-aspirated stops for fifteen female speakers (N=1408).

In order not to confound variables, I conduct separate mixed effects models for index and identity to see whether there is a difference between the sociocultural categories established on the basis of fieldwork and qualitative analysis of the contents of the interviews and a tool (the Polishness Index) based on self-reported practices alone. The remaining variables are the same for the two models (1 dependent variable - aspiration, 1 random effect – Speaker, 7 independent variables – number of years spent in the UK, following vowel, preceding phonetic segment, speech rate, number of syllables in a word, corpus word frequency, place of articulation). All models are tested for all possible interactions (only the significant ones are reported). In this section, the results for the dependent variable are discussed.

6.4.1.1 Linguistic Constraints

In both models of categorical alternation in all stops, following vowel, number of syllables and an interaction between following vowel and place of articulation (only for

velar stops) are significant. Other variables and interactions are not significant neither for the model with the Polishness Index, nor for the one with Identity.

Model	Variable	Value	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Index	Intercept	1.99	1.54	1381	1.40	0.1622
	VowelLow	-1.24	0.29	1381	-4.35	0.0001***
	PrecedingSegmentVoicelessObstruent	-0.48	0.65	1381	-0.73	0.4653
	SpeechRate	0.09	0.27	11	0.33	0.7461
	SyllablesInAword2	-0.56	0.27	1381	-2.05	0.0407*
	SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.79	0.29	1381	-2.69	0.0072**
	CorpusFrequency	-0.03	0.04	1381	-0.73	0.4637
	PlaceOfArticulationDental	-0.08	0.28	1381	-0.30	0.7657
	PlaceOfArticulationVelar	-0.28	0.40	1381	-0.70	0.4850
	VowelLow:PlaceOfArticulationDental	-0.39	0.37	1381	-1.06	0.2886
	VowelLow:PlaceOfArticulationVelar	1.08	0.45	1381	2.42	0.0155*
Identity	Intercept	1.69	1.38	1377	1.23	0.2195
	VowelLow	-1.36	0.30	1377	-4.51	0.0000***
	PrecedingSegmentVoicelessObstruent	-0.46	0.65	1377	-0.70	0.4841
	SpeechRate	0.15	0.26	10	0.58	0.5715
	SyllablesInAword2	-0.52	0.28	1377	-1.87	0.0611
	SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.74	0.30	1377	-2.52	0.0120*
	CorpusFrequency	-0.02	0.04	1377	-0.50	0.6147
	PlaceOfArticulationDental	-0.43	0.39	1377	-1.09	0.2743
	PlaceOfArticulationVelar	-0.81	0.51	1377	-1.57	0.1160
	Vowellow:PlaceOfArticulationDental	-0.25	0.38	1377	-0.66	0.5066
	Vowellow:PlaceOfArticulationVelar	1.31	0.46	1377	2.82	0.0048**

Table 6.10 Linguistic results for the categorical dependent variable for all stops (N=1408), for Index and Identity.

Both models show that stops are more often classified as aspirated before high vowels rather than before low vowels and that stops in monosyllabic words are classified as aspirated more often than in polysyllabic words, which supports Lisker and Abramson (1967). The interaction between following vowel and place of articulation is significant for velar stops suggesting that velar stops followed by low vowels are more often aspirated than bilabial stops before high vowels.

6.4.1.2 Sociocultural constraints

In both models with the categorical dependent variable, sociocultural positioning is highly significant. In contrast, in both, the number of years spent in the UK is not significant. Only for velar stops, the interaction between sociocultural identity and place of articulation is significant.

Model	Variable	Value	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Index	Intercept	1.99	1.46	1381	1.36	0.1737
	Index	-0.29	0.05	11	-6.09	0.0001***
	YearsUK	-0.07	0.07	11	-1.09	0.2980
Identity	Intercept	1.69	1.38	1377	1.23	0.2195
	IdentityIn-between	-1.86	0.38	10	-4.92	0.0006***
	IdentityPolish Pole	-2.36	0.38	10	-6.13	0.0001***
	YearsUK	-0.05	0.06	10	-0.76	0.4633
	IdentityIn-between:PlArticulationDental	0.17	0.38	1377	0.46	0.6462
	IdentityPolish Pole:PlArticulationDental	0.55	0.37	1377	1.51	0.1323
	IdentityIn-between:PlArticulationVelar	0.29	0.41	1377	0.70	0.4823
	IdentityPolish Pole:PlArticulationVelar	0.79	0.40	1377	1.96	0.0499*

Table 6.11 Results for sociocultural fixed effects for model with the categorical dependent variable and gender for all stops (N=1408).

Aspirated stops occur more often for speakers with lower Polishness Index scores, which is in line with the assumptions of the index. This is also observed when separate models are conducted for each stop as the Polishness index remains significant in all models. In the model with identity, sociocultural identity has a highly significant effect. As in the model Polish Cosmopolitans are treated as a default category, it can be seen that they most often have aspirated stops. In-betweens come second ($p<.001$), while Polish Poles have least often aspirated stops ($p<.001$). This is consistent with the observations from

the fieldwork, where Polish Cosmopolitans are the ones aspirating their stops the most. An interaction between sociocultural identity and place of articulation is not significant in most cases. It is only just significant for In-Betweens and velar stops, showing that Polish Poles have more aspirated velar stops than Cosmopolitan speakers. When further investigated in models with each stop treated separately, sociocultural identity is always significant with Polish Cosmopolitans being first, In-Betweens second and Polish Poles last, which is in line with the trend observed in the model with all stops. The two models with sociocultural positioning show that it has an effect on variation. However, the differences between speakers are greater when identity is examined.

6.4.2 Sociocultural positioning and VOT

When the dependent variable is continuous VOT, the results are similar. Table 6.12 shows that Polish Cosmopolitans have the longest mean VOT values (35-47ms). For In-betweens, the range is between 31 and 36ms, while for Polish Poles, it is between 29 and 38ms.

Speaker	Mean VOT (ms)	Standard deviation	Number of tokens
P2	29	13	115
P6	38	14	81
P9	31	14	155
P14	30	14	103
P16	30	17	107
I1	36	13	79
I2	31	16	84
I3	33	11	109
I4	33	14	40
I5	36	17	131
C1	45	18	99
C3	47	16	75
C4	35	11	77
C6	42	16	92
C7	46	17	61

Table 6.12 Mean VOT(ms), standard deviations and number of all stops for fifteen female speakers (N=1408).

6.4.2.1 Linguistic constraints

In both models, following vowel, number of syllables in a word and place of articulation are significant. In the model with the Polishness Index, word frequency is also significant. All other variables and interactions are not significant.

Model	Variable	Value	Detransformed VOT	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Index	Intercept	4.12	62	0.26	1383	16.05	0.0000
	VowelLow	-0.21	50	0.03	1383	-8.00	0.0000***
	PrSegVoicelessObstruent	-0.06	57	0.10	1383	-0.64	0.5237
	SpeechRate	-0.08	59	0.05	11	-1.58	0.1420
	SyllablesInAword2	-0.09	56	0.04	1383	-2.15	0.0315*
	SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.16	53	0.05	1383	-3.29	0.0010***
	CorpusFrequency	-0.01	61	0.01	1383	-2.51	0.0121**
	PlaceOfArticulationDental	0.11	69	0.03	1383	3.97	0.0001***
	PlaceOfArticulationVelar	0.54	106	0.03	1383	17.41	0.0000***
Identity	Intercept	4.15	64	0.24	1377	17.08	0.0000
	VowelLow	-0.26	49	0.05	1377	-5.09	0.0000***
	PrSegVoicelessObstruent	-0.07	59	0.10	1377	-0.72	0.4732
	SpeechRate	-0.06	60	0.04	10	-1.37	0.2017
	SyllablesInAword2	-0.07	59	0.05	1377	-1.55	0.1219
	SyllablesInAwordMore	-0.14	55	0.05	1377	-2.81	0.0051**
	CorpusFrequency	-0.01	63	0.01	1377	-1.92	0.0553
	PlaceOfArticulationDental	-0.06	60	0.06	1377	-0.98	0.3280
	PlaceOfArticulationVelar	0.28	84	0.09	1377	3.16	0.0016**

Table 6.13 Results for linguistic fixed effects for model with the continuous dependent variable and sociocultural positioning for all stops (N=1408).

Both models support the claim that the following vowel has a highly significant effect on VOT with longer VOT values before high vowels. When significant, the effect of number of syllables in a word is consistent with Lisker and Abramson (1967) showing that monosyllabic words have stops with longer VOTs than the disyllabic and polysyllabic

ones. Finally, in the model with the Polishness Index, place of articulation has an only just significant effect for dental and highly significant effect for velar stops. For sociocultural identity, the effect is significant only for velar stops. In both models VOT values are longer with a further place of articulation.

6.4.2.2 Sociocultural constraints

Similarly to models with the categorical dependent variable, sociocultural positioning is highly significant in both models with VOT. Again, the number of years spent in the UK is not significant in any of the models. Additionally, the interaction between identity and place of articulation is significant for Polish Poles.

Model	Variable	Value	Detranformed VOT	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Index	Intercept	4.12	62	0.26	1383	16.05	0.0000
	Index	-0.04	59	0.01	11	-5.19	0.0003***
	YearsUK	-0.01	61	0.01	11	-1.20	0.2561
Identity	Intercept	4.15	64	0.24	1377	17.08	0.0000
	IdentityIn-between	-0.27	49	0.07	10	-4.10	0.0021**
	IdentityPolish Pole	-0.50	39	0.07	10	-7.72	0.0000***
	YearsUK	-0.01	63	0.01	10	-1.15	0.2780
	In-between:Dental	0.07	68	0.06	1377	1.17	0.2409
	Polish Pole: Dental	0.33	88	0.06	1377	5.70	0.0000***
	In-between:Velar	0.13	72	0.07	1377	1.79	0.0744
	Polish Pole:Velar	0.26	83	0.07	1377	3.82	0.0001***

Table 6.14 Results for sociocultural fixed effects for model with the continuous dependent variable and sociocultural positioning for all stops (N=1408).

For the model with the Polishness Index, there is an inverse correlation between the Polishness Index and VOT: as predicted, individuals with higher Polishness index scores have slightly shorter VOT values. When detransformed VOT values are considered, the trend is minor: a decrease from 64 to 62ms. Again, this is supported by models treating each stop separately. As shown in Table 6.14, where Polish Cosmopolitans are treated as

a default category, the model with sociocultural identity shows that Polish Cosmopolitans have the longest VOT values, In-betweens come second (p=.0021), while Polish Poles (p<.001) have the shortest VOT. Here, when detransformed VOT values are taken into account, the differences between the groups are much greater: from 64ms for Polish Cosmopolitans through 49ms for In-betweens to 39ms for Polish Poles. The interaction between sociocultural identity and place of articulation is significant for Polish Poles suggesting that they have longer VOT values for both dental and velar stops than those reported for Cosmopolitan speakers' bilabial stops. When stops are examined separately, sociocultural identity is always significant and Polish Cosmopolitans' VOT values are the longest. For bilabial and velar stops, the models show that the trend is the same: Polish Cosmopolitans come first, In-Betweens are second, and Polish Poles have the shortest VOT values; for dental stops, Cosmopolitan speakers still have the longest VOT values, but Polish Poles come before In-Betweens.

6.5 Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, I investigated how one variable, aspiration of voiceless stops in non-cluster syllable-onset position in the nuclei of intonation phrases in Polish, participates in the construction of new identities of young Polish adults. A number of statistical tests were conducted in order to investigate how selected linguistic and sociocultural effects condition the participants' use of aspirated stops. For models with aspiration, established both acoustically and auditorily, the analysis shows that when significant, linguistic fixed effects have an influence on variation, but the speaker's sociocultural positioning is the key reason for differences between informants.

Mixed-effects models for both categorical and continuous dependent variables demonstrate that linguistic context has an effect on aspiration. However, there is no

consistency in terms of significance of linguistic independent variables for all models. Only the number of syllables in a word is consistently significant, corroborating claims made elsewhere that stops are more often aspirated/have longer VOT values in monosyllabic words than in polysyllabic ones. Other fixed effects that were found to be significant in some models, following vowel, word frequency and place of articulation, also square previously reported findings. Two linguistic fixed effects were never significant: speech rate and preceding phonetic segment.

Most importantly, however, the statistical analysis shows that the use of aspirated stops is ideologically mediated as sociocultural positioning, no matter how measured, is always highly significant ($p \approx 0$). In the analysis, two units representing speaker's sociocultural affiliation were treated separately in order to see whether the two differ in terms of explaining the meaning of variation under study. All models (with both continuous and categorical dependent variables) indicate that Polish Poles and Polish Cosmopolitans differ in terms of aspirated stops.

For tests with a continuous measure based on speaker's self-reported practices (the Polishness Index), a minor tendency for speakers with higher scores to have both shorter VOT values and fewer stops classified as aspirated in the auditory judgment task was observed. For tests with a qualitatively determined categorization of sociocultural identity, Polish Poles and In-betweens were also found to have shorter VOT values/ have fewer stops classified as aspirated than Polish Cosmopolitans. The two measurements differ, however, in terms of the level of detail they provide. Models with the Polishness Index indicate a minor trend, while those with sociocultural identity point to much greater differences between members of the three groups. In both models with sociocultural identity, the speakers can be put in a continuum from the longest to the shortest VOT

values (or most aspirated to least aspirated) in the following way: Polish Cosmopolitans> In-betweens> Polish Poles.

The differences in the use of aspirated stops are not related to other sociocultural factors. Crucially, length of stay in the UK is not significant in any of the models, suggesting that longer exposure to English does not determine transfer from English. The use of English features is rather dependent on the ideology guiding the speaker's behavior, which also influences their contact with the two languages. The discrepancy in the use of aspirated stops is also not inflected by gender as gender was never a significant fixed effect (although it has to be borne in mind that it was studied only for one sociocultural identity and no firm statements for other categories can be made).

The three identities that emerged in the course of the fieldwork are confirmed in the linguistic analysis presented in this chapter as Polish Cosmopolitans make the greatest use of aspirated stops. An analysis of one linguistic device, aspiration of voiceless stops, shows how the three identities are interactionally accomplished in the context of the narrative of one's ethnic experience in the UK. A further examination of the variation in relation to particular topics discussed in the interview is now carried out. The analysis shows that aspirated stops are part of the stylistic production of social differentiation, where a feature that is tropic in Polish society, i.e. defined as a feature of English-accented Polish that can take up a variety of meanings discussed in Chapter 5 Section 5.4, is used in a new way and reinscribed with new meanings in the British context, which in turn allows Polish Cosmopolitans to construct their personae when providing a narrative of the self. Thus, the use of aspirated stops is located within a layered community, where some of its members make use of this particular tool, while others do not. As aspirated stops are just one stylistic device used for self-construction among Polish Cosmopolitans,

I now proceed to the analysis of the other feature observed during the fieldwork, that is, the use of falling-rising intonation patterns.

7 Intonation in the transnational language contact situation

Self-construction is also manifested at the suprasegmental level as Polish Cosmopolitans are observed to make use of a new intonational device in declarative intonational phrases in narratives, that is the fall-rise, with increased frequency and a new function. The variability in the use of intonation patterns across young Polish adults has to do with maintaining conversation involvement (Goffman 1983). Polish Poles, In-betweens and Polish Cosmopolitans organize their talk differently with Polish Cosmopolitans more frequently signaling continuation of talk with the fall-rise and cuing turn completion with the fall, and other groups relying mainly on Standard Polish norms to hold the floor such as the unfolding of the propositional content or use of fillers. In this chapter, I analyze how the three identities differ in the ways they organize talk in conversation, how the new device is incorporated into Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking styles by the interlocutors mutually calibrating their stances and role alignments during the interview and how this also serves as a tool for stylistic production indicative of one's sociocultural positioning.

7.1 Comparison of Polish and English declaratives

7.1.1 Intonation

In this thesis, intonation is seen as an identity-construction phenomenon. In the chapter, I investigate how this is linked to its conversational function. The analysis indicates that intonation is a contextualization cue, which guides conversational management, sequencing and framing, and is a subset of contextualization conventions (Gumperz and Berenz 1993). It has a contextualizing function which consists in cueing 'conversational interpretation by evoking interpretative schemata or frames' (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996: 13) and similarly to other contextualization cues, it is 'linked up to functions which

derive from the situated use of language to accomplish interactional goals' (21). Intonation is not seen here as referential, but indexical (Silverstein 2003) in nature.

In this chapter, the use and meaning of an existing, but rare Polish intonation pattern used by Polish Cosmopolitans, the fall-rise, is investigated first by looking at the raw distribution of all patterns for all speakers in order to demonstrate trends for all groups. Then, I focus on the use of intonation patterns in nuclear accents of the intonational phrase to show how speakers establish alignment in interaction and maintain the floor in conversation. I provide a sequential analysis of 'local moves and countermoves that constitute' the speech exchanges studied (Gumperz and Berenz 1993: 95). In the analysis, I aim at 'the reconstruction of patterns as cognitively and interactionally relevant categories which real-life interactants can be shown to orient to' (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1993: 48). By doing that, I follow interactional prosody studies whose goal is to reconstruct the 'interactional text' which is 'laid down in realtime discursive interaction' (Silverstein 1992: 58) and which is 'shaped by inferences from many co-textual cues and therefore differs significantly from the effects of any particular one' (Agha 2007: 25).

However, the approach taken in this thesis is not that of pure Conversation Analysis since the examined interactional texts are situated within a broader context of the study. Instead, following Agha, I argue that 'conversation analysis can be subsumed within a richer semiotic theory of interaction, one which pays more careful attention to both the grammatical and text-metrical patterns that constitute the orderliness of linguistically mediated social interaction; and, at the same time, brings together the analysis of linguistic and non-linguistic semiosis within a unified account of multi-channel sign-configurations' (2007: 393). In order to understand the role of the new intonational device in the studied interactional texts and how it helps establish positionalities, stances and

alignments in interaction, I look at how talk is locally managed in the context of the interview and how interlocutors react to the interactional text they encounter. Although I acknowledge that the total act of alignment is cued by various semiotic cues, in the absence of video recordings, the 'multi-channel sign configuration' (Agha 2007: 101) of all semiotic elements is impossible.

7.1.2 An intonational phrase

In this thesis, the definition of an intonational phrase is drawn from theories used in interactional prosody as well as from existing approaches used to study intonation in Polish. Thus, following Gumperz and Berenz (1993), I treat an intonational phrase[26] as 'a stretch of speech that falls under a single intonational contour or envelope and ends in an intonational boundary marker' (99). Such phrases are prototypically 'set off from surrounding phrasal units by pausing and constitute semantically interpretable syntactic entities' (95). The boundaries between the phrases are established assuming that the units must 'make sense in terms of the rhythmic and thematic organization of the surrounding discourse' (Gumperz and Berenz 1993:95).

In line with the PoInt project referred to in Chapter 5 above, the division into intonational phrases in this thesis is based primarily on perception of prosodic patterns established through close listening and visual inspection of the pitch tracking option in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2015). Following Karpiński (2006) and Grabe and Karpiński (2003), it is assumed here that in Polish each intonational phrase has one prominent syllable. Here, this syllable will be referred to as the nucleus or the nuclear accent following other studies of Polish intonation (for more detail, refer to Chapter 5). The nuclear accent in Polish typically concerns terminal events in the phrase, as its unmarked

[26] Gumperz and Berenz (1993) use the term 'informational phrase', however, for the sake of consistency with Polish models that I draw on, I call it an 'intonational phrase.'

position is the penultimate syllable in the phrase, with exceptions in emotional speech when it can move towards the beginning of the phrase (Grabe and Karpiński 2003).

Furthermore, the phrase has a hierarchical structure at a surface phonological level. The hierarchical structure is in line with Wagner (2009), where the following elements are distinguished: utterance, major intonational phrase, minor intonational phrase, prosodic word, syllable. The system follows the Strict Layer Hypothesis according to which elements at one level can only dominate elements at a lower level (Selkrik 1986). The intonational phrase as defined in this thesis corresponds to the major intonational phrase (IP) in Wagner's hierarchy, where a major intonational phrase is composed of at least one minor intonational phrase (ip) with one pitch accent. An example of an intonational phrase, major intonational phrase in Wagner's hierarchy, can be found in Figure 7.1, which was taken from an interview with Maria (P9). Figure 7.1 illustrates the hierarchical structure of the phrase and the nucleus falls on the penultimate syllable of the last word *BryTAnię*, which is marked in capital letters.

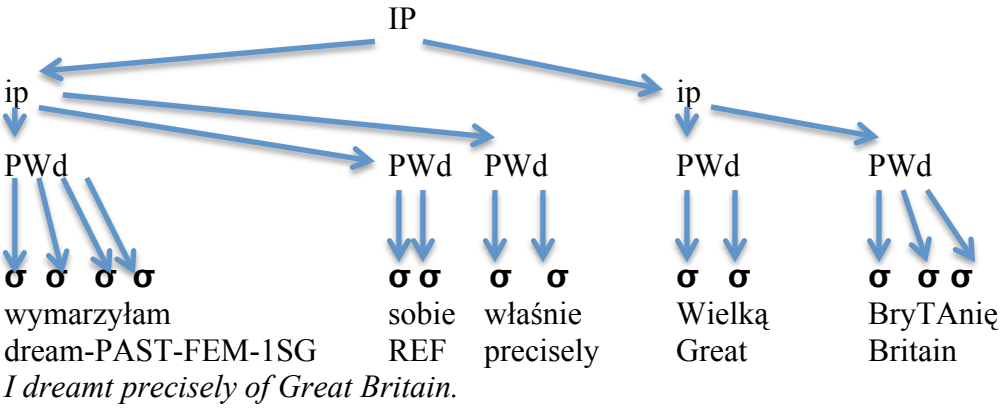


Figure 7.1 An intonational phrase *wymarzyłam sobie właśnie Wielką Brytanię* 'I dreamt precisely of Great Britain' produced by P9: IP – major intonational phrase, ip – minor intonational phrase, PWd – prosodic word, σ – syllable.

7.1.3 Polish declarative intonational phrases

The nuclear intonation patterns reported for the tonic syllable of Polish declaratives are usually: falling, rising, falling-rising. According to Grabe and Karpiński (2002),

Francuzik et al. (2002) and Karpiński (2006), the most frequent intonation pattern for Polish declaratives is falling intonation. A number of earlier scholars also argued for the falling intonation to be considered the default pattern for Polish declaratives (Wodarz 1962, Biedrzycki 1972, Ropa 1981). Rising intonation has also been observed, but with much lower frequency than the falling pattern (Karpiński 2006) and fall-rise occurs very rarely in limited contexts (Karpiński 2006).

In general, Karpiński (2006) states that falling/low tones are used for closed, complete, definitive utterances; rising/high tones - for open, incomplete utterances. Additionally, he acknowledges rare occurrence of falling-rising intonation in utterances expressing approval and admiration, and of rising-falling intonation in utterances expressing surprise and disbelief. When observed, the falling-rising intonation pattern is said to occur in emotional contexts (Karpiński 2006) or if the speaker wants to imply something (Mackiewicz-Krassowska 1973).

Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 provide examples of the three intonation patterns under discussion: fall, rise and fall-rise respectively. All come from my interviews. Each intonational phrase is annotated on four tiers: syllable (σ), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP) with the nucleus indicated by an arrow above the pitch contour and marked in capital letters on each tier. The IPA transcription system is used in the syllable tier.

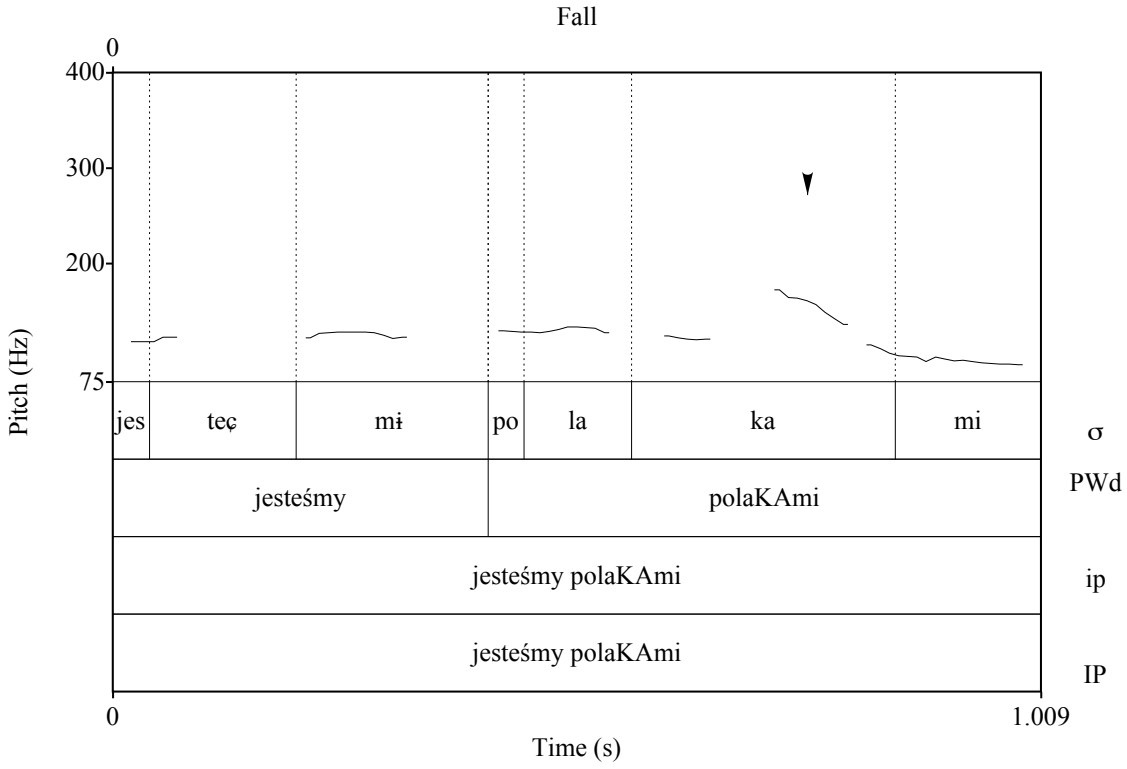


Figure 7.2 An intonational phrase *jesteśmy Polakami* 'we are Poles' ending with a fall produced by Adam (P1); four tiers: syllable (**σ**), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

Figure 7.2. represents an intonational phrase *jesteśmy Polakami* 'we are Poles' ending in a fall. The arrow points to the nucleus. The phrase was produced by Adam (P1). The fall begins on the nuclear syllable [ka] and plateaus on the final syllable of the last prosodic word of the phrase [mi].

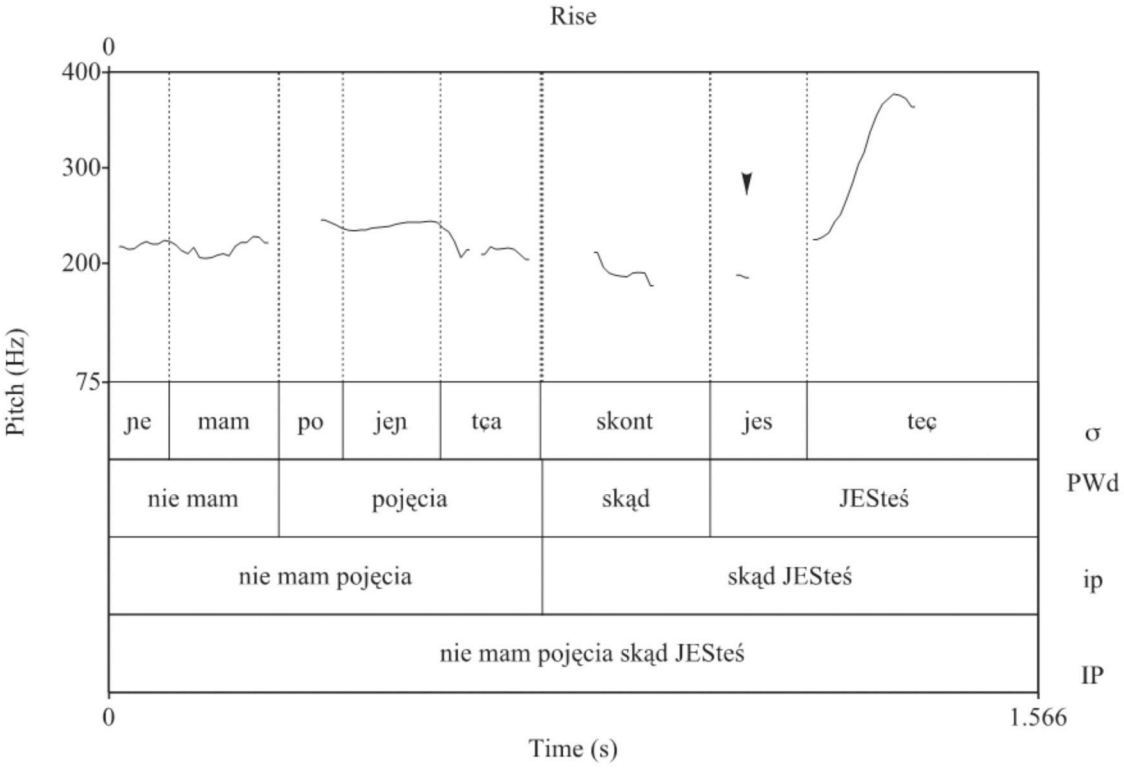


Figure 7.3 An intonational phrase *nie mam pojęcia skąd jesteś* 'I have no idea where you're from' ending with a rise produced by Daria (I4); four tiers: syllable (σ), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

In Figure 7.3. rising intonation is demonstrated in an intonational phrase *nie mam pojęcia skąd jesteś* 'I have no idea where you're from' uttered by Daria (I4). The rise begins on the nucleus [jes], marked with an arrow, and is followed by a steep slope in the final syllable [tɕ] of the last prosodic word of the phrase.

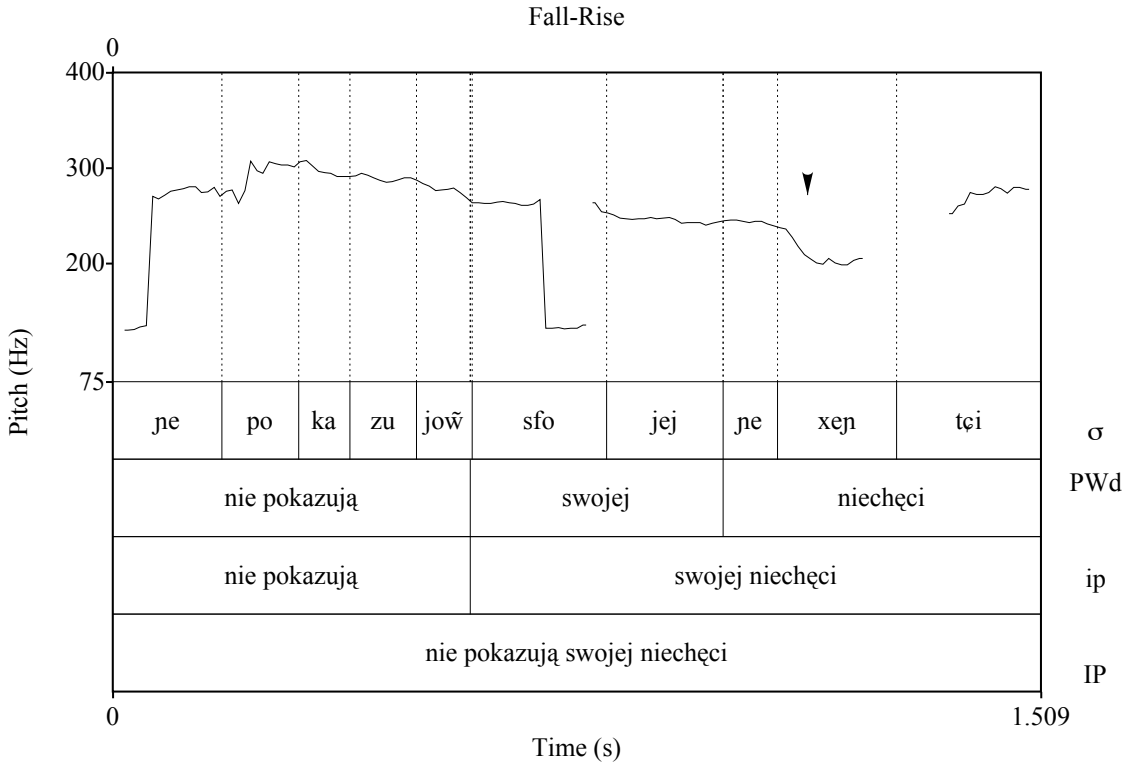


Figure 7.4 An intonational phrase *nie pokazują swojej niechęci* 'they don't show their aversion' produced by Natalia (C7); four tiers: syllable (σ), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

Finally, Figure 7.4. is as an example of a fall-rise. The phrase *nie pokazują swojej niechęci* 'they don't show their aversion' was produced by Natalia (C7). The nucleus of the phrase falls on the second syllable of the last prosodic word *niechęci* 'aversion', which is marked by an arrow above the contour. The intonation pattern begins with a fall on the nucleus [xaeɲ], which is followed by a rise that continues onto the final syllable of the prosodic word [tɕi].

7.1.4 English declarative intonational phrases

Similarly to Polish, English declarative intonational phrases can be realized with falling and rising intonation, but also with falling-rising and rising-falling intonation. The most frequent pattern for declarative phrases in English is falling (Grabe et al. 2005, Grabe and

Karpiński 2003, Wells 2006). Rising intonation, especially high rising terminals, has been observed in multiple contexts (e.g. Cruttenden 1995, Shobbrook and House 2003, Levon 2014). Falling-rising intonation in declarative intonational phrases is claimed to occur in the London and Cambridge varieties of English (Grabe et al. 2005, Grabe and Karpiński 2003), that is, where the fieldwork in this study was conducted.

In English, various meanings have been ascribed to the intonational tones. For example, Gussenhoven (1984) argues that falling intonation is used to introduce the background information/ shared knowledge of the speakers, and rising intonation is 'non-committal about whether a mentioned entity is part of the background', while falling-rising intonation is used to 'select an entity from the background' (Ladd 1996:99). Falling-rising intonation has also been described as projecting continuation of talk (Local 1992).

All in all, Polish and English make use of similar intonation patterns, with the falling intonation pattern being the default pattern for declarative phrases in both languages. Both languages also make selective use of rising intonation in declarative intonational phrases. However, they differ in terms of the falling-rising intonation pattern both in terms of frequency of occurrence and context of use.

7.1.5 Maintaining the floor in Polish and English

As the fieldwork indicates that the variability among speakers has to do with the ways they maintain the floor in conversation, this section focuses on how it is typically done in Polish and English.

In Polish, the floor is usually maintained by means of the unfolding of the propositional content, occasional lengthening of final sounds, fillers and other non-linguistic cues. Additionally, rising intonation has been observed to be used to signal continuation of a

sequence or as a way to control the floor (Karpiński 2006). Falling-rising intonation has not been reported to have such a function in Standard Polish.

However, in English both rises and fall-rises are used for this purpose. Rising intonation, particularly high rising terminal, has been frequently reported. The feature is very often used by young speakers (e.g. McLemore 1991), which is similar to the group studied in this thesis. Moreover, Cruttenden (1995) associated it with New Yuppies, thus, a group of young professionals, which also resembles my informants. More recently, Levon (2014) described high rising terminal as a feature used to control the floor in interaction mostly by White women and to a lesser extent Black and Asian men in context-independent situations. The use of high rising terminal as a floor control mechanism has been observed in other Anglo contexts, e.g. Australia (Guy et al. 1986), New Zealand (Warren 2005), the USA (Podesva 2006). Most importantly for this study, however, fall-rises have also been found to be 'projective of more talk to come' in English (Local 1992: 275). Although Local does not provide specific information about the speakers, he argues that the use of fall-rises of pre-inserts in his sample is routinely associated with continuation of talk, which differs from Standard Polish.

7.2 Distribution of intonation patterns

7.2.1 Data and Methods

In order to confirm the observations from the fieldwork, general trends in the distribution of intonation patterns were first examined. For this analysis, each interview was segmented into intonational phrases coded on a separate tier in Elan by myself twice, with a break of twelve months between the two assessments to assess consistency of judgment.

As was observed in further close examination of the data, the intonation patterns studied concern mostly final prosodic words in the intonational phrase of declarative type used in narratives provided during the interview. Each declarative intonational phrase was coded for its nuclear intonation pattern. Since the variability was observed only in nuclear accents, I coded only those. The assessment was conducted by myself twice with a break of four months in between in order to check consistency. Following standard procedures used in studies of intonation (e.g. Grabe 2004, Queen 2012), the intonation patterns were examined by means of close-listening and visual inspection. All other types of intonational phrases (questions, exclamations, etc.) were excluded from the analysis. I now proceed to the presentation of the raw distribution of the falling, rising and falling-rising intonation patterns across all three sociocultural identities and genders.

7.2.2 General distribution

Overall, the corpus of declarative intonational phrases examined in this project resembles other findings for Polish (Francuzik et al. 2003, Karpiński 2006), where it was established that the falling intonation pattern is the most frequent pattern for Polish declaratives. Table 7.1 shows number of tokens and percentages of each intonation pattern for all speakers counted together. The falling intonation pattern occurs in 87% of all nuclear syllables. Rises and fall-rises are roughly equally distributed across the rest of the data (7% and 6% of all tokens respectively). As mentioned above, the occurrence of rising intonation has previously been reported for Polish declaratives (Karpiński 2006). However, the occurrence of falling-rising intonation with such a level of frequency is new.

Intonation pattern	Number of tokens	Percentage
Fall	24208	87%
Rise	1969	7%
Fall-Rise	1571	6%
Total	27753	100%

Table 7.1. Distribution of falls, rises and fall-rises for all speakers.

7.2.3 Female speakers

Figure 7.5 and Table 7.2 below demonstrate numbers of tokens and percentages of all three intonation patterns for each of the fifteen female speakers separately. The trend for the falling intonation to be the default pattern for declaratives in Polish is confirmed for all female speakers (65% to 97% of all declarative intonational phrases). As expected, rising intonation for declaratives is also observed in between 2% and 14% of nuclear tones and there are no clear differences between the three sociocultural identities. In contrast, there is a trend for one sociocultural identity, Polish Cosmopolitans, to make much greater use of the falling-rising intonation than the others. For both Polish Poles and In-betweens, the percentages of fall-rises range from 1% to 7% of all declaratives, whereas for Polish Cosmopolitans the range is from 11% to 29%, with the majority of the speakers producing over 20%.

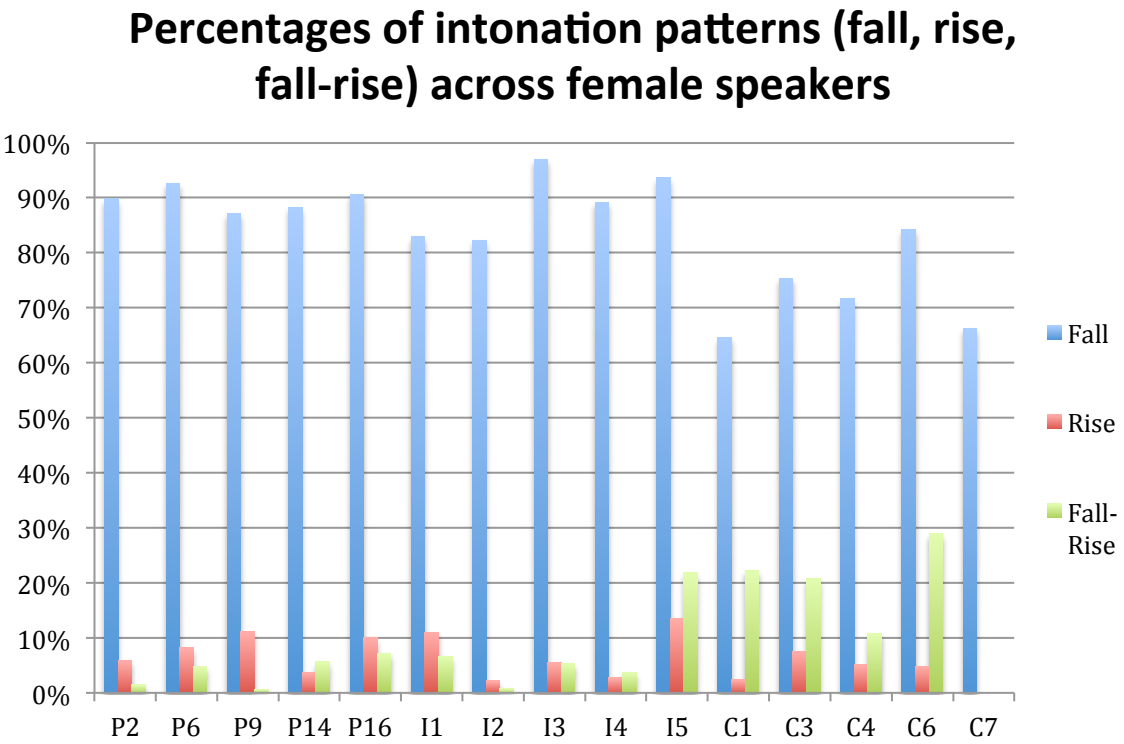


Figure 7.5 Percentages of intonation patterns for all 15 female speakers.

Interview	Fall		Rise		Fall-Rise		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P2	971	90%	76	7%	29	3%	1081
P6	822	93%	52	6%	13	1%	887
P9	1203	87%	113	8%	66	5%	1382
P14	1047	88%	132	11%	8	1%	1187
P16	881	91%	36	4%	55	6%	972
I1	631	83%	76	10%	54	7%	761
I2	628	82%	84	11%	51	7%	763
I3	1069	97%	24	2%	9	1%	1102
I4	621	89%	38	5%	37	5%	696
I5	1304	94%	38	3%	51	4%	1393
C1	533	65%	112	14%	180	22%	825
C3	756	75%	24	2%	223	22%	1003
C4	632	72%	66	7%	184	21%	882
C6	1185	84%	72	5%	151	11%	1408
C7	536	66%	39	5%	234	29%	809
Total	11848	84%	906	6%	1316	9%	14070

Table 7.2 Distribution of all intonation patterns (fall, rise, fall-rise) for all 15 female speakers.

7.2.4 Male speakers

As the three sociocultural identities are unequally distributed for male speakers in my sample, no firm statements can be made. However, I include the table for male speakers to illustrate the trends. Figure 7.6 and Table 7.3 demonstrate numbers of tokens and percentages of all declarative intonation patterns for each of the 13 male speakers included in the phonetic analysis. For all male speakers, the falling pattern is the most frequent, ranging between 86% and 95%. Rising intonation does occur (5% to 12%) and falling-rising intonation is rare for all speakers (0% to 5%).

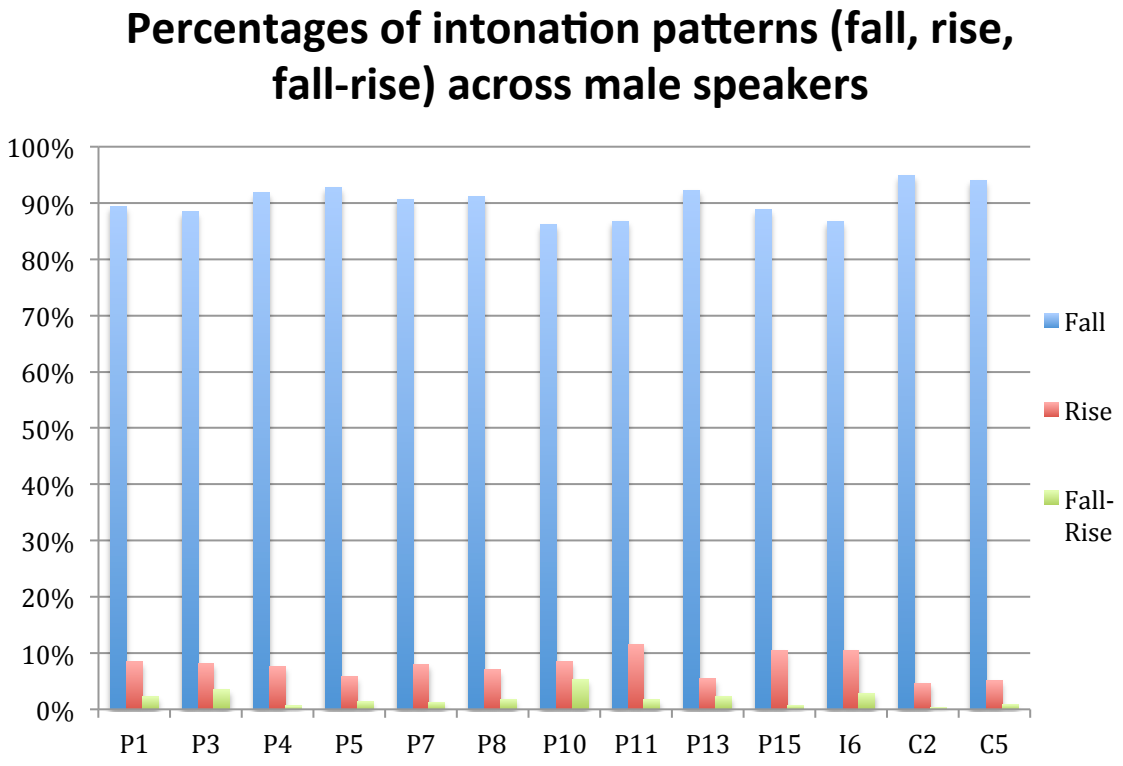


Figure 7.6 Percentages of intonation patterns for all 13 male speakers.

Interview	Fall		Rise		Fall-Rise		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P1	637	89%	60	8%	16	2%	713
P3	694	88%	64	8%	27	3%	785
P4	1212	92%	100	8%	8	1%	1320
P5	730	93%	46	6%	11	1%	787
P7	1070	91%	95	8%	15	1%	1180
P8	1103	91%	85	7%	22	2%	1210
P10	642	86%	63	8%	40	5%	745
P11	875	87%	117	12%	17	2%	1009
P13	764	92%	45	5%	19	2%	828
P15	872	89%	102	10%	7	1%	981
I6	976	87%	117	10%	32	3%	1125
C2	976	95%	48	5%	4	0%	1028
C5	838	94%	45	5%	8	1%	891
Total	11389	90%	987	8%	226	2%	12602

Table 7.3 Distribution of all intonation patterns (fall, rise, fall-rise) for 13 male speakers.

7.2.5 Conclusions

The raw distribution of all declarative intonational phrases shows that the falling intonation pattern is by far the most frequent pattern for all speakers regardless of sociocultural identity and gender. Rising intonation occurs at a frequency similar to that reported in other studies of Polish (Grabe and Karpiński 2003, Karpiński 2006). In contrast to Francuzik et al. (2003), no gender differences for rising intonation have been found. What is new when compared with other projects is the occurrence of the falling-rising intonation in declarative intonational phrases. Here it has to be noted that the group that uses the pattern with an increased frequency are female Polish Cosmopolitans. For male Polish Cosmopolitans, the trend seems to be in line with other groups, although the number of male speakers makes it difficult to compare the two.

7.3 Distribution of intonational patterns by function

The percentages presented in the last section do not tell us much about the meanings of the new intonational device employed by the female Polish Cosmopolitans. In this

section, the raw distribution of all 1572 tokens of fall-rises is presented according to their discursive function to see whether the groups differ in their usage of the pattern. Figures 7.7 and 7.8 and Tables 7.4 and 7.5 demonstrate the distribution of fall-rises according to four functions for the two genders separately. Apart from the two functions reported for Standard Polish mentioned in Section 7.1.3 above (emotional speech and implication), the tokens were coded for continuation of talk/ floor-holding and 'other' (e.g. emphatic contexts).

7.3.1 Female speakers

As can be seen from Figure 7.7 and Table 7.4, the new function, continuation of talk, occurs most frequently, which shows that all female speakers have picked it up. For all but one informant, the percentage of fall-rises used to project more talk to come exceeds 50% with all five female Polish Cosmopolitans using more than 87% of their fall-rises for this purpose. For female Polish Cosmopolitans, the number of tokens is also much higher than for other groups. For Polish Poles, the range is between 55% and 85%, while for In-betweens it is between 37% and 76%. All other functions display much lower levels of occurrence: emotional – 0-10%, implication – 0-31%, other – 0-25%. Most notably, for all female Polish Cosmopolitans, the percentages of occurrence of all other three functions do not exceed 7%. Emotional contexts are extremely rare for all Polish Poles and In-betweens, while percentages of fall-rises expressing implication range between 0% and 28% for Polish Poles and between 12% and 31% for In-betweens.

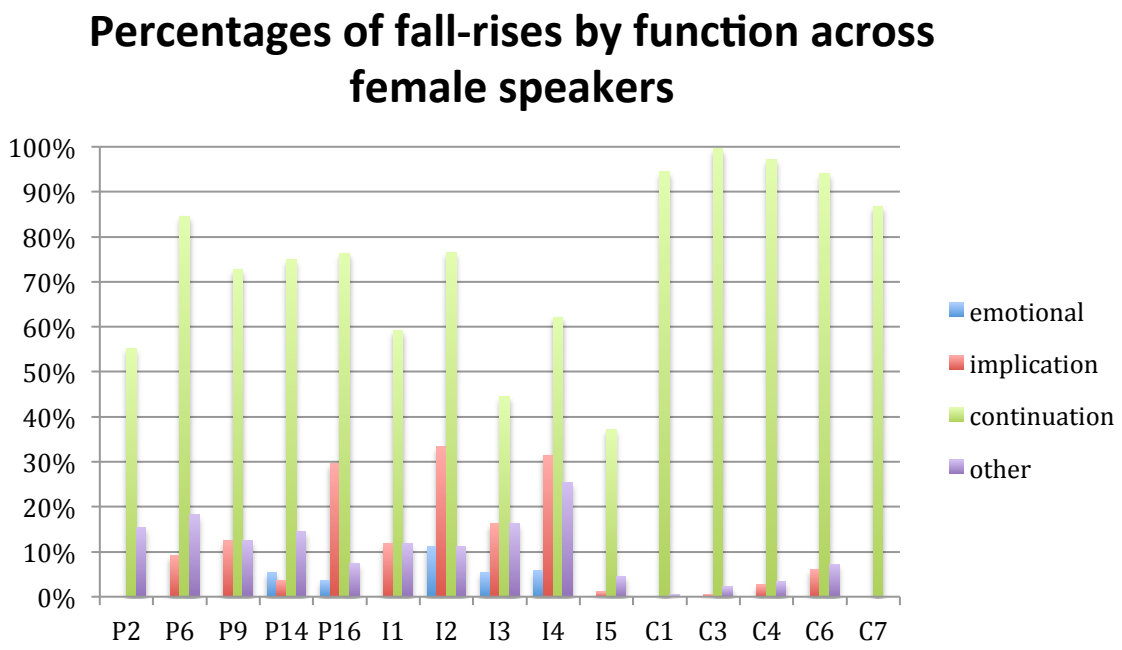


Figure 7.7 Percentages of fall-rises by discursive function for all fifteen female speakers.

Interview	Emotional		Implication		Continuation		Other		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P2	0	0%	8	28%	16	55%	5	17%	29
P6	0	0%	0	0%	11	85%	2	15%	13
P9	0	0%	6	9%	48	73%	12	18%	66
P14	0	0%	1	13%	6	75%	1	13%	8
P16	3	5%	2	4%	42	76%	8	15%	55
I1	2	4%	16	30%	32	59%	4	7%	54
I2	0	0%	6	12%	39	76%	6	12%	51
I3	1	11%	3	33%	4	44%	1	11%	9
I4	2	5%	6	16%	23	62%	6	16%	37
I5	3	6%	16	31%	19	37%	13	25%	51
C1	0	0%	2	1%	170	94%	8	4%	180
C3	0	0%	0	0%	222	100%	1	0%	223
C4	0	0%	1	1%	179	97%	4	2%	184
C6	0	0%	4	3%	142	94%	5	3%	151
C7	0	0%	14	6%	203	87%	17	7%	234
Total	11	1%	85	6%	954	71%	93	7%	1346

Table 7.4 Distribution of fall-rises across fifteen female speakers according to discursive function.

7.3.2 Male speakers

When male speakers are examined in Figure 7.8 and Table 7.5, the numbers of tokens are smaller than for female speakers, but there is a similar trend for the new function, continuation of talk, to be the most frequent. Thus, although it is a minority pattern, it has been picked up by all male speakers as well. The percentages of its occurrence are lower than for female speakers (42-94%) and both male Polish Cosmopolitans reach only 50%. Ranges for the three remaining functions are: emotional – 0-9%, implication – 0-50%, other – 0-37%. Interestingly, both male Polish Cosmopolitans demonstrate the highest percentages of occurrence for implication (both 50%). For Polish Poles, the range is between 0 and 25%, while for the only male In-between speaker fall-rises expressing implication make 28% of all tokens.

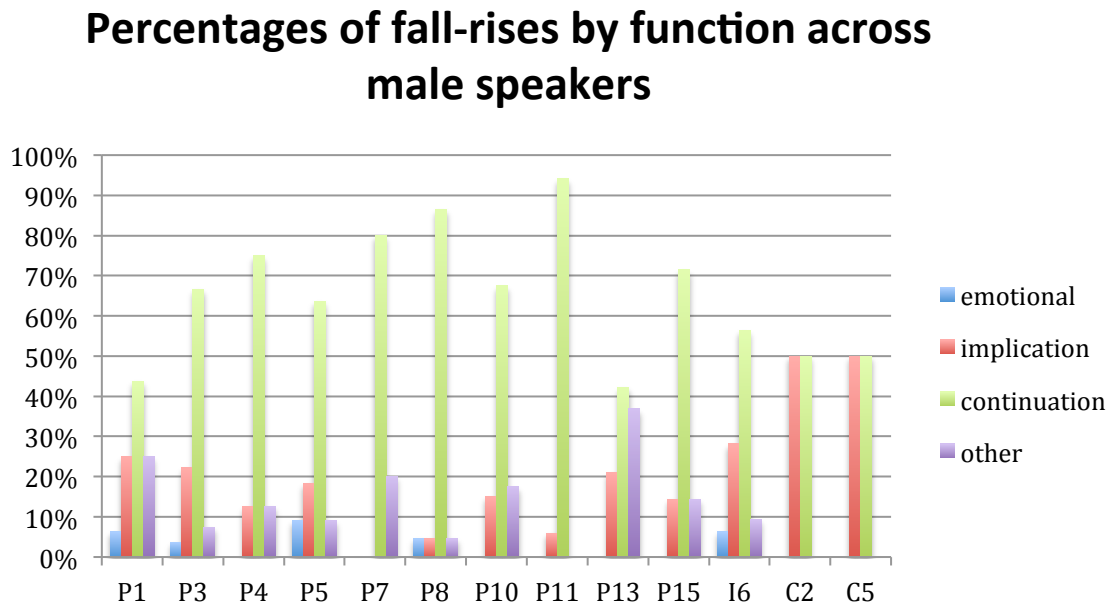


Figure 7.8 Percentages of fall-rises for thirteen male speakers by discursive function.

Interview	emotional		implication		continuation		other		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P1	1	6%	4	25%	7	44%	4	25%	16
P3	1	4%	6	22%	18	67%	2	7%	27
P4	0	0%	1	13%	6	75%	1	13%	8
P5	1	9%	2	18%	7	64%	1	9%	11
P7	0	0%	0	0%	12	80%	3	20%	15
P8	1	5%	1	5%	19	86%	1	5%	22
P10	0	0%	6	15%	27	68%	7	18%	40
P11	0	0%	1	6%	16	94%	0	0%	17
P13	0	0%	4	21%	8	42%	7	37%	19
P15	0	0%	1	14%	5	71%	1	14%	7
I6	2	6%	9	28%	18	56%	3	9%	32
C2	0	0%	2	50%	2	50%	0	0%	4
C5	0	0%	4	50%	4	50%	0	0%	8
Total	6	3%	41	18%	149	66%	30	13%	226

Table 7.5 Distribution of fall-rises for thirteen speakers according to discursive function.

7.3.3 Conclusions

When the tokens are examined in terms of their discursive function, in comparison to the functions reported for Standard Polish (See Section 7.1.3), all speakers employ falling-rising intonation in a new way, i.e. to project more talk to come. However, one group, female Polish Cosmopolitans make greater use of the new intonational device, which is manifested both in the numbers of tokens and percentages of declarative intonational phrases with fall-rises used to express continuation of talk. Due to the unequal representation of male speakers belonging to each sociocultural identity, no definite conclusions about the genders can be made here.

Having described the distribution of different intonation patterns across all speakers, with a particular focus on falling-rising intonation, the main trends for the three sociocultural identities and genders were presented. However, this section does not allow us to understand how the speakers use falling-rising intonation to hold the floor. Thus, in the next section, I turn to qualitative methods to investigate this further.

7.4 Qualitative analysis of intonation patterns

7.4.1 Data and Methods

The distributional data show that fall-rises have become a constituent feature of female Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking styles. The distribution suggests that they use fall-rises to project continuation of talk. In this section, I investigate this further in order to show what the speakers are actually doing with the new device and how it serves them as a tool to maintain the floor in interaction.

The data analyzed in this section are useful to analyze conversational involvement in a less rigid context than the typical interview. In this study, the participants expected to provide narratives. Therefore, they did not expect typical [Qa][Ab][Qa][Ab]… interaction. However, as it is still an interview, it does constitute a two-person interrogative chain (Goffman 1983) to some extent.

Excerpts presented in this chapter were selected from a collection of instances as representative of the larger corpus, and exemplify 'the range of actions a given practice [the use of the fall-rise] can implement' (Sidnell 2011: 94). First, excerpts from interviews with female speakers are analyzed, then with male speakers. Three excerpts are examined for female Polish Poles and In-betweens, four for female Polish Cosmopolitans. For male speakers, I analyze four excerpts in total. Four common topics were chosen in order to ensure that the topics and sequential structures of the excerpts were comparable: problems encountered upon arrival in the UK, discrimination and stereotypes of Poles, reasons for staying in the UK, attitudes towards Polish and British cultures.

The data presented in this section follow conventions presented mainly in Jefferson (2004). Selected symbols are drawn from Atkinson and Heritage (1986) and Gumperz and Berenz (1993). Table 7.6 provides a list of all CA symbols used in this thesis. In all excerpts, the nuclei are underlined on the Polish tier marking the end of each intonational phrase. The nuclear tones are in bold and marked before the word carrying the nucleus. If the question mark follows a word, the phrase is a question.

Symbol	Meaning
____	Nuclear accent
\	Fall
?	Rise
\/	Fall-Rise
!	Animated tone
=	No break/gap
(0.0)	Break in tenths of seconds
(.)	Brief pause
.hhh	Inbreath
[…]	Transcript trails off
-	Truncated phrase
[	Overlap onset
]	Overlap end
(h)	Simultaneous laughter, crying, breathlessness
( )	Transcriber did not understand the part of talk
((comment))	Transcriber's comments
:	Lengthening of the sound before the colon (the more colons, the longer the lengthening)
WORD	Loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk
°word°	Softer relative to the surrounding talk
> <	Bracketed talk speeded up in comparison to the surrounding talk
< >	Bracketed talk slowed down in comparison to the surrounding talk

Table 7.6 An inventory of transcript symbols used in the thesis.

7.4.2 Intonation and sociocultural identities across female speakers

First, excerpts from interviews with female Polish Poles (Section 7.4.2.1) and In-betweens (Section 7.4.2.2) are discussed in order to show how speakers who rely on Standard Polish norms organize their talk and maintain conversation involvement. Then,

in Section 7.4.2.3 I proceed to analyzing excerpts from interviews with female Polish Cosmopolitans, which shows that in contrast with other groups, they cue turn completion by means of intonation and more frequently signal continuation of talk with fall-rises as they rely on English schemata for organization of talk. It is also shown how the pattern is incorporated into Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking style due to interlocutors' moves in interaction.

7.4.2.1 Female Polish Poles

As suggested in Section 7.2. when producing declarative intonational phrases, female Polish Poles' intonation patterns are mostly falling and occasionally rising, which is in line with Standard Polish norms. When providing narratives, the speakers rely on Standard Polish cues to signal continuation of talk such as unfolding of the propositional content, which is exemplified in Excerpt (1). The excerpt comes from an interview with Barbara (P6) and centers around her problems upon arrival in the UK. It begins after she was asked about the difficulties she encountered in terms of the English language when she came to Britain. She argues that her problems were of a cultural nature. The excerpt consists of a series of declaratively formatted turns, during which the speaker gives her answer and together with the interviewer establish their roles in interaction drawing mostly on non-prosodic cues.

Excerpt (1). Barbara, P6.

1 P6 ze zrozumieniem to \tak- (1.0) nie miałam [?problemów] (0.5)
with understanding then so (1.0) I didn't have problems (0.5)

2 KK [mhm]
mhm

3 P6 y bardziej z- (.) właśnie z \wypowiadaniem (1.0)
uhm more with- (.) precisely expressing myself (1.0)

4 KK mhm
mhm

5 P6 naczy z \odpowiedzią
I mean with answering

6 KK mhm
mhm

7 P6 na te [\pytania]
these questions

8 KK [\ok]
ok

9 P6 na przykład- (1.0) żeby coś \opowiedzieć e ym (.) na przykład w \restauracji (.)
for example- (1.0) to say something uhm (.) in a restaurant (.)

10 ktoś się mnie o coś \zapyta:ł ale to (.)nie do końca było związane z \językiem
someone asked me about something but this (.) wasn't really connected with language

11 tylko bardziej z tym że (.) nie byłam tutaj \wychowana więc na przykład nie
but more with the fact that (.) I wasn't brought up here so for example I didn't

12 wiedziałam jak się jakieś danie [\nazywa=
know what a meal was called

13 KK [\aha]
aha

14 P6 =jakiś \kotlet ( ) dla mnie to nie miało w ogóle \sensu
a cutlet ( ) for me it didn't make any sense

15 KK mhm
mhm

In the excerpt Barbara maintains the floor chiefly by the unfolding of the propositional content. At the beginning of her turn, she signals she is about to give an explanation by producing a truncated phrase, which is immediately followed by *I didn't have problems*. The propositional content of this phrase (line 1) implies that the answer to the interviewer's question is negative, a meaning anticipated by the interviewer and

expressed in her *mhm* in line 2. However, *mhm* comes before the nucleus of Barbara's last prosodic word, which is pronounced with a rise. In line with Standard Polish norms, rising intonation can signal continuation of talk, a cue that has not been picked up by the interviewer. As a result, there is a misunderstanding between the interlocutors, which is reflected in the interviewer's behavior in lines 3-8, where she keeps uttering *mhm* as she is trying to establish what is happening in interaction. After evaluating the speaker's pace and way of speaking, the interviewer then stops using *mhm* in lines 9-12, where Barbara provides a longer turn consisting of a number of declarative phrases uttered with falling intonation to illustrate and clarify the point she made in her previous turns explicitly stating that she was not raised in Britain and thus, lacked cultural knowledge. The interviewer waits for her to provide an example so that she understands what is being said properly and expresses she understood the point by uttering *aha* in line 13, which overlaps with the end of Barbara's phrase in line 12. In the final phrase of the excerpt, Barbara repeats her point to emphasize that British traditions did not make any sense for her, which allows her to complete her turn.

The excerpt shows that Barbara and the interviewer construct the interactional text mutually calibrating their stances and roles according to Standard Polish norms, where the informant signals a continuation of her narrative mostly by means of information flow (deictically anchored in the past), which is a way to maintain the floor that both interlocutors are familiar with from Standard Polish. Participants reflexively calibrate their actions by attending also to the prosodic structure of their propositions, also following Standard Polish norms.

In Excerpt (2), another Polish Pole, Monika, also uses Standard Polish cues to maintain the floor in interaction. Here, apart from the unfolding of the propositional content, she

makes use of fillers and lengthening of final sounds. In the excerpt, she talks about the stereotypes of Poles that she encountered in the UK. She produces a series of declarative phrases as a part of a longer answer to the interviewer's question about stereotypes.

Excerpt (2). Monika, P14.

1 P14 jeżeli tutaj ((slurp)) w Reading robią ci ludzie trochę \burdy
if here ((slurp)) in Reading these people stir up a row

2 no to zaczyna być stereotyp taki że Polacy >są \wiesz- (.)
so the stereotype's formed that Poles are you know- (.)

3 KK mhm
mhm

4 P14 ((slurp)) \problematyczni [((laughter))]
((slurp)) problematic (laughter)

5 KK [\ok]
ok

6 P14 a jak a jak \wiesz - a w Londynie myślę \że: –
and if you know- in London I think that -

7 jakby ((slurp)) Londyn jest takim miastem gdzie rzeczywiście są wiesz wszyscy \są
as if ((slurp)) London is such a place where actually you know everyone is

8 KK mhm
mhm

9 P14 trochę się lu- troche się nie lubi Polaka że tak dużo przyjeżdża >i tak \dalej<
a bit- they don't like Poles a bit because many are coming and so on

10 ale (.) ale:: bądź co bądź to jak przychodzą to doceniają ludzi za ambicję i takie \rzeczy
but (.) but in fact they appreciate the people for ambition and such things

11 co Anglicy w ogóle by nie \robili […]
that the English wouldn't do […]

The excerpt begins with Monika deictically anchoring her turn to the present time as she refers to her current place of living, Reading, and the fact that Poles in Reading can cause trouble. In lines 1-2, she maintains the floor by the unfolding of the propositional content of the phrases. In line 2, she begins describing the stereotype of Poles in Reading, but makes a pause before the filler *wiesz* 'you know', which is a cue for the interviewer that she has not finished her thought. The interviewer just signals she understands that the speaker will continue by uttering a concurring *mhm* in line 3. In line 4, Monika goes on to

describing Poles as being problematic. Here she uses falling intonation, which signals completion. However, this is followed by laughter and instead of taking the floor, the interviewer just utters *ok* as she is trying to establish what is going to happen next. Immediately afterwards, Monika goes on to contrasting the negative stereotype from Reading with the one she encountered in London, which allows her to maintain the floor. In lines 6 and 7, she makes a series of declarative intonational phrases pronounced with a prolonged final vowel (6) and falling intonation. The phrase in line 7 ends with a fall, but judging on the incomplete nature of the propositional content, the interviewer utters only a concurring *mhm* in line 8 signaling that she awaits more talk to come. This allows Monika to maintain the floor and continue in lines 9-11, where she elaborates on the stereotype. In line 9, she says that people do not like Poles because they come in big numbers. However, the phrase is immediately followed by a conjunction *ale* 'but', pronounced twice with a short break in-between and a prolonged final vowel of the second *but*, which enables the speaker to maintain the floor and finish her thought in the next two lines (10-11). Throughout the excerpt, the prosodic structure remains the same, that is, falling intonation is used. This is due to the fact that the interlocutors attend to other semiotic cues such as fillers and propositional content to establish what is going on in the interactional event.

Excerpts (1) and (2) show cases where Polish Poles use mostly semiotic cues other than intonation to maintain the floor while providing narratives. The final example for Polish Poles demonstrates that the speakers can also occasionally use rises and fall-rises. However, in Excerpt (3), the implementation of such intonation patterns is in line with norms observed for Standard Polish. Excerpt (3) comes from the interview with Maria (P9) and is part of a longer narrative about the speaker's relationship with the UK. The topic concerns her reasons for staying in Britain. It begins with Maria recalling the

moment towards the end of her studies when she wanted to go back to Poland and was looking for a job there. The events mentioned describe past activities when she was told that she was not qualified to work in the corporate sector in Poland.

Excerpt (3). Maria, P9.

1 P9 jeszcze próbowałam znaleźć pracę \w Polsce jak to <zupełnie spełzło>
I still tried to find a job in Poland when this completely didn't

2 na \panew:ce i powiedzieli że tam dyplom z \Oksfordu (0.5) co nas to obchodzi? (0.7)
work out and they said that a diploma from Oxford (0.5) why should we care? (0.7)

3 my nie wiemy czego ty się **?**uczyłaś (0.8) no to [już: =
we don't know what you studied (0.8) then that's it

4 KK [((laughter))]

5 P9 = właściwie zdecydowałam że nie ma \szans .
as a matter of fact I decided that I didn't have a chance

6 KK aha to zmieniłaś zdanie dlaczego właściwie?
aha so you changed your mind why in fact?

7 P9 bo mi się bardzo \podobało bo było \ła:twiej w pewnych \/kwestiach (0.8)
because I liked it a lot because it was easier in some matters (0.8)

8 y no i chyba największy taki właśnie \czynnik to było to że w Polsce >nie mogłam
uhm and I think the biggest factor precisely it was that that in Poland I couldn't

9 znaleźć \pracy< i >nie mogłam nawet znaleźć< \praktyk (.) takich \porządnych
find a job and I couldn't find an internship (.) a good one

10 bo wszyscy mówili że ich to wogle nie \interesuje:
because everybody was telling me that they are not interested

11 KK nawet jak byłaś po Oksfordzie?
even when you were after Oxford?

12 P9 \TAK
yes

At the beginning, Maria anchors her turn deictically to the past and recalls that she intended to return to Poland after her undergraduate studies in German and linguistics at the University of Oxford. In lines 1-3, she terminates the first three declarative intonational phrases with falling intonation, the last of which ends with unfinished propositional content. This is followed by a pause of 0.5ms, but the interviewer does not take the floor as she waits for the phrase to be finished. After the pause, Maria uses rising

intonation to cite a question that she heard from employers. In line 3, she terminates the phrase with a rise again, which allows her to maintain the floor despite making a longer pause. At the same time, she achieves an emphatic effect before her final phrase of the turn where she concludes that this experience made her stay in the UK. The initial part of the phrase (3) conveys the meaning 'that's it' and by lengthening the final fricative in *już* 'already', she achieves an emphatic effect again, which results in the interviewer's short laughter, a cue that she aligns with Maria in her evaluation of the situation as being absurd. The interviewer's laughter overlaps with the latter part of the phrase. The emphasis put on the last prosodic word of the phrase in line 5 together with the falling tone serve as a signal that the point is complete. This is reflected in the interviewer's behavior as she does not wait for another pause, but in line 6 immediately takes floor and asks a supplementary question to elicit information about the reasons why Maria decided to stay in Britain. This question is asked to confirm that both participants agree in their evaluation of the speaker's last turn, which results in Maria listing all the reasons explicitly.

In line 7, Maria uses the fall-rise when she says that life in the UK is easier in some respects. However, here the fall-rise serves to imply something more than has been said, a usage of falling-rising intonation observed for Polish (Mackiewicz-Krassowska 1973). At the same time the speaker is able to hold the floor, which is reflected in the interviewer not taking the floor and not uttering anything during a pause of 0.8ms that follows the fall-rise (7). In subsequent phrases (lines 8-9), Maria goes back to the point she made earlier that the primary reason was the fact that she could not find a job in Poland. All the phrases are pronounced with the default falling intonation and the interviewer does not take the floor as she relies on the unfolding of the propositional content. At the end of line 9, Maria provides complimentary information to what has been said before. This ends

with a fall, which could signal turn completion. However, she does not pause and immediately goes on to making her final point, which does not allow the interviewer to take the floor. The final phrase of the turn ends in lengthening of the final vowel of the verb *interesuje* 'interests', but the propositional content of the phrase is a repetition of the claim made earlier, which results in the interviewer taking the floor to show that she agrees with the speaker in her evaluation of the experience. This is confirmed in Maria's final turn, where she utters an emphatic and loud affirmative answer *tak* 'yes' ending with falling intonation, which allows her to complete the turn and create an additional affectively marked effect.

The three excerpts in this section demonstrate how Polish Poles employ Standard Polish norms in order to maintain conversational involvement. In terms of prosody, their declarative intonational phrases are most often uttered with falling intonation. Rising and falling-rising intonation do occasionally occur. Such behavior is in line with the trends observed for female Polish Poles in Section 7.2. As has been seen, Polish Poles most often use other cues than intonation to maintain the floor in interaction, that is, the propositional content, pauses, fillers and other non-linguistic semiotic cues.

7.4.2.2 Female In-betweens

Similarly to Polish Poles, In-betweens rely mostly on Standard Polish prosodic norms and maintain the floor by means of other cues than intonation, which is analyzed in more detail in this section. Excerpt (4) comes from the interview with Sylwia (I2). In the excerpt, the speaker provides an answer to the interviewer's question about the problems she encountered upon arrival in the UK.

Excerpt (4). Sylwia, I2.

1	I2	bardziej: problemy: sprawiało mi y- *I had more problems with uhm-*
2		takie sytuacje bardziej soc:jalne towarzyskie [\powiedziałabym *such more social situations I would say*
3	KK	[mhm] *mhm*
4	I2	czyli taki bardzo: bardziej kolokwialny ?angielski *so such more more colloquial English*
5	KK	mhm *mhm*
6	I2	na początku sprawiał mi \trudności:: zwłaszcza jeśli na \przykład *at the beginning it was difficult for me especially if for instance*
7		wychodziliśmy gdzieś \wieczore::m było bardzo dużo y: - *we went out somewhere in the evening there was a lot-*
8		byliśmy w jakimś bardzo hałaśliwym \miejscu:: *we were in a very noisy place*
9	KK	mhm *mhm*
10	I2	musiałam słuchać \inny::ch .h albo opowiadać jakieś śmieszne może \historie: *I had to listen to others or tell such funny maybe stories*
11		to na początku sprawiało mi \trudno:ść *at the beginning this was difficult for me*

In line 1, Sylwia produces a truncated phrase, which is followed by another phrase in line 2, where she states that she had problems with socializing. The interviewer utters *mhm* (3) and does not take the floor giving Sylwia a chance to elaborate. Sylwia continues and says that she had problems with colloquial English (4), a phrase that terminates with a rise. Consistent with Standard Polish norms, the rising intonation allows her to signal that she has not finished and thus, maintain the floor. This is reflected in the interviewer not taking the floor and uttering only *mhm* in line 5. In lines 6 to 8, Sylwia clarifies her point. Throughout the turn, she uses the Standard Polish default falling intonation. She is able to maintain the floor as with each phrase, she provides more information. Additionally, almost all her phrases end with lengthening of final sounds, which can also be projective

of more talk to come in Polish. In line 8, she lengthens the final vowel of the last prosodic word, which signals to the interviewer that the talk will continue and the interviewer utters a concurring *mhm*. In the last two lines she uses the same way to maintain the floor as she ends each phrase with a prolonged vowel of the last syllable in each phrase. In the final phrase she repeats the interviewer's question to show that these were the things that she had problems with, which allows her to give herself more time as she later continues talking about other problems she had.

In Excerpt (5), another In-between speaker, Iwona (I5), also relies on Standard Polish ways to organize her talk. In line with Standard Polish norms, the speaker is able to control the floor by the unfolding of the propositional content, lengthening of final sounds and increasing the speed. She does not use intonation to complete her turns. Instead, she achieves this by completing the unfolding of the propositional content and repetitions. In the excerpt, she discusses her reasons for staying in the UK. The excerpt is again part of a longer narrative in which Iwona talks about the negative aspects of Polish culture that made her stay in Britain.

Excerpt (5). Iwona, I5.

1 I5 ale jest wiele \rzeczy które w Polsce mi \przeszkadza
but there are many things in Poland that annoy me

2 czy na przykład y: podejście do: .h \religii:
or for example approach to religion

3 KK mhm
mhm

4 I5 czy na przykład pedofilia w (h) [\kościele:
or for example pedophilia in church

5 KK [((laughter))]

6 I5 która jest dość powszechna: \nieste:ty >i różne inne tego typu [\rzeczy<
which is a bit prevalent unfortunately and many other things like that

7 KK [°mhm °]
mhm

8 I5 czy \polityka: >właśnie ta< (.)\prawicowo:ść ultra \prawicowość
or politics precisely this (.) rightism ultra rightism

The excerpt follows a discussion of some improvements in Polish society. Thus, line 1 begins with information contrasting what was said before, with the speaker stating in two consecutive declarative IPs that there are many things in Poland that she dislikes. Both phrases end with a fall. As the new information is introduced, the interviewer does not take the floor and Iwona continues to exemplify her point in line 2. The final prosodic word in the phrase in line 2 ends with a fall, but consistent with Standard Polish norms, the lengthening of the final vowel signals to the interviewer that there is more talk to come. This is reflected in the interviewer's *mhm* in line 3 and Iwona holds the floor and continues giving more examples. In line 4, she lists pedophilia in church as one of the aspects she disapproves of. The interviewer laughs, which prevents her from taking the floor, and Iwona goes on to negatively evaluate the content of her last phrase in line 6. She then speeds up in the phrase in line 6, which terminates with a fall and overlaps with the interviewer's concurring *mhm* in line 7. This way Iwona holds the floor, pronounces

one more phrase ending with a prolonged final vowel (8), speeds up again and clarifies her final example, that is, the strength of the right wing in Polish politics, a point that she repeats in three successive intonational phrases ending with falling intonation. Following Polish conventions, the repetition of the content and no cue for continuation of talk in the final phrase signals the completion of the turn.

In the final excerpt, an In-between speaker, Edyta (I3), also relies on Standard Polish norms to control the floor when producing a narrative about her experiences of being discriminated against in the UK. Throughout the excerpt, she uses fillers and the unfolding of the propositional content to signal talk continuation. However, she also occasionally makes use of the fall-rise. The fragment is part of a longer narrative, where she talks about stereotypes of Polish people in the UK and attitudes of the British towards Poles. In previous turns, Edyta had described positive experiences of not being discriminated against while working in a big company. Excerpt 6 begins after the interviewer asks whether the speaker had thus never experienced discrimination in the UK. This is confirmed by Edyta's answer *nie* 'no'; however, she immediately provides an example of a situation contrary to what she has just said, which does not give the interviewer any time to interrupt.

Excerpt (6). Edyta, I3.

1 I3 \nie chociaż wiesz \co (.) jeden z kolegów ((husband's name)) jak usłyszał że on-
no but you know what (.) one of ((husband's name)) friends when he heard that he-

2 że on >poznał dziewczynę \Polkę< i że wiesz to powiedział you gotta be
that he met a Polish girl and you know then he said you gotta be

3 kidding \me (.) what a jam roll?
kidding me (.) what a jam roll?

4 KK o
oh

5 I3 także \wiesz (.) nie jes- nie są już \znajomymi! powiedzmy \TAK
so you know (.) he's not- they're not friends anymore let's put it that way

6 KK ((laughter))

7 I3 ale po prostu nie mógł \uwierzyć >nie mógł zrozumieć< \/CZEMU
but he just couldn't believe he couldn't understand why

8 ((husband's name)) byłby zainteresowany \Polką
((husband's name)) would be interested in a Pole

9 KK o \wow!
oh wow

10 I3 po czym wylądował z dziewczyną z \Litwy ale […]
and then he was with a girl from Lithuania but

In order to introduce the new information and maintain the floor, Edyta uses a Standard Polish filler *wiesz co* 'you know what' in line 1, which is immediately followed by a phrase where she reflects upon her husband's friend's discriminatory remarks about her being Polish. In lines 1 to 3, she holds the floor mostly by unfolding the propositional content. Additionally, in line 2, she increases speed and uses another filler *wiesz* 'you know' before inserting two English phrases used by her husband's friend. The phrase in line 3 ends with a rise as one of the quotations constitutes a question. The interviewer reflexively evaluates the content of the phrase and produces her affective response *o* 'oh' in line 4. Immediately afterwards, Edyta continues by saying that her husband is no longer friends with the person. This is uttered with falling intonation and animated voice

and followed by a louder *tak* 'that way' to imply that she and her husband reacted negatively to the situation. The fall in line 5 signals completion, but the interviewer laughs and does not have any time to take the floor as Edyta does not stop and goes on to clarifying what the man meant by this. She affectively evaluates his reasoning as she puts an emphasis on the word *CZEMU* 'why' in line 7. This phrase ends with a fall-rise, which is in line with Standard Polish norms for emotional contexts. At the same time, the fall-rise allows her to maintain the floor and complete her turn in line 8, where she explicitly states what was meant by the friend's comment. This is pronounced with a fall and the content signals the end of the turn. The interviewer only affectively responds to Edyta's turn, which enables Edyta to provide some additional information and negatively evaluate the person in line 10. The excerpt then trails off.

All six excerpts from interviews with female Polish Poles and In-betweens show how speakers in these two categories implement prosodic cues to produce their narratives and how they maintain the floor during the interview by means of the unfolding of the propositional content, fillers, lengthening of final sounds and differences in speed. As speakers usually follow Standard Polish norms, their nuclear intonation in declaratively formatted turns is predominantly realized by the default falling pattern. Rising intonation occasionally occurs in their speech, usually to project that there is more talk to come, which is consistent with Standard Polish norms. Where the fall-rise is used, it follows tendencies observed in Standard Polish, i.e. it is used in emotional speech, to imply something (see Excerpt (3)), but the new use has also been observed. What is crucial is that as expected for both Polish Poles and In-betweens, the way to organize talk in the emergent interactional texts relies on semiotic cues used in Standard Polish. Also, the use of intonation patterns described qualitatively squares the quantitative findings reported in Section 7.2.

7.4.2.3 Female Polish Cosmopolitans

In contrast to female Polish Poles and In-betweens, Cosmopolitan speakers organize their talk with increased use of falling-rising intonation as a way to maintain the floor when providing narratives. As shown in the excerpts below, this meaning of the fall-rise is achieved by the interlocutors' mutual calibration of their stances and positionalities in interaction and the interviewer's reflexive behavior allows for the incorporation of the new device into Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking style. The four excerpts presented here illustrate this new function for the pattern.

In Excerpt (7), Iza (C3) uses both Standard Polish ways to maintain the floor such as fillers and lengthening of final sounds and the new intonational device, the fall-rise. The excerpt shows that she also uses intonation to signal turn completion. In the fragment, she describes experiences of discrimination and stereotypes of Poles in the UK. Prior to the excerpt, the speaker has described the groups of Poles who were coming to Britain at the time of her arrival.

Excerpt (7). Iza, C3.

1 C3 wiesz \co: - powiem szczerze \że: - ym (1.5) ja mam >na przykład< Angli-
you know- I'll tell the truth that- uhm (1.5) I have for example Eng-

2 chłopaka: \/Anglika: (.) i cała >jego rodzina< jest \/Angli::ków także czasami
an English boyfriend (.) and his whole family is English so sometimes

3 \słyszę nawet oni zapominają że ja w ogóle (h) jestem \Polką:: (.)
I hear even they forget that in fact I'm Polish (.)

4 i czasami >na przykład< to jakiś y - byliśmy na jakiś \święta::ch
and sometimes this is for example a- we went for Christmas

5 i jakieś były takie \docinki że pełno ludzi (h) w \Londynie::
and there where some comments that there are a lot of people in London

6 pełno \/imigra::ntów .h i tak [\dalej]
a lot of immigrants and so on

7 KK [mhm]
mhm

8 C3 .hh że że powinna Anglia jakoś reagować na \to:: no i zawsze tak na początku:
that that England should somehow react to it and always at the beginning

9 mnie to tak \/ruszało ale z drugiej strony jak przełożylibyśmy się- to na jakieś inne
I cared about it but on the other hand if we took- this somewhere

10 \warunki na przykład w \Polsce jak gdyby nagle się zwaliło tyle \/lu::dzi do [\/kraju]
else for example in Poland if so many people came suddenly to the country

11 KK [mhm]
mhm

12 C3 .h to na pewno: my nie bylibyśmy tak wyrozumiali jak \Angli:cy
then we wouldn't for sure be as tolerant as the English

The turn begins with Iza using a filler *wiesz co* 'you know what', which is followed by a truncated phrase. Both end in the lengthening of final vowels and although she makes a pause further in line 1, the interviewer does not take the floor as she responds to the next filler *ym* 'uhm'. Iza then goes on to introducing new information about her having an English partner. The new propositional content is pronounced with a fall-rise and a prolonged vowel in line 2, which signals to the interviewer that the point will be elaborated on in the next phrases. As a result, despite a pause, the interviewer does not take the floor and she continues talking about her partner and his family's attitudes towards immigrants. Iza uses the default falling intonation and maintains the floor in line

3 by the lengthening of the final vowel of the last prosodic word in the phrase, a device that she uses in further phrases when introducing a particular family event (lines 4-5). She then produces a phrase to clarify the nature of the comments made during the event. The phrase ends in a fall-rise in line 6, which allows her to maintain the floor. As she has not finished describing the event, despite the falling intonation of the next phrase (6), the interviewer only signals that she is waiting for more talk to come by uttering a concurring *mhm* in line 7. Iza then goes on to describing her initial response to negative comments about immigrants and how her views have changed in lines 8-10. At the beginning, she maintains the floor by using prolonged vowels. Then, in line 9 she uses a fall-rise, which allows her to hold the floor as the interviewer picks up the cue and does not interrupt at all. Although she then uses falling intonation in line 10 twice, again, this does not make the interviewer take the floor as based on the content, she is waiting for more talk to come. Iza then uses the new device twice in line 10 to signal that she will continue, which is reflected in the interviewer's *mhm*. Finally, in the last two phrases in line 12, she uses the falling intonation, which together with the propositional content allows her to complete her turn. Thus, we can see that she organizes her talk in a different way from what has been described for Polish Poles and In-betweens.

The next excerpt demonstrates how for Paulina (C1) the fall-rise becomes a primary tool to maintain the floor during her narrative. In Excerpt (8) she provides an account of her problems upon arrival in the UK. The fragment presented here belongs to a longer narrative and follows the informant's assertion that she did not have any problems with writing in English.

Excerpt (8). Paulina, C1.

1 C1	co prawda miałam trochę: trochę szok \/z prawem (.) bo mój pierwszy-
	although I had shock with law (.) because my first-
2	jeden z moich przedmiotów to było >prawo \konstytucyjne< i ten język \prawniczy
	one of my subjects was constitutional law and this legal language
3	to było coś czego nigdy nie .h \/doświadczyłam >wiem że sami Anglicy<
	it was something that I had never experienced I know that even the English
4	też mieli z tym \problemy że jest bardzo dużo >takiego slangu prawniczego
	also had problems with this that it's very difficult this law slang
5	którego< w ogóle (.) o co chodzi? y: albo jakiejś \/łaciny °tam°
	which in general (.) what's this about? uhm or such Latin there
6	.h wplo- wplecionej w to \/wszystko em więc::: myślę że z tym miałam też
	in- intertwined in this all uhm so I think that with this I also
7	>troszeczkę< \/problem i >też wydaje mi<- z tego przedmiotu dostałam najgorszą
	had a bit of a problem and also I think- from this subject I got the worst
8	ocenę ze wszystkich innych< tak?
	grade of all others, right?
9 KK	mhm
	mhm
10 C1	wydaje mi się że to \był (.) pewien tam ten (.) \problem
	I think this was (.) somewhere (.) a problem

The excerpt begins with a declarative intonational phrase which contrasts what has just been said with new information about shock encountered when studying law. The fall-rise used in the phrase (line 1) serves to introduce a new idea and simultaneously show that there is an explanation to follow. Consistent with this, the interviewer does not take the floor, despite the pause. The clarification concerns the fact that the speaker studied constitutional law, information that is new to the interviewer. Paulina then starts elaborating on the language of law, which begins at the end of line 2. Although she uses the default falling intonation, the interviewer does not take the floor as based on the content she is waiting for more talk to come. In contrast, in the next phrase the content alone is not enough to signal that the speaker will continue (3). Thus, she uses the fall-rise to hold the floor and the interviewer does not take the floor. Paulina then speeds up and produces next phrases in which she demonstrates how difficult the legal language was for

everybody. The use of falling-rising intonation in lines 5 and 6 allows her to finish the point about the difficulty of legal English at the same time signaling that the turn will continue. Then, she asserts that she had problems with the language in line 6-7 and despite the phrase being propositionally complete, the interviewer does not take the floor as she responds to the fall-rise at the end of the phrase. Paulina then provides evidence by stating that she had the worst grade from the course. The rising intonation falling on *tak* 'yes' in line 8 is used to elicit confirmation from the interviewer, which is duly forthcoming in line 9. The turn is completed in line 10, which is signaled by her using falling intonation.

Similarly, in Excerpt (9), Maja (C6) frequently uses the fall-rise as a floor control mechanism and signals completion of her turn with falling intonation. The excerpt is part of a longer sequence of narratives where Maja describes her story in the UK. Here, she talks about the problems she faced when applying to British universities through the UCAS system. Immediately prior to the presented excerpt she has described the Polish system and here she compares it to the British one.

Excerpt (7). Maja, C6.

1 C6 a TUTAJ \/masz takie małe \okienko >w którym< (.) \/właściwie
and here you have this small window in which (.) in fact

2 masz się skupić DLACZEGO chcesz studiować daną [\/dziedzinę
you have to focus on why you want to study a particular field

3 KK [mhm]
mhm

4 C6 [no i wybierasz] sobie ileś \/uniwersytetów które masz nadzieję że cię \przyjmą (.)
so you choose a number of universities which you are hoping will accept you (.)

5 no i ja w tym okienku to w sumie napisałam (hhh) i o historii \/SZTUKI
so in this window in fact I wrote about history of art

6 i O KONFLIKTACH \/etnicznych \/i ten także (.) tak nie do końca zrozumiałam to ja-
and ethnic conflicts and so on so (.) I didn't really understand I-

7 bo też nie miałam \POMOCY specjalnie jakoś tak ani rodzice-
because I didn't have any help in fact somehow neither parents

8 no nikt nie był w to wogle zupełnie [za=
nor anyone was in general at all

9 KK [no tak]
oh yes

10 C6 =\/angażowany no i tak czułam- starałam się to zrobić jak [\/najlepiej
engaged so I felt I tried to do it as best as I could

11 KK [sama to robiłaś tak?]
you did it on your own, right?

12 C6 \ZUPEŁNIE wiesz
totally you know

In line 1, the last prosodic word of the first phrase ends with a fall-rise on *masz* 'you have', which allows Maja to contrast the point she is about to make with what she said before. At the same time, she signals she will continue giving her answer and in the next phrase, she introduces specific information about the system. At the end of line 1, she uses a fall-rise again, which together with the unfolding of the propositional content allows her to signal she has not finished and the interviewer does not interrupt. She then goes on to clarifying what one has to write in their UCAS application in line 2. Here the propositional content of the phrase is complete. However, as Maja uses a fall-rise, a cue which signals continuation, the interviewer utters an overlapping *mhm* in line 3 and waits

for more talk to come. The speaker then explains that she had to select a few universities in line 4, where she uses a fall-rise again, which again allows her to hold the floor. Based on the unfolding of the propositional content of her next phrase in lines 4 and 5, the interviewer does not interrupt and Maja goes on to listing a variety of subjects she applied for in order to illustrate her misunderstanding of the UCAS system in lines 5-6. She ends each phrase with a fall-rise signaling that she will continue and maintains the floor in the next lines by producing a series of truncated phrases. By attending to the unfolding of the propositional content, the interviewer utters a confirming *no tak* 'oh yes' only in line 9. This overlaps with Maja's last prosodic word of the phrase *zaangażowany* 'engaged' in line 10, which is uttered with a fall-rise. The fall-rise allows her to maintain the floor, a device that is used also at the end of her next phrase (10). However, this time, the interviewer interrupts in order to confirm her understanding of the phrase in line 11. The turn completion comes in line 12 with the speaker uttering a confirming *zupełnie* 'totally' with a fall. Here the falling intonation pattern indicates turn completion as 'totally' is followed by a filler *wiesz* 'you know', which does not result in the speaker continuing her turn.

Also in Excerpt (10), Kaja (C4) makes a similar turn completion by means of falling intonation and similarly to all female Polish Cosmopolitans, maintains the floor by using fall-rises. In the excerpt, she talks about reasons for her staying in the UK.

Excerpt (10). Kaja, C4.

1 C4 naczy jestem w Anglii bo mam zwią:zek jakby jestem związana z \/Anglikiem
I'm in England because I'm in a relationship like I'm with an Englishman
2 jakby jestem związana z \/Anglikiem
like I'm with an Englishman
3 KK mhm
yes
4 C4 em i:: (.) nie mam (.) jakby-
uhm and(.) I don't have like-
5 ((slurp)) dlaczego bym miała- on po polsku nie \/mówi chociaż też się stwierdza
why would I have he doesn't speak Polish although he says
6 >że powinien powinien się nauczyć prędzej czy później< chociaż \/troszkę
that he should should sooner or later learn a bit
7 uhm coś tam łapie niekiedy co raz więcej
uhm sometimes he understands more and more

In the first declarative intonational phrase, she asserts that she is in the UK because she is in a relationship. The phrase ends in a lengthened nuclear vowel, which is a Standard Polish way to signal continuation of talk. The predicate is clarified in her next phrase, where she explains that she is in a relationship with an Englishman. The phrase in line 2 terminates with a fall-rise, which allows her to project that there is more talk to come. The interviewer agrees by uttering *mhm*, after which Kaja holds the floor and continues clarifying the point she made in her previous turn. In lines 4-5, she produces a series of truncated phrases, whose unfolding propositional content serves as a cue for the interviewer not to take the floor. In lines 5 and 6, she states that her partner does not speak Polish although he agrees that he should learn a bit. While doing so, she ends each declarative intonational phrase (lines 5 and 6) with a fall-rise indicating that she has not finished, which is reflected in the interviewer's behavior as she does not take the floor. The excerpt ends with Kaja saying that her partner understands a bit of Polish. Crucially, the two phrases produced in line 7 are pronounced with a fall, indicating the completion of the turn. The propositional content alone in the final phrase could not be enough to

signal completion here. Thus, the difference in her use of the two intonation patterns is visible.

The excerpts in this section demonstrate that Polish Cosmopolitans use fall-rises in order to project more talk to come, which allows them to maintain the floor when producing narratives during the interview. Such a use of the fall-rise is reflected in the frequency of occurrence reported for Polish Cosmopolitans in Section 7.2. When the patterns are examined in terms of their discursive function (see Figure 7.7 and Table 7.4 in Section 7.2), the predominant use of the fall-rise for Polish Cosmopolitans is also continuation of talk. As the interviewer reflexively responds to such a use of the fall-rise and calibrates her role accordingly, the pattern is incorporated into the Polish Cosmopolitans' ways of speaking.

7.4.3 Male speakers and intonation patterns

In this section, I provide a short discussion of intonational devices used to maintain the floor by male speakers. As the three sociocultural identities are not equally distributed across male speakers, only tentative conclusions can be made. The discussion suggests that all male speakers rely on Standard Polish ways to organize talk. In total, four excerpts are analyzed: two for Polish Poles, one for In-betweens and one for Polish Cosmopolitans.

7.4.3.1 Male Polish Poles

Excerpts (1) and (2) provide examples of narratives produced by male Polish Poles. Both speakers organize their talk similarly to female Polish Poles and In-betweens relying on Standard Polish schemata as they maintain the floor by means of the unfolding of the propositional content, occasional lengthening of sounds and use of fillers. Both excerpts

touch upon the topic of problems encountered upon arrival in the UK. Excerpt (11) comes from the interview with Adam (P1) and constitutes part of a longer narrative where the speaker describes difficulties he faced at the beginning in the UK.

Excerpt (11). Adam, P1.

1 P1 a w em:: kwestiach takich \towarzyskich no to też było zupełnie \inaczej
and in uhm such social matters then it was totally different

2 no bo tutaj już jednak y: - tak jak y: w Polsce ludzie się znali już w liceum \gimnazjum
because here when people knew one another already from high school junior high

3 ((slurp)) to tak samo było tutaj ludzie już mieli te- te więzi były dużo \mocniejsze
((slurp)) it was the same here people already had those- those ties were much stronger

4 KK mhm
mhm

5 P1 e: y: no i mimo wszystko byłem °**j**edynym° Polakiem na w tym tym na tym moim
and despite it all I was the only Pole in this this in this my

6 \kierunku [więc =
department so

8 KK [mhm]
mhm

9 P1 =trzeba było się PRZEBIĆ przez tą \barierę (.) em:: (0.2) \kulturalne \integracyjne
you had to break through this barrier (.) uhm (0.2) cultural integrational

In the first phrase, Adam states that socializing was a problem for him and goes on to providing an explanation in lines 1-3. He maintains the floor mostly by unfolding the propositional content. Additionally, in line 2, he inserts two fillers pronounced with prolonged vowels, which allows him to signal continuation of talk. All phrases are uttered with the default fall. In line 3, although the content of the speaker's phrase is complete and Adam's intonation does not signal continuation of talk, the interviewer does not take the floor, but only utters a concurring *mhm* in line 4. This is probably due to a non-linguistic cue used by the speaker to signal that he has not finished. Adam continues and introduces another problem he faced (lines 5-9). The turn completion is achieved in line 9. First, Adam uses a filler *em* 'uhm' with a prolonged final sound, which allows him to

maintain the floor despite making a 0.2ms pause, and then, he explicitly repeats what the nature of his problems was. Both *kulturalne* 'cultural' and *integracyjne* 'integrational' are pronounced with falling intonation, which together with the repetition of the content enables him to complete the turn, which resembles strategies used by female speakers who rely on Standard Polish schemata for organization of talk.

Excerpt (12) provides an example, where another Polish Pole, Tomasz (P8), uses lengthening of final sounds and unfolding of the propositional content as a way to hold the floor. In this excerpt, rising intonation is also occasionally used for signaling continuation of talk, which is consistent with Standard Polish. The excerpt is part of the speaker's longer reflection on his problems upon arrival in the UK.

Excerpt (12). Tomasz, P8.

1 P8 więc trochę miałem wydaje mi się problemy z \integracją
so I had a bit I think problems with integration

2 trochę byłem byłem \nieśmiały::
I was a bit shy

3 KK mhm
mhm

4 P8 wydaje \mi się miałem- mój angielski też nie był taki: taki \mega
I think I had- my English wasn't so so great

5 KK mhm
mhm

6 P8 powiem \szczerze y i:: więc miałem problemy >tak naprawdę się trochę<
frankly and so I had in fact problems

7 **?**zintegrować więc dużo się trzymaliśmy z kolegami \z Polski
with integration so we hung out a lot with friends from Poland

8 i też miałem trochę problemy pie- z \pieniędzmi
and also I had some problems mon- with money

The excerpt begins with Tomasz stating that he had problems with integration in line 1, which is pronounced according to Standard Polish norms using falling intonation. The interviewer does not take the floor as she awaits a longer answer and Tomasz starts

providing reasons for his problems. In line 2, he introduces the first reason. The propositional content of the phrase is accompanied by falling intonation. In line with Standard Polish norms, the lengthening of the final vowel in the last prosodic word of the phrase signals to the interviewer that there will be more talk to come, which results in the interviewer's concurring *mhm*. Tomasz continues. Despite the fact that the propositional content of his next phrase is complete and he does not signal continuation by means of linguistic cues, the interviewer only utters *mhm* in line 5, which suggests that she is relying on non-linguistic cues and therefore, does not take the floor. The speaker finishes the point and maintains the floor by inserting a prolonged conjunction *i* 'and' in line 6, indicating that the point will be elaborated on. This is followed by a repetition of the semantic predicate, which terminates with rising intonation, which is also a projection of more talk to come. Thus, Tomasz maintains the floor and continues. In the last phrase in line 8, he completes the turn with a combination of the propositional content and falling intonation, which is in line with Standard Polish norms.

7.4.3.2 Male In-betweens

Similarly to male Polish Poles, the male In-between speaker in the study maintains conversational involvement relying on the Standard Polish schemata for talk organization. Excerpt (13) comes from a longer narrative, where Adrian reflects upon his ability to speak English upon arrival in the UK and the problems he faced at the university.

Excerpt (13). Adrian, I6.

1 I6 musiałem się \skupić problemy miałem (.) bardziej z \pisaniem
I had to focus I had (.) more problems with writing
2 KK tak?
yes?
3 I6 ale to wynikało nie tylko z języka tylko po prostu z:: braku
but this was not only because of the language but simply because of lack of
4 warsztatu:: \naukowego
academic experience
5 KK mhm
mhm
6 I6 bo w Polsce jako student byłem zmuszany do pisania **?**rzadko
because in Poland as a student I was forced to write rarely
7 z własnej woli pisałem \czasami ale wogle rozwój warsztatu jakby- (1.0)
voluntarily I wrote sometimes but in general developing the skill like- (1.0)
8 pracownika czy badacza był prawie \żaden °generalnie°>wydaje mi się, że to było<
for an academic or researcher didn't almost exist it seems to me that it was
9 raczej jakieś tam \przypadkowe pisywałem do jakieś tam gazetki (.)
a bit random I was writing to some newspaper (.)
10 wydziałowej czy tam koła \naukowego y:: \OPUBLIKOWAŁEM parę rzeczy
in the faculty or research group uhm I published a few things

In line 1, Adrian produces two declarative intonational phrases, both ending with a fall in nuclear syllables. As the content and intonation imply completion of the turn, the interviewer utters *yes* 'tak' with rising intonation, which shows that she is waiting for an explanation to follow. The speaker then goes on to clarify his point in lines 3-4. The two final prosodic words of the phrase in line 4 *warsztatu naukowego* 'academic experience' are uttered with a prolonged final vowel and falling intonation respectively. Despite the complete propositional content of the phrase, the interviewer does not take the floor, which suggests that she is relying on non-linguistic cues. Her *mhm* in line 5 shows she waits for more talk to come and Adrian elaborates on the point. In line 6, he uses rising intonation, which as expected in Standard Polish, allows him to hold the floor. He also relies on the unfolding of the propositional content for this purpose, which is visible in line 7, where he produces a truncated phrase followed by a 1.0ms pause. As the content is

incomplete, the interviewer does not take the floor and Adrian controls the floor. Finally, in line 10, he prolongs a filler *y* 'uhm', which shows that he is also relying on this Standard Polish cue to signal continuation of talk. He completes his turn by finishing the unfolding of the propositional content and putting emphasis on the last prosodic word that carries the nucleus *opublikowałem* 'I published', which is common for Standard Polish.

7.4.3.3 Male Polish Cosmopolitans

Finally, both male Polish Cosmopolitans organize their talk and maintain the floor in interviews similarly to all Polish Poles and In-betweens, thus, relying on Standard Polish norms. In Excerpt (14), Rafał (C2) controls the floors mainly by the use of fillers and unfolding of the propositional content. In the excerpt, Rafał discusses selected aspects of Polish culture and his attitude towards them.

Excerpt (14). Rafał, C2.

1 C2 ja na przykład jestem y:: dużym fanem \Witkacego i \Gombrowicza
I'm for example a big fun of Witkacy and Gombrowicz

2 i na przykład \tą część kultury bardzo chętnie bym \wiesz (1.5)
and for example this part of culture I would you know (1.5)

3 jakby nie \wiem .hhh \przedstawił czy tam wyjaśnił czy \coś
like I don't know present or explain or something

4 ale to \całe: - ta cała część że \wiesz (0.8) wpychanie ludziom (.) do głowy że
but this all - this whole part that you know (0.8) putting to people's (.) heads that

5 jesteśmy jakimś narodem \wybranym czy coś takiego
we're a chosen nation or something like that

6 tak jak u (.)\Sienkiewicza i \Mickiewicza >i tak dalej< m:: mnie po prostu wiesz (.)
like in (.) Sienkiewicz and Mickiewicz and so on this simply you know (.)

7 no drażni **?**nie
irritates me no

8 KK ((a bit of laughter))

9 C2 i (1.8) cała religijna akcja też mnie w ogóle- (1.0) jestem bardzo (h) ant(hhh)
and (1.8) this whole religious action also in general me (1.0) I'm very anti

\klerykalny
clerical

In lines 1-3, Rafał discusses the aspects of Polish culture that he consider positive. In order to maintain the floor, he relies on the Standard Polish unfolding of the propositional content and use of fillers and discourse markers. In line 2, for example, he produces *wiesz* 'you know', which indicates that there is more talk to come. As a result, the interviewer does not take the floor, although there is a pause of 1.5ms. The same device is used in line 4 when he discusses negative aspects of Polish culture. Despite Rafał's 0.8ms pause, the interviewer does not take the floor as she has picked up the cue. Rafał then provides contrastive information about the aspects of Polish culture that he disapproves of. In the following phrases, he elaborates on his disapproval of the idea that the Polish nation is the chosen one. His turn ends in line 7 with rising intonation on *nie* 'no', which he uses in order to elicit confirmation from the interviewer. The interviewer laughs and does not have time to take the floor as Rafał then inserts a conjunction *i* 'and' in line 9, which signals that there is more talk to come. With the interviewer relying on the cue and not taking the floor following the pause, he lists another negative aspect of Polish culture, religiosity. Even though he then makes another pause of 1.0ms, the interviewer does not take the floor again. This time, consistent with Standard Polish norms, she relies on the unfolding of the propositional content. The turn completes in line 10, when the speaker finishes his point. Throughout the excerpt the default falling intonation is used, which shows that following Standard Polish norms, the speaker relies mostly on non-prosodic cues to organize his talk.

7.5 Conclusions

The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that identity construction can also be observed at a suprasegmental level. It has been shown here that similarly to aspirated stops, fall-rises in declarative intonational phrases in narratives participate in the stylistic production of social differentiation among young Polish adults. The quantitative analysis

indicated that one group, female Polish Cosmopolitans, make greater use of fall-rises when speaking Polish. The numbers of tokens and percentages of fall-rises in the speech of other groups (Polish Poles, In-betweens and male Polish Cosmopolitans) were much lower.

Moreover, the qualitative analysis showed that the use of fall-rises in the corpus is linked to a new discursive function. The new function of fall-rises has to do with maintaining the floor when providing narratives. Although all speakers have been observed to make use of fall-rises as one of the cues used to signal continuation of talk in their Polish, female Polish Cosmopolitans are ahead of other groups. They also use intonation to signal turn completion, which the other groups do not do.

As manifested in the qualitative analysis, the new form becomes incorporated into female Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking styles when together with their interlocutors they mutually calibrate their stances and role alignments in interaction. It has also been examined here how the interviewer reflexively attended and responded to the new use of the fall-rise she encountered. As a result, the interlocutors mutually established the meaning of the new device, which in turn allowed the speakers to interactionally accomplish their new identities.

In contrast to female Polish Cosmopolitans, all other participants were found to organize their talk and maintain the floor in interaction relying mostly on Standard Polish norms. Therefore, they mainly signaled continuation of talk by the unfolding of the propositional content, use of fillers and discourse markers, lengthening of final sounds and other non-linguistic cues.

The reason why the speakers' linguistic behavior differs is connected with their disparate language ideologies. As the schematizations of semiotic value guiding the speakers'

behavior differ, the participants expressing the three identities differently evaluate the appropriateness of their use of fall-rises. Since female Polish Cosmopolitans orient themselves towards the English speaking world, also in interaction they evaluate their use of fall-rises drawing on the English interactional frameworks. As a result, they reanalyze and transform the Standard Polish norms by using an existing, but rare Polish intonation pattern, the fall-rise, with increased frequency and a new function. As there are only two men who express such identities, no firm statements about male Polish Cosmopolitans can be made. The current analysis suggests, however, that fall-rises are less frequently employed by male Polish Cosmopolitans and thus, the men may not signal their new identities at a suprasegmental level. For other groups, Standard Polish ways of organizing their talk are more appropriate as they want to maintain the language in its standard form.

To sum up, the analysis demonstrates that variation in the use of fall-rises in declarative intonational phrases in narratives is also influenced by ideologically mediated network practices and the speakers' attitudinal stances. Additionally, here the use of variation seems to be inflected by gender, hence female and male Polish Cosmopolitans differ in the ways they maintain the floor in interaction. However, due to unequal numbers of female and male speakers, no firm statements can be made. Most importantly, it is manifested in the analysis that similarly to aspirated stops, the studied intonation pattern serves as a tool to construct the female Polish Cosmopolitan identity.

8 Conclusions

Drawing on sociolinguistic and anthropological research as well as on cultural studies, this thesis has explored linguistic and cultural practices of a group of young post-modern Polish migrants who had moved to Britain to study at university level and later stayed to work in the London area and Oxford. The project examined identity formation by means of phonetic detail among this particular subgroup within the Polish diaspora community, where other social and cultural formations coexist. By examining self-representations of 30 young Polish adults together with observations made during the fieldwork, I was able to analyze how traditional and modern Polish cultural stances and practices are retained and reproduced among the members of the community in the new, transnational context in the UK and how this translates into the informants' language use. By giving the participants voice, I intended to elucidate how individual voices and representations are constitutive of collective and structured sociocultural formations based on people's experience with the world, which as shown in the thesis results in them taking up various continuities.

The qualitative analysis of the fieldwork presented in Chapter 3 resulted in the emergence of two distinct groupings of sociocultural identity: Polish Poles, who define themselves as nationally Polish, maintain Polish culture and language and find their place in British society by belonging to the Polish diaspora community, and Polish Cosmopolitans, who reject the concept of nationality as a basis for identity, do not consciously maintain Polish culture and language and do not seek belonging in the Polish diaspora community, but rather orient themselves towards the world and global economy. There is also an intermediate group who still identify themselves as Polish, maintain selected aspects of Polish culture, including the Polish language, but orient themselves more towards the

English-speaking world than Poland and its diaspora community. The three sociocultural identities form a continuum of Polishness, where the understanding of the concept ranges from national identity, through cultural heritage to childhood memories and link with one's family. The project demonstrates both the perpetuation of traditional Polish identity and the creation of a new sociocultural formation.

Most importantly, it is manifested that in the context of the narrative of the self, new, innovative ways of speaking serve to index a female Polish Cosmopolitan identity. Due to unequal distribution of the identities across the two genders, no firm statements about male Polish Cosmopolitans can be made. The analyses presented in Chapters 6 and 7 reveal, however, that female Polish Poles and In-betweens maintain Standard Polish, while female Polish Cosmoplitans appropriate and recombine aspirated stops and fall-rises into their speaking styles. Both features occur in limited linguistic contexts.

The analysis of stop-aspiration in the nuclei of intonational phrases presented in Chapter 6 demonstrates that the use of this segmental feature is predominantly conditioned by the speaker's sociocultural positioning. A number of mixed effects models that examine the influence of both linguistic and sociocultural independent variables on the occurrence of aspiration showed that the speaker's sociocultural positioning is always highly significant resulting in Polish Cosmopolitans using aspirated stops more frequently than other groups. This confirms that the use of aspirated stops across speakers depends on ideologically underpinned network practices and attitudinal alignments. So does the use of fall-rises in declarative intonational phrases in narratives. As presented in Chapter 7, female Polish Cosmopolitans have appropriated an existing, but rare intonation pattern in Polish, the fall-rise, and use it with increased frequency and a new function based on English interactional frameworks. Their use of fall-rises is a result of negotiation of

sociocultural norms at suprasegmental level and it is linked to the pattern's discursive function in English, where it can be used as a floor control mechanism. The analysis shows how the new meaning for fall-rises is established in interaction by interlocutors reflexively responding to the new prosodic structure and mutually calibrating their stances and role alignments. These local interactional moves result in the incorporation of the new intonational device into the female Polish Cosmopolitans' speaking style.

Both linguistic analyses demonstrate that phonetic variation, at both segmental and suprasegmental levels, participates in the construction of the new female Polish Cosmopolitan identity. Despite gender differences in the distribution of the three identities, the analysis suggests that the studied variation is inflected by gender. As female Polish Cosmopolitans speak in innovative ways, linguistic change could be linked here to social change, where women and men have differently socially determined obligations and thus, may react differently in the new social context. Therefore, phonetic variation can only be understood when seen as located within a layered community, where social categories interact and influence one another.

The thesis examines a variety of ethnic experience and linguistic practices of a group of post-modern migrants with seemingly similar linguistic and cultural profiles. Even though the participants share social background in that their level of education and social position are alike, their cultural and linguistic behavior differ, which points to the importance of human agency for cultural reproduction. The reason why not all of them speak in new ways has to do with different schematizations relative to which the speakers model the appropriateness of the linguistic signs constitutive of their speaking styles. As the public representations of language (Cameron 2006) guiding the speakers differ, their understandings of the appropriateness of their linguistic behavior also diverge. The

divergent and competing indexical meanings assigned to the features depend on the speakers' prior socialization, network-linked practices and degree of ideological engagement regarding the indexical meaningfulness (Silverstein 2003: 194) of the variables.

The various meanings associated with the forms have been and are being shaped by large-scale communicative processes in which the speakers have been engaged in multiple sites. As the informants in this study were all born and initially raised primarily in Poland, their understanding of the world was shaped by Polish sociocultural norms. As different agents in Polish society conceptualized the world by means of competing ideological frameworks shaped by the Polish sociohistorical context and dialectic essentializations of members of society as well as by various conceptualizations of the form of national identity propagated in the public discourse promoted by mass media and political actions with various force, they might have developed different models of indexicality of English features in Polish in Poland. At the same time, the indexical values of the forms were also played out between the local Polish context and the global context, both of which were already anchored in the participants' everyday lives in Poland.

After migrating, the participants entered a new sociocultural context where the indexical meaningfulness of the English features in Polish has been reconfigured by new discourses and norms encountered in the UK. The new meanings associated with the forms have been shaped in interaction with other Poles living in the British Isles. However, the very participation in the UK Polish diaspora community might have been influenced by the speakers' various conceptualizations of the diaspora community itself shaped by stereotypes of the Polish diaspora propagated in Polish society. The plethora of meanings associated with English forms, evaluated as constitutive of the new speaking styles, with

varying degrees of awareness, has, however, remained in a dialectic relationship with the indexical meanings circulating in Poland.

At the same time, while living in the UK, Poles are also exposed to discourses on Polish migration in British society, which are shaping their understanding of their own sociocultural positioning in the world. The stereotypical evaluations of Eastern Europeans, Poles in particular, may evoke both positive and negative associations, with British mass media often describing Poles as an external threat to the country as well as to the native manual laborers (Spigelman 2013). This is also embedded in a global debate on migration and the concept of nationality in the contemporary world.

Thus, the indexical values assigned to the new speaking styles depend on multiple communicative processes shaping the speakers' conceptualizations of the world. The migrants coming to the UK develop various ideological frameworks of semiotic value based both on their prior socialization and current engagement with the discourses circulating in the UK, Poland and the world. They assign different significance to different cultural values imbued in the linguistic variables also due to their different prior sociocultural positioning in Poland together with their disparate politico-economic and other interests. Thus, after arrival in the UK, they make sense of the world around them in various ways through competing schematizations of semiotic value.

As a result, speakers with seemingly similar linguistic profiles assign different indexical meanings to linguistic forms that they use and encounter. As Polish Poles and In-betweens, for different reasons, look back at the norms of Polish society, they follow Standard Polish norms as the ability to speak Standard Polish is seen by them as an attribute of a 'real Pole', in case of Polish Poles, or an 'educated Pole', in case of In-betweens. In contrast, Polish Cosmopolitans express their Polishness and level of

education by means of different semiotic resources, where features drawn from English at a phonetic level lose their negative associations and are assessed through the prism of positive indexical meanings. Female Polish Cosmopolitans' linguistic behavior described in this project should be thus seen as a result of them drawing on two systems of sociocultural normativity where the forms drawn from English evoke different associations and thus, are appropriate along different categorial dimensions.

It could be argued that the speakers' divergent schematizations are established through various ritualized practices rather than through one locatable and total occurrence of the forms. This, however, requires further investigation. More importantly, competing ideological frameworks and resulting practices allow also for a clash of interests in the new transnational setting with some frameworks being more propagated by political institutions and media. In the context of this study, for some, speakers of Standard Polish become more representative of the community, while those speaking in new ways are portrayed as 'weird' or 'unreal' people, who should be eschewed from the community. Here it has to be noted that the Cosmopolitans' own strategies for life do not allow for propagation of their own understanding of their speaking styles and positioning.

The study is an examination of one particular cultural formation in a particular time period. The observations made here link facts with phenomena, which may suggest that in other contexts both social and linguistic results may differ. However, the practices described may be indicative of a broader tendency of postmodern migrants to make use of language in socially meaningful ways in the globalized world, where the historical coexists with the present, where the local is anchored and inflected by the global on a daily basis and where due to increased contact between various linguistic and cultural norms, traditional categories of identity such as national identity and belonging to a

nation are questioned by people's own rationalizations and behaviors allowing for the creation of new sociocultural forms.

Most importantly, the linguistic analysis reveals how such a new sociocultural form is formed and developed in interaction at the level of phonetic variation. The project shows that in language contact situations, both segmental and suprasegmental features can become tools for construction of identity that are linked to a local understanding of the world. Conversely, this identity construction by means of phonetic detail can only be understood by examining the partitioning of social space, cultural values circulating in the community, essentializations of linguistic forms and authorization of the partitioning. Finally, a further examination of the variables in other contexts than the interview could complement our understanding of their indexically mutable character.

Appendix 1. Basic information about all speakers ordered according to the Polishness Index from Polish Poles to Polish Cosmopolitans (P – Polish Pole, I – In-between, C – Polish Cosmopolitan).

Serial number	Speaker	Gender	Age	Years in the UK	Place of origin	Place of residence	Profession	Partner	Level of studies in the UK
P1	Adam	M	27	8	Poznań	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	BA, MA
P2	Ewa	F	25	5	Katowice	London	Corporate Sector	-	BA, MA
P3	Kamil	M	27	8	Poznań	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	BA, MA
P4	Łukasz	M	27	8	Łódź	London	IT	Polish	BA
P5	Artur	M	25	6	Łódź	Oxford	Graduate Student	-	BA, MA, PHD
P6	Barbara	F	25	6	Lublin	London	Corporate Sector	-	BA
P7	Daniel	M	24	5	Tarnów	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	BA
P8	Tomasz	M	25	6	Katowice	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	BA
P9	Maria	F	27	8	Gdańsk	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	BA
P10	Paweł	M	25	6	Warszawa	London	Corporate Sector	-	BA
P11	Bartosz	M	25	6	Kraków	Oxford	Graduate Student	-	BA, PhD
P12	Emil	M	24	5	Siedlce	London	Corporate Sector	-	BA, MA
P13	Marek	M	25	6	Białystok	London	Corporate Sector	Singaporean	BA
P14	Monika	F	22	3.5	Katowice	Reading	Architecture	-	BA
P15	Olaf	M	24	5	Wrocław	London	Corporate Sector	-	BA
P16	Ela	F	25	6	Warszawa	London	Advertising	English	BA, MA

Serial number	Speaker	Gender	Age	Years in the UK	Place of origin	Place of residence	Profession	Partner	Level of studies in the UK
P17	Stefan	M	26	6.5	Warszawa	London	PR	Polish	BA, MA
I1	Agata	F	30	7	Gdańsk	Oxford	Education	Australian	MA, PhD
I2	Sylwia	F	27	7.5	Stalowa Wola	London	Media	Latvian	BA, MA
I3	Edyta	F	27	8	Warszawa	St. Albans	Headhunting	English	BA
I4	Daria	F	23	3.5	Warszawa	London	Graduate Student	English	BA, MA
I5	Iwona	F	27	8	Gdańsk	Oxford	Education	South African	BA, PHD
I6	Adrian	M	32	8.5	Wrocław	London	Public Sector	Georgian	MA, PhD
C1	Paulina	F	23	3.5	Warszawa	London	Graduate Student	English	BA, MA
C2	Rafał	M	32	8	Kraków	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	MA
C3	Iza	F	30	7	Toruń	London	Media	English	MA
C4	Kaja	F	30	10	Gdańsk	London	Education	English	BA
C5	Jacek	M	32	6	Poznań	London	Corporate Sector	Polish	PhD
C6	Maja	F	29	9	Warszawa	London	Corporate Sector	South African/ German	BA, MA
C7	Natalia	F	22	3.5	Warszawa	Oxford	Graduate Student	English	BA, MA

Appendix 2. UK universities attended by the speakers at undergraduate and graduate levels[27].

University	Undergraduate	Graduate	TOTAL
Imperial College London	1	0	1
King's College London	0	1	1
London Metropolitan University	0	1	1
London School of Economics	2	3	5
Open University	0	1	1
Oxford Brookes University	2	0	2
Royal Holloway	1	1	2
SOAS	1	0	1
UCL	2	1	3
University of Bath	1	0	1
University of Birmingham	1	0	1
University of Cambridge	2	1	3
University of East Anglia	0	1	1
University of Glamorgan	1	0	1
University of London	1	0	1
University of Oxford	7	10	17
University of Southampton	1	0	1
University of St. Andrews	1	0	1
University of Warwick	0	1	1
TOTAL	25	20	

[27] Five speakers completed their undergraduate studies at universities outside Britain: 1 in Germany, 4 in Poland.

Appendix 3. Informed consent form that each speaker had to sign before the beginning of the interview.

University of Oxford

Department of Linguistics, Phonetics and Philology
Walton Street, Oxford, OX1 2HG, United Kingdom

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AMONG MEMBERS OF THE POLISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

A study by Kinga Kozminska
DPhil in General Linguistics and Comparative Philology, University of Oxford
Supervisors: Prof. Deborah Cameron, Dr Rosalind Temple
Contact: kinga.kozminska@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk or 7986258710

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part		
I have read and understood the participant information.		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and have received satisfactory answers to questions and any additional details requested.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio or video).		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary. I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.		
I understand that this project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.		
I understand that I can raise concerns and make a complaint to the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.		
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.		
I understand that the information I will provide will be used for the researcher's DPhil dissertation.		
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs.		
Please choose one of the following two options: I would like my real name to be used in the above. I would not like my real name to be used in the above.		
Use of the information I provide beyond this project		
I agree for the data I provide to be archived on the researcher's password-		

protected computer.		
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to the data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
To use the information you provide legally		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Kinga Kozminska.		

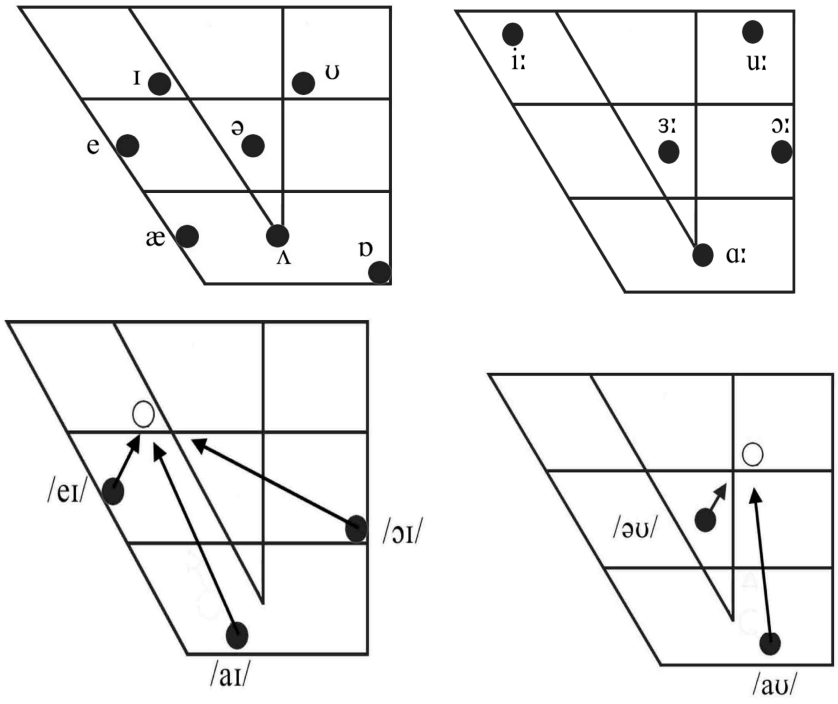
Name of participant	[printed]	Signature	Date
Researcher	[printed]	Signature	Date

Appendix 4. Phonemic inventories for English and Polish.

Figure 1 RP consonant inventory (based on Ladefoged 2006)

	Bilabial	**Labiodental**	**Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Post-alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**
Plosive	p b			t d			k ɡ
Nasal	m			n			ŋ
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		
Affricate					ʧ ʤ		
Approximant	w			ɾ		j	w
Lateral approximant				l			

Figure 2 RP vowel inventory (based on Cruttenden 2001)



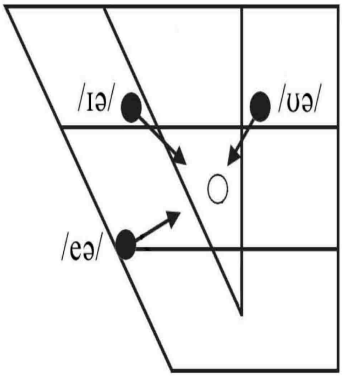
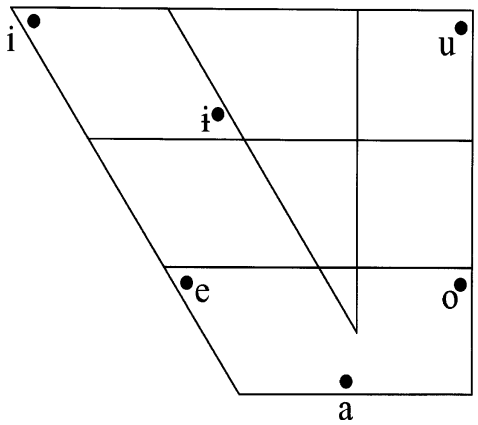


Figure 3 Polish consonant inventory (based on Jassem 2003)

	Bilabial	**Labiodental**	**Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Alveolo -palatal**	**Palatal**	**Velar**
Plosive	p b		t d			c ɟ	k ɡ
Nasal	m		n		ɲ		ŋ
Trill				r			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ɕ ʑ		x
Affricate			ts dz	ʧ ʤ	tɕ dʑ		
Lateral Approximant			l				
	Front			**Back**			
Approximant	j			w			

Figure 4 Polish vowel inventory (based on Jassem 2003)



Appendix 5 Original quotes from the interviews in Polish presented in order as they occur in the thesis.

Chapter 4

(1) Ela (P16)
nie, no na pewno jest ważna bo mimo, że mieszkam tutaj, to jestem Polką i z małymi wyjątkami nigdy bym się tego nie wyparła, jakby uważam, że to jest bardzo coś, co mnie definiuje jako osobę, em jakby to jest szczególnie mieszkając za granicą […] to jest bardzo ważna część tego kim ty jesteś

(2) Adam (P1)
na początku dla mnie to nie miałem tak dużej potrzeby, ponieważ dla mnie to było doświadczenie, ja chciałem się jak najlepiej nauczyć języka, zintegrować, zrozumieć perspektywę innych ludzi i priorytetem nie było, że tak powiem dla mnie spotykanie się z Polakami […] ale z czasem perspektywa się zmieniała, ponieważ z trybu studiów zmieniło się to w tryb życia w Anglii więc, teraz to można powiedzieć, że jakieś malutkie korzenie zapuściliśmy *(on i jego żona),* więc teraz szukamy tego właściwego balansu, to już nie jest kwestia tylko eksploracji czy próby ciągłej nauki, tylko teraz już jest to próba znalezienia balansu w życiu

(3) Adam (P1)
potrzeba tożsamości jest dosyć duża, żyjemy w kraju, w którym no jednak nigdy nie będziemy tutaj Anglikami, ani nie mamy, ja przynajmniej nie mam takich intencji i i chciałbym, żeby postrzeganie nas było dosyć jasne, że nie jesteśmy Rosjanami, nie jesteśmy Czechami, ale jesteśmy Polakami
[…]
to jest jakaś tożsamość narodowa, to jest przywiązanie do pewnej grupy społecznej, to jest, y jakaś tożsamość ekonomiczna też, tak? czy, czy, czy bardziej postrzegane jako patriotyzm ekonomiczny, to jest też jakaś duma z dorobku kulturalnego, tak? i chęć rozwoju tego i i uczestnictwa w tym, i no i co jeszcze? no i to jest jeszcze pewnie, to jest też pewnie to poczucie własnej wartości, tak? to jest to poczucie to jest poczucie, takiej niezależności, poczucie, które pozwala nam, funkcjonować w społeczenstwie i iść przez życie z taką pewnością siebie

(4) Marek (P13)
a druga rzecz to jest to, że inni ludzie też cię widzą jako Polaka, zawsze ktoś tam ma jakiś, asocjuje stereotypy albo przynajmniej kategoryzuje ludzi w różne szufladki i, i wiem, że ludzie będą mnie widzieć jako Polaka albo kogoś z Europy Wschodniej, więc jeżeli już mnie mają widzieć jako takiego to powinienem, wziąć to na własne barki czy jako to się tam mówi i żyć z tym, i nie chcę się uważać za kogoś kim nie jestem

(5) Bartosz (P11)
ale wiesz naczy ja ogólnie uważam, że nasza rola jako polskich studentów, którzy wyjeżdżają do Wielkiej Brytanii, jest dużo ważniejsza niż tylko to, żeby się samemu wyedukować i sobie coś samemu z tym zrobić w przyszłości, ja uważam, że szczególnie jakby dla naszego pokolenia, ludzi urodzonych w okolicach roku osiemdziesiątego

dziewiątego, prawda? chciałbym wierzyć, że mamy jakąś rolę dziejową do odegrania, jesteśmy pierwszym pokoleniem, które nie pamięta komunizmu, jesteśmy pierwszym pokoleniem, które ma możliwości wyjeżdżania na studia za granicę i uważam, że byłoby wielką niesprawiedliwością z naszej strony, gdybyśmy później nie wykorzystali tych umiejętności dla dobra, dla dobra Polski i oczywiście wiesz nie neguję tego, że absolutnie się, też promuję zdanie, że można się bardzo przysłużyć dla dobra Polski też będąc, nigdy już nie wracając do niej mieszkając cały czas za granicą to oczywiście jest prawdą, ale uważam, że y jakby powinniśmy każdy z nas powinien robić wszystko też, żeby mieć możliwość powrotu do Polski jeżeli taka będzie nasza decyzja, nie? żeby cały czas być w kontakcie z tą kulturą, żeby cały czas później i później po tym powrocie, żebyśmy nie byli traktowani jako ktoś z zewnątrz

(6) Maria (P9)
tak jak mówiłam z sytuacji, w której się znajdujesz, ile mówisz po polsku […] to myślę, że to jest jedna rzecz, a druga to nawet nie wiem jak to określić czy to jest wychowanie, czy to jest jakiś taki światopogląd, czy właśnie nastawienie do języka, no bo mi się wydaje, że ja chciałam iść na polonistykę też przez jakiś czas, więc dla mnie ten polski był bardzo bliski mojemu sercu, więc ja nie chcę go kaleczyć, ale jakbym miała ten język gdzieś, to no jak mi łatwiej się komunikować tak będę mówiła

(7) Maria (P9)
no ale po polsku, ja jestem z Polski, więc dlaczego miałabym mieć brytyjski akcent i nie mam też dla siebie wymówki, żeby mieć angielski akcent, bo gdybym mieszkała tutaj sama nie jeździła do Polski i nie miała polskich znajomych, to czuję, że to by było bardziej akceptowalne, a że ja mówię po polsku, to ja czuję, że ja, no byłabym jakimś takim snobem strasznym i strasznie arogancka jakbym nagle pojechła do Polski i zaczęła mówić jakbym miała żabę w buzi i udawała, że jestem z Wielkiej Brytanii także mi się wydaje, że to by było trochę żałosne

(8) Kamil (P3)
wydaje mi się, że jestem jedną z tych niewielu osób, które bardzo starają się jeszcze w miarę możliwości mówić wszystko poprawnie po polsku, naczy jestem pewien, że mnóstwo jest takich ludzi w Polsce, ja mam wrażenie, że wielu spośród kolegów, których spotykam tutaj, koleżanek, to gdzie tam już łatwiej to wrzucają angielskie słówko, bo to jest trochę naturalne, to trochę tak jakby wchodzi, jak jestem w Polsce czy mówię po polsku to staram się nawet na siłę czasem niektóre rzeczy tłumaczyć, że właśnie tak dla zasady
[…]
no nie wiem, wydaje mi się, że warto jednak o polski dbać, żeby on pozostał polski, a nie jakimś takim polskim, gdzie, gdzie używa się słów wytrychów obiegowych, bo są w internecie, bo tak jest cool, bo coś brzmi bardziej po angielsku,[…] przede wszystkim na tym, że mogłem świadomie i cały czas staram się świadomie, dbam o słowa, żeby nie używać angielskich słów, gdzie są polskie i tak dalej […] chyba dlatego, że myślę, że polski jest jakąś częścią polskiej tożsamości i w momencie gdybym przyznał przed sobą, że to tracę w sensie, że już tego nie kontroluję, zwłaszcza jak jestem w Polsce to, to by było tak, że już jestem mniej Polakiem, że jakby wyjechałem i faktycznie coś straciłem, […] myślę, że to jest właśnie to, mówiąc takim polskim zangielszczonym czy nie wiem

wrzucając tam angielskie słowa tak, jak gdyby nie była dla mnie polszczyzna ważna, a jest, myślę, że to jest część jakiejś narodowej tożsamości i ja tak to traktuję

(9) Kamil (P3)
to też nie jest tak, że Polska składa się z samych takich czystych Polaków, z drugiej strony to jest jakaś idea, która gdzieś tam w głowie trwa, żeby być takim czystym Polakiem bez żadnych naleciałości, może to jest sztuczne, nie wiem, ale to jest jakiś taki ideał, który mi przyświecał przez długi czas

(10) Maria (P9)
ja nie chcę udawać,że jestem kimś, kim nie jestem, nie jestem Brytyjczykiem i oczywiście chciałabym mówić po angielsku, mieć piękny brytyjski akcent, ale pogodziłam się już dawno z tym, że tak prawdopodobnie już nigdy nie będzie, że mogę się starać i mieć taki w miarę dobry akcent jak mówię po angielsku

(11) Daniel (P7)
zależy od tego, kto jest w naszym towarzystwie, oczywiście nie jesteśmy jakimiś tam snobami i rozmawiamy między sobą po angielsku, ale jeżeli jest minimalnie, przynajmniej jedna osoba, która nie zna polskiego, to, to automatycznie się przełączamy i nie ma z tym problemu

(12) Kaja (C4)
naczy nie mam potrzeby chyba, właśnie nie mam potrzeby, żeby sie jakby, jakby włanczać do jakiejś tam narodowości, bo wiem, że jestem, bo wiem, że nikt mi tego, że jestem Polką nie odbierze i nie muszę tego udawadniać nikomu i tak samo nie muszę w tym momencie udawadniać nikomu, że jestem Angielką, na pewno nawet nigdy ludzie by nie myśleli, że jestem Angielką, bo nie mam angielskiego paszportu […] czy zastanawianie się nad tym, co mi to da, że się nazwę, że nazwę siebie, że jestem Polką, albo że się, sobie dam jakiś tam label, że jestem A, z Anglii

(13) Maja (C6)
to, to bo widzisz pytanie o Polskość też ma, to też jest pytanie w ogóle o to czy się widzisz jako człowiek naczy, czy, czy widzisz się jako człowiek, który przynależy do jakiegoś ja, nie, ja nigdy nie czułam się częścią jakiejś grupy nigdy no więc właśnie, to jest, czy, czy czy ja się czuję trochę jak taki Gombrowicz (laughter) naczy mnie to dobija jeżeli ja się muszę w jakiś sposób określić, ja nie czuję, e jest jeden typ prze, jeden sposób przeżycia całego życia*[…]* dlatego dla mnie nigdy polskość nie znaczyła tego, co może dla innych osób, bo ja, ja nigdy się nie czułam częścią tego[…] em, ale tak czuję, że y po prostu świat ma zbyt wiele do zaoferowania by, po prostu jest tak wiele pięknego w świecie, że, że chciałabym na pewno czuję, że mnie to wzbogaca mieszkanie w różnych miejscach i, i em nie wiem do czego przynależę i nie wiem, nie wiem dlaczego miałabym się w jakiś sposób określić

(14) Jacek (C5)
głównie chodzi o to, że jeżeli chodzi o miejsca pracy w zawodzie obecnym to mogę wybrać między Londynem, Nowym Jorkiem, Hong Kongiem, Singapurem, może Bostonem i San Francisco, najbliżej Polski jest Londyn, studiowałem tutaj, w Londynie mam największą ilość przyjaciół, jakby ma sens to, że jestem w Londynie, no jako inwestor globalny nic takiego w Polsce nie ma

(15) Paulina (C1)
ale moim zdaniem to nie jest do końca kwestia tego, czy chcesz czy nie chcesz, tylko bardziej czy możesz, gdybym ja teraz wróciła do Polski to pozio, to zupełnie straciłabym pozycję zawodową, w której jestem, tak? mogę tutaj pójść, pójść do pracy i być zupełnie inną osobą w hierarchii społecznej, że tak powiem już bym była w Polsce, tak? i w ogóle nie ma takiej pozycji tak? którą ja bym chciała pełnić w Polsce więc ja tak naprawdę nie mam wyboru

(16) Paulina (C1)
wiesz co ja bardzo lubię angielską kulturę ja się tu bardzo dobrze czuję i tak jak na przykład amerykańskiej kultury nie za bardzo, bo mam takie, że nie chciałabym mieszkać w Stanach na stałe, to z tutejszą kulturą się bardzo dobrze czuję

(17) Kaja (C4)
jestem bardziej przyzwyczajona do tego, że mieszkam tutaj i nie myślę o tym, żeby wrócić do Polski […] mi się wydaje, że z prywatnym życiem, z kim się otaczam tutaj i jakby zaakceptowanie tego, że jestem w Anglii i że no jakby, jakby to wybrałam, bo jakbym chciała być w sumie, ja wybrałam to jak miałam dwadzieścia lat jak tutaj przyjechałam, jeżeli chciałabym być w Polsce, to bym została w Polsce, to bym wróciła do Polski, jakby podjęłam może taką nie decyzję, ale decyzję taką jakby nieświadomą, bo zaczęłam żyć tutaj, zaczęłam studiować tutaj, jakby moje życie rozwijało się bardziej w stronę Anglii niż w stronę Polski

(18) Natalia (C7)
no nie da się ukryć, że jestem Polką, ale nie wiem, czy kiedykolwiek będę to w stanie zmienić, natomiast podejmując decyzję o tym, żeby zamieszkać w Anglii, chciałabym mieć obywatelstwo angielskie, chciałabym być Brytyjką

(19) Jacek (C5)
każdemu dobrze się to dzieciństwo kojarzy, jeżeli to było dobre dzieciństwo, więc to są bardziej takie sentymenty z dziecinstwa niż takie narodowościowe wydaje mi się, a że w moim domu nie była takiej obsesji z polskością, to tak jej nie mam

(20) Natalia (C7)
na pewno jest, ale raczej nie ma żadnej świadomej kreacji w mojej polskości […] em więc czuję, że jest, ale nie jest do końca uświadomiona i raczej jest czasami jest intruzem
w mojej kreacji świadomej […] nie wiem, no czuję się bez narodowości jako takiej

(21) Jacek (C5)
ale wiesz jakbym miała w którymś momencie wrócić i zostać premierem Polski, to, ale to znowu nie chciałbym być jakby, nie chciałbym być wyeskponowany do ogólnej populacji ludzkiej nigdzie, więc nie, politykiem nie chciałbym być, bo cenię sobie prywatność, tak jak mówię żadna narodowość mnie nie zachwyca

(22) Maja (C6)
jakoś wiesz co, jakoś nie, specjalnie mnie to nie obchodzi jakoś tak, e w sumie gdzieś […] ja się lubię tak czuć tak zza granicy jakoś tak

(23) Kaja (C4)
a to się śmieją ze mnie, że a, że nie mogę przyjechać tylko po polsku mówić, muszę zawsze coś tam angielskiego wrzucić, ale ja wychodzę ze, z takiego założenia, że jeżeli nie zwrócisz uwagę na coś za bardzo to, to odejdzie tak czy siak, więc jeżeli ktoś mi coś powie, ja po prostu a, jeżeli mam się w jakąś rozmowę i dyskusję na ten temat wciągać, to by był jakiś tam problem, że issue jakby, problem, ale jeżeli by jeżeli to jakby zostawię i nie skomentuje, to oni sami może zrozumią, mieją, że może jednak mnie to nie obcho, nie interesuje

(24) Paulina (C1)
i no na pewno teraz tak jak na pewno serio miałam ludzi, którzy przychodzili i mówili boże ty używasz takiego niesamowitego języka, to teraz to już się nie zdarzy nigdy, tak? bo już nie używam takiego super języka, to jest trochę coś takiego, że no coś za coś, tak? no jednak mieszkam tutaj, i wykształcam sobie coraz lepszy ten brytyjski, ale kosztem tego jest to, że mój polski jednak stopniowo się pogarsza, no jakby nie za bardzo mam obecnie czas, żeby nad tym pracować

(25) Maja (C6)
tak
ym, nie, niekoniecznie chcę, żeby ym […] przypuszczam, że dzieci będą bi lub trzy ly-lingualne, bo na pewno chciałabym, żeby znały polski wiem, że ich polski nigdy nie będzie dobry, bo jeżeli zamieszkam gdzieś tam nie wiadomo gdzie, no będzie to jakiś tam polski, mm multijęzyczność bardzo, bardzo ją wzbogaciła, więc chyba no chociażby z tego względu, że no i oczywiście t, rozmowa z dziadkami kontakt z dziadkami, że jest wtedy bliższe mm, ale tak no i chyba to że, żeby jednak ta osoba gdzieś tam mogła się odnaleźć w Polsce, że, żeby mogła przyjechać do Polski i czuć się em no bo to wzbogaca tak samo mam tutaj kuzyna, który mówi po polsku ee i to, to oczywiście jeżeli chodzi o pracę no czy, czy cokolwiek no i jest to kolejne jakby doświadczenie i jakby kolejny jakiś taki asset, który można użyć, a poza tym m no jakby pozwala Ci to na […] tak rozszerzenie swojego takiego życia i doświadczeń w świecie, więc

(26) Natalia (C7)
nie
nie wiem na pewno tu były, zależałoby to z kim bym była mhm no oczywiście
natomiast jeśli już, to na pewno bym chciała zostać tutaj, tak? […] więc cel, nie wiem jaki miałabym cel w uczeniu dzieci polskiego poza właśnie przekazaniem kultury, której nie chcę przekazywać

(27) Agata (I1)
czuję się bardziej obywatelką świata niż Polką, z czego się niektórzy moi znajomi trochę śmieją, no bo jak to? bo przecież mówisz po polsku, bo przecież rodzice są z Polski, z drugiej strony mieszkasz w Anglii, to czemu już nie przyjmiesz tego obywatelstwa angielskiego
[…]
tak, tak oczywiście
[…]
tak jak kwadrat jest prostokątem

(28) Edyta (I3)
nie wiem międzynarodowa Polka, ale nie wiem, czy to jest wiesz odpowiednie określenie,w sensie, że nadal się czuję Polką, ale mieszkam już tak długo za granicą i wiesz, i tyle żeśmy jeździli, że wydaje mi się, że jakby mam, mam trochę inne podejście do świata niż Polacy, którzy zostali w Polsce, w tym samym wieku, którzy powiedzmy mniej zobaczyli czy są mniej otwarci na inne kultury

(29) Adrian (I6)
jeśli by mi ktoś w Polsce zaproponował świetną pracę na świetnych warunkach, to może, ale to musiałby być bardzo silny tak zwany pull factor, żebyśmy tam wylądowali, na tej samej zasadzie bym mógł wylądować w Mongolii, więc pod tym względem to się dla mnie liczy, bo myślę, że praca i płaca, która mnie interesuje nie jest już we Wrocławiu dostępna, to musiałaby być Warszawa, więc to by było tak samo obce dla mnie miasto jak jakiekolwiek inne na świecie

(30) Sylwia (I2)
polskość kojarzy mi się z tradycjami, z tym takim właśnie kalendarzem prawie, że katolickim świąt to jest pozytywne, ale ma taką wartość sentymentalną dla mnie, może nie jakąś taką wartość nadrzędną, ale chyba taki jakiś historyczno-kulturowo-trady, tradycyjne, tradycyjny wymiar ma polskość dla mnie

(31) Sylwia (I2)
na pewno jest bardzo bliskim i takim prawie intymnym językiem dla mnie, wydaje mi się, że gdybym zaczęła pisać pamiętnik, to bym pisała w języku polskim

(32) Edyta (I3)
takie połączenie z domem nie wiem, czuję, że jak przestanę mówić po polsku, to nie wiem jakby zapomnę skąd przyszłam […] dla siebie, że taka trochę duma z języka, a nie tak, czuję, że trochę zaniedbałam język, trochę tracisz swoją heritage

(33) Sylwia (I2)
wydaje mi się, że tak generalnie z jakiegoś poziomu wykształcenia, wydaje mi się, że te osoby starają się mówić poprawnie w każdym języku

(34) Adrian (I6)
nie nazwałbym się purystą językowym, ale osobą, dla której język ma znaczenie i kto pracuje z językami i chociaż dlatego, że moja mama jest językoznawcą i często rozmawiamy o sprawach języka, no wydaje mi się, że troska o czystość jakąś, tak to można nazwać czyli poprawność gramatyczną chociażby, ma znaczenie […] bo chciałbym mówić po polsku, bo jest to język, w którym mi się wydaje wciąż jest najbardziej sprawny, jeśli zsumować wszystko, angielski głównie ze względów zawodowych, bo wiem, że mi się angielski bardziej przyda, więc ten polski jest dla mnie teraz tylko przynajmniej w większości językiem prywatnym, w tym języku prywatnym jest to dla mnie ważne tak, tak wydaje mi się, że jest to ważne, ale wydaje mi się, że to wynika z tej ogólnej zasady, że, że jak się mówi w jakimś języku, jak się mówi w nim płynnie to powinno się mówić poprawnie, teraz dochodzi ten czynnik, że mam syna, który jest w połowie Polakiem przynajmniej, więc chciałbym, żeby on też mówił

(35) Sylwia (I2)
no wydaje mi się, że to takie trochę w złym stylu, nie wiem, że jestem w Polsce i używam jakiś angielskich zwrotów, wydaje mi się to takie pretensjonalne […] tak chciałabym zachować normalną, poprawną polszczyznę, nie chciałabym jakimiś dziwnymi zwrotami albo kalkami językowymi operować nie wiem na co dzień albo […] bo nie wydaje mi się, że po paru latach akcent albo jakaś zdolność wypowiadania powinna się jakoś drastycznie zmienić, zwłaszcza, że nie wydaje mi się, że jakoś większość Polaków, y że większość Polaków ma okazję używania tego języka i to nie jest tak, że nigdy nie mówi po polsku, nigdy nie ma okazji do wypowiadania się, więc, trochę jestem zawsze zdziwiona jeśli ten angielski, jeśli ten polski jakoś bardzo się pogarsza po zaledwie paru latach

(36) Adam (P1)
a z perspektywy jeszcze takiej wewnętrznej potrzeby, czy, czy, czy komfortu takiego stuprocentowego, komfortu psychicznego to myślę, że Polska

(37) Daniel (P7)
żyjemy w czasach, które są ogromną, ogromnym powiedzmy jakimś takim oknem możliwości dla naszego kraju i super byłoby być częścią tych zmian i, i wiesz i, i dokładać się do tego, tego wszystkiego […] i jeżeli w pewnym momencie poczuję taką potrzebę czy, czy ktoś do mnie zadzwoni i powie: Przemek fajnie by było jakbyś wrócił, bo zaczynamy to zakładam taką firmę i myślę, że fajnie byłoby pracować albo otworzyłaby się jakaś możliwość pracy na fajnym stanowisku w jakiejś organizacji czy też po stronie rządowej, to oczywiście bym rozpatrzył

(38) Maria (P9)
takie małe rzeczy, które ułatwiają życie tutaj sprawiły, że co raz mniej mam ochotę wrócić, bo jak wraca się do Polski, to po prostu na każdym kroku czuje się jakby kłody ci ktoś pod nogi rzucał, a tu, a tu jest łatwiej, tak, raczej na stałe tak, on chciałby wrócić, natomiast nie natychmiast, chciałby wrócić tak właśnie może za dziesięć lat, ale na pewno, ja mówię, że może, a on mówi, że na pewno, także taką mamy debatę, […] bo on się chyba dużo gorzej zasymilował tutaj z Brytyjczykami, y to też wynika chyba z tego, co się dzieje u niego w pracy, on pracuje w takiej firmie międzynarodowej, więc z samymi

Brytyjczykami ma niewiele do czynienia, ja pracuje w firmie, gdzie właściwie dziewięćdziesiąt procent to Brytyjczycy, i się bardzo dobrze z nimi dogaduję, więc jakoś dla mnie to już jest naturalne tutaj być , i z nimi się dogadywać i nimi żyć

(39) Iza (C3)
nie wiem ludzie w moim wieku, tutaj jest zupełnie inaczej, którzy mają trzydzieści lat, cały czas mają, nie wiem chodzą na imprezy na przykład albo, no a w Polsce to jest tak, że nie wiem od dwudziestu pię, od dwudziestego piątego roku życia mają dzieci, rodziny i po prostu zamykają się w domu i nic się nie dzieje w ich życiu i kobiety tylko gotują, i faceci tylko brzuchy im rosną i piwko sączą, i na tym się kończy praktycznie jest tylko praca-dom, praca-dom, praca-dom, a tu jeszcze ludzie mają jakieś takie ambicje bardziej czy inne wyobrażenie o życiu

Chapter 5

(1) Bartosz (P11)
był jako język urzędowy był angielski i wszystkie jakby materiały były po angielsku, było też dużo pracowników którzy przyjeżdżali z zagranicznych biur, więc z natury rzeczy rozmawialiśmy sporo po angielsku, ale jeżeli byli tylko Polacy to rozmawialiśmy tylko po polsku, to znaczy jakby zamiarem było to żebyśmy rozmawiali tylko po polsku, ale do czego dochodziło to, że rozmawialiśmy w okropnej, okropnej mieszance polskiego i angielskiego, która mimo tego, że tutaj wcześniej mieszkałem w Wielkiej Brytanii przez cztery lata, poznałem tutaj niezliczoną ogromną liczbę Polaków czy polskich studentów czy kogoś innego, nigdy się jeszcze nie spotkałem, z taką mieszanką polskiego i angielskiego, jak właśnie w biurze w Warszawie, mając doczynienia z ludźmi którzy nigdy, naczy ludzie którzy używali tej mieszanki to byli ludzie którzy nigdy nie mieszkali za granicą, tylko jakby, być może ta kultura korporacyjna tam coś takiego proponowała, i, i wiesz, i co było najśmieszniejsze, ja absolutnie, mój język polski - na początku starałem się oczywiście tego unikać, ale później wiesz jak wejdziesz między wrony, to musisz gda, krakać tak jak one, prawda? i ja po - naczy z całą pewnością mogę powiedzieć, że po tych trzech miesiącach pobytu tam, mój język angielski mój język polski, przepraszam, pogorszył się dużo bardziej niż po czterech latach pobytu w Wielkiej Brytanii

(2) Ewa (P2)
może najłatwiej, że są osoby którym po prostu tak łatwo przychodzi angielski, że być może, być może te osoby w ogóle nie zauważają, że przeskakują, że cały czas się przełączają między polskim a angielskim, o powiedziałam przełanczają, switch, nawet nie wiem, nie wiem jak to jest po polsku, w każdym razie przeskakują z jednego języka na drugi, i być może być może właśnie te osoby są najlepiej zintegrowane wśród znajomych spoza Polski, i być może jest jakiś taki element zazdrości wśród tych Polaków, którym ten angielski nie przychodzi z taką łatwością, którzy może, no wiesz są tacy ludzie, którzy wydaje mi się – ok mają świetny angielski na papierze, ale jednak taka komunikacja rozmowa w pubie, to jest jednak problem, chociaż czasami w weekendy, po pięciu dniach pracy już nie chcę mi się myśleć po angielsku, chcę pójść na piwo i rozmawiać po polsku z kimś, no więc są takie osoby, które, którym właśnie chcą rozmawiać po polsku, i potem przychodzi ktoś i cały czas nie wiem szpanuje swoim angielskim, więc może coś

takiego – wydaje mi się, że wydaje mi się że jest w tym element takiego szpanu, bo ok ktoś kto ma, nie wiem kiepską wymowę po angielsku, e nie czu, nie jest biegły, nie będzie wtrącał angielskich słów tu i tam albo całych angielskich wyrażeń, to się może zdarzać sporadycznie, natomiast ktoś, kto faktycznie przeplata tu zdanie po polsku, tu po angielsku, to wydaje mi się że to będzie osoba, która – która się czuje bardzo pewnie w angielskim, więc być może jest w tym, nie wiem czy zamierzona czy niezamierzona jakaś taka chęć pokazania

(3) Ewa (P2)
ale raczej jak ktoś myślę, że to jest negatywnie postrzegane, naczy myślę, że to jest jakiś na pewno to jest jakiś wyznacznik sukcesu, że ju, bardzo dużo różnych ludzi przyjechało do Anglii, niektórym się udało niektórym się nie, niektórym udało się mniej, ale też wyznaczniki sukcesu są różne dla – dla kogoś kto powiedzmy przyjechał tutaj na studia samo, nie wiem znalezienie pracy, jakby to nie jest, ok, fajnie że ma pracę, ale to nie jest wiadomo no – to nie jest nic nienormalnego, natomiast jeżeli – więc od takiej osoby oczekuje się, że – że jakoś będzie w stanie nie tylko porozumiewać się z ludźmi w pracy, ale też mieć nie wiem znajomych z Anglii, jakieś takie życie, życie towarzyskie, które nie kręci się tylko wokół jakiś tam związków z Polską, więc wtedy – więc jakby rozumie się biegłe posługiwanie się angielskim jest z tym związane, tak mi się wydaje

(4) Sylwia (I2)
nie wydaje mi się, nie wydaje mi się, aczkolwiek wiem, że obracam się zwykle w towarzystwie osób, które em, które też tak jak ja raczej starają się mówić normalnie i jakoś tak w miarę poprawnie, wydaje mi się, że tak generalnie z jakiegoś poziomu wykształcenia

(5) Maja (C6)
naczy cenię sobie i chciałabym zachować jakąś taką czystość języka polskiego i y, i gdzieś do tej pory no razi mnie jak ktoś mówi, *któryś raz z rzędu*, a naczy przepraszam *pod rząd* albo, albo *w każdym bądź razie*, to mnie irytuje

(6) Daria (I4)
niektórym się zmienił i jak sobie pomyślę o nich, to raczej są ludzie, którzy są otoczeni Anglikami, bo jednak wielu Polaków trzyma się w tym polskim środowisku i jest taka tendencja, że jak już się znajdzie tych Polaków, to oni są taką grupką i wszystko robią razem, i potem są te osoby, które się odłączają, i raczej mają, nie wiem, na przykład Anglików w swoim otoczeniu, to wtedy widzę że ten angiel, ten polski, przepraszam, im upada, więc jak mam koleżanki, które mają na przykład chłopaków Anglików, albo mnóstwo koleżanek Angielek, no to częściej wtrącają angielskie słowa, albo nawet trochę akcent im się zmienia, tak więc rzeczywiście to zauważyłam … myślę, że tak, może to jest związane z jakąś modą, byciem fajnym, ciężko mi powiedzieć … no myślę, że to nie jest najlepiej odbierane, jednak jest takie, jest taki sentyment do Polski i do polskiego, szczególnie w takich grupach dosyć zamkniętych, że jednak powinno się kultywować i dlatego oni wszyscy razem się przyjaźnią, bo oni jednak chcą być tymi Polakami i chcą być razem, więc jak ktoś odchodzi od tego takiego modelu, prawda? no to wtedy trochę to im się mniej podoba, myślę, że to jest bardziej krytykowane, że a,

albo udaje albo – tak udaje, że jest kimś innym, albo chce się odciąć od nas, myślę, że różne teorie mogą być tworzone

(7) Sylwia (I2)
no wydaje mi się, że to takie trochę w złym stylu, nie wiem, że jestem w Polsce i używam jakiś angielskich zwrotów, wydaje mi się to takie pretensjonalne…bo nie wydaje mi się, że po paru latach akcent albo jakaś zdolność wypowiadania powinna się jakoś drastycznie zmienić, zwłaszcza, że nie wydaje mi się, że jakoś większość Polaków y – że większość Polaków ma okazję używania tego języka i to nie jest tak, że nigdy nie mówi po polsku, nigdy nie ma okazji do wypowiadania się więc – trochę jestem zawsze zdziwiona, jeśli ten angielski jeśli ten polski jakoś bardzo się pogarsza po zaledwie paru latach … wydaje mi się, że to jakiś taki poziom wykształcenia

(8) Marek (P13)
ale koleżanka była z Polski i pamiętam, że było to takie takie bardzo niekomfortowe, to byli sami Polacy w pokoju, a ona po angielsku rozmawiała z nami, nawet jak ktoś do niej mówił, żeby mówiła po polsku, to zaczynała mówić po polsku i zaczynała używać angielskich słów i w ogóle mówiła z dziwnym akcentem, więc nikomu się nie spodobała, wszyscy mówili, że jakaś była dziwna strasznie… ludzie na pewno się zdarzają, tak, no ja nie mam, może dlatego nie mam wśród bliższych znajomych, bo to właśnie tacy dziwni są ludzie

(9) Adam (P1)
znam ludzi, którzy próbowali, żeby za wszelką cenę im się zmienił akcent i zostali bardzo szybko spotkali się z ostracyzmem społecznym, więc raczej jak spotykamy się w grupie Polaków to, to – komentujemy polskie – nie, nie znam nikogo, kto by nie będę już za bardzo filozofował, tak, zostały ukamieniowane, nie żartuję oczywiście, bo niektórzy chcieli być bardziej angielscy niż Anglicy no to, to –to nie jest tak, że się taki antagonizm wytworzył wśród Polaków, tylko ogólnie to jest śmieszne zjawisko, i to zarówno Polacy, jak i Anglicy tak samo to oceniają no, no więc no niektórym to się zmieniło, a niektórzy po prostu z nami nie utrzymują kontaktu, naczy nie ogólnie w naszym gronie przyjaciół nikt nie nie ma takiej sytuacji, niektórzy to robią, ci, którzy to robili tak jak powiedziałem nie, utrzymujemy za bardzo kontaktu z takimi osobami, ale myślę, że dla niektórych to też jest próba polepszenia swojej pozycji społecznej, tak? mimo wszystko angielski, Anglia i Zachód w świadomości wąskiej grupy osób wiąże się z jakąś elitarnością, i próbują to podkreślić, co, co jak powiedziałem jest dosyć śmie, śmiesznym zabiegiem … miałem koleżankę, która chciała być – osiadła w Anglii, ma już teraz rodzinę tutaj i, i jej mężem jest Anglik, i tak, i stara się za wszelką cenę, że tak powiem – odseparować od, od kultury polskiej, a to wynikało z negatywnych doświadczeń w Polsce

(10) Zuzanna
ale na przykład moja współlokatorka to jest bardzo dobry przykład, ona jest tutaj dziesięć lat prawie, y, dziewięć, i y mówi bardo źle po polsku, nie mówi też jakoś świetnie po angielsku, o dziwo, ma taki akcent trochę, m, w sensie są takie pewne na przykład takie litery jak l albo t, które brzmią inaczej w angielskim I ona mówiąc po polsku często wymawia te litery w, jakby z angielskim akcentem, mówi słabo w sensie takim, tłumaczy na przykład rzeczy y dosłownie z angielskiego na polski, moja mama nawet zwróciła na

to uwagę, że, że byłam przerażona, że [imię] tak źle po polsku mówi, z tym że ona właśnie, no nie wiem, jak to działa, bo ona ma kontakt z rodziną w Polsce i nie wiem jak to się stało, ale, naczy uczy w szkole

(11) Barbara (P6)
moja koleżanka ma zupełnie jakby zmieniła intonację … to jest trochę zupełnie inaczej nie wiem, bo to zupełnie jest jakby inna jest płynność tego języka… ale zauważyłam właśnie u mojej koleżanki, że jak właśnie mówi jakieś zdanie to – nie wiem zupełnie jakoś inaczej niż jakby ktoś to powiedział tak prosto z Polski albo na przykład jak ktoś przyjeżdża z Polski, kto tutaj nie mieszkał, to po prostu słychać i nawet jak zwłaszcza jak mówi po angielsku słychać jak tą intonację inną

(12) Iza (C3)
moi znajomi mówią, że mi się akcent zmienił, na przykład, że mam taki śpiewający akcent

(13) Maja (C6)
ale właśnie też inaczej intonacja się, no oczywiście intonacja się zmienia właśnie w języku polskim, więc często, nie tyle co akcent, a ta intonacja, i tak, że mój polski staje się taki jakoś bardzo melodyjny, bardziej niż, bo polski jest bardzo płaskim językiem, naczy takim nie, nie ma właściwie żadnej melodii, on tylko tak szeleści, em, więc wydaje mi się że, że to mogą ludzie dostrzegać

(14) Kaja (C4)
naczy mam takie coś, że niekiedy jak strasznie się spieszę w angielskim, to mój akcent naczy intonacja – ludziom się może wydawać, że chcę im, że moja intonacja angielska, jakby mogą mnie nie zrozumieć poprawnie, jakby moje intencje, tak po angielsku i to jest właśnie niekiedy jestem w tarapatach z tym właśnie, bo niektórzy ludzie w szkole jeżeli się na przykład coś spieszę i komuś coś powiem szybko, oni jakby myślą, że jestem – że jakby rozkazuję im albo coś takiego, a mi się wydaje naczy nie, Boże nie, w ogóle nie chciałam tego powiedzieć, a mnie tak zrozumieli, wynika niekiedy z tego, że – że jeżeli się spieszy to się tak naprawdę nie zauważa, naczy nie patrzy na to w takim – jak inton, intonuję swoją wypowiedź, niekiedy, bo intonacja w polskim języku jest inna niż w angielskim i mi się wydaje, że to jest to się jakoś tam miesza, naczy muszę na pewno niekiedy – nawet [imię partnera] mi mówi to niekiedy, że – coś mu powiem i wydaje się, że a dlaczego jesteś taka jakby – coś mu powiem i wydaje się, że a dlaczego jesteś taka jakby – źle mnie zrozumie, mi się wydaje, że ja powiedziałam to w jakimś innym sensie niż on to zrozumiał i tak samo jest w pracy niekiedy

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