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Title: Scaling diasporic soundings in the globalised world: a study of Polish stops in the UK.

Abstract:

This article examines the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender in situated acts of identification of Polish migrants in the UK through analysis of stop aspiration. Despite their shared background, discourse analysis demonstrates that the migrants differently scaled and positioned themselves and others in transnational timespace, which was also accompanied by various orientations to available linguistic resources. Quantitative methods show that both ideology and the language system influenced aspiration with adherence to ‘standard’ Polish norms falling along a continuum from nationally-oriented to ‘Cosmopolitan’ speakers. Female Cosmopolitans relied on English-like VOTs with a tendency to signal (dis)alignment from Poland/the current locality. The study draws attention to the bodily semiotics of self-presentation highlighting the role of phonetic realisations in contemporary processes of value attribution.

1. Introduction

Estimates of the Polish diaspora range between 4.5 (Brubaker 2005) and 20 million (https://www.msz.gov.pl/en/foreign_policy/polish_diaspora/). Historically, Polish migrants were usually ‘political dissidents [...] and economic migrants’ (Triandafyllidou 2006: 30). In the UK, their presence can be traced back to the 18th Century with migration in 19th Century being large enough to establish the first complementary school in Manchester. Importantly, more substantial Polish groups settled in Britain only after the introduction of the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947. Despite the post-WWII settlement, however, today, most migrants who fall under the category ‘Polish’ arrived after 2004, that is, when thanks to the EU enlargement, Eastern Europeansⁱ could legally access the UK labour market.

Within ten years, Polish population grew to be one of the largest amongst immigrant communities in Britain (House of Commons 2016), with Polish nationality being most

common in England and Wales in 2011 (Home Office 2011). Nearly all (92%) Polish born usual residents had arrived since 2001 (Home Office 2011), with the migration peak reported in 2008. In 2016, there were over 900 000 people born in Poland living in Britain (House of Commons 2016) and Polish was identified as the UK's second most spoken language (Home Office 2011). Many have sought to explain the rapid increase of Polish migrants in economic terms, including youth unemployment in Poland and lack of opportunities triggered by the restructuring of the Polish economy (Okólski and Salt 2014: 15). Okólski and Salt (2014) argued also for the importance of structural demographic and sociopolitical changes as well as increased sociocultural capital in Poland. Among potential factors, they also listed the awareness of freedoms and entitlements of European citizenship among Polish migrants and demand for low-skilled workers in Britain. Finally, increasing knowledge of English in Poland was also reported: from 9% in 1997 to 30% in 2012 (CBOS 2012).

In British society, Polish migrants have been portrayed as a 'homogenous' group (Garapich 2008) and in line with othering processes observed for UK immigrant communities, mostly negatively framed in the British press (e.g. Fomina and Frelak 2008, Spigelman 2013). Despite such representations, the Polish population in Britain is diverse (House of Commons 2016). The overall age profile is younger (25-49 years old) than in the whole British population as well as Polish migrants in other countries (Okólski and Salt 2014). In 2014, most were still coming from urban areas in Poland, but flows from rural regions were also reported. In Britain, they live in rural, metropolitan and inner-city localities (Hall 2015), with the largest populations in London, the South East and North West (House of Commons 2016). While early flows consisted mainly of highly educated migrants, later, less qualified workers also arrived (Okólski and Salt 2014). In 2016, 646 000 Polish migrants were employed in a range of occupations, which also points to socioeconomic stratification (House

of Commons 2016). Moreover, linguistic differences have also been reported: some arrived with a certified knowledge of English, while others spoke only Polish (Błasiak 2011).

Finally, thanks to affordable transportation and new communication technologies, unlike previous migration waves, in their everyday life in transnational timespace, contemporary Polish migrants have been able to assemble various linguistic and cultural resources unlimited by territorial boundaries from the beginning of their transnational experience.

This article examines how multiple axes of social differentiation intersected in situated acts of identification in such a mobile, diverse environment through a close examination of one phonetic feature, aspirated stops in the nuclei of Polish intonational phrases. To do so, I draw on a study of ‘Polish’ identities among 30 middle-class young adults who moved to Britain after 2004 to study and stayed to work in white-collar jobs in London and Oxford in 2013-2014. A brief discussion of chronotopic reconstructions of migration experiences reveals that despite a shared background, a continuum of identities was emerging: from Poland-oriented ‘Polish Poles’ⁱⁱ who saw ‘standard’ Polish as an emblem of ‘real’ Poles through globally-oriented ‘In-Betweens’ who still identified as Polish and defined standard Polish as an index of education to globally oriented ‘Cosmopolitans’ who rejected nationality as a basis for identity and oriented towards the here-and-now in which particular Polish-English mixing practices added value. I then turn to quantitative methods to demonstrate how ‘ideology and the language system function[ed] as constraints on combination’ (Hill 1985: 728) in the production of aspirated stops with their English-like realisations being predominantly repeatedly used by female Cosmopolitans. Finally, it is argued that the feature cannot be fully understood when studied in isolation (Irvine 2001) as in the speech of female Cosmopolitans, it dynamically co-occurs together with other embodied semiotic resources to index disalignment from Poland-related issues or alignment with the current locality. The study contributes to research on scale-making (Blommaert 2015) in the globalised world by

drawing attention to the role of bodily semiotics of self-presentation with phonetic realisations actively participating in the processes of value attribution in transnational timespace.

2. Scale-making, embodied soundscapes and social indexicalities in a mobile world

By now, scholars working in language contact situations have well established that the change in a speaker's positioning leads to reassemblage of linguistic and cultural resources (e.g. Li Wei 1994). The multiplicity of multilingual practices is also taken for granted. On the one hand, multilinguals' linguistic choices may lead to the separation of linguistic resources 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). On the other, the very mixing practices can be highly valued as a way of celebrating a hybrid positioning as in the Puerto Rican community in New York City (e.g. Zentella 1997). These practices are not random as they are tightly linked to specific spatiotemporal contexts, interactional frameworks and models of appropriate conduct (Agha 2009). They also depend on language ideologies, that is 'cultural system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989: 255), which are never finished and are grounded in social experience.

Contemporary flows of people, languages and goods result in forms of contact and difference that are 'perhaps not new in substance but new in scale and perception' (Blommaert 2005: 71). More recent economic, socio-political and demographic changes associated with globalisation have contributed to patterns of migration that brought 'diversification of diversity' to the 'Global North and West' (Silverstein 2014) and coincided with the digital revolution that enabled increased mobility of the linguistic sign beyond geographical and political borders. This new entanglement of networks of various types (Jacquemet 2019) and

extended capabilities of sociolinguistic action (Bucholtz and Hall 2016) have also brought to the foreground the ideological character of the relationship between language, place and identity (Heller 2011). Rather than being bounded and tied to nations assigned to confined, geographical areas, linguistic resources are in motion ‘with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another’ (Blommaert 2010:5). Moreover, the dialectical (Silverstein 2003) relationship between linguistic form and meaning is further highlighted by the fact that individuals belonging to particular ‘speech communities’ have been observed not to share knowledge of language norms (Blommaert and Dong 2009). Rather polycentricity with complex power dynamics, inequality and the emergence of multiple and partial identities come under the spotlight (Jacquemet 2019).

Recent scholarship has therefore focused on people’s interpretations of complex semiotic processes triggered by the encounter of ‘deterritorialized speakers, mobile texts and digital agents’ (Jacquemet 2019). Particular attention has been paid to processes of value attribution and scale-making practices (Agha 2007, Woolard 2013, Gal and Irvine 2019) in order to reveal how speakers establish metric standards (Das 2016) in this ‘new’ environment and how they selectively engage with indexically (Silverstein 2003) ordered linguistic conventions in transnational timespace. Such studies demonstrate that mobility remains stratified and controlled (Blommaert and Dong 2010), but speakers with a shared background may conceptualise space and time in various ways and rely on different chronotopic frames (Bakhtin 1981). The sociolinguistic focus on scale as ‘an instrument by means of which subjects bring order in their semiotizations of the social and material world’ (Blommaert et al. 2014) highlights the degrees of understandability and ways in which speakers make distinctions within the context itself. Research thereby shows that migrants may differently imagine, enact and experience their sociolinguistic possibilities (Woolard 2013). It also shows that they dynamically link images of time, space and personhood (Agha 2007) often foregrounding

indeterminate normative behaviour and increased awareness of linguistic practices (Karimzad 2019) as they constantly (re)evaluate what counts as normal.

While the focus on metalinguistic discourse has elucidated the complexity of contemporary meaning-making processes, studies of situated linguistic practice have drawn attention to the role of the body and embodiment in producing, perceiving and interpreting social meaning (Bucholtz and Hall 2016) as well as to the ideological character of the linguistic sign itself (Volosinov 1973). This strand of research sees linguistic signs as embedded in the workings of bodily regulation and acting as indices that constitute acts of identity (Agha 2007) by evoking particular stances, activities and personas in ordinal degrees of the indexical order (Silverstein 2003) in a non-linear manner. While the 1st order sign indexes membership in a population, it can then be subjected to social (re)evaluation linking the sign to qualities of speakers (Gal and Irvine 2019) and forming an nth order. Crucially, ‘participation in discourse involves a continual interpretation of forms in context’ and a sign with a particular sociocultural value ‘is always available for reinterpretation’ as n+1st order (Eckert 2008: 463) in the fluid and dynamically changing ideological field. Hence, many projects have demonstrated that sounds of language and other semiotic signs (re)produced through the bodily engagement with the world form indexical nexus/styles through stance-taking acts (Kiesling 2009) and actively participate in the creation of a sociocultural landscape (e.g. Eckert 2000, Podesva 2007).

While most studies examining sociophonetic variation have focused on the local contexts and territorially defined groups highlighting the dynamics of standard linguistic markets of various nation-states, some projects demonstrate that it is also through speech that flexible belonging to national, transnational and other communities may be indexed. For example, in Beijing, a new class of professionals in the foreign-owned financial sector was shown to draw

on full tones characteristic of Hong Kong and Taiwan and combine them with Beijing features such as interdental /z/ and rhotacised finals in distinct ways to signal simultaneous belonging to the city, mainland China and the global market (Zhang 2005). Also, in a Spanish-English contact situation, Mendoza-Denton (2008) showed that phonetic realisations of /ɪ/ in TH-pro in the English of Mexico- and US-oriented gang members indexed complex ideology-based identities, where North (Norte) and South (Sur) were recursively projected onto language and race as well as onto whole countries and were indicative of differentials of class and privilege.

Finally, studies of English phonetic variation acquired by post-EU-accession Polish migrants in the UK and Ireland also show that these migrants translate phonetic variation into sociolinguistically meaningful patterns. Meyerhoff and Schlee (2012), for example, demonstrated that although Polish teenagers in London and Edinburgh did not have access to the same ‘richness of information’ about the social meaning of (ing), some systematisation of the feature was observed and linked to social networks and gender differences. Drummond (2012) also showed that Polish migrants in Manchester used the local STRUT vowel more if they had an English-speaking partner, a positive attitude towards the city and an increased length of residence. In Dublin, social identity and class inconsistency were also shown to be crucial for acquisition of the local phonological variation (Kobiałka 2016). Finally, Schlee (2017) demonstrated that after two years in England, continuous systematisation in the use of T-glottaling in English, a feature associated with Londonness, can be observed with (t) becoming a stylistic resource allowing the teenagers to project identities and signal alignment with Poland/disalignment with England in complex ways.

The present study contributes to this research by examining how middle-class young Polish adults were placing themselves in the mobile sociocultural landscape through the use of standard and non-standard, English-like Polish stops, which, during my fieldwork, the participants typified as undergoing change and which they linked to social images circulating among the UK Polish diaspora. Following the claim that in the globalised world, ‘new ethnicities’ and identities are constituted through combinations of local and global *diasporic* resources (Harris 2006, emphasis added), I turn the focus onto participants’ chronotopic self-placements in relation to images of personhood-time-space (Agha 2007) and their orientation towards standard norms in Polish, a non-dominant language of their immediate offline surroundings. The participants’ process of ordering their linguistic elements draws attention to the simultaneity of emerging competing interpretations and orders of indexicality where norms are organised in relation to polycentric (Blommaert 2010) complexes of value. A close examination of embodied stop realisations allows me to demonstrate how in the mobile world of technologically-mediated communication, diasporic bodies act to reassert and recreate themselves through the workings of internal and external forces operating simultaneously to produce and reproduce social hierarchies.

3. Aspiration and change

Very early into my fieldwork, aspiration was repeatedly mentioned as a feature that together with other selected English-influenced features was being linked to social types (Agha 2007). At one of the first meetings of a ‘Polish’ organisation at Oxford in 2012, shortly after introducing myself in Polish to two graduate students, a link between stops and belonging to a place became noticeable. When the three of us tried to establish where in Poland we were from, one student immediately asserted 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.’ⁱⁱⁱ Not long after

that, the students asked me about my project and started sharing their observations about changes in Polish. Suddenly, the student ‘from nowhere’ turned to me and asked ‘Do I have different *p*’s and *t*’s?’ After being asked for an explanation, the student recalled being frequently commented on *p*’s and *t*’s by others since moving to the UK. This was picked up by the other student who stated ‘Oh, there are those who do that, but I don’t.’ Before demonstrating who does it, when and why, I now explain why this feature had a potential to play a role in sociolinguistic differentiation in this context.

Many sociolinguistic projects have demonstrated that a difference in contrast between normatively recognised varieties can make the categorical presence of a feature in one variety and its absence in the second salient to speakers (Woolard 2008) and a candidate for accelerated language change as well as indexical iconisation (e.g. Alim 2002). Non-age-related and ‘non pathological [change in] a native language within an individual’ (de Leeuw 2014: 25) at the phonetic level due to the acquisition of a new language has also been frequently reported (Flege 2007, Dmitrieva et al.2010, de Leeuw 2014). Aspiration has also been affected. As this project concerns consecutive/taught bilinguals, I now review results of contact-induced change in aspiration, measured as voice onset time (VOT), for such speakers only.

There seems to be a crosslinguistic tendency for VOTs to be affected for bilingual speakers. A correlation between proficiency in Portuguese and rate of attrition in English measured by VOT was observed in Brazil (Major 1992), in informal speech and with variability across speakers. Also Flege (1987) reports that the VOT of L1 became similar to the VOT of L2 in the American English of Americans living in France and the French living in the USA for a decade, with interspeaker variability. Highly proficient Dutch speakers in English also produced their Dutch /t/ with a shorter VOT than less proficient speakers of English moving

away from both the English and Dutch values (Flege and Eefting 1987). Finally, Nagy and Kochetov (2013) observed a drift toward English VOT values across three to five generations of immigrant communities in Toronto for Russian and Ukrainian, but not for Italian. There was a correlation between questionnaire-based ethnicity and VOT: the lower the score, the more English-like the VOT, with the first generation having higher ethnic scores and lower VOT values.

4. Aspiration in Polish and English

Polish and English differ in their use of aspiration. In reported results for 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). However, in language contact situations, it has been reported. Doroszewski (1952) observed aspiration in some dialects of Western Poland (Wielkopolska), relating it to the influence of German, where aspiration occurs. Additionally, in Polish, voiceless stops may be aspirated when they occur in emphatically stressed syllables (Doroszewski 1952, Rubach 1974, Ruskiewicz 1990).

Polish distinguishes six stops^{iv}: bilabial /p,b/, dental /t,d/, velar /k,g/ (Keating et al. 1981, Waniek-Klimczak 2011). 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. Polish is reported to contrast negative and short-lag VOT (Keating et al. 1981, Kopczyński 1977, Waniek-Klimczak 2011).

In contrast, aspiration is a phonetic category in English. Similarly to Polish, English has six stops: bilabial /p, b/, alveolar /t, d/, velar /k, g/. The voiced/voiceless opposition is preserved in all positions, but the primary differentiating factor between voiced and voiceless stops in syllable onsets is the force of articulation. In English, /p t k/ are aspirated when in the onset

of stressed syllables (Lisker and Abramson 1967), reflected in the contrast of short VOTs of /b d g/ with long VOTs of /p t k/ (Rojczyk 2009).

Table 1. Reported VOTs for Polish and English.

	Mean VOT (ms)				
S t o p	Polish Keating et al. (1981): Experiment on 42 initial, stressed stops in disyllabic words; 5 speakers of Polish from Łódź (Central Poland)	American English Lisker&Abramson (1964)^v: Experiment based on a list of initial English stops in isolation; 4 speakers of American English	British English Docherty (1992): Experiment on single initial stops in 207 words in isolation and as part of carrier phrases; 5 male speakers of British English, aged 18-21	American English Byrd (1993): Natural speech from the TIMIT corpus, 2342 sentences read by 630 speakers of American English	American English Yao (2007): Natural speech with stops in initial positions from the Buckeye Corpus, casual interviews with 19 residents of Ohio, USA
p	22	58	42	44	48
t	28	70	63	49	51
k	53	80	63	52	58
b	-88	1/-101	18	18	NO INFO
d	-90	5/-102	26	24	NO INFO
g	-66	21/-88	30	27	NO INFO

Table 1 presents reported VOT values for comparative purposes. Keating et al. (1981), like all projects on the Polish VOT, is a laboratory experiment. Most studies on the English VOT come from laboratory experiments on American English. Here, two experiments, including one based on British English, and two natural speech projects are reported. All but one English VOT values are higher than the Polish ones, with the smallest difference in velar stops.

Additionally, in English, the following linguistic factors might influence mean VOT: 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), speech rate (Kessinger and Blumstein 1998, Allen et al. 2003), place of articulation (Maddieson 1997), preceding segment (Repp and Lin 1989, 1990). Some studies also argue for the influence of gender ^{vi}(e.g. Whiteside and Irving 1998, Awan and Stine 2011) and age (Ryalls et al. 2004). Systematic differences in VOT between speakers have also been reported (Allen et al. 2003).

Finally, in English, the VOT continuum has been observed to do identity work. For example, Clothier and Loakes (2018) reported significantly longer short-lag VOT and more pre-voiced tokens of voiced stops among Lebanese Australian English speakers than among the ‘mainstream’ group. Moreover, when the interaction of ethnicity, gender and vowel height was considered, Lebanese women had longer VOT duration in line with more ‘mainstream’ Australian English norms and Lebanese men diverged further. Importantly, Stuart-Smith et al. (2015) observed that gradient shifts along the VOT continuum in stops from the Glaswegian speech corpus (e.g. oral histories, sociolinguistic interviews, conversational speech) indicated subtle sociolinguistic control among Scottish English speakers. While Docherty et al. (2011) reported longer VOT values for younger speakers in Scotland, controlling for local speech rate, Stuart-Smith et al. (2015) observed overall lengthening of VOT for both younger and older speakers in Scotland. They argued that the use of shorter VOT associated with Scots participated in the construction of local, non-standard personae.

5. Aspiration as a feature of English-accented Polish

In Polish spoken in Poland, Konert-Panek (2009) identified aspiration as one of the English features that ‘occur[s] in the language of the young generation’ and ‘resemble[s] the phonetic system of English’(112). She further claimed that some social and professional groups may be more likely to implement such features ‘due to their close contact with the English

language’(2009: 114), cultural ‘closeness’ of languages in the globalised world and ‘international’ character of English.

Also, when Polish and English interact, voiceless stops are reported to be affected (Waniek-Klimczak 2011). Although Waniek-Klimczak confirmed that emphasis creates favourable conditions for the occurrence of aspiration in Polish, she argued that its occurrence and duration depend on the speaker’s experience of English and indicate proficiency in English, which suggests that if Polish is in a language-contact situation with English, aspiration is more likely to be observed.

Conversely, lack of aspiration in stops in English has been defined as a ‘stigmatized dialect feature’ with class, stylistic and ethnic characteristics (Labov 1966), e.g. a feature of immigrant English of Polish New Yorkers (Labov 1966, Newlin-Łukowicz 2014). Newlin-Łukowicz (2014) also observed that for second-generation Polish Americans, Polish-like VOTs in English were both linguistically and socially motivated and linked to participation in Polish community activities in New York and Poland.

As noted, some participants in my project have explicitly identified aspirated stops as a feature undergoing change. Excerpt (1) comes from an interview with Zuzanna, a woman working in the music industry in London, in which she commented on the speech of one of the female Cosmopolitans whose stops are analysed below. In the excerpt, Zuzanna explicitly lists the changing *t* and presents an evaluative judgment towards innovative forms among other speakers e.g. ‘my mom was terrified.’

1.Zuzanna (female)^{vii}

moja współlokatorka to jest bardzo dobry przykład ona jest tutaj dziesięć lat prawie y dziewięć i y mówi bardzo 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 [...] moja mama nawet [...] była przerażona że [imię] tak źle po polsku mówi no nie wiem jak to działa bo ona ma kontakt z rodziną w Polsce

my flatmate is a very good example, she's been here for ten, almost, nine 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 [...] letters like l or t that sound different in English and she, when speaking Polish, often pronounces the letters with [...] an English accent, she speaks poorly, for instance, she translates things literally from English into Polish, my mom [...] was terrified that ((name)) speaks such bad Polish [...] but I don't know how this works because she's in touch with her family in Poland

6. Globalised Polish linguistic landscape

I now turn to the meaning potential of aspirated stops in Polish in the speech of participants who were raised till late adolescence in Poland, but at the time resided in South-East England. To do so, the whole indexical field needs to be explained as rather than having a fixed meaning, like any feature, aspirated stops, were triggering a constellation of meanings that were ideologically linked (Eckert 2008). Additionally, the participants did not talk about one feature in isolation: they were linking e.g. stops, 'melody' of the language, 'soft' fricatives to the qualities that they associated with UK migrants. Different levels of linguistic awareness were, however, observed: some named individual features, some talked about UK 'English-accented' Polish. Additionally, selected lexical and syntactic English borrowings were accepted and used by most participants. In such cases, the participants usually differed in their evaluations of acceptable rules of pronunciation. Despite the fact that the observed multilingual repertoires very occasionally included use of or contact with other language varieties in which aspiration occurs, during my fieldwork, aspirated stops were typified to be an 'English' feature in Polish.

Possible indexical meanings of English features in Polish spoken in Poland are therefore now discussed. The overview is based on existing literature operating within the standard language ideological Polish-English dichotomy, in which standard British English and

American English are typically seen as norm providers. Importantly, the markedness continuum of world Englishes was observed to be actively exploited in other migrant contexts, e.g. in Ireland, Diskin and Regan (2017) noticed that Polish ‘migrants’ views of world Englishes were situated along both a cline of markedness, or the degree to which the variety appeared different as compared to an abstract benchmark of “English”, and desirability’ (204).

Before doing this, however, it has to be clarified that in Poland, the vast majority of the population is imagined to speak the idealised *język ogólny* (‘standard’ Polish; for more detail, refer to Kozminska and Zhu Hua forthcoming). Educated individuals use the variety in the everyday life and often perceive it as superior to regional dialects and slang (Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999). Linguists argue that standard Polish is characterised by common phonemic inventory and grammar across Poland. Thanks to standardisation processes and actions of Polish purists from the 16th Century onwards (Walczak 1995, Duszak 2002), it has also been a symbol of national unity for centuries (Duszak 2002). However, ‘a backlash against former speaking habits and the official constraints that regulated them has been observed in recent years’ (Duszak 2002: 217). Traditionally, the linguistic landscape in Poland is described as comprising five regional dialects of Polish, ‘new’ mixed dialects, class, rural and urban varieties (Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999) and minority languages (e.g. Kashubian).

In the past few decades, an increasing use of English features and loanwords has been reported (Otwinowska-Kasztelanic 2000, Chłopicki 2002, Grybosiowa 2003). Sztencel (2009) argues that after 2000, Polish-English contact has been ‘more intense’ than in previous decades. This was also noticed by my participants. Excerpt (2) comes from an interview with a 25-year-old male participant who had spent six years in the UK. In the excerpt, Bartosz comments on mixing practices in the corporate sector that he observed

during his internship in Warsaw. He evaluates them negatively as ‘ugly.’

2. Bartosz (P11, male)^{viii}

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 [...] nigdy się jeszcze nie spotkałem z taką mieszanką polskiego i angielskiego jak właśnie w biurze w Warszawie mając do czynienia z ludźmi którzy nigdy- naczy ludzie którzy używali tej mieszanki to byli ludzie którzy nigdy nie mieszkali za granica tylko jakby być może ta kultura korporacyjna tam coś takiego proponowała

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 [...] 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

The increasing spread of English into Polish has been attributed to: foreign capital investments entering the Polish market, ongoing globalisation and specialised literature favouring English loanwords, especially in economics and computer science (Korcz and Matulewski 2006). Over the past few decades, social groups within Polish society have been reflexively shaping models of indexicality linked to their presence in Polish in Poland often agreeing that these are ‘foreign’ elements in Polish, but the stereotypical values associated with them vary among different social groups depending on ideological stances towards changes happening in Polish society.

Some differences in the evaluation of features at different levels of linguistic structure also exist. Most scholars differentiate between English grammatical and lexical phenomena. Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (200) argues that among 250 respondents to her questionnaire, English grammatical borrowings were more acceptable if they were frequently used in the media. Acceptability was also greater among younger respondents, with 15-20 year-olds

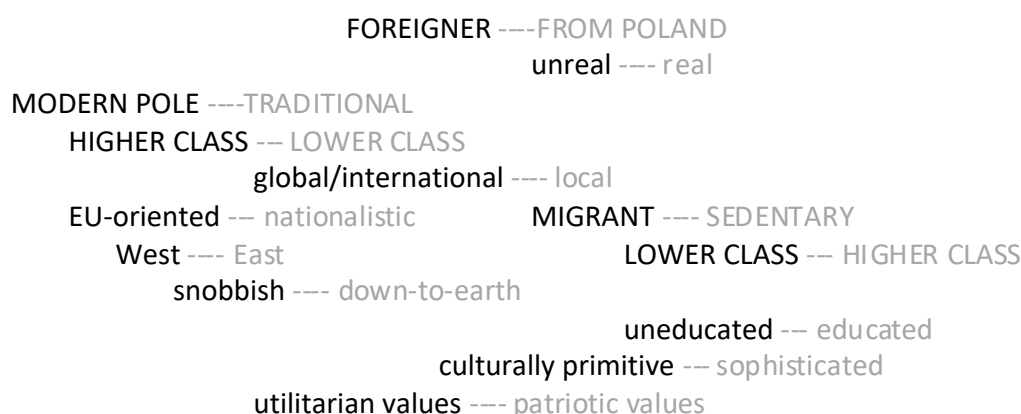
being least likely to comment on recent grammatical changes in Polish. Otwinowska-Kasztelanica suggests that younger generations' grammatical system was already different due to the influx of English borrowings. She also reports overall disapproval of English loanwords. However, Sztencel (2009) observes 'a tacit social consent to English infiltration' (13).

When reported social meanings of such broadly defined 'English' features in Polish in this body of research are considered, a range of associations must be recognised. For some, English features are emblems of globalisation and modern Poles who, thanks to them, can easily function in the EU (Kołodziejek 2008). However, others perceive them as snobbish (in opposition to a down-to-earth Pole) as studies report English features to index social prestige (Sztencel 2009) 'and in extreme cases [...] professional snobbism' (Korcz and Matulewski 2006: 160), especially of management boards of big companies (Maternik 2003). Lubaś links them also to 'stupidity and cultural primitivism' and new social phenomena promoting utilitarian over patriotic/national values, which are propagated by the middle class (Lubaś 1996). The use of English features is also linked to the 'East' vs. 'West' debate, with sentiments towards the West fluctuating between superiority and inferiority with material standards to measure the progress imposed by the West (Peteri 2010). Western elements, including English, became desirable commodities for some Poles and are often understood within the tradition vs. modernity/conservatism vs. innovation dichotomies.

At the same time, as Poland has large communities in the English-speaking world, the English-like phenomena may also be indexical of being from abroad, with some mixing practices, e.g. *Ponglish* historically being often linked to American working-class migration. As these groups come into regular contact with Poles in Poland, code-switching and English-accented Polish have also come to index being 'not really Polish'/'foreign' in terms of one's

Polishness defined on the basis of the place one comes from and sedentariness, mediated by large-scale communicative processes e.g. instances of parody in the Polish media ridiculing English-accented Polish.

Figure 1. Possible indexical meanings of ‘English’ features in Polish spoken in Poland. Black upper case – social types; black lower case – social qualities and stances associated with English features; text in grey – alternative meanings.



By 2012-14, these alternative pairings had been recursively projected onto the UK Polish community. However, new models of indexicality, specific to the British context, were also emerging. The fieldwork revealed that for all interviewees and other Polish migrants approached during the study, English and English features in Polish were indexical of success and integration into British society, which is demonstrated in excerpt (3) from an interview with a 25-year-old female participant working in the corporate sector in London. The excerpt also shows a projection of the down-to-earth vs. snobbish opposition onto the migrant community as Ewa links the new ways to ‘showing off’(3).

3.Ewa (P2, female)

być może te osoby w ogóle nie zauważają że przeskakują że cały czas się przełączają między polskim a angielskim [...] i być może być może właśnie te osoby są najlepiej zintegrowane [...] chociaż czasami w weekendy [...] 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

maybe it's easier, that there are people who find English easy maybe that these people don't

even notice that they switch [...] and maybe these people are more integrated [...] although sometimes on weekends [...] 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

English features, including phonetic detail, have also become indexical of one's networks and participation in the Polish community. In excerpt (4), Daria, a 23-year-old female participant from London, comments on the use of English features in Polish among her friends, including a Cosmopolitan speaker whose speech is analysed below, and links them to the diasporic orientation and 'being cool.'

4. Daria (I4, female)

niektórym się zmienił [...] 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 [...] Anglików w swoim otoczeniu [...] ten polski [...] im upada tak? 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 [...] może to jest związane z jakąś modą byciem fajnym [...] no myślę że to nie jest najlepiej odbierane

for some, it's changed [...] these are rather people who are surrounded by the English because many Poles stick to the Polish environment and there is 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 [...] the English around them, then [...] this Polish [...] is deteriorating, so when I have friends who for example have English boyfriends or many English friends, then they insert more English words and even the accent is changing a bit [...] maybe it's connected with fashion, being cool [...] I think it isn't well perceived

Finally, while some projected the East vs. West opposition onto the migrant community arguing for English features to be indexical of elitism, they also associated them with 'weird people' pretending to be someone whom they were not. (5) comes from an interview with Marek, a 26-year-old man working in the corporate sector in London, who like some other nationally-oriented interviewees explicitly asserted that he did not want to be in contact with such people.

5. Marek (P13, male)

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

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 would 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

7. The study

This study is based on fieldwork conducted in South-East England between 2012-2014. All participants were aged between 22 and 32 (fifteen – female; fifteen – male), and had moved to Britain after 2004, where they had spent 3.5-10 years. They came from urban areas in Poland. At the time, most lived in Oxford and London. As they all were first educated to at least secondary school level in Poland, all had both oral and written proficiency in standard Polish. As assessed during close-listening and fieldwork, when interacting in Polish, they mainly relied on phonemic inventory of standard Polishⁱⁱⁱ, as described in grammars and textbooks of Polish. They arrived with certified knowledge of English and impressionistically, when observed, exhibited high proficiency levels in English. In Britain, their university subjects ranged from economics and hard sciences (mostly men) to humanities (mostly women). After graduating, all stayed to work in white-collar jobs (14 in the corporate sector), requiring the use of spoken and written English in various situations. Due to participants' shared social background and exposure to English, the ways of speaking cannot be explained in terms of class differences.

Representations of migration experiences were collected via qualitative interviews, for which participants were initially recruited from a community of practice in Oxford and London

observed in 2012/2013. As tensions between participants speaking standard Polish and innovative speakers were observed, additional recruitment methods were used: an announcement in Polish and English sent out to local social media, and the author's own networks from Poland. Most participants belonged to the same offline or online networks. Where possible, participant observations were made at various events in Britain and Poland (for UK Poles) and during individual encounters. The number of participants for the linguistic analysis was determined during the data collection process with the aim of achieving saturation of the emergent categories. In total, 42 recorded interviews and multiple additional interactions with other young Polish adults were held. An effort was made to identify an equal number of women and men in each group. However, as ideological orientation only emerged as important during the fieldwork and was not used as a criterion for sampling, the numbers of Polish Poles, In-betweens and Cosmopolitans are not equal for male participants.

This group belongs to the first Polish generation who could move within the EU and were raised during the times of transformation from state socialism. Importantly, compared to the whole Polish population, after the economic crisis of 2008, unemployment rates for this group turned rapidly and steadily increased in Poland (http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/2016/youth_employment_201605.pdf); relatively faster than in other European countries (Pańków 2012). The fact that these migrants pursued studies at university in Britain is also in line with a 'growing demand for an international education' among rapidly growing middle class in Poland (Okólski and Salt 2014: 17). After the EU-accession, Poles met the same financial conditions as British citizens and could 'initiate, continue or resume education there along with being employed' (Okólski and Salt 2014: 17). The participants belonged to the 30 000 Polish students enrolled at British universities between 2004 and 2013 (HESA 2014).

All semi-formal interviews were conducted by myself in Polish in participants' homes and other low-noise environments. They lasted 48-92 minutes^{ix}, and were analysed in Elan (Wittenburg et al 2006) and Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012). Like all interviews, these were public collaboratively constructed encounters (Briggs 2007) which centred around nineteen key questions about experiences of living in Britain, language ideologies, stances towards Britain, Poland and the world. Similarly to other migration contexts, such a methodology allowed the participants to link events from multiple sites and organise their identities (e.g. De Fina 2003, Das 2017). In addition, a network score for each speaker's social network was established as a list of contacts with their places of origin and residence, relationship, language and frequency of contact. The range of ratio of all Polish contacts other than kinship to all listed contacts other than kinship was calculated and presented as percentages: 12% - 83%. To situate each participant within a local diasporic infrastructure, an additional 'Polishness' index score (scale 0-9) was created which comprised the network score above 50%, and eight cultural foci identified during the fieldwork and used in the UK Polish diaspora to differentiate between different types of 'Polish' migrants in Britain^x. These were the degree to which one: self-identifies as Polish, says s/he cares about Polish, maintains Polish traditions in Britain, is a member of one/more UK Polish organisations, expresses the intention of going back to Poland, is religious, eats Polish food and has/would like to have a Polish partner.

Discourse analysis of each selective reconstruction of events, actions and attitudes was conducted to understand how the participants oriented towards circulating images of personhood-time-space (Agha 2007). A close examination of acts of public intersubjectivity allowed me to establish how sociocultural value was mobilised and enacted through stance-taking, where stance was defined as a public tri-act of evaluating objects ('what the talk was about'), positioning subjects and aligning with others (Du Bois 2007). Each stance-act was

seen as emergent dialogically in a series of situated utterances, with reference to the whole interview. Such an approach allowed me to analyse what chronotopic conventions were evoked during the interview and how phonetic detail participated in the production of interviewees' subjective ideological orientations. As stances are always shared (Du Bois 2007), my positioning must be explained. I was a female speaker of Polish, originally from Warsaw, who had not lived permanently in Britain, but had international experience, and trans- and international networks, and studied linguistic practices of Polish migrants in Britain. I spoke in a way typical for informal peer settings in Poland, using established English loanwords. Some observations suggest that some speakers used the features in other encounters with peers.

Finally, to analyse voiceless stops, all the participants' audible tokens in up to an hour of the interview were identified and extracted, and additionally, examined by mixed modelling analysis in R (R Development Core Team 2009) using the R package nlme (Pinheiro and Bates 2015). As the variability across the participants was established in non-cluster syllable onset positions in the nuclei of intonational phrases^{xi}, the analysis is confined to those.

Example (11) illustrates the context for the variable: an intonational phrase with a nuclear accent falling on the penultimate syllable of the last prosodic word of *BryTAnię*. The token is /t/ in the onset of the nuclear syllable TA, marked in bold capital letters.

(11) Maria(P9, female)
wymarzyłam sobie właśnie Wielką BryTAnię
dream-PAST-FEM-1SG REF precisely Great Britain
I dreamt precisely of Great Britain.

All tokens' absolute VOTs were measured in Praat, with the second measurement conducted after a few months to secure consistency. 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. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate measurements for the same word (with different case ending) for a Polish

Pole and a Cosmopolitan, respectively. The examples show Polish Poles' dental stop as shorter than reported VOT for standard Polish (28ms) in Keating et al. (1981) and Cosmopolitans' dental stop's VOT exceeding the highest value of English VOT for /t/ in natural speech (49/51ms), which results in an audible difference.

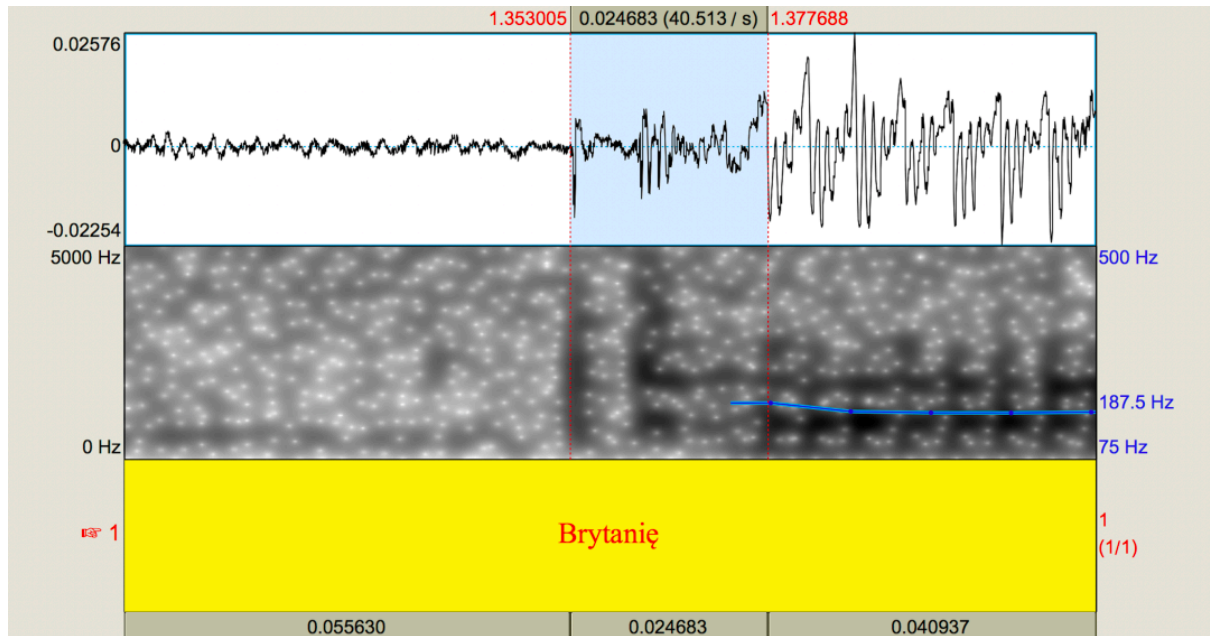


Figure 2. Measurement of VOT for a word-medial /t/ in *Wymarzyłam sobie Wielką BryTanię* uttered by a Polish Pole speaker (P9).

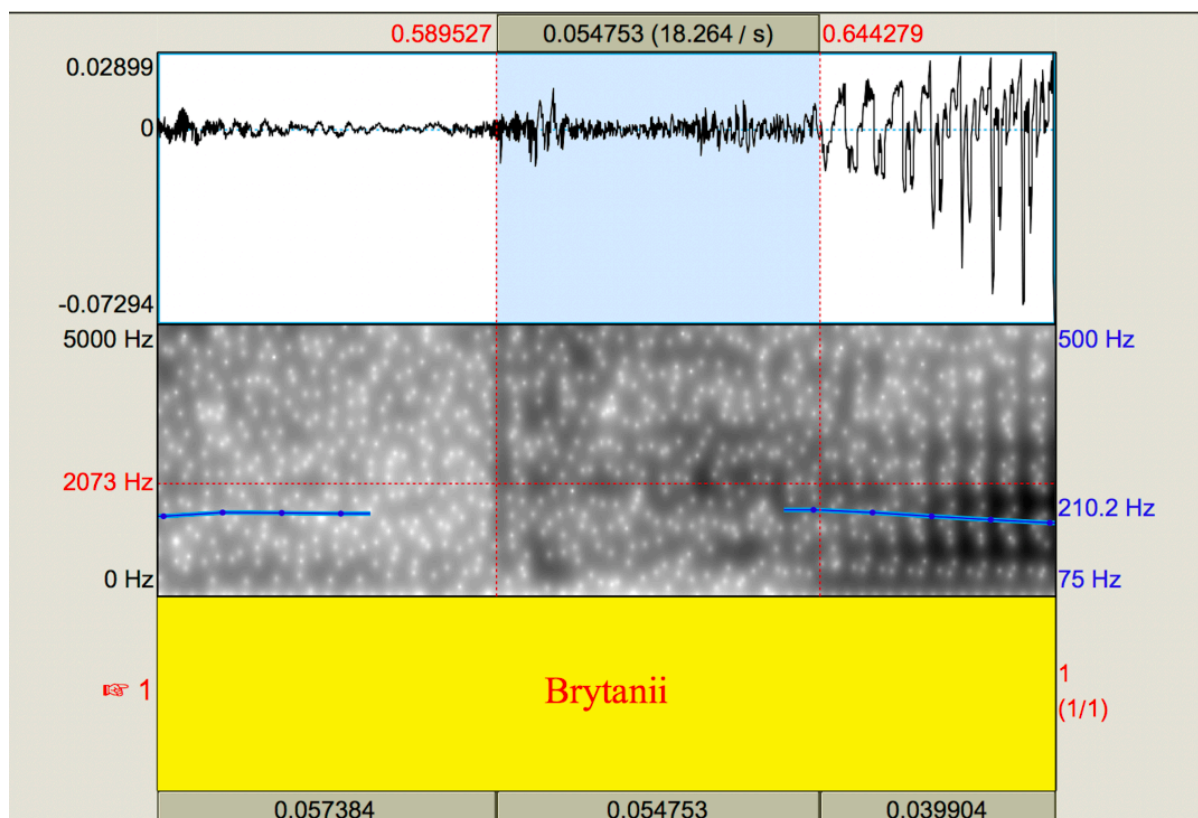


Figure 3. Measurement of VOT for a word-medial /t/ in *Dyskusji politycznej w Wielkiej Brytanii* uttered by a Cosmopolitan speaker (C1).

8. Chronotopic frames and emerging identities

To understand how the shift in location influenced the shift in salience of linguistic practices and variation in the diasporic context, a brief discussion of the three emergent ideological orientations in metalinguistic discourse is now provided (for a more detailed discussion, refer to Kozminska forthcoming). The analysis of stance-acts in each interview revealed a continuum: from Polish Poles orienting towards the country of origin and diaspora through globally-oriented In-betweens who included Polishness in their ‘international’ positioning, to Cosmopolitans who rejected nationality and oriented towards the global economy. In each discursive construction, the role of language was also differently presented: from standard Polish seen as an attribute of ‘real’ Polish Poles, through being In-betweens’ emblem of

education to a positive evaluation of selected mixing practices among Cosmopolitans.

Polish Poles constituted the largest group of 5 female and 12 male speakers who aligned with the Polish nation, had high Polishness index scores (7-9), including higher Polish networks scores, and embraced Polish culture and language in the UK. Their accounts were guided by the ideology of ‘authenticity’ where the ‘real’ self as part of a collective state formation was conceptualised in relation to ‘roots’ of origin rather than the horizontal community of immediate surroundings and operated in sociohistorical timespace. In these accounts, English was presented as a ‘necessary tool’ and mixing practices, especially at the phonetic level, were largely negatively evaluated. Excerpt (6) demonstrates Polish Poles’ alignment with Polishness as an important part of one’s identity and comes from an interview with Ela, a 25-year-old woman working in advertising in London.

6. Ela (P16, female)

KK: na czym polega ta twoja relacja z Polską?

P16: nie no na pewno jest ważna bo mimo że mieszkam tutaj to jestem Polką
i (.) z (h) małymi wyjątkami nigdy bym się tego nie wyparła (.)

KK: mhm

P16: jakby uważam że to JEST bardzo coś co mnie definiuje jako osobę

KK: mhm

P16: e (0.2) jakby to jest szcze- szczególnie mieszkając za [granica]

KK: [mhm]

P16: to jest BARdzo ważna część tego kim TY jestes

KK: *what does your relationship with Poland consist of?*

P16: *no for sure it is important because even if I live here, I’m Polish
and (.) with small exceptions (h) I would never deny that(.)*

KK: *mhm*

P16: *like I think that that is something that really defines me as a person*

KK: *mhm*

P16: *uhm (0.2) like especially when living [abroad*

KK: *[mhm]*

P16: *it’s a very important part of who you are*

Excerpt (6) presents Polish Poles’ negative attitude towards mixing at the phonetic level uttered by Maria, a female Polish Pole who had spent eight years in the UK and was working in the corporate sector in London. Similarly to other Polish Poles, in the excerpt, Maria

asserts that speaking Polish with an English accent means pretending to be someone whom one is not (7). She negatively evaluates the practice by fractally projecting the snobbish vs. down-to-earth opposition onto the UK Polish diaspora and positions herself as a Pole in Britain.

7. Maria (P9, female)

P9: no ale po polsku? ja jestem z Polski

KK: °mhm°

P9: więc dlaczego miałabym mieć (.) brytyjski akcent i <też nie mam dla siebie wymówki> żeby mieć angielski akcent bo gdybym mieszkała tutaj sama? nie jeździła do Polski i nie miała polskich znajomych

KK: mhm

P9: to czuję że to by było bardziej <akceptowalne> a że ja mówię po polsku to ja czuję że no byłabym jakimś takim snobem strasznym i strasznie arogancka jakbym nagle pojechała do Polski i zaczęła (h) mówić <jakbym miała żabę w buzi> i udawała że jestem z Wielkiej Brytanii także mi się wydaje że to by było trochę żałosne

P9: *but in Polish? I'm from Poland*

KK: *mhm*

P9: *so why should I have a British accent (.) and <I have no excuse for myself to have an English accent because if I lived here alone didn't go to Poland, and didn't have Polish friends*

KK: *mhm*

P9: *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^{xii} and pretended that I was from Great Britain, so I think it would be a bit pathetic*

In-betweens, five women and one man, still identified as Polish, but did not list it as the first and foremost constituent of their identities. They oriented towards the world imagined as a whole in which they as evolving private selves operated in separate, contrasting and mostly stable timespaces. Their Polishness index scores were between 4-6 with more international networks than Polish Poles. Also, rather than defining Polishness in terms of 'national identity', they conceptualised it as 'cultural heritage' that they intended to keep abroad. They selectively aligned with semiotic codes associated with Polish 'high' culture. In (8), Sylwia presents an In-between stance towards Polishness by defining it as cultural traditions of sentimental value. When asked about her attitude, she positively evaluates and aligns with it

by asserting *to jest pozytywne* ‘this is positive’, but distances herself from it by negating its superior value.

8. Sylwia (I2, female)

I2: polskość kojarzy mi się z [tradycjami

KK: [mhm]

I2: z tym takim właśnie kalendarzem >prawie że ka[tolickim=<

KK: [mhm]

I2: =świąt

KK: a to jest pozytywne? czy negatywne? [czy

I2: [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=

KK: [mhm]

I2: =ma polskość dla mnie

I2: I associate Polishness with [traditions

KK: [mhm]

I2: precisely with this calendar of almost [Catholic=

KK: [mhm]

I2: =holidays

KK: and is it positive? or negative [or

I2: [it's positive

but it has a sentimental value for me maybe not a superior value but probably a historical-cultural-tradi-traditional dimension for me

KK: [mhm]

I2: has Polishness for me

Similarly to other In-betweens, she later also aligns with other speakers of standard Polish and a classed image of an educated and professional individual for whom the ability to speak ‘proper’ Polish is an emblem of education and for whom mixing runs against accepted aesthetics.

9. Sylwia (I2, female)

I2: wydaje mi się że tak generalnie z jakiegoś poziomu wykształcenia wydaje mi się że te osoby starają się mówić poprawnie w każdym języku

I2: I think it's in general because of a level of education, I think that these people try to speak any language properly

Finally, Cosmopolitans, five women and two men, presented themselves as globalist private selves in the here-and-now and rejected nationality as a basis for identity. Their Polishness index scores were low (0-3) with networks similarly international to In-betweens, but with 'Polishness' not being included in their self-definition. They did not present themselves as actively engaged in the Polish diaspora community and linked Polishness with childhood memories and family life rather than state or diasporic collectivities (5). They were the only ones to explicitly assert that they did not intend to return to Poland. In (10), Maja, a female Cosmopolitan working in London, defined herself as a human being and aligned with the image of a private, rather than collectively understood self. While doing so, she aligned with Witold Gombrowicz, a Polish diasporic author famous for his anti-nationalist stance, critical examination of the Polish class system and writings on identity creation.

10. Maja (C6, female)

C6: bo widzisz pytanie o Polskość też MA-(.) to też jest pytanie w ogóle o to (.) gdzie się widzisz jako czło[wiek

KK: [mhm]

C6: naczy czy czy widzisz się jako człowiek który (h) przynależy do jakiegoś- (0.2) ja nie- ja nigdy nie czułam się częścią jakiejś [grupy (.)nigdy

KK: [hmm to właśnie moje następne pytanie (h)]

C6: no więc WŁśnie to jest czy- czy- (0.1) czy- (0.2) ja się czuję trochę jak taki Gombrowicz (h)

KK: mhm

C6: naczy mnie to <dobija> jeżeli ja się muszę w jakiś sposób określić ja nie czuję że 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[...] czuję że mnie to wzbogacza mieszkanie w różnych miejscach i i uhm nie wiem do czego przynależę i nie wiem[...] dlaczego miałabym się w jakiś sposób określać

C6: you see the question about Polishness is also (.) it also is a question about (.) where you see yourself as a per[son

KK: [mhm]

C6: I mean whether whether you see yourself as a person who belongs somewhere (0.2) I don't- I never felt part of any [group (.) never

KK: [hmm this is my next question (h)

C6: exactly that is whether whether (0.1) whether (0.2) I feel a bit like a

Gombrowicz (h)

KK: mhm

C6: *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 never felt part of this[...] 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 [...] why I should define myself in any way*

Cosmopolitans often evaluated English and selected language mixing practices very positively, although women and men compartmentalised their linguistic resources differently: at the phonetic level, women did not care about the changes, accepted or even liked them. Importantly, they did not want to use stigmatised lexical and morphosyntactic forms in Polish as if such behaviour was still iconic of their being educated. Unlike Polish Poles and In-betweens, the two men did not mind speaking English to other speakers of Polish, but asserted that they did not enjoy other forms of mixing. (11) presents a female 'Cosmopolitan' stance towards having an accent in Polish.

11.Maja(C6, female)

KK: a jak się czujesz jak ktoś ci powie że masz bardziej melodyjny albo że mówisz z akcentem? [jakoś ci to

C6: [jakoś WIESZ CO jakoś nie- specjalnie mnie to nie obchodzi jakoś tak- uhm w sumie gdzieś- (.) ja się lubię tak czuć tak zza granicy

KK: *and how do you feel when someone tells you that your language is more melodic or that you speak with an accent?*

C6: *somehow you know somehow I don't- I don't really care somehow- uhm in fact you know- (.) I like to feel that way that I'm from abroad*

The women often acknowledged that the way one speaks 'says something about them', but evaluated their Polish as worse than in the past and positioned themselves away from it by asserting that they did not intend to work on it as in (12).

12.Paulina (C1, female)

C1: już nie używam takiego super języka

KK:[...]to też ci ktoś powiedział że się zmienił twój polski tak? i jak się wtedy czujesz? to jest ok czy jakoś się przyzwyczaiłaś? czy-

C1: no jednak mieszkam t(42ms)utaj i wykształcam sobie coraz lepszy ten bryt(37ms)yjski
ale kosztem tego jest to że mój polski jednak(.) stopniowo się pogarsza

KK: ach ok czyli po prostu akceptujesz że tak się dzieje czy-

C1: no nie za bardzo jakby mam mam obecnie czas żeby nad tym pracować tak?

C1: I don't use such a super language

KK: [...]then also someone told you that your Polish had changed, right? and how do you feel then? is this ok or have you got used to it or-

*C1: well I live here and I work to have this better British
but a cost of this is that my Polish is (.) getting worse*

KK: aha ok so you simply accept that it's happening or-

C1: like I don't have time to work on it now

The section shows that similarly to Schleef's (2017) study of Polish youth in London and Diskin and Regan's (2017) study of Polish migrants in Ireland, the participants in this study aligned with state-level formations and dominant language varieties in various ways and by evoking different chronotopic frames, differently legitimised their multilingual practices. In the next two sections, I focus on the production of aspirated stops in the situated acts of identification and their embedding in the interplay of linguistic and social factors.

8. Analysis of stops and gender differences

Importantly, the results of the fieldwork revealed gender differences. The three chronotopic frames emerged in encounters with all interviewed women with a similar ease and likelihood. However, most interviewed men presented themselves as 'real' Polish Poles operating within sociohistorical timespace and scaling their practices in relation to state-level formations. A trend for men meeting the criteria to return to Poland after their studies was also observed. All 12 male Polish Poles whose accounts were analysed in detail also expressed a wish to return to Poland, often in the near future (unlike female Polish Poles) and 13 men (unlike women) except 1 In-between and 1 Polish Pole^{xiii} had Polish-speaking partners. As shown in Table 2, when 1184 tokens of all stops produced by men are considered, all but one most closely resemble those for Polish dental stops (28ms) from Keating et al.'s (1981) lab experiment (refer to Table 1), and remain below those reported for English bilabial stops

(Docherty 42ms). Numbers of tokens vary due to differences in frequency of the stops in Polish and due to sample length differences. A preliminary analysis showed a lexical effect in *tak* ‘yes’ for all speakers, with /t/ not being frequently aspirated, thus, it was excluded from the analysis.

Table 2. Mean VOT(ms), standard deviations and number of all stops for male speakers (N=1184); P-Polish Pole, I-In-between, C-Cosmopolitan, ranked according to Polishness

Index Score.

Speaker	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Tokens
P1	32	15	64
P3	34	21	88
P4	32	13	120
P5	30	16	92
P7	27	13	97
P8	28	11	91
P10	34	15	86
P11	34	13	125
P13	34	14	66
P15	26	9	98
I6	27	11	111
C2	27	10	91
C5	42	20	55

Only one Cosmopolitan speaker (C5) had a mean VOT for all stops (bilabial, dental, velar) above 40ms, which approximates Docherty’s (1992) experimental results for British English (42ms) bilabial stops and Byrd’s natural speech data for American English (44ms) bilabial stops. However, due to the fact that the speaker did not deploy other phonetic devices used by female Cosmopolitans (discussed in the next section) and due to the uneven distribution for the two genders, no firm conclusions can be drawn. When all Polish Poles are compared, gender is not significant (Kozminska 2016).

In addition to equal distribution, in their discursive constructions, women at the two extremes of the continuum explicitly differently aligned with ideals of femininity and masculinity. Most female Polish Poles aligned with and positively evaluated more traditional images of ‘female vulnerability’ and family values, whereas female Cosmopolitans repeatedly aligned with images of ‘independent global girls’ (McRobbie 2009) and disaligned from a dominant Polish image of a ‘Mother-Pole’ (Graff 2008). The mixed-modelling analysis is therefore confined to 1408 tokens of stops produced by female speakers: 543 tokens of /p/, 546 tokens of /t/ and 319 tokens of /k/. Table 3 demonstrates the distribution and mean VOTs for 15 women, showing that Cosmopolitans have the longest mean VOTs: 35-47ms. For In-betweens, the range is: 31-36ms, while for Polish Poles: 29-38ms. All values are within a range of a Polish /k/ reported in a lab experiment (Keating et al. 1981) and English /t/ from natural speech studies (Byrd 1993).

Table 3. Mean VOT(ms), standard deviations and number of all stops for fifteen female speakers (N=1408); P-Polish Pole, I-In-between, C-Cosmopolitan, ranked according to

Polishness Index Score.

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

For the mixed-modelling analysis, each token was coded for one dependent variable (aspiration, continuous, log-transformed VOT), eight independent variables (6 – linguistic, 2 – sociocultural) and one random effect (speaker individuation). Linguistic variables include: following vowel (categorical with two levels: high (i ɪ u)/low (e a o) (Jassem 2003)),

preceding phonetic segment (categorical with two levels (voiced, voiceless)), speech rate (continuous, established with Praat scripts: Lennes (2002), Ryan (2005) and Jong and Wempe (2008)), number of syllables (categorical with three levels: 1, 2, more than 2), corpus word-frequency (continuous, established in AntConc(Anthony 2015), log-transformed), place of articulation (categorical with three levels: bilabial, dental,velar (Maddieson 1997)). The two non-linguistic variables are: identity (categorical with three levels: Polish Pole, In-between, Cosmopolitan) and number of years in Britain (continuous: 3.5-10 years).

Table 4. Results for significant fixed effects for all stops (N=1408); Reference levels: VowelHigh, SyllablesInAWord1, PlaceOfArticulationBilabial, IdentityCosmopolitan, Cosmopolitan:Bilabial.

Variable	Value	Std.Error	DF	t-value	p-value
Intercept	4.15	0.24	1377	17.08	0
VowelLow	-0.26	0.05	1377	-5.09	0.0000***
SyllablesInAwordMoreThan2	-0.14	0.05	1377	-2.81	0.0051**
PlaceOfArticulationVelar	0.28	0.09	1377	3.16	0.0016**
IdentityIn-between	-0.27	0.07	10	-4.1	0.0021**
IdentityPolish Pole	-0.5	0.07	10	-7.72	0.0000***
Polish Pole: Dental	0.33	0.06	1377	5.7	0.0000***
Polish Pole:Velar	0.26	0.07	1377	3.82	0.0001***

Table 4 demonstrates that when significant, linguistic context has an effect on aspiration. It supports the claim that the following vowel has a highly significant effect on VOT with longer VOTs before high vowels (Maddieson 1997). The effect of number of syllables in a word is consistent with Lisker and Abramson (1967): monosyllabic words have stops with longer VOTs than the polysyllabic ones. With bilabial stops as a default category, the effect of place of articulation is significant for velar stops and supports the universal tendency for

VOT values to be longer with a further place of articulation (Maddieson 1997).

With Cosmopolitans treated as a default category for identity, the model shows that Cosmopolitans have the longest VOT values, In-betweens come second ($p=.0021$), while Polish Poles ($p<.001$) have the shortest VOT. 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 Cosmopolitans' bilabial stops. When each stop is examined separately (Kozminska 2016), sociocultural identity is always significant and Cosmopolitans' VOTs are the longest for each stop. In these models, for bilabial and velar stops, Cosmopolitans are followed by In-betweens, while Polish Poles come last. For dental stops, Cosmopolitans have the longest VOT values, but Polish Poles come before In-betweens.

Crucially, length of stay in Britain was not significant, suggesting that longer exposure to English does not determine transfer from English. With all participants reporting fairly similar contact with Polish either in offline sites in the UK or via communication technologies and with similarly international networks of Cosmopolitans and In-betweens, Cosmopolitans' VOTs cannot be explained in terms of proficiency. Contact with English alone cannot explain the differences between Cosmopolitans and In-betweens. Neither did interaction between speech rate and proficiency become apparent. Rather, the use of English features is dependent on the ideology guiding the speaker's behaviour, which influences their contact with the two languages.

9. Stops in subjective interactional stances

So far, the aspirated stops have been shown to be embedded in the workings of a range of linguistic and social factors. When all linguistic factors are considered, female Cosmopolitans' aspirated stops also do particular interactional work: they favour contexts

when speakers disalign from Poland-related issues or align with the local context. Crucially, as indexical meanings of phonetic detail depend on a ‘style in which it is embedded’ (Eckert 2008: 466), in female Cosmopolitans’ series of stance-acts, aspirated stops are not the only feature that signals (dis)alignment, they co-occur with e.g. fall-rises used as a floor control mechanism, palatalised fricatives, vowel lengthening in nuclei of IPs. As shown in Kozminska (forthcoming), at the phonetic level, Polish Poles, In-betweens and male Cosmopolitans mainly rely on standard phonetic norms. Among female In-betweens, only the use of aspirated stops has been observed to occasionally do similar interactional work to female Cosmopolitans’ aspirated stops, but the overall frequency of aspiration is lower (Kozminska 2016).

Excerpt (13) comes from an interview with Iza, a 30-year-old female Cosmopolitan working in social media in London. (13) is part of a longer passage in which Iza positioned herself away from life in Poland and aligned with staying in the UK by deictically anchoring her turn in the present with 1st person singular and negatively evaluating a series of factors that she associated with Poland. Just before (13), she described English 30-year-olds as ‘those who still go out.’

13.Iza (C3, female)

- 1a w Polsce to jest tak że nie wiem od dwudziestu pier- dwudziestego piątego roku życia:
and in Poland it is that I don't know when you're twenty-one- twenty-five years old
 2 ludzie:: mają \dzieci: rodziny i po prostu: zamykają się w do:mu::
people have kids and families and they just close themselves at home
 3 i nic się nie dzieje w ich życiu
and nothing happens in their lives
 4 i kobiety tylko t(63ms)yją
and women only put on weight
 5 i faceci tylko brzu(.)chy im ro:sną:
and guys their bellies only grow

In line (1), Iza contrasted the information that she has given about English 30-year-olds with

the life of Polish 25-year-olds, pointing to reported differences in societal expectations between the two countries. As the propositional content unfolded, in line with English rather than Polish interactional frameworks, she relied on repeated vowel lengthening and a fall-rise in (2). In (2), she asserted that Polish 25-year-olds close themselves at home, which she evaluated negatively in (3) with a negated content and an indefinite pronoun in *nic się nie dzieje w ich życiu* ‘nothing happens in their lives.’ In (4), she provided further clarification with reference to gender norms. When making a negatively evaluated generic claim about all women in Poland putting on weight, she produced an aspirated stop in *tyjə*, a disyllabic verb with a dental stop followed by a high vowel [i]. The VOT was 63 ms. She then continued to negatively evaluate men in (5) and after listing a few other gender and generational differences, when confronted with a yes/no question about her preference for staying in the UK, concurred with *tak* ‘yes.’

10. Making scales through embodied sociophonetic actions

This article examined the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender through the production of stops in situated acts of identification of 30 young Polish adults living and working in South-East England in 2013-14. Drawing attention to the interpretative processes through which the participants positioned themselves in relation to historically relevant social images, I analysed how in the context of extended, technologically mediated communicative possibilities enabling interconnectedness and multipresence in various sites, contemporary Polish migrants with a similar background mobilised and activated linguistic and cultural resources, and built orders of sociocultural value in and through their discursive moves.

Discourse analysis of chronotopic representations of experience revealed that similarly to other migration contexts (e.g. Woolard 2013) and other Polish migrants in the UK (e.g. Drummond 2012, Schleef 2017), despite the shared background, the participants took up

various continuities where the change in location resulted in multiple reevaluations of the salience of linguistic and cultural resources. The participants differently scaled, contextualised and positioned themselves and others in timespace, which led to ‘shifts in salience among units of comparison’ (Gal and Irvine 2019: 229). Polish Poles aligned with images of ‘real selves’ belonging to the Polish nation operating in sociohistorical timespace. In-betweens presented accounts of evolving selves in contrastive timespaces with Polishness embedded within the whole world. Cosmopolitans oriented towards the here-and-now and the global order in which they did not include nationality.

In each dominant chronotopic frame, linguistic resources were also conceptualised differently: from Polish seen as an attribute of ‘authentic Poles’ through an emblem of education to a language of lesser importance where particular mixing practices were seen to add value. When assessing relevance of English resources and mixing practices, the participants operated within a historically embedded field of indexical meanings of abstract, but ideologically-loaded standard English and Polish norms. As the migrants were raised in Poland, they were selectively engaging with indexical meanings of standard Polish and English-like features in Polish circulating in Polish society, fractally projecting them onto the UK context and drawing on emerging alternatives in Britain. As a result, when activating particular actions and events and bringing them into relation to each other through public stance-acts, they legitimised different evaluations of multilingual practices and oriented towards different ideological centres.

A close analysis of aspirated stops in the acts of public intersubjectivity demonstrated that changes in salience also led to different reassemblages of linguistic resources in this context. Quantitative methods revealed that female Cosmopolitans produced the longest VOT values. The use of English-like realisations of stops was ideologically configured, but the body also

‘offer[ed] affordances that shaped the trajectory of semiosis’ (Bucholtz and Hall 2016). Similarly to other projects focusing on soundwork (e.g. Zhang 2005, Stuart-Smith 2015), phonetic detail remained embedded in the workings of the total linguistic system and where significant, universal tendencies were followed. Considering linguistic constraints, the examination of moments of embodied stop realisations revealed a tendency for longer VOTs to occur in contexts when female Cosmopolitans disaligned from Poland-related issues/aligned with the local context. This resembles other projects arguing for phonological variation to have the potential to act as pragmatically salient indexes of subjectivity (e.g. Mendoza-Denton 2008, Woolard 2009). It also allows us to better understand the bodily semiotics of self-presentation and style where agency is produced by various entities (Bucholtz and Hall 2016) including sonic imagination and physical possibilities of the human body. Moreover, the analysis allows us to see that the difference in indexical connections is not confined to one feature in isolation, but rather female Cosmopolitans’ stops acted in relation to the style in which they were embedded (Eckert 2008) together creating particular ideologically-loaded bodily categorisations. To fully assess their dynamic salience (Levon and Fox 2014), the occurrence of aspiration must be examined in recordings of other situated stance-acts. A nuanced account between production and perception is also in order (Levon and Fox 2014), as well as a close examination of recorded interactions in non-single sex contexts (Levon and Holmes-Elliott 2014), especially where interlocutors have similar access to the spaces in which the resources have value.

Finally, the emergence of competing norms highlights the importance of specific sociohistorical circumstances and gendered properties of discourse production. Discourse analysis and observations from the fieldwork suggest that the series of dynamic stance-acts in which alongside other embodied semiotic resources, aspirated stops were deployed, were resulting in the creation of a feminine Cosmopolitan personae: an independent ‘global girl’

(McRobbie 2009) who, unlike female Polish Poles disaligned from traditional images of a Mother-Pole and challenged the dominant social order with women's more precarious socioeconomic position, lack of opportunities (Okólski and Salt 2014) and patriarchal norms (Graff 2008). Differences in symbolic work performed by women with a similar background point to the complexity of the multiplex, layered and mobile conduit of meanings in the globalised world. The study also stresses the emergence of divergent accounts of change and nonlinear linguistic effects at a particular historical conjuncture - before the Brexit vote, when Britain, with its largest EU Polish migrant community, decided to leave the EU and before the worldwide rise of nationalism which in Poland led to attempts to restrict women's reproductive rights. It is thus crucial to examine in what ways the values of linguistic resources were later compared and established and to what extent they could go beyond the linearly conceptualised standard linguistic market of the nation-state (Zhang 2005).

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ⁱ Despite the fact that Poland is located in Central and Eastern Europe and some Poles insist on using ‘Central’ rather than ‘Eastern’ Europe due to ideological tensions, the term Eastern European is used as it was most often used by participants in this study.

ⁱⁱ The labels were used by some participants.

ⁱⁱⁱ The student was raised in a medium-sized city in northern Poland, frequently stayed with family in Lviv, a city located close to the Polish-Ukrainian border with a highly valued ‘Polish’ cultural heritage site, and completed the last year of high school in Britain.

^{iv} Following Keating et al. (1981) etc., /p t k b d g/ are referred to as stops throughout the article.

^v In Lisker and Abramson’s sample, positive and negative VOT values were distributed within two discontinuous ranges; there was also interspeaker variation.

^{vi} 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.

^{vii} To save space, only participants’ passages are presented in this section. All come from two-person interrogative chains. Underscores indicate nuclei of IPs.

^{viii} All names are pseudonyms. P-Polish Poles, I-In-between, C-Cosmopolitan, ranked according to Polishness index scores.

^{ix} A Marantz PMD 660 recorder and two lapel Audio-Technica AT8531 microphones were used to record the interviews. The sample rate was 48 kHz with 16 bits per sample.

^x A correlation between network score and 8 cultural foci was established (Author 2016).

^{xi} Preliminary analysis excluded other contexts.

^{xii} ‘mieć żabę w buzi’ is not a common idiomatic expression reported for Polish. The meaning here was most similar to the English ‘have a plum in my mouth.’ The translation is word by word to most closely resemble the original.

^{xiii} It was the only overtly gay participant whose networks were also more international than those of other ‘Polish Poles’, which may have to do with traditionally conservative character of Polish culture.