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Title: *Sounding Out Difference: Polycentricity of Ideological Orientations among Polish-Speaking Migrants in Transnational Timespace.*

Abstract

This article reports emerging polycentric ideological orientations among UK-educated middleclass Polish-speaking young adult migrants living and working in South-East England in 2013–2014. The analysis of phonetic-semiotic details in stance-taking acts in chronotopic representations of experience reveals a continuum of sociolinguistic authority in which despite a shared sociocultural background, sociolinguistic possibilities are differently conceptualized and enacted. A close examination of the ways in which the participants exploit differences in clusters of morphological detail demonstrates that English-like realizations in Polish, while motivated by particular linguistic context and discursive function, co-occur mainly in the speech of female ‘Cosmopolitans’ to signal orientation toward relevant social images and create locally valid and recognizable value effects. The relational, collective, and embodied soundings of sameness and difference depend on scalarity and complex interconnections between ethnicity, class, and gender in transnational timespace. The findings have implications for studies of variation and migrant discourse. [chronotopes, ideological orientations, polycentricity, soundscapes, stance-acts]

Introduction

Today’s extended capabilities of action and new forms of postcolonial and post Cold War migrations have created a complex entanglement of local, national, and transnational networks in which the relation of the self to others, time, and space is continuously changing. At the same time, the politics of accessibility and availability still enable and restrict human capabilities and make particular ways of seeing, acting, feeling, and sounding in the world more acceptable than others. This is perhaps most visible in the context of migration where coming together entails constant exposure of difference and encounters with boundary drawing. Studies of migrant¹ discourse can reveal in what ways under the current circumstances, multilingual moving bodies can craft their place in the world with others by locating themselves toward and enacting various sociohistorically shaped person types.

Linguistic anthropological research focusing on migrants’ metapragmatic commentary has pointed to the polycentricity of ideological orientations, where those with a shared background have been observed to develop allegiances to multiple complexes of norms and value. To understand such a complexity, scholars have turned to chronotopic representations of migration experiences as an important part of language ideological apparatuses through which migrants decode their sociolinguistic worlds and invoke particular, often contested historicities of origin and change (Woolard 2013). It has been argued that in the context of mobility, emerging

semiotic representations that link time and space to social types are shaped in indeterminate and dynamic ways and depend on various scalar distinctions that define their scopes of communicability and creativity (Agha 2007a; Blommaert 2019; Karimzad 2020). These studies stress that transnational agents do not just move between geographical spaces, but operate within multilayered ordered indexicalities which systematically give preference to some forms of semiosis and exclude others. At the same time, these projects rarely bring phonetic features from multilingual discourse into their analyses.

Studies of stance-taking acts have, however, shown that part of discursive stances comes from the ways in which speakers exploit differences in clusters of morphophonological detail (Kiesling 2009; Gal and Irvine 2019). This article links these two strands of research by examining stance-acts in chronotopic representations of young-adult middle-class Polish-speaking migrants who received higher education and stayed to work in white-collar jobs in the UK in 2013–2014. A continuum of emergent identities operating via different chronotopic frames is reported: from authentic nationally oriented “Polish Poles” embracing Polish culture and language, through evolving “In-betweens,” keeping selected semiotic codes from the Polish cultural heritage, to globalist “Cosmopolitans,” rejecting nationality, and orienting toward the here-and-now and global economy. An intersectional analysis of stanceacts also highlights multiplicity of emerging linguistic ideological assemblages that are understandable at different scales. At the phonetic level, those orienting toward Poland and the Polish diaspora as well as male Cosmopolitans are shown to adhere to “standard” pronunciation patterns reported for Polish. Through the enactment of clusters of selected phonetic detail drawn from English when speaking Polish, female Cosmopolitans produce new locally valid and recognizable value effects and invoke emerging formations of solidarity that operate beyond the logic of the nation-state. The focus on the sounded experience draws attention to sonic agency (LaBelle 2018) as a force shaping migrants’ acts of intersubjectivity and disrupting the dominant order of hegemonic global relations, while remaining entangled in interconnections between ethnicity, class, and gender, and displaying traces of power and accessibility.

Ideological Orientations and Indexical Soundings

In any partitioned sociocultural timespace, social agents negotiate, propagate, and legitimize their ideas and multiple sociopolitical, economic, and other interests in and through communicative practices. Ideologies are therefore primarily communicative “lived relation[s] between men and their world” (Althusser 1969). They are neither true nor false (Gal and Irvine 2019) and grounded in social experience. Crucially, in any time and place, they are multiple, ever-changing, “partial, interest-laden, contestable and contested” (Woolard 1998, 10). The multiplicity does not mean, however, that all ideologies are equivalent or similarly accessible. On the contrary, some ideologies have wider impact and may become hegemonic (Gramsci 1971) as particular groups may have total social authority by imposing ruling ideas on subordinate groups and “winning and shaping consent so that [their] power . . . appears both legitimate and natural” (Hall 1977). As a result, others operate within an ideological space which “appears to lie outside history, to be beyond particular interests” (Hall 1975).

Linguistic anthropologists have argued that the strongest demarcation of a uniform public culture and domination is linguistic (Silverstein 2014) as particular linguistic practices propagated by hegemonic institutions, usually as the standard language, have come to be perceived as appropriate and superior. Importantly, standard languages were designed (Johnstone 2016) and propagated as shared and codified languages typical of particular nations through human action and political, monolingual projects from eighteenth century onward (Hobsbawm 1990). As a result, national identities include imagination of language and linguistic communities (Eisenlohr 2007), which often perpetuate ideologies of elites (e.g., Ramaswamy 1997) and serve as benchmarks for authentic membership in a community.

Consequently, also in the context of contemporary global mobility, neither ethnolinguistic modularity nor predetermined character of national and ethnic identities can be assumed. Rather than being fixed, identities must be seen as indeterminate and formed by the division of social space into groups, cultural values, essentializations of linguistic forms and their repeated conventionalization (Silverstein 2003). Studies examining intersections of ethnicity, race, class, gender, nation, age, or ability help further understand how particular ideas about language and culture are organized along various axes of inequality, how they are related to the logic of capitalism, patriarchy, and the nation-state, and how they are advanced by specific interpretative communities (Collins 2015). In the context of mobility, it has been, however, observed that common background, social location, and shared experiences do not suffice for the sociolinguistic selves to act in the same sociolinguistic worlds expressed by the same linguistic signs (e.g., Woolard 2013; Karimzad 2020). It has thus become crucial to understand the polycentricity of ideological orientations, that is, how mobile speakers orient to historically contingent multitudes of centers of linguistic authority (e.g., Woolard 2013; Blommaert 2015).

As a result, recent studies focus on semiotic processes through which migrants locate themselves in relation to circulating images of personhood, time, and space (Agha 2007b), how they selectively engage with conventionalized norms and typifications (Gal and Irvine 2019), and how their choices change the “value of communicative resources in accordance with users’ shifts in social and geographical mobility” (Das 2016). To understand the dynamic ways in which time-space frames can be linked to social types, scholars stress the importance of two dimensions of the context of sociolinguistic activity: chronotopes and scales. Discourse analysis of chronotopic representations (Bakhtin 1981) allows for the reconstruction of interactants’ orientations to relevant depictions of time-space-personhood through a close examination of dialogically configured and diagrammed text patterns. It also enables us to analyze plot and character development in which particular actions are meaningful and recognizable (Agha 2007a; Woolard 2013). Such an inseparability of time and space from human action draws attention to the lack of uniformity of timespace configurations in relation to human agency and consciousness showing what chunks of history become relevant to whom in the new locale (Blommaert 2007b, 2015). While chronotopes allow us to identify available contextual normative universes, these are scales that generate accessibility and recognizability. Scales link scopes of understandability to the value of discourse showing that different semiotic

resources are always simultaneously deployed, but they are not equivalent and form different orders subject to the politics of inclusion and exclusion. Norms are hence themselves scaled phenomena which develop intersubjectively in interaction and are discursively organized through orientations to perceived appropriateness criteria and complexes of evaluating authority (Blommaert 2007a; Karimzad 2020).

Importantly, the locus of ideology is not confined to metalinguistic discourse, but it is also imbued in the linguistic sign itself (Volosinov 1973). Through their focus on enactment of ideology, studies of stance-taking have emphasized the importance of the sociolinguistic form for language users and its capacity to project social meaning and shape the trajectory of semiosis (e.g., Kiesling 2009). Projects on migrants' meaning-making processes must, therefore, closely investigate how linguistic signs become indexically (Silverstein 2003) linked to social images and "the bodily hexis that is imagined to be the source of socially marked linguistic forms or practices" (Bucholtz and Hall 2016, 178). They must consider how such essentialized norms then create systems of oppositions that are fractally projected onto other levels and erase less representative communicative practices (Gal and Irvine 2000). When invoking particular historicities of movement and stability, migrants, similarly to other speakers, make use of clusters of features, an indexical nexus that form linguistic styles (Irvine 2001; Blommaert 2015). Studies of performances of emergent public subjectivities (Agha 2007b) focusing on both metapragmatic commentary and linguistic expression can hence further elucidate the dialectic relationship of contemporary mass-mediated processes of semiosis. They do so by analyzing how participants establish standards in relation to hierarchical orders of sociocultural value, how the linguistic form helps sustain or challenge power relations, and how differently recognizable chronotopic frames create epistemic and affective effects through embodied linguistic practice.

This article therefore focuses on the ways in which frames of representation are linked to frames of performance among the multilingual moving bodies in transnational timespace. To do so, I build on the projects discussed above and analyze the migrants' chronotopic self-placements (Agha 2007b) in relation to relevant social images. I focus on participants' stance-taking acts as it is through series of stances that sociocultural value is (re)produced, clusters of indexical semiotic resources are deployed and particular linguistic styles emerge (Kiesling 2009). I analyze stance-acts as dialogically accomplished public tri-acts (DuBois 2007, 163) "of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and other) and aligning with other subjects with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field." Such an approach allows me to demonstrate how the participants evoke, reproduce, and reshape presupposed orders of sociocultural value, how they link their stance acts to responsibility, and how they make their talk heard and understood across different scales. A close attention to emerging soundings and resoundings stresses that "information and communication pass through rhythms: repetitions and differences" (Lefebvre 2013, 52) resulting in socially located combinations that may challenge existing structures of demarcation of power and domination and meaningfully shape processes of value attribution in transnational timespace.

Sociohistorical Context

The study reported in this article was conducted in Britain, one of the first EU countries to open its market to Eastern Europeans in 2004. Mainly due to its colonial history, Britain exhibited highest levels of ethnic and racial diversity in Europe (Dorling and Tomlinson 2019). It is a state with a strong class structure (Skeggs 2004) and high-income inequality (Massey 2007; Dorling 2019; Dorling and Tomlinson 2019) with most wealth traditionally concentrated in the South-East of England. This area was also the field site for this project and a region associated with “standard British English,” described in grammars and textbooks of English, taught to foreign-language learners. However, despite the culture of standardization (Cameron 1995), migrants could encounter a range of regional, urban, class, and emerging multiethnic ways of speaking English as well as other multilingual resources.

British–Polish relations have a long history dating back to the eighteenth century (Korys 2004), but large Polish groups did not settle in Britain until the introduction of the first mass immigration law for people from outside of the empire —the 1947 Polish Resettlement Act. After World War II, the UK Polish community comprised approximately 150 000, many of whom did not go back to the People’s Republic of Poland (Burrell 2006) and settled in Britain as refugees after escaping Soviet gulags (Davies 2015). Some of them later moved to North America/Australia and during the following 45 years, official emigration from Poland remained low (Kępińska 2004) and highly controlled (Garapich 2016). After the socioeconomic transformation, not until 2004, when Britain granted full access to its market to Eastern Europeans, did it become the primary destination for Polish migrants.

Poles quickly became the largest national group (Salt 2011), with 558 000 residents in 2011 (Home Office 2011). The rapidity and size of the recent arrivals had to do with the restructuring of the Polish economy, including low wages, youth unemployment, and limited opportunities in Poland, particularly for women (Okólski and Salt 2014). Other factors included demographic and sociopolitical changes in the two countries, for example, growing numbers of individuals with improved sociocultural capital in Poland, increased knowledge of English, understanding of “European citizenship” and reluctance to perform low-paid jobs by British workers.

In the UK, the Polish community has been portrayed as homogenous (Garapich 2008). While researchers have argued that Poles benefit from their whiteness, they have also reported a “degraded” form of their whiteness (more detail in Rzepnikowska 2018). In British press, both positive and negative representations of Polish migrants have been identified: good workers and the “foreign” other with unusual habits, pushing up crime rates, etc. (Fomina and Frelak 2008). The negative framing and linguistic violence toward Polish migrants increased after the project due to anti-migration discourses triggered by the Brexit vote (e.g., Dorling and Tomlinson 2019), but the negative framing was also present in 2013–2014. Spigelman’s (2013, 111) corpus-based discourse analysis of daily tabloids and broadsheet newspapers in Britain demonstrates that the Polish were most often presented as “invading outsiders” who were “stealing jobs of honest, working Brits.” Such a representation of Polish migration as “a natural disaster” conformed to othering processes observed for UK

immigrant communities (e.g., Hall 1995; Baker 2013). Awareness of these discourses was also attested in the comments made by my participants.

Contrary to circulating beliefs, the Polish population in Britain is diverse in terms of age, education (Okólski and Salt 2014), income and occupation (House of Commons 2016), and geographical distribution (Hall 2015). Moreover, due to ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe, Poland exhibits low levels of ethnic diversity. However, various understandings of being Polish have historically circulated in the Polish nation-state, with Polish supremacists living next to ethnic minorities (Bidzińska 2016). Linguistically, next to the idealized *język ogólny* (“standard” Polish), five dialects of Polish, mixed dialects, minority languages (e.g., Kashubian), rural, and urban varieties have been identified in Poland (Urbańczyk and Kucąła 1999), where mixing practices such as Ponglish have also historically often been associated with working-class migration. In recent decades, the use of English features in Poland has increased (e.g., Chłopicki 2002; Sztencel 2009) with, for example, younger speakers also using English-like phonetic detail (Konert-Panek 2009). In Polish society, competing valorizations of English features coexist with such oppositional indexical meanings as global/local, traditional/innovative, snobbish/down-to-earth, western/eastern, from Poland/from abroad. By 2013, these pairings were projected onto the UK context, where new models of indexicality were also emerging, for example, successful/unsuccessful migrant, ambitious/unambitious, educated/uneducated.

Given this diversity, rather than lumping all Polish migrants together, I examine the chronotopic representations in relation to the interplay of ethnicity, class, and gender among young adults in South-East England. Although capitalism in Poland is fairly recent, income inequality lower than in Britain and various levels of class consciousness have been reported (Domański 2015), Polish class structure has a much longer history (Domański 2015) and real-life consequences (Gdula and Sadura 2012) as “the persistence of class divisions was one of the People’s Republic’s biggest failures” (Pyzik 2016, 90). Hence, like elsewhere, class position has had an impact on “the processes by which [the right sort of cultural capital for national belonging] is acquired and displayed” (Skeggs 2004, 19). Historically, it was often only emigration that allowed for social mobility and avoidance of starvation, exploitation, and political oppression, which highly influenced Polish national identity (Garapich 2016). Today’s migrants interact in multiple spaces and have elective networks, but these arrangements remain tightly connected to political economy and the sociocultural supremacy of globalized governmentality (Jacquemet 2005).

Additionally, patriarchy in Poland (Graff 2001, 2008; Sroda 2012) was shaped differently from patriarchy in classic liberal welfare states (Gal and Kligman 2000). In state socialism, women’s relation to the state did not rely on private men as women were part of the labor force and provided for the family. However, in order to boost birth rates, the communist regime promoted motherhood as women’s primary responsibility and secured male privilege as male–female household responsibilities never fully transformed (Gal and Kligman 2000). Women were often portrayed as superwomen, but the household was seen as a feminized space which associated women with private rather than public life. In contrast, men were seen as not only dominant leaders in the workplace, but also “big children” in the family (Gal and Kligman 2000). After the socioeconomic transformation, for many women, employment became unstable, part time, and paid less than for men, linking

femininity more to the romanticized private and masculinity to competition and leadership of the public. Today, despite more women working and being educated (Central Statistical Office 2007), women are expected to perform their roles as mothers and wives slightly earlier than in Britain, which is often reinforced in Polish public discourse by right-wing parties and the Catholic Church. Femininity is hence often assigned symbolic maternal significance being equated with the Holy Mary/Mother-Pole/Poland (Graff 2008, 15). Polish anti-abortion law is also one of the most restrictive in the EU. Moreover, in line with the Polish romantic tradition (Janion 2004), similarly to sexual minorities, women demanding equal rights are often portrayed as competition. Men dominate public life: images of hegemonic masculinity include not only traditional breadwinners and rational leaders in the workplace (Wojnicka 2011), but also strongmen and mother's sons. Images of men fighting for gender equality and the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinity remain less popular (Wojnicka 2011). Thus, despite circulating transnational images of women and men in mass media, ideals of femininity and masculinity circulating in Polish society were historically shaped differently from the neoliberal British models, where "female success" and "empowerment" coexist with more traditional romantic motherhood and female "vulnerability" (McRobbie 2009) and where traditional rational, objective, and unemotional images of masculinity co-occur with bodyconscious metrosexual and technosexual images of man.

Data and Methods

Fieldwork

The decision to examine chronotopic representations of young adults was motivated by preliminary fieldwork in South-East England in 2012–2013, which involved interactions with many "Polish" migrants and participation in various "Polish" events. The young adults in this study received part of their education in Poland and attended one/more UK universities since 2004. They represented the first generation of Poles who like other EU citizens could move "freely" within Europe. This article is based on qualitative interviews for which participants were initially recruited from a local community of practice engaged in joint offline activities in Oxford and London. Additional recruitment methods were also used due to observed tensions between standard Polish and innovative speakers with the latter also not frequently attending Polish events in Britain, but belonging to the same online networks and attending some joint offline activities for UK graduates in Warsaw. These included an online advertisement in Polish and English sent out to local Polish social media and my own networks from Poland. Where possible, these were complemented by participant observations at events in Britain and Poland and during individual encounters. The number of participants was determined during fieldwork with an aim to achieve saturation (Small 2009) rather than statistical representativeness. However, an effort was made to identify equal numbers of women and men.

Out of over 40 recorded qualitative interviews and multiple additional informal conversations, interviews with 30 participants were analyzed. All were aged 22–32 and had spent 3.5–10 years in Britain. Following wider trends (Okólski and Salt 2014), most came from urban areas in several regions of Poland (highest percentage from Mazovia). Although

all regions correspond to regions of five dialects and “new mixed dialects” (Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999), it did not constitute a problem as (if at all) the studied features in Polish had been defined only as contact-induced (e.g., Doroszewski 1952). Due to their prior education experiences, all had oral and written proficiency in standard Polish, associated with educated individuals, described in textbooks of Polish, characterized by common phonemic inventory and grammar across Poland, and perceived as superior to other ways of speaking (Urbańczyk and Kucała 1999). In 2013–2014, most lived in London and Oxford, both with international/ethnically diverse composition. They had certified knowledge of English, and at work, performed in English at an advanced level. All reported active use of communication technologies to communicate with contacts in Poland and visits to Poland. Some acknowledged the use of other linguistic resources, for example, German, Russian, and much like their peers in Poland, often relied on fast speech and colloquial Polish expressions. Most (14) were employed in the corporate sector. As they had similar linguistic profiles, levels of education, and social status, the ways they spoke did not differ due to class distinction. They did not also differ due to length of stay in Britain (Kozminska forthcoming).

The analysis is based on semiformal interviews which allowed them to link facts from multiple sites in transnational timespace. As all participants communicated with me in Polish, the interviews were conducted in Polish between July 2013 and August 2014. Like any interview, these were public semiotic encounters; however, they took place in “private” settings: participants’ homes/other low-noise environments of their choice. They centered on 19 key questions about experiences of living in Britain, language ideologies, and views on Britain, Poland, and the world. The exact wording differed and each interview began with “Can you tell me your story in the UK?” Such storytelling frames allowed the migrants to order experiences of migration and organize their identities (Das 2016). They consisted mainly of accounts within complex stretches of discourse compressing multiple historicities (Blommaert 2015) into one 48 min to 1 h 32 min-long synchronized ideological enactment. As powerful and contestable collaborative constructions (Briggs 2007), these were not objective accounts, but provided “perspectives on events” (Ochs and Capps 2001, 45). Each participant was also asked to provide information about their networks, that is, list of daily interactants, on which they defined place of origin, place of residence, relationship, language, and ranking of frequency of contact. A network score for each speaker’s social network was established: ratio of all “Polish” contacts other than kinship to all listed contacts, expressed as percentage (range 12%–83%). The audio recordings were transcribed and analyzed in Elan (Wittenburg et al. 2006) and Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012).

Finally, although the participants did not expect typical [Qa][Ab][Qa][Ab]. . . interaction, each interaction constituted a two-person interrogative chain (Goffman 1983) to some extent since as an interviewer, I provided feedback and interpretative frames in which the answers made sense. As these were all shared stances (DuBois 2007), my position must be acknowledged. I was a female researcher from Warsaw in (late) twenties with international experience and networks, but no prior experience of living permanently in Britain, spoke Polish, and pursued PhD studies in linguistics at Oxford studying Polish linguistic practices in South-East England. Additionally, I spoke Polish in a way typical for my peer group, occasionally using colloquial expressions and established English loanwords, which would

not resemble the new styles. Given the one-to-one public interaction, the participants might have used more standard forms, but where possible, innovative styles were also observed in other peer group situations.

Linguistic Analysis

In each interview, displays of subjectivity were constituted through public stance-taking acts. Although such acts can be accomplished by linguistic, multisensory, and multimodal semiotic resources (Bucholtz 2009), my analysis is confined to the linguistic examination of evaluation, positioning, and alignment in each interview. Stance-acts were not always complete within one intonational unit (DuBois 2007). They were rather established in relation to particular objects, “what the talk was about,” in dialogic sequences and within the whole discursive event. This included, but was not confined to, eight cultural foci that were identified as central for the culture of the UK diaspora and often used by participants to distinguish between different Polish migrants in Britain. These included the degree to which one: self-identifies as Polish, says they care about the Polish language, maintains Polish traditions in Britain, is a member of one/more Polish organizations in the UK, intends to return to Poland, is religious, eats Polish food, has/would like to have a Polish partner. Together with network scores above 50%, these foci were also put together to create an additional tool, a Polishness Index (0–9), which situated each speaker within the local understanding of the diasporic infrastructure in Britain.

During fieldwork, some participants were observed to be developing new speaking styles in Polish. Most were also observed to be constructing social difference at the phonetic level linking particular patterns in pronunciation, that is, co-occurrence of aspirated stops, falling-rising intonation and “changing melody of language,” palatalized fricatives, to qualities they associated with migrants in Britain. These ranged from “cool” to “weird” depending on their ideological engagement with the meaningfulness of the styles. For this reason, particular attention was given to these selected phonetic features.

To analyze whether and how the phonetic detail was used, I examined it acoustically through the close listening technique and manual measurements of appropriate parameters. The studied features included: aspirated stops in onsets of nuclei of intonational phrases (measured as Voice Onset Time (VOT)), falling-rising intonation in declarative phrases as a floor control mechanism, as well as palatalized fricatives, vowel lengthening in nuclei of IPs, and occasional dark l. Interactional prosody studies (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996) were followed to conduct a sequential analysis of “local moves and countermoves” (Gumperz and Berenz 1993, 95), where an intonational phrase (IP) was defined as “a stretch of speech that falls under a single intonational contour or envelope and ends in an intonational boundary marker” (Gumperz and Berenz 1993, 99). For detailed analyses of individual features, refer to Kozminska (2019, forthcoming).

Stance-Taking

The analysis of the situated acts of identification allowed for the emergence of a continuum of sociolinguistic authority: from nationally oriented Polish Poles²

embracing Polish language and culture through In-betweens still identifying as Polish, but maintaining only selected semiotic codes, to Cosmopolitans rejecting nationality and not considering being Polish a significant constituent of one's identity. These were expressed by all women with a similar likelihood. However, despite recruitment efforts, as many as 12 out of 15 men whose accounts are analyzed here presented themselves as Polish Poles, one as an In-between and two as Cosmopolitans.

These three dominant chronotopic frames were enacted through different stance configurations by means of different morphophonological combinations "resourcefully deployed to create systematic communicative effects" (Woolard 2004, 75). Below, I briefly summarize the three discursive constructions demonstrating that the chronotopic frames allowed for the conceptualization of different possibilities of action and responsibility. In order to demonstrate how the change in locale had influenced changes in the salience of semiotic resources, I also conduct discourse analysis of extracts on self-identification and conceptualization of linguistic resources, which are representative of a larger corpus for each group. A close examination of clusters of phonetic features in the speech of all participants enables me to show that the nonstandard realizations in Polish, while motivated by particular linguistic context and discursive functions (Johnstone 2009), were co-occurring mainly in the speech of female Cosmopolitans to signal orientation toward relevant social images. Drawing attention to the sounding experience and gendered differences, I demonstrate how through intersubjective momentary stance-acts multiple historicities of origin and change emerged and how subtle nonstandard interactional moves served to contest imbalances of power.

Polish Poles

In Polish Poles' (5 female and 12 male) accounts, the understanding of their social world is based in the ideology of authenticity, where the "real" self is defined by roots of origin rather than immediate surroundings. They present themselves as part of the Polish nation operating in sociohistorical timespace and indexing alignment to state-level political formations. They embrace Polish culture and language, which is reflected in their high Polishness Index scores (7–9), with Polish network scores between 20% and 83%. They usually explain their need for self-identification as Polish as a way to find their place in British social structure, where others see them as Poles/Eastern Europeans. Operating within the logic of the nation-state, they also define themselves in relation to other national groups in the UK and typically explain their presence in Britain in relation to the socioeconomic situation in Poland, specifically young adults' difficulties in transitioning from the university to the workplace. Importantly, most men express a wish to return to Poland in the near future as international experience would allow them to find permanent well-paid employment, preferably high-rank positions in business and politics. Despite often aligning with more traditional images of femininity and family values, women do not express such a wish usually arguing that they enjoy their lives in Britain.

For Polish Poles, the Polish language is an essential part of their national identities. They fractally project the ability to speak standard Polish onto UK Polish community as an index of real Poles. In contrast, they most often portray English resources as a "necessary tool," used with other Poles only in the presence of speakers of other

languages. When commenting on new speaking styles that merge Polish and English phonetic resources, they most often evaluate them negatively linking the features to “snobbish,” “unreal,” “weird” people. Some accept transfer of particular syntactic and lexical items, but pronounced in line with Polish phonotactic rules. Some explicitly assert that they do not want to be in contact with innovative speakers whose pronunciation is changing.

When linking their frames of representation to frames of performance, they heavily rely on standard Polish norms. When taking their stances, they predominantly make use of the unfolding of the propositional content, default standard Polish falling intonation on declaratives and pronunciation patterns similar to those reported for Polish. In 1), Marek, a 25-year-old man working in the corporate sector in London who has lived six years in Britain, self-identifies as Polish after being asked whether such a self-identification is important to him. The extract begins with my yes/no question.⁴

- 1) Extract from an interview with Marek (P13), 25-year-old man, London
- 1 KK: a czy to jest dla ciebie ważne że jesteś ?Polakiem
and is it important for you that you're Polish?
- 2 P13: tak bo- ważne bo: (0.8) ciągle myślę po \p(19ms)olsku
yes because- important because I still think in Polish
- 3 no nie \ciągle czasami myślę po \p(19ms)olsku
maybe not constantly sometimes I think in Polish
- 4 i- a druga rzecz to jest to że .hhh inni ludzie też cię widzą jako \Polaka
and- and another thing is that other people also see you as a Pole
- 5 KK: °mhm°
- 6 P13: y zawsze ktoś tam ma jakiś- asocjuje \stereot(29ms)ypy
uh always someone has some- associates stereotypes
- 7 albo- albo przynajmniej kategoryzuje ludzi w różne \szufladki
or- or at least categorizes people into different boxes
- 8 i-i że wiem że ludzie będą mnie widzieć jako \Polaka
and-and that I know that people will see me as a Pole
- 9 albo kogoś z Europy \Wschodniej więc jeżeli już mnie mają widzieć jako \tak(57ms)iego
or someone from Eastern Europe so if they have to see me as such
- 10 to powinienem e (0.2) wziąć to na własne \barki czy tam jak to się \mówi
then I should uh take the strain or however one says it
- 11 i \żyć z tym
and live with it
- 12 KK: okay(h)
- 13 P13: i \nie chcę uważać się za kogoś kim nie \jestem
and I don't want to think I'm someone who I am not

In line (2), Marek concurs with *tak bo- ważne* “yes because- important.” In the next four phrases (2–3), he positions himself toward the object of the question by listing facts: asserts that he still thinks in Polish, linking the language to the self, and that others see him as a Pole. After the interviewer signals understanding with *mhm* (4), Marek relies on standard Polish cues for signaling continuation of talk, including unfolding of the propositional content and non-linguistic cues and provides further explanation in lines (6–9). In (6), he begins to situate his response within historical timespace by asserting that people *zawsze* “always” rely on stereotypes (6) with the habitual present verb form and the nucleus of the IP beginning with a dental stop in *stereotypy* “stereotypes,” pronounced in line with reported norms for Polish VOT5 and default falling intonation for declaratives. Next, he repeats the

content of the English calque with Polish morphosyntax *asocjuje stereotypy* “associates stereotypes” in the present form, uses a bivalent verb again with Polish morphosyntax *kategoryzuje* “categorizes” followed by the standard Polish *w różne szufladki* “into different boxes” pronounced with a standard alveolar fricative. In (8), he positions *ludzie* “people” in contrast to first person singular pronoun *mnie* “me” who will be seen as a Pole, pointing to the unchanging character of the self as defined by origins. When positioning himself in relation to actors in social space, he relies on state-level and geopolitical divisions. This is further reinforced in (9), when he refers to his unchanging Eastern European origins. In (9), he evaluates the content asserting that if he is to be seen as *takiego* “such,” again pronounced with a standard velar stop in the onset of the nucleus and followed by a standard filler *e*, he should *wziać to na własne barki* literally “take it on own arms.” This way he takes ownership of the stance, which he reinforces by repeating the content *żyć z tym* “live with it” with *żyć* pronounced with a standard Polish voiced alveolar fricative. He finishes the turn with default falling intonation signaling definitiveness, a cue taken up by the interviewer who utters an established English loanword *okay* following Polish phonotactic rules and expresses surprise with a small burst of laughter. Marek does not pick up the non-linguistic cue, but rather provides further information aligning with the othering processes and arguing that he “does not want to think of himself as someone whom he is not.” In his final turn, he reinforces his alignment with the initial proposition and state-level identification and projects an authentic Polish identity. Throughout the turn, he takes his stance toward the question through the repetition of propositional content describing othering processes in Britain and repeatedly asserting that it is his responsibility to “be Polish.”

Similarly, Maria, a female 27-year-old Polish Pole working in the corporate sector in London, performs an act of semantic authority over the object of her answer to the question about new ways of speaking expressing seriousness and power within standard Polish norms. She also presents the Polish language as revealing individual character in historical timespace. The extract begins with a question about the difference between Maria and those sounding nonstandard, whom she has described in her previous turn.

2) Extract from an interview with Maria (P9), 27-year-old woman, London

1 KK: czyli myślisz że na czym polega różnica między tobą i twoimi \znajomymi
so what do you think the difference between you and your friends consists in

2 i takimi ludźmi którzy tak \robią że że z czego to ?wynika
and such people who are doing it that that what does it result from?

3 P9: tak jak mi się- >tak jak \mówiłam< z \sytuacji w której się \znajdujesz
as I- as I said from a situation in which you are

4 ile mówisz po \p(22ms)olsku
how much you speak Polish

5 KK: mhm

6 P9: to myślę że to jest jedna \rzecz(h) a druga to nawet nie wiem jak to \określić
so I think this is one thing and the second I don't even know how to define it

7 czy to jest ?wychowanie czy to jest jakiś taki ?światop(27ms)ogląd
if it's upbringing? if it's such a worldview?

8 KK: mhm

9 P9: eeem czy wła:śnie nastawienie do ?języka
or precisely an attitude towards the language?

10 no bo mi się wydaje że właśnie ja chciałam iść na \polonistykę
because it seems to me that I also precisely wanted to study Polish studies

11 też przez jakiś \czas więc dla mnie ten polski był bardzo bliski: .hhh mojemu \sercu
also for some time so for me this Polish has been very close to my heart

12 więc ja nie chcę go \kałeczyć ale jakbym miała ten język \gdzieś
so I don't want to barbarize it but if I didn't care about the language

13 to no jak mi łatwiej się \komunik(42ms)ować tak będę \mówić
then what's easier for me to communicate then I'll speak like that

Maria begins her response by producing a truncated phrase followed by sped up clarification. In (3–4), she links her answer to her previous turns and lists reasons why Polish speakers act differently in Britain: individual circumstances and contact with Polish. Each phrase finishes with standard default falling intonation for declarative IPs. The interviewer does not interrupt as the propositional content unfolds, only uttering a concurring *mhm* to signal understanding (5). In (6–7), Maria continues providing further reasons simultaneously disaligning from the content by asserting that she “does not know how to define this” *nie wiem jak to określić*. She also uses rising intonation, standard Polish for questions. In her second phrase (7), she pronounces *światopogląd* “worldview” as a possible reason, with a standard voiceless bilabial stop with

VOT of 27ms. The interviewer signals understanding with *mhm* (8). Maria continues listing potential factors in (9). In (10), she contrasts the list pronounced with rising intonation with information about her own past, pronounced with falling intonation, which allows her to present her stance in line with standard norms. She deictically anchors the turn in the past, inserts an emphatic *ja* “I,” *dla mnie* “for me” in (10–11) and evaluates the Polish language with an affective adjectival phrase *bliski mojemu sercu* “close to my heart.” She uses the default standard fall for each IP. She concludes the turn by using a value-laden *jakbym miała ten język gdzieś* “if I didn’t care about the language” to present an alternative, negative stance toward Polish as a reason why others speak in a way that she contrasts with the not “barbarized” language (12). Like Marek, she takes the stance toward Polish relying on the unfolding of the propositional content, using Polish morphosyntax and sounding standard, which allows her to exercise her authority and project a “real” Polish identity. By aligning closely with the Polish language, historical reality is also portrayed as important for her character development and linked to the true self defined by roots and origins.

Cosmopolitans

At the other end of the spectrum of emerging identities, in their situated acts of identification, Cosmopolitans distance themselves from Polishness and reject nationality as a basis for identity. They do not deny coming from Poland, but often argue that it does not make them who they are and that they do not want to differentiate between people on the basis of nationality. They assert that due to the local economy and social norms in Poland, Polish society does not offer the same range of suitable social positions that allows them to be financially independent. They orient themselves toward the here-and-now and often align with Britain, but do not identify as British.⁶ Rather they see the reality from a global scale where they position themselves against classificatory national labels describing Britain as a place that allows them to be “who they want to be.” They have low Polishness Index scores (0–3) and present their networks as more international than Polish Poles (14%–50%). In their accounts, they relate Polishness to childhood memories and their families, linking it with private rather than public and collective life. As Cosmopolitans explicitly assert that they do not intend to return to Poland, they bind their future to English and global economy. They often align with English and multilingual practices explicitly arguing for multilingualism to be positive and allowing for a better understanding of the world. They assert that they do not mind language mixing, however, women and men differ in ways in which they compartmentalize their resources. As all reported speaking English to fellow Poles, the two men express less positive attitudes to intrasentential mixing. In contrast, changes in salience of linguistic resources lead women to take a positive stance toward reassembling Polish and English resources at the phonetic level. Women hence accept or even like the changes as an expression of their new positioning. The gendered differences can be explained in relation to differences in partners: both men, like almost all men in the project had Polish-speaking partners; most women and all Cosmopolitan women had international partners. They are also linked to Cosmopolitan women’s repetitive disalignment from Polish stereotypical gender norms, for example, Mother-Pole, and alignment with job opportunities and norms observed in Britain. As shown below, in women’s acts of identification, new realizations of phonetic features are motivated by the linguistic context, but importantly, they usually dynamically co-occur when the

women align with the local context or disalign from Poland-related issues.

3) comes from an interview with Natalia, a 22-year-old female graduate student and consultant from Oxford who presents a Cosmopolitan stance-act in which she challenges classificatory labels associated with state-level formations. It is part of a longer passage in which after a question for self-identification, Natalia defines herself as człowiek “a human being.”

3) Extract from an interview with Natalia (C7), 22-year-old woman, Oxford

1 KK: a powiedz mi na czym polega twoja ?polskość bo jest jakaś polskość u ?ciebie
and tell me what does your Polishness consist in because there is any Polishness in you?

2 C7: na pewno \jest ale raczej: (2) nie ma żadnej świadomej krea::cji (.)
for sure there is but rather there isn't any conscious creation

3 KK: mhm

4 C7: w mojej polskości(h)
in my Polishness

5 KK: ok

6 C7: uhm więc czuję że \jest ale nie: jest do końca: Vuświadomio:na
uhm so I feel that there is but I am not entirely aware of it

7 i raczej jest (.) czasami jest \intruzem(h) w [mojej=
and sometimes it's more an intruder in my

8 KK: [ok]

9 C7: =kreacji \świadomej
conscious creation

10 KK: mhm (.) to jaka jest ta twoja kreacja świadoma gdzie polskość jest ?intruzem
mhm so what is this conscious creation where Polishness is an intruder like?

11 na czym to ?polega(h)
what does it consist in?

12 C7: nie wiem- no czuję się taka troszkę \BEZ narodowości jako /takiej
I don't know- I feel a bit without nationality as such

3) begins with a question about the presence of Polishness within this definition. Natalia begins her response with a concurring assertion “for sure there is,” but in (2) she disaligns from it. She achieves it by the unfolding of the negated propositional content “there isn’t any conscious creation” and vowel lengthening in the nucleus of the IP, resulting in the interviewer uttering concurring *mhm* and not taking the floor. Natalia deictically positions the object of discourse with the first person

singular possessive pronoun *mojej polskości* “my Polishness” (4), presenting a personalized rather than traditionalist stance toward Polishness, and finishes the turn with falling intonation and laughter. After the interviewer expresses understanding with the English loanword *ok*, Natalia produces an English-like filler *uhm* and continues explaining her stance arguing unlike Polish Poles, not to be consciously working on her Polishness. In (6), she produces content aligning with Polishness, but the phrase, similarly to the next two IPs, ends in a fall-rise. Like other female Cosmopolitans, this way she signals continuation of talk, in line with English, rather than Polish, interactional frameworks (Local 1992). Additionally, like other female Cosmopolitans, through the fall-rise, Natalia invokes the here-and-now of the act of speaking and uses the suprasegmental feature to disalign from Poland. She positions and evaluates Polishness as the value-laden “intruder” in her conscious creation (7–9), again pronounced with falling-rising intonation. In (10), the interviewer picks upon her signal for talk continuation, the fall-rise (9), by uttering *mhm*, but nevertheless takes the floor to ask for clarification. As a result, Natalia begins with a discourse marker *nie wiem* “I don’t know” and repeats that she feels *bez narodowości* “without nationality” (12) with an emphatic *bez* “without,” challenging established state-level categorizations. The stance rejecting nationality is accomplished by the unfolding of the propositional content and like for other female Cosmopolitans, subtly signaled with a combination of phonetic features drawn from English orienting the speaker away from Polish nationality and evoking the here-and-now of the speaking situation.

4) shows a female Cosmopolitan stance-act toward their linguistic practices. It comes after Kaja, a 30-year-old teacher from London, asserts that people often argue that her Polish has changed. The excerpt begins with my question about Kaja’s attitude toward her mixing practices. It shows how Kaja mobilizes different rhetoric in which mixing is not defined in relation to discourses of authenticity and origins, but in relation to the immediate surroundings and new positioning.

4) Extract from an interview with Kaja (C3), 30-year-old woman, London

1 KK: ale jak reaguja twoi znajomi na to ze ?mieszasz
but how do your friends react to the fact that you mix?

2 C3: naczy- .hhh >niekiedy jakies tam sa \znajomi< kiedy jestem \sa:ma
I mean sometimes there are some friends when I'm on my own

3 nie z VRup(38ms)ertem
not with Rupert

4 uh i wtedy po polsku powinnam- >powinnam caly czas Vrozmawiac<
uh and when I should- should speak Polish all the time

5 bo nie ma takiej sytuacji ze musze po angielsku \rozmawiac
because there is no situation in which I have to speak English

6 to sie smieja ze mnie a- ze- ze nie moge przyjechać tylko po polsku \mowic
then they laugh at me- that that I can't come and just speak Polish

7 musze zawsze cos tam angielskiego uh Vwrzucic
I always have to throw in something uh English

8 ale (.) ja (.) wychodze ze- z takiego \zalozenia
but I start with such a premise

9 >w sumie w szkole tez tego \uzywam< ze jezeli nie zwrócisz na cos uwage za \bardzo
in fact I also use it at school that if you don't draw attention to something too much

10 to- to odejdzie tak czy \siak
then- it'll go away anyway

11 KK: acha

12 C3: wiec jezeli ktos mi cos powie- ja po prostu a: ((makes a gesture))
so if someone tells me something- I just a:

13 KK: mhm

14 C3: jezeli mam sie w jakas Vrozmwowe i Vdyskusje na ten temat Vwciagac
if I am to have a conversation and discussion about this

- 15 to by był jakiś tam (.) \problem że \issue jakby \problem
then it would be a problem like an issue like a problem
- 16 ale: jeżeli by: jeżeli to jakby \zostawię
but if if I like leave it
- 17 KK: mhm
- 18 C3: i nie \skoment(30ms)u:ję
and don't comment
- 19 KK: mhm
- 20 C3: to oni sami może zrozumia-mięją że może jednak mnie to nie obcho-(h)
then they'll maybe understand themselves that maybe I don't ca-
- 21 nie interesuje(h) już tego naczy nie powtórzą \jakby
I'm not interested like they won't repeat it anymore

Kaja begins a series of IPs describing a scenario when she should only speak Polish (2). While the content is Poland-oriented, Kaja relies on English realizations of phonetic detail: the nucleus of the first IP finishes with vowel lengthening in *sa:ma* “alone,” while the stop in the nucleus in her English partner’s name is aspirated (38ms). As the propositional content oriented toward the Polish community unfolds, she uses an English filler *uh* and dark *l* rather than standard Polish post-dental lateral in *polsku*, which at the same time orients her toward the immediate surroundings. In (3–4), she maintains the floor with English fall-rises and continues with standard falling intonation when explaining her practices for the first time (6). In (7), she repeats the content disaligning herself from speaking only Polish by acknowledging in first person singular that she always inserts English elements. She finishes the IP with an English-like nuclear fall-rise, which allows her to hold the floor and provide further explanation why she does not correct her Polish. She explains her stance in relation to the immediate surroundings and other Polish speakers, and positions herself toward the hypothetical comments by mimicking a gesture expressing indifference and gasping (12). The interviewer utters concurring *mhm*, after which Kaja produces a series of phrases ending with fall-rises in which she evaluates a possible discussion about her mixing as “a problem” (15). The bivalent “problem” is followed by a switch “issue” pronounced in line with English phonotactic rules and again, “problem” ending in a fall-rise. In her further IPs, she contrasts the hypothetical scenario with her own strategy according to which she does not respond to such comments. She also uses two fall-rises (16, 18), each followed by the interviewer’s concurring *mhm*. The unfolding of the propositional content combined with falling-rising intonation and vowel lengthening (14–18) allow her to ensure that her perspective is maintained and a particular stance accomplished. In (20–21), Kaja deictically anchors her turn in the present and positions herself in relation to the possible negative evaluation of mixing with first person pronoun, definitive falling intonation and negated propositional content *nie interesuje* “not interested,” which allows her to orient away from the Polish community. Through clusters of phonetic detail drawn from English combined with the unfolding of the propositional content, Kaja produces relevant, locally understood

distinctions. Her access to non-traditionalist understandings also leads to new meaning effects and ways in which sociolinguistic norms are enacted.

In order to demonstrate the sounding difference between Cosmopolitan women's and men's acts of identification, I now turn to (5), an excerpt from an interview with Jacek, a 32-year-old man from the corporate sector, who similarly to Cosmopolitan women does not mobilize the discourse of national identity, but evaluates his practices in relation to the personalized self operating in the here-and-now. After disaligning himself from identification with Poland, Jacek positioned himself towards elected cultural symbols. In the turn before (5), he has denied the presence of Polish food in his life. (5) begins after his wife, present in the house, asked about a Polish soup *chłodnik*.

5) Extract from an interview with Jacek (C5), 32-year-old man, London

- 1 C5: lubię jakieś tam \potrawy naczy pewnie dla każdego KRAJ to w sumie bardziej to .hhh
I like some dishes I mean probably for anyone a country is in fact more about
- 2 jakie tam dzieciństwo przeżyli i tak \dalej tak pozostaje to \raczej
what childhood they had and so on this stays more
- 3 KK: mhm
- 4 C5: trudno to nazwać \narodowościowe po prostu z dzieciństwa dobrze się każdemu
it's difficult to call it national it's just that almost everyone has good
- 5 prawie \kojarzy jeżeli było dobre (h) \dzieciństwo
associations with childhood if it was a good childhood
- 6 KK: hmm (h)
- 7 C5: więc to są takie sentymenty z dzieciństwa bardziej niż takie \narodowościowe
so these are such sentiments from childhood more than national
- 8 °wydaje mi się°
it seems to me
- 9 KK: ach czyli to to \ok
aha so this then ok
- 10 C5: a że W MOIM DOMU nie było jakiejś obse:sji: z \polsko:ścią to tak jej nie \mam
and because in my home there was no obsession with Polishness so I don't have it

Line (1) comes as a response to the wife's turn as Jacek agrees that he enjoys some Polish dishes. In the next IP, however, he links the answer to his previous turns and evaluates the fact in relation to one's childhood. In (1 2), all IPs finish with the default standard fall, standard alveolar fricatives, no vowel lengthening. To take his stance, he rather uses an indefinite pronoun *każdego* "anyone" and links *kraj* "country" with childhood memories, a typical understanding of Poland presented by Cosmopolitans. In line with standard cues including non-linguistic ones, the interviewer does not take the floor (3) and utters concurring *mhm* to signal understanding. Jacek continues and evaluates the fact using

a value-laden adverb *trudno* “difficult” to question its national character. He further evaluates childhood as a source of positive associations and specifies its type *dobrze* “good.” While doing that, he uses another generic pronoun *każdemu* “everyone” and ends the IP with standard falling intonation and a burst of laughter. The interviewer aligns with him (6) by producing *hmm* and barely audible laughter. Jacek concludes with a predicate aligning with childhood sentiments and makes a scalar distinction explicitly contrasting them with the national sentiments (7–8). In her last turn, the interviewer expresses approval with *ok*, but the turn first displays a level of hesitation with *czyli* “so” implying a request for further clarification in standard Polish. As a result, Jacek provides his final turn linking the general remarks from earlier turns to his own experience. He utters a minor IP with the first person possessive pronoun *moim* “mine” relatively louder to the surrounding talk when linking it to his *domu* “home” in Poland and deictically anchoring the utterance in the past in order to produce a negated phrase “there was no obsession with Polishness.” Occasional vowel lengthening in word stressed positions occurs, but the turn concludes with standard norms with Jacek aligning through the propositional content with his home practices rather than the national sentiments that he had mentioned before. The two men’s talk about and alignment with specific chronotopes is hence enacted by means of different contrastive features from those deployed in women’s performances. This creates a different communicative effect in which authority is accomplished in line with the order the men know from Poland.

In-betweens

Six participants demonstrated spatiotemporal orientations that were markedly different from those of the previous two groups. I refer to them as “In-betweens.” Unlike in other studies of migrants (e.g., Li and Zhu 2013), in-betweenness does not, however, emphasize hybridity and language mixing, but should be understood as a positioning along the continuum of sociocultural identification. In their accounts, the five women and one man still identify as Polish, but orient toward the world and Britain. Their Polishness index scores range between 4 and 6, with their networks being similarly international to Cosmopolitans (13–40). They identify themselves as international, but include Polishness within this definition. Importantly, for them, Polishness is not equated with national identity, but cultural heritage, which they intend to keep while living abroad. Their accounts present evolving selves in transnational timespace where the new experience of being different from the majority of British society makes them reflect on their origins and reconceptualize their positioning in the world. They present themselves as private individuals acting in contrasting, relatively unchanging timespaces within an imagined whole within which Britain is seen as enabling career development and personal growth. They assert that their return to Poland is highly unlikely, but they do not exclude such a possibility. Rather than embracing Polish culture, they select semiotic codes usually associated with Polish “high” culture. This includes also standard Polish, which similarly to proficiency in English, they perceive as an emblem of education. As a result, they do not enjoy speaking English to fellow Poles, if not surrounded by non-Polish speakers, and define mixing, especially having a foreign accent, as “odd” and a matter of “bad taste.”

6) comes from an interview with Edyta, a 27-year-old head-hunter from Greater

London, and presents an In-between's self-identification act in which the personalized self does not operate in sociohistorical timespace, but moves between relatively stable timespaces. In the extract, Edyta defines herself as an international Polka "Pole," pronounced with a bilabial voiceless stop with an English-like VOT and default standard falling intonation. The interviewer utters concurring ok and in (3), Edyta evaluates such a definition as potentially inadequate, again pronounced with the standard fall. In (4–5), the interviewer asks for clarification, producing a standard unaspirated stop in *polskość* "Polishness." Edyta begins her next turn aligning with being Polish as she asserts that she "still feels Polish." This is also reinforced by Polka "Pole" pronounced with much lower VOT and again, falling intonation. The interviewer relies on standard cues and does not take the floor. In (8–11), Edyta positions herself toward the question by contrasting facts from her own life abroad with life of Poles in Poland. She first deictically anchors her turn in the present with first person singular marking on *mieszkam* "I live" and then switches to first person plural to refer to her and her international partner's travels, which she had mentioned before. When invoking the international character of her relationship, unlike female Cosmopolitans, she maintains standard Polish means of expression. She then presents the timespaces as unchanging and herself as successfully evolving when she juxtaposes her "approach to the world" to that of all her peers in Poland in lines (10–11). Each consecutive phrase ends with the default standard Polish fall for declaratives, Edyta uses standard fricatives, no dark l, no vowel lengthening. Only, in line with tendencies for female In-betweens to use longer VOTs than Polish Poles, but shorter than Cosmopolitans (Kozminska forthcoming), Edyta produces a slightly longer VOT in *kultury* (12)⁷ "culture" and disaligns herself from Poland. When comparing herself with "Poles who stayed in Poland", she negatively evaluates them as a uniform whole, a group that are *mniej otwarci* "less open," and accomplishes her stance through the unfolding of the propositional content and standard means of expression.

6) Extract from an interview with Edyta (I3), 27-year-old woman, London

1 I3: nie wiem- międzynarodowa \P(50ms)olka
I don't know- an international Pole

2 KK: ok

3 I3: ale nie wiem czy to jest wiesz (.) odpowiednie \określenie
but I don't know you know if that's an appropriate term

4 KK: yyy dobrze to powiedz mi na czym polega ta twoja międzynarodowa ?p(19ms)olskość
uhm ok so tell me what does your international Polishness consists in

5 °w takim razie°
then?

6 I3: w sensie że (.) nadal się czuję \P(30ms)olką
in that that I still feel like a Pole

7 KK: mhm

8 I3: ale mieszkam już tak długo za \granicą (laughter)
but I've lived abroad for so long

9 i wiesz i tyle żeśmy \jeździli
and you know and we've travelled so much

10 że wydaje mi się że jakby mam- mam trochę inne podejście do (.) \świata
that it seems to me that like I have- have a bit different approach to the world

11 niż Polacy którzy zostali \w Polsce w tym samym \wieku
than Poles who stayed in Poland the same age

12 którzy powiedzmy mniej \zobaczyli czy są mniej otwarci na inne \kult(38ms)ury
who let's say have seen less or are less open to other cultures

7) presents an In-between stance-act toward the Polish language. It comes from an interview with the only male In-between, Adrian, and begins with his response to my question about the reason why like all In-betweens, he wants to maintain Polish. Unlike Polish Poles, Adrian does not take a traditionalist stance and provides yet different argumentation by linking Polish to his private self for whom the standard language signals one's education and professionalism.

7) Extract from an interview with Adrian (I6), 32-year-old man, London

1 I6: >bo chciałbym mówić po \p(bad quality)olsku<
because I would like to speak Polish

2 bo jest to język w którym mi się wydaje wciąż jestem najbardziej \sprawny
because it seems to me that it is a language which I'm still most able to speak

3 KK: mhm

4 I6: jeśli zsumować \wszystko ymm angielski >głównie ze względów \zawodowych<
to sum it all up uhm English mainly for professional reasons

5 bo wiem że mi się angielski bardziej \przyda >przydaje mi się z resztą< \t(26ms)eraz
because I know that I'll use English more I'm actually using it now

6 i bardziej mi się przyda w przyszłości niż \p(19ms)olski >ponieważ tak jak powiedziałem<
and I'll be using it in the future more than Polish because as I said

7 nie wiąże \z Polską ani z \językiem polskim
I don't bind with Poland nor with the Polish language

8 >bo to też nie to< /samo
because it's also not the same

9 KK: mhm

10 I6: y:: y:m swojej przyszłości \zawodowej >gdym pracował tutaj w jakiejś firmie< \doradczej
uh uhm my professional future if I worked here in a consulting company

11 i >analizował na co dzień< stan polskiej \gospodarki
and analysed the state of the Polish economy every day

12 >to może miałyby to dla mnie również< znaczenie \zawodowe
then maybe it would also have professional meaning for me

13 KK: mhm

14 I6: jak ten polski \znam \NIE >ma to dla mnie wielkiego znaczenia<
if I know this Polish it doesn't have much meaning for me

15 więc ten polski jest dla mnie teraz tylko- >przynajmniej w większości teraz< językiem \prywatnym
so this Polish is for me now only at least most of the time now a private language

16 KK: ok i nadal w tym [dla-
ok and still in this for-

17 I6: [>w tym języku prywatnym< jest to dla mnie \ważne
in this private language it is important to me

18 KK: [ok

19 I6: [tak >wydaje mi się że jest to dla mnie< \ważne
yes it seems to me that it is important to me

20 chociaż głównie to wynika z tej ogólnej \zasady że że że jak się mówi w jakimś \języku
although it mainly results from this general principle that that that if you speak a language

21 >jak się mówi w nim \płynnie< to >powinno się mówić \poprawnie<
if you speak it fluently then you should speak properly

In (1), Adrian asserts that he intends to speak Polish with a verb with first-person singular marking *chciałbym*. He then positions himself toward Polish by calling it “a language which I’m still most able to speak,” ending in the default standard fall through which he signals definitiveness and exercises authority. The interviewer expresses understanding in (3) and Adrian continues listing further arguments for both languages. In (4–5), he produces a series of consecutive IPs following standard norms deictically anchored in the present in which he links English to ‘professional reasons’ and the public life. In (5), while deictically anchoring his turn in the future and using first-person pronoun, he evaluates that English will be more useful for him. He then immediately positions the object also in the present and reiterates its current usefulness (5) and in (7) explicitly asserts that he does not bind his future neither to Poland nor to Polish, disaligning from the country of origin. Both voiceless stops in onsets of nuclei in (5) and (6) are uttered with standard VOTs. In (10–12), he provides an alternative scenario to emphasize the point that Polish is not important in his professional life, a stance which is accomplished in line with standard norms. In (14), after producing a loud negative particle *NIE* “no,” he uses a prepositional phrase with first person singular pronoun *dla mnie* “for me” and evaluates Polish as a private language. The interviewer picks upon the content and utters a truncated phrase finishing in *w tym dla* “in this for” (16). Adrian does not allow her to finish and continues repeating the propositional content explicitly asserting that it is important to him to speak Polish. The interviewer tries to express understanding, but it overlaps with Adrian’s next turn in which he provides the final clarification about a general rule to speak any language well (20), a common rationale presented by In-betweens in which standard language is not linked to true selves, but discloses level of education and professionalism. To do so, he shifts the scale to any language by using the indefinite *jakims* “a,” and impersonal verb form in third personal singular *powinno się* “should,” throughout sounding standard.

Reassembling Diasporic Selves: Scalar Connections in Polycentric Ideological Orientations

This article examined situated accounts of spatiotemporal ideological orientations of 30 middle-class Polish migrants living and working in South-East England in 2013–2014. Despite a shared background, the participants were shown to differently align with dominant social images and “inscriptions that institutionalise perspectives and attribute value” (Skeggs 2004, 23) in transnational timespace. They also differently experienced and conceptualized their linguistic and social possibilities. Discourse analysis of stance-acts in their selective reconstructions of migration experiences revealed a continuum of identities: from real Polish Poles aligning with collective state-level political formations in sociohistorical timespace through evolving private In-between selves moving through relatively unchanging timespaces to globalist private Cosmopolitan selves in the here-and-now.

While the shift of location required all participants to reassemble their scales of relevance, the ways in which they evaluated norms and engaged with established conventions led to multiplicity of codings. The different dominant chronotopic frames allowed the speakers to legitimize different stances linking available linguistic resources to different values and ideological centers. Guided by the ideology of authenticity, Polish Poles fractally projected the ability to speak standard Polish as an attribute of ‘real’ Poles onto the UK community.

Similarly, In-betweens aligned with standard norms and advocated for keeping the two systems separate. However, they linked standard linguistic norms to the classed image of an educated individual with preference for 'high' culture and refined aesthetics. Finally, seeing themselves as part of the global here-and-now, Cosmopolitans positively evaluated particular mixing practices that allowed for expression of their new positioning.

The focus on the ideological enactment of these situated acts of identification foregrounded nonlinear linguistic effects and their intrinsically historical character (Bauman 2001). While all speakers were active in deploying a range of symbolic resources, at the phonetic level, typified by the participants as being linked to qualities they associated with migrants, only female Cosmopolitans were reassembling Polish and English resources in new ways. Their use of English phonetic detail was motivated by discursive function and circumstances of production in which repetitive combinations dynamically co-occurred to index disalignment from Poland related issues or alignment with the local context. The accumulation of linguistic signs and movement along a continuum of variation also allowed female Cosmopolitans to position themselves within the narrating event producing relevant distinctions within specific emerging and locally valid orders of indexicality. While nested within the stability of dominant linguistic expression, these subtle repetitive soundings indexically located female Cosmopolitans within a matrix of domination. Together with repetitive disalignment from traditional images of femininity, including that of the Mother-Pole in the romanticized private, phonetic indexes served to animate forms of resistance and link Cosmopolitan women to circulating images of independent "global girls" (McRobbie 2009) who constantly resist dominant positioning. Female Cosmopolitans' innovative soundings also conformed to global tendencies for linguistic innovation to be used to make up for past inequalities, lack of social acceptance and socioeconomically precarious position (e.g., Canagarajah 2008; Gal 1978). In contrast, while acknowledging preference for staying in the UK (unlike male Polish Poles), female Polish Poles often aligned more with traditional images and family values and embraced standard Polish means of expression. The intersectional approach also highlights that both female In-betweens and male Cosmopolitans evaluated their linguistic resources along different axes of differentiation, where phonetic innovation did not lose negative associations and where linguistic norms were not explained in relation to gender norms. The chronotopic analysis of phonetic-semiotic details points to the inseparability of variation from particular time-space-personhood configurations. This has implications for studies of variation in that it allows it to be seen as intersubjectively developed scaled phenomenon that is dynamically exploited in conjunction with other signs to create value effects in the world.

Additionally, with their depictions of personhood-time-space centering around private selves, both In-between and Cosmopolitan identities evoked neoliberal "Western" ideas as they were produced by individuals with a fairly privileged class position in a Western context. However, they must also be understood within the private-public distinction shaped through the legacy of state-socialist policies in Eastern Europe, where the private *us* has historically been indexically linked with "honesty" and "ethical responsibility," while the public *they* has indicated "distrust" and "interpersonal manipulation" (Gal and Kligman 2000). At the time, in Poland, such imaginings still contributed to lower levels of public engagement than in Western Europe (Zukowski and Theiss 2014). Moreover, despite the fact that cosmopolitanism is often defined as "the privileged, empowered end of what

Massey (1994) terms the power-geometry of time-space compression” (Skeggs 2004, 157), the study points to the complexity of political economic subordination within contemporary Europe. Entangled in complex material relations, the stances were taken in the context of, for example, high wage differences between Poland⁸ and Western Europe (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Earnings_statistics) with the participants unlike their peers in Poland, having often paid tuition fees⁹ at UK universities. They were also expressed in the context of circulating negative framings of migrants, classed stereotypes of Polish migration and resurging discourses of authentic national identities in Britain, Poland and elsewhere which later led to the rise of nationalism both in the UK (Dorling and Tomlinson 2019) and Poland. In Poland, this has also been accompanied by antiwomen policy proposals resulting in statewide and diasporic women’s protests.

The focus on the sounded experience hence allows for the recognition of moving bodies as legitimate sources of knowledge that are organized in multiple ways along different axes of inequality and different ideals of the properly sounded. The relational, collective, and embodied soundings of sameness and difference are not random, but depend on scalarity and complex power relations which make particular ideological orientations to the body possible to be grasped and enacted. The sounding perspective also makes visible that in times of technologically mediated communication, despite extended capabilities of action, the body also remains embedded in the immediate, always ideologically configured contexts of interaction. Such acts of public intersubjectivity are shared by sounding bodies that have access to and move through recognizable power regimes leading to shared responsibility. They stress that those who articulate most ideological elements of the naturalized order cannot be seen as neutral actors in the hegemonic global relations. Listening to diasporic selves, including those underheard and silenced, hence creates space for new ethics of transnational timespace in which under changing and developing sociocultural and material infrastructures identities continue to emerge as multiple, diverse and plural (Hall 1975).

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Notes

1. The term migrant refers to foreign-born individuals who have moved to Britain, which has effectively become their “new country of usual residence” (UN 1998). Importantly, Polish citizens like all EU citizens “are not subject to immigration control” in Britain, but “are often described as migrants” in British media (Anderson and Blinder 2019).
2. The labels were used by some participants. All names are pseudonyms. P—Polish Pole, I—In-between, and C—Cosmopolitans, ranked by Polishness Index scores.
3. The numbers are not equal as identity was not a criterion for sampling, but emerged during fieldwork. A trend for men meeting the criteria to return to Poland was observed, which requires further investigation.

4. Where possible, English translations are word-by-word. However, this is not always the case. In the text, underscore is used for nuclei of IPs, otherwise features are in bold.
5. Mean VOTs for Polish from Keating et al.'s (1981) lab experiment: /p/ - 22ms, /t/ - 28ms, /k/ - 53ms; for English, from Docherty's experiment (1992)/ Yao's (2007) natural speech: /p/ - 42ms/48ms, /t/ - 63ms/51ms, /k/ - 63ms/58ms.
6. Only one participant expressed a wish to become British.
7. The trend to use aspirated stops to disalign from Poland-related issues was evident for Cosmopolitans, but overall, less so for In-betweens.
8. Median gross hourly earnings in 2010: in Britain – 12.6 euros, in Poland – 4 euros.
9. UK: between 2006 and 2012, tuition fees rose from 3,000 to 9,000 GBP. Poland: higher education was free at public universities (ranked highest).

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