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Abstract:

This article examines intonational variation in a language contact situation. The study contributes to sociolinguistic research on the social meaning of intonational variation (Podesva 2006; Levon 2014). Intonation is studied in a multilingual context of global mobility: within a group of Polish-speaking migrants in Britain who, thanks to cheap transportation and new channels of communication, could make use of linguistic resources unlimited by territorial boundaries from the beginning of their transnational experience. The study shows that speakers with seemingly similar linguistic and cultural profiles make use of intonation patterns in different ways in the context of the narrative of the self: speakers oriented towards the global economy and the English-speaking world incorporate a mainly English intonational pattern, the fall-rise, with increased frequency to do interactional work that it does in English, while other groups maintain Standard Polish norms. As shown, intonational variation participates in the creation of fluid identities that blur linguistic and sociocultural boundaries.

Przedmiotem tego badania socjolingwistycznego jest analiza wybranych konturów intonacyjnych i ich znaczenia społecznego (Podesva 2006; Levon 2014). Intonacja jest badana w kontekście wielojęzycznej globalnej mobilności: wśród grupy polskojęzycznych migrantów w Wielkiej Brytanii, którzy dzięki tanim środkom transportu oraz nowym technologiom mogli korzystać z nieograniczonych terytorialnie zasobów językowych od początku swojego pobytu poza Polską. Badanie pokazuje, jak mówcy o pozornie bardzo podobnych profilach językowych i kulturowych używają konturów intonacyjnych w różny sposób podczas narracji o 'własnym ja': mówcy wiążący swą przyszłość ze światową gospodarką oraz językiem angielskim używają istniejącego, ale rzadkiego konturu intonacyjnego, intonacji opadająco-rosnącej, w języku polskim z większą częstotliwością i nową funkcją dyskursywną występującą w języku angielskim. Badanie demonstruje, że transfer językowy jest zależny od postaw ideologicznych i praktyk w danej sieci społecznej.
[Polish]

KEYWORDS: Sociophonetics, transnationalism, speaking styles, language contact, identity, intonation, Polish in the U.K.

1. INTRODUCTION

Various sociolinguistic projects have demonstrated the indexical (Silverstein 2003) power of sociolinguistic variation (Labov 1972; Eckert 2000; Zhang 2005), which allows 'speakers to place themselves in the social landscape' (Eckert 2012: 94) and signal belonging to social groups (Agha 2007). Multiple studies have shown that linguistic variation is linked to speakers' conceptualization of language and social world in a particular sociohistorical context (Williams 1977). Also, this project examines the role of linguistic variation in contemporary group formation processes, focusing on a group of Polish-speaking migrants in

Britain with an aim to understand how, in times of new technological advancements and global movement typical of late capitalism, linguistic detail allows speakers to establish ‘contrasts, boundaries and commonalities’ (Irvine 2001: 22) and construct identities. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in South East England among a group of Polish-speaking migrants between 2013 and 2014, where new speaking styles in Polish were observed, in this article, one feature, the fall-rise used in declarative intonational phrases, is shown to participate in the construction of a Cosmopolitan identity. By focusing on how intonational variation is linked to the observed local principles of value (Irvine 2001), the study contributes to a few sociolinguistic projects examining the social meaning of intonational variation (Podesva 2006; Levon 2014).

However, unlike these studies, the intonational variation is studied here in a language contact situation and, similarly to contact linguistic research (Sankoff 2006), the project demonstrates interaction of the Polish and English phonetic and phonological systems in selected linguistic contexts. As in the case of Turkish-German bilinguals in Germany (Queen 2012), where two new ‘phonetically, phonologically and pragmatically distinct rises’ (4) were observed, or in the case of Dutch-Greek bilinguals (Mennen 2004), where peak timing differences in statements were reported, a new intonational phenomenon is observed in this contact situation. Namely, some participants in the study use the fall-rise in Polish declarative intonational phrases in narratives to do pragmatic work it does in English.

In line with Harris (2006), Mendoza-Denton (2008), Duranti and Reynolds (2009) and Sharma (2011), it is argued that the use of the fall-rise is related to speakers’ ideological attitudes and network-linked practices (established qualitatively, including vernacular culture index and network scores). Despite their seemingly similar linguistic and sociocultural profiles, the participants are shown to develop different identities performed in interaction by means of different intonational devices. Cosmopolitan speakers oriented towards the global economy rather than Poland and Polish diaspora use the fall-rise with increased frequency and with a new function, while Poland- and diaspora-oriented individuals maintain Standard Polish ways of speaking. The variability in the use of intonation patterns has to do with maintaining conversation involvement (Goffman 1983) as Cosmopolitans more frequently signal continuation of talk with the fall-rise and cue turn completion with the fall, and other groups rely mainly on Standard Polish norms.

2. IDENTITY, STYLE AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

In contrast to previous studies, the project focuses on a new type of migrant community, i.e. migrants who could make use of cheap transportation and new technologies from the beginning of their transnational experience. The Polish-speaking community in the U.K., which is composed mainly of migrants who settled after the 2004 EU enlargement and is now one of the largest immigrant communities in Britain, is treated here as an exemplary group of postmodern migrants, whose identities are never static and contingent upon unpredictable conditions of the globalized economy. The analysis of intonation patterns serves to demonstrate how increased language contact enabled by global mobility contributes to contemporary identity formation processes.

Identity is not confined here to claiming membership in a given group, but it is constituted through smaller acts, such as the use of particular linguistic signs that allow others to perceive a person as belonging to a given social group (Agha 2007). It is achieved in interaction by speakers’ linguistic choices, performance strategies used in the representation of particular story worlds and negotiation of these representations in the interactional world

(De Fina 2003). Moreover, it can only be understood when the division of social space into groups, cultural values, essentializations of linguistic forms and their conventionalization through repetitive behavior (Silverstein 2003) are examined.

Here, the concept of speaking styles becomes crucial as it is through speaking styles that speakers appropriate and (re)combine linguistic resources (Zhang 2005), allowing group norms to be produced and reproduced (Coupland 1985). These styles are governed by stylistic aesthetics, which 'motivate the consistency of stylistic forms' (Irvine 2001: 23) and are mediated by ideology as 'every stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it, as well as a positioning of the stylizer with respect to that world' (Eckert 2008: 456). Language ideologies are multiple and grounded in social experience (Kroskrity 2004). They organize and rationalize different ways of speaking in a given community, making linguistic forms indexically tied to sociocultural experience (Irvine and Gal 2000). Such an understanding of identity formation is implemented here with an aim to show how one feature constitutive of observed new speaking styles in Polish, the fall-rise in declarative intonational phrases, takes on meaning in the context of the narrative of the self indexing a new place within the sociocultural matrix of the globalized world.

3. INTONATION

Intonation is seen here as an identity-construction phenomenon (Britain 1992; Podesva 2006). In this article, I investigate how intonational variation is used by speakers expressing different identities and how it is linked to its conversational function. The analysis indicates that intonation is a contextualization cue guiding conversational management, sequencing and framing, and is a subset of contextualization conventions (Gumperz and Berenz 1993). It has a contextualizing function which consists of cueing 'conversational interpretation by evoking interpretative schemata or frames' (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996: 13) and it is 'linked up to functions which derive from the situated use of language to accomplish interactional goals' (p. 21). Intonation is not referential, but indexical (Silverstein 2003) in nature.

The use and meaning of an existing, but rare, Polish intonation pattern used by Cosmopolitan speakers, the fall-rise, is analyzed in this article by means of Conversation Analysis and general statistics. First, a sequential analysis of 'local moves and countermoves that constitute' the speech exchanges studied (Gumperz and Berenz 1993: 95) is provided. Here, I aim at 'the reconstruction of patterns as cognitively and interactionally relevant categories which real-life interactants can be shown to orient to' (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996: 48). By doing that, I follow interactional prosody studies that aim to reconstruct the 'interactional text' which is 'laid down in realtime discursive interaction' (Silverstein 1992: 58) and which is 'shaped by inferences from many contextual cues and therefore differs significantly from the effects of any particular one' (Agha 2007: 25).

However, my approach is not that of pure Conversation Analysis since the interactional texts are situated within a broader context of the study, i.e. they are linked to ideological attitudes and network-linked practices. Following Agha, I argue that: conversation analysis can be subsumed within a richer semiotic theory of interaction, one which pays more careful attention to both the grammatical and text-metrical patterns that constitute the orderliness of linguistically mediated social interaction; and, at the same time, brings together the analysis of linguistic and non-linguistic semiosis within a unified account of multi-channel sign configurations (Agha 2007: 393)

In order to understand how the new intonational device helps establish positionalities, stances and alignments in interaction, I look at how talk is locally managed in the context of the interview and how interlocutors react to the interactional text. I also look at general distribution of the patterns. Although the total act of alignment is cued by various semiotic cues, in the absence of video recordings, the ‘multi-channel sign configuration’ (Agha 2007: 101) of all semiotic elements is impossible.

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

The division into intonational phrases follows the PoInt project (Francuzik, Karpiński and Klesta 2002; Francuzik et al. 2005; Karpiński 2006) and is based primarily on perception of prosodic patterns established through close listening and visual inspection of the pitch tracking option in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012). Following Karpiński (2006) and Grabe and Karpiński (2002), each intonational phrase has one prominent syllable (the nucleus/the nuclear accent). The nuclear accent in Polish typically concerns terminal events in the phrase, as its unmarked position is the penultimate syllable in the phrase, with exceptions in emotional speech, when it can move towards the beginning of the phrase (Grabe and Karpiński 2002). Furthermore, the phrase has a hierarchical structure at a surface phonological level. The hierarchical structure is in line with Wagner (2009), where the following elements are distinguished: utterance, major intonational phrase, minor intonational phrase, prosodic word, syllable.

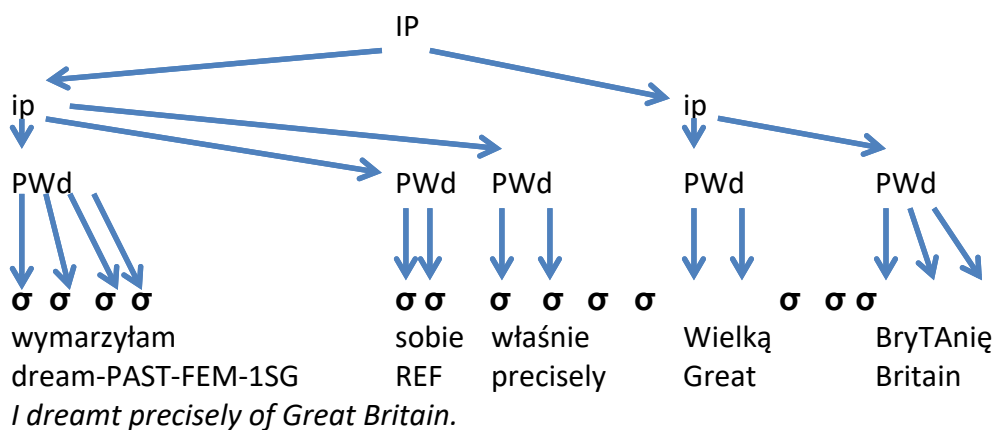


Figure 1: An intonational phrase, wymarzyłam sobie właśnie Wielką Brytanię, ‘I dreamt precisely of Great Britain’, produced by P9: IP – major intonational phrase, ip – minor intonational phrase, PWd – prosodic word, r – syllable.

The system follows the Strict Layer Hypothesis according to which elements at one level can only dominate elements at a lower level (Selkirk 1986). The intonational phrase corresponds to the major intonational phrase (IP) in Wagner's hierarchy, where a major intonational phrase is composed of at least one minor intonational phrase (ip) with one pitch accent. An example can be found in Figure 1 from an interview with Maria (P9),² which illustrates the phrase's hierarchical structure. The nucleus falls on the penultimate syllable of the last word *BryTaniez*, marked in capital letters.

4. POLISH–ENGLISH DECLARATIVE INTONATIONAL PHRASES

As shown below, the fall-rise in the nuclei of declarative intonational phrases occurs in both languages, but the languages differ in terms of its pragmatic function and frequency of occurrence.

4.1. Polish declaratives

In Polish, the nuclear intonation patterns reported for the tonic syllable in declaratives are: falling, rising, falling-rising. The most frequent pattern is the fall (Wodarz 1962; Biedrzycki 1972; Ropa 1981; Francuzik, Karpiński and Kleśta 2002; Grabe and Karpiński 2002; Karpiński 2006). Rising intonation has also been observed, but with much lower frequency (Karpiński 2006) and fall-rise occurs very rarely in limited contexts (Karpiński 2006). Karpiński (2006) states that falling/low tones are used for closed, complete, definitive utterances; and rising/high tones for open, incomplete utterances. He acknowledges rare occurrences of fall-rises in utterances expressing approval and admiration, and of rise-falls in utterances expressing surprise and disbelief. When observed, the fall-rise is said to occur in emotional contexts (Karpiński 2006) or if the speaker wants to imply something (Mackiewicz-Krassowska 1973).

4.2. English declaratives

Similarly to Polish, English declarative intonational phrases can be realized with falling and rising intonation, but also with falling-rising and rising-falling intonation. The most frequent pattern for declaratives in English is falling (Grabe and Karpiński 2002; Grabe, Kochanski and Coleman 2005; Wells 2006). Rising intonation, especially high rising terminals, has been observed in multiple contexts (e.g. Cruttenden 1995; Shobbrook and House 2003; Levon 2014). Falling-rising intonation in declarative intonational phrases is claimed to occur in the London and Cambridge varieties of English (Karpiński 2002; Grabe, Kochanski and Coleman 2005), that is, where the fieldwork in this study was conducted.

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

As can be seen from the discussion so far, Polish and English make use of similar intonation patterns, with the falling intonation pattern being the default pattern for declaratives in both languages. Both languages also make selective use of rising intonation in declarative phrases. However, they differ in terms of the fall-rise in terms of both frequency of occurrence and context of use.

4.3. Maintaining the floor in Polish and English

As the study indicates that the variability among speakers has to do with the ways they maintain the floor in conversation with Cosmopolitans using the fall-rise for this purpose, it is now described how it is typically done in Polish and English.

In Polish, the floor is usually maintained by means of the unfolding of the propositional content, occasional lengthening of final sounds, fillers and other non-linguistic cues. Additionally, rising intonation has been observed to be used to signal continuation of a sequence or as a way to control the floor (Karpiński 2006). Falling-rising intonation has not been reported to have such a function in Standard Polish.

However, in English, both rises and fall-rises are used for this purpose. Rising intonation, particularly high rising terminal, has been frequently reported. The feature is very often used by young speakers (e.g. McLemore 1991). It has also been associated with New Yuppies (Cruttenden 1995), which, as shown further, also resembles a group of young professionals from this project. Levon (2014) described high rising terminal as a feature used to control the floor in interaction mostly by White women and to a lesser extent Black and Asian men in context-independent situations. The use of high rising terminal as a floor control mechanism has been observed in other Anglo contexts, e.g. Australia (Guy et al. 1986), New Zealand (Warren 2005) and the U.S.A. (Podesva 2006). Most importantly for this study, however, fall-rises have also been found to be ‘projective of more talk to come’ in English (Local 1992: 275). Local (1992) argues that the use of fall-rises of pre-inserts is routinely associated with continuation of talk, which differs from Standard Polish.

5. DATA AND METHODS

In this study, the intonational variation was analyzed in the Polish of a group of young Polish adults who moved to Britain to study and later stayed to work. The group comprises 30 speakers (15 female, 15 male) aged 22–32 who had spent between three and a half and ten years in South East England. As all were educated in Poland before coming to Britain, all can be assumed to have both oral and written proficiency in Standard Polish. The participants’ English was only impressionistically assessed, but at the time of their arrival they had a good knowledge of English, certified by official examinations. After graduating, all stayed in Britain to work in white-collar jobs requiring the use of both spoken and written English in a variety of situations. As the speakers have similar levels of education, they are also comparable in terms of social status.

Given the project’s aim to investigate the multiplicity of language ideologies and speaking styles, the speakers were recruited through various methods: social networks from preliminary fieldwork, social media and professional networks and the author’s own networks from Poland. The number of participants was determined in the data collection process by means of thick-description and analysis of the fieldwork; the aim of the study was not to secure statistical representativeness, but to achieve saturation (Small 2009) of the emergent sociocultural categories. However, an equal number of women and men were recruited. The core of the analysis comes from one-to-one interviews conducted by myself in Polish in participants’ homes and other low-noise environments between July 2013 and August 2014.

The interviews constitute the participants’ representations of their experiences of living in Britain, language ideologies, social networks and stances towards Poland, Britain and the world. Each informant was told that the interview would center around their experiences of

living in the U.K. with an emphasis on the role of languages in their lives. Informants expected to participate in a semi-formal conversation with a Polish-speaking peer. All had to answer 19 key questions about cultural values of importance for the group under study as determined during the fieldwork. The interviews were not typical structured sociolinguistic interviews. Instead, by focusing on language ideologies and ethnic experiences, and how the linguistic variables have been imbued with cultural values, the study combines some variationist principles with insights from qualitative analysis of content and interaction, making use of discussion of particular linguistic topics and language forms (Duranti 1997). Where possible, data from the interviews are complemented by participant observations at a variety of events in the U.K. and Poland and during individual encounters. After each interview, each speaker was also asked to provide information about their social networks, i.e. people they interacted with in their daily lives. The network scores represent the ratio of all Polish contacts other than kinship to all listed contacts other than kinship for each speaker, expressed as percentages.

As the speakers did not constitute a typical community of practice, based on interview data and other observations from the fieldwork, a vernacular culture index (Cheshire 1982) was developed as a supplementary tool to identify key cultural foci that were centrally important for the culture of the group under study, in that they often made reference to them and used them to distinguish between different members of the U.K. Polish community. These were the degree to which one: self-identifies as Polish, says s/he cares about the Polish language, maintains Polish traditions in the U.K., is a member of one or more Polish organizations in Britain, expresses the intention of going back to Poland, is religious, eats Polish food and has or would like to have a Polish partner. The eight cultural foci and the network score were put together to yield a 'Polishness index', with one point for each cultural focus and network score equal to/above 50 percent. When quantitatively derived, differences between the speakers show, however, only tentative trends (Kozminska 2016). Therefore, a qualitative analysis of the interviews was also conducted.

Moreover, my position as a female researcher from Warsaw who had not lived permanently in Britain before the project, but who had substantial international experience and vast knowledge of arts and cultures in the world is likely to have influenced the nature of the data I was able to collect and the interpretation of the larger picture which I forged during the fieldwork. During the interview, as a speaker of Standard Polish from Warsaw, I made use of the variety I would typically use when interacting with my peers in Poland, inserting phrases and collocations typical for my peer group in informal settings. Apart from established English loanwords commonly used in Poland, English was not used.

Given the one-to-one nature of the interview, the speakers might have had a tendency to use more standard forms than in their everyday life; however, field observations suggest the stylistic variation to be used regardless of the situation/addressee when interacting with one's peer group. During the interview, I might have also accommodated more to the interviewees' speech than during other interactional events.

Each interview was then segmented into intonational phrases coded on a separate tier in Elan by myself twice, with a break of 12 months between the two assessments to assess consistency of judgment. Each declarative phrase was coded for its nuclear intonation pattern. The assessment was conducted by myself twice with a break of four months in between in order to check consistency. Following standard procedures used in studies of intonation (e.g. Grabe 2004; Queen 2012), the intonation patterns were examined by means

of close-listening and visual inspection. All other types of intonational phrases (questions, exclamations, etc.) were excluded from the analysis.

5.1. Intonation patterns

The three intonation patterns used by the participants in declarative intonational phrases are presented in Figures 2, 3 and 4. Each intonational phrase is annotated on four tiers: syllable (r), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP), with the nucleus indicated by an arrow above the pitch contour and marked in capital letters on each tier. The IPA transcription system is used in the syllable tier.

Figure 2 represents an intonational phrase, *jesteśmy Polakami*, ‘we are Poles’, ending in a fall produced by Adam (P1). The arrow points to the nucleus. The fall begins on the nuclear syllable [ka] and plateaus on the final syllable of the last prosodic word of the phrase [mi].

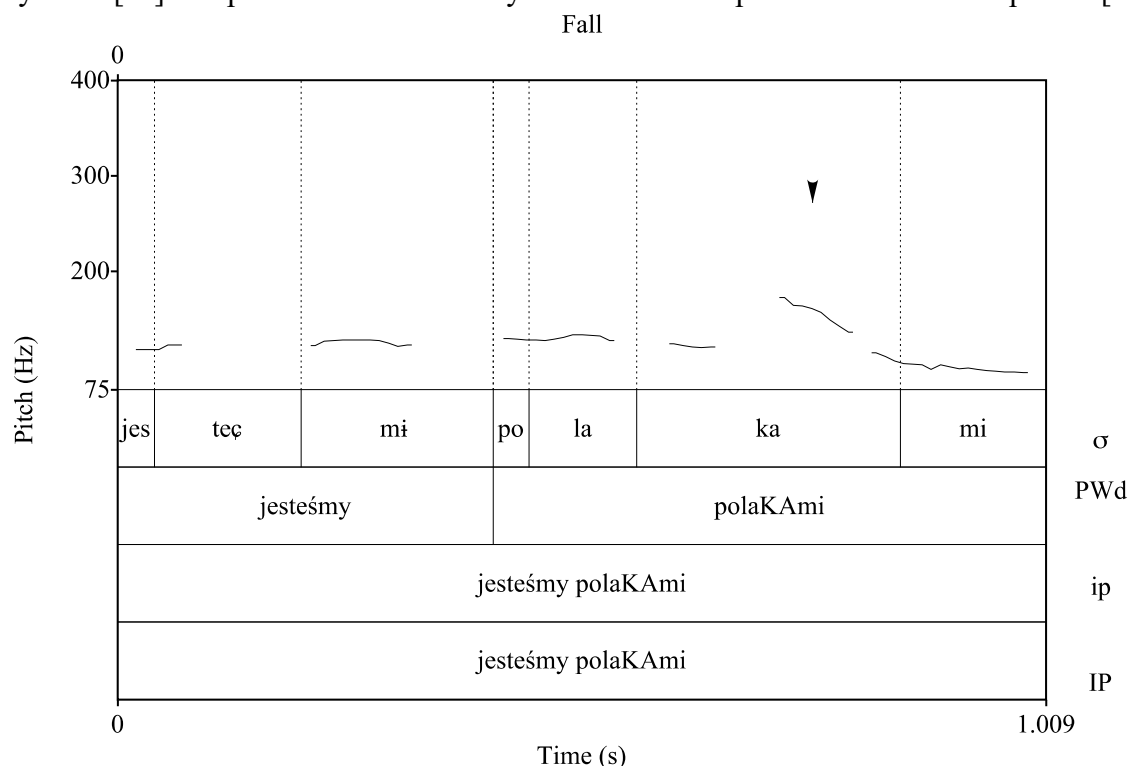


Figure 2: An intonational phrase, *jesteśmy Polakami*, ‘we are Poles’, ending with a fall produced by Adam (P1); four tiers: syllable (r), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus is indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

In Figure 3, rising intonation is demonstrated in an intonational phrase, *nie mam pojęcia skąd jesteś*, ‘I have no idea where you’re from’, uttered by Daria (I4). The rise begins on the nucleus [jes], marked with an arrow, and is followed by a steep slope in the final syllable [te] of the last prosodic word of the phrase.

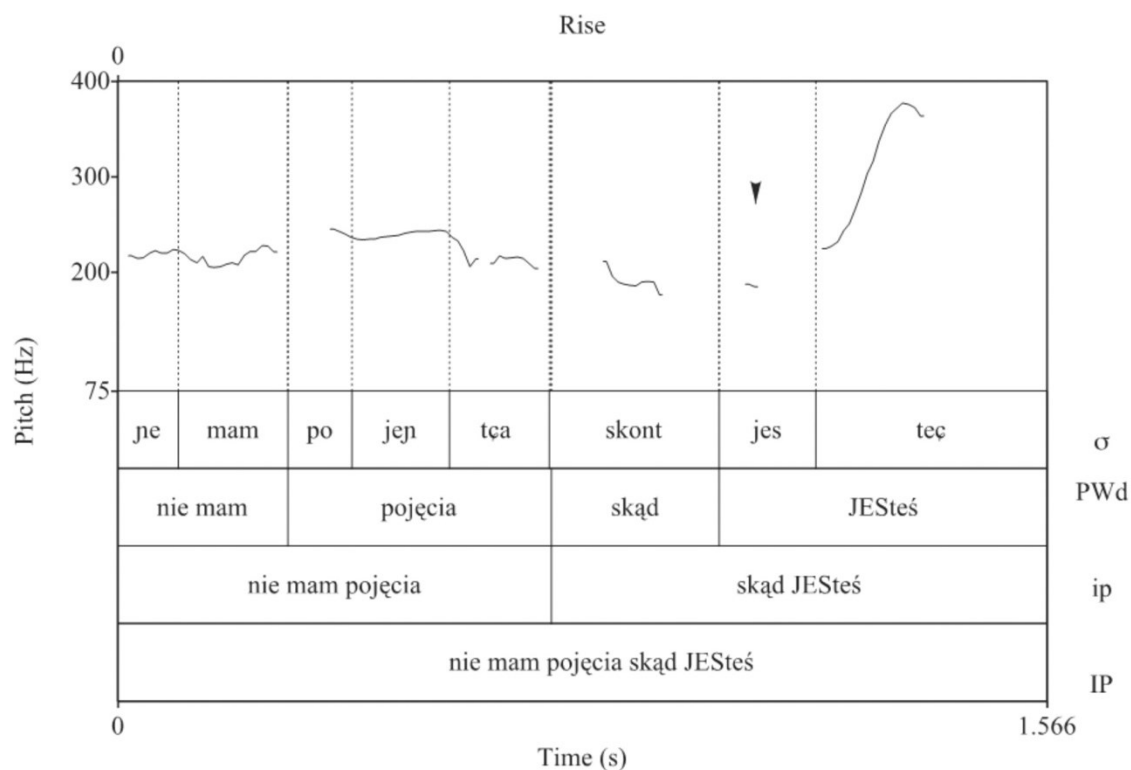


Figure 3. An intonational phrase *nie mam pojęcia skąd jesteś* ‘I have no idea where you’re from’ ending with a rise produced by Daria (I4); four tiers: syllable (σ), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

Finally, Figure 4 is an example of a fall-rise produced by Natalia (C7). The nucleus of the phrase falls on the second syllable of the last prosodic word, *niechęci*, ‘aversion’, which is marked by an arrow above the contour. The intonation pattern begins with a fall on the nucleus [xæɲ], which is followed by a rise that continues onto the final syllable of the prosodic word [tɕi].

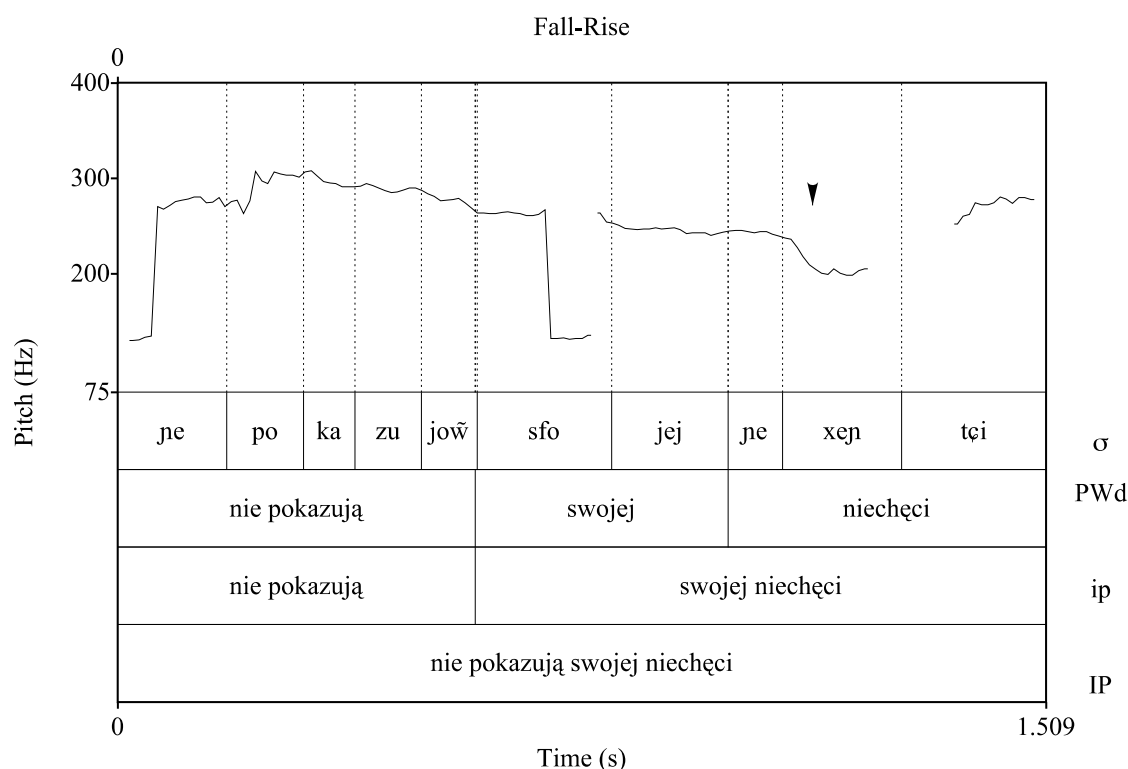


Figure 4. An intonational phrase *nie pokazują swojej niechęci* ‘they don’t show their aversion’ produced by Natalia (C7); four tiers: syllable (σ), prosodic word (PWd), minor intonational phrase (ip) and major intonational phrase (IP); the nucleus indicated by an arrow and marked in capital letters on each tier except the syllable tier.

6. SOCIOCULTURAL IDENTITIES

In what follows, I show that the falling-rising intonation pattern is used differently by speakers expressing different sociocultural identities as the fieldwork demonstrates a continuum of identities. The identities are negotiated and emergent in discourse and differ in terms of their orientation to key cultural values for the group under investigation and presentation of self in the interview.

Two main groupings of sociocultural identity emerge from the analysis: Polish Poles, 17 speakers (5 female, 12 male) with Polishness index scores⁵ between 7 and 9, who present themselves as nationally Polish; and Cosmopolitans, seven speakers (5 – female, 2 – male) whose scores are between 0 and 3 and who reject nationality as a basis for identity. Between the two groups, there is an intermediate group with Polishness index scores of 4–6 – six In-betweens (5 female, 1 male), who present themselves as ‘international’ but still Polish. The numbers are not equal because sociocultural identity was not used as a criterion for sampling. Rather it emerged as a potentially significant variable during the fieldwork and qualitative analysis. Thus, no firm statements about the distribution can be made. In this study, the identities are inflected by gender as only women expressed the three identities with similar levels of likelihood. The linguistic analysis is, therefore, limited to female speakers.

Individual voices expressed in the interviews constitute structured social meaning, where different groups of speakers are found to make sense of the world in various ways, with language playing different roles in the process. For Polish Poles, Polish *narodowa tożsamość*,

'national identity', is an important component of their personal identities, which can be observed in Excerpt 1, from an interview with a 27-year-old male speaker.

Excerpt 1: Adam (P1, male)

the need for identity is quite big, we live in a country where we will never be English and we don't, at least I don't have such a desire and, and I would like others to perceive us in a clear way that we aren't Russians, we aren't Czechs, but we are Poles

[. . .]

[When asked about his understanding of Polishness.]

it's some national identity, it's attachment to a certain social group, it is, uhm some economic identity also, yes? or, or, or rather economic patriotism, it's also some sort of pride of cultural achievements, yes? and the will to make it better and, and participation in it and, and what else? so, probably also, it's also self-esteem, yes? it's a feeling, it's a feeling of some autonomy, a feeling which allows us to live in society and go through life with this confidence

As a result, Polish Poles actively participate in Polish organizations and have predominantly Polish networks. They often argue that they would like to return to Poland in the future. As they embrace Polish culture, they also care about and want to keep Polish. They see the ability to speak Standard Polish as iconic of being 'really' Polish. For them, Polish replete with English phrases or spoken with an English accent would mean pretending to be someone whom one is not, which is projected from Polish society. For some, the ideal of pure language can even go together with more nationalistic stances towards Polishness. Conversely, they see English as a necessary tool for communication in British society.

In contrast, Cosmopolitans define themselves as human beings; they often say they do not want to distinguish between people on the basis of nationality (*narodowość*) alone, an attitude presented by a 30-year-old female teacher from London.

Excerpt 2: Kaja (C4, female)

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

Cosmopolitans constitute a world-oriented group explicitly saying they do not want to go back to Poland. At times, though rarely, they may even express a desire to self-identify with Britain. For them, Polishness is related to childhood memories and family. They reject Polish culture in their daily lives in Britain. Besides enjoying British culture, they often express positive attitudes towards the multicultural practices in London or Oxford. They are not active in the diaspora community and have international networks. They express very positive attitudes towards English, claiming they constantly want to improve it and speak it as much as they can. As a result, in contrast with Polish Poles, they report that they also speak English with other speakers of Polish. They confine the usage of the Polish language to their private lives when communicating with their families and Polish friends. When commented on as having an accent in Polish, they argue that they do not care about it, accept it or even

like it. Some explicitly say they enjoy speaking in new ways as it allows them to express their new transnational identities. They often argue that they do not have time or reason to work on their Polish.

Similarly to Cosmopolitans, In-betweens orient themselves towards the world, but present being Polish as a component of their identities. Such an understanding is presented in Excerpt 3, from an interview with a 30-year-old academic from Oxford.

Excerpt 3: Agata (I1, female)

I feel more like a citizen of the world than a Pole, which some of my friends make fun of because: how come? because you speak Polish, your parents are from Poland, on the other hand, you live in England, so why don't you accept British citizenship? [. . .]

[When asked whether she feels Polish in any way.]

yes, yes, of course

[When asked how it goes together.]

as a square is a rectangle

In-betweens claim that Britain allows them to better themselves in terms of their career development and personal growth. Simultaneously, they do not exclude the possibility of going back to Poland, although they admit it seems unlikely. They enjoy living in Britain. However, none of them identifies themselves as British. Unlike for Polish Poles, for them, being Polish is not equated to national identity, but cultural heritage, which they intend to keep abroad. They select certain aspects of Polish culture that they want to maintain: all express positive attitudes towards Polish and would like to keep it in its standard form. Drawing on norms of Polish society, they see the ability to speak Standard Polish as iconic of being well-educated. Thus, they find it desirable to speak proper Polish. Moreover, they argue that they want to speak any language well since it demonstrates one's professionalism. Therefore, they also want to speak proper English. They report that they try not to use too much English in their Polish. All argue that they do not approve of having an English accent in Polish.

A thorough linguistic analysis shows that the three groups rely on different stylistic devices during the interview. Polish Poles and In-betweens, for different reasons, maintain Standard Polish norms, while Cosmopolitans develop new ways of speaking, allowing for a cluster of selected English phonetic features to co-occur in their Polish (e.g. aspirated stops, falling-rising intonation). Cosmopolitans draw on two systems of sociocultural normativity when assessing their linguistic behavior: the features index their new understanding of the world. Their ways of speaking are new in that they do not resemble English accented Polish known in Polish society. Due to the fact that they accept or even enjoy changes at phonetic level, selected features interact in their speech in limited linguistic environments. As shown here, one of the features constitutive of their speaking styles, the fall-rise in declarative intonational phrases, becomes incorporated into their Polish as a floor control mechanism. The differences in the ways the speakers organize their talk are visible when interactional texts produced during the interview are examined by means of Conversation Analysis.⁶ Below, two excerpts, typical of a larger corpus exemplifying 'the range of actions a given practice [the use of the fall-rise] can implement' (Sidnell 2011: 94), are discussed to show how speakers relying on Standard Polish norms, i.e. Polish Poles and In-betweens, and those employing the new intonational device, i.e. Cosmopolitans, maintain conversational

involvement. As shown in the excerpt from an interview with a Polish Pole, Polish Poles and In-betweens maintain the floor chiefly by means of the unfolding of the propositional content, fillers, lengthening of final sounds and differences in speed. As speakers usually follow Standard Polish norms, their nuclear intonation in declaratively formatted turns is predominantly realized by the default falling pattern. Rising intonation occasionally occurs in their speech, usually to project that there is more talk to come, which is consistent with Standard Polish norms. Where the fall-rise is used, it follows tendencies observed in Standard Polish, i.e. it is used in emotional speech or to imply something, but the new use has also occasionally been observed. What is crucial is that, as expected, both Polish Poles and In-betweens rely mainly on semiotic cues used in Standard Polish to organize talk in the emergent interactional texts. The second excerpt, from an interview with a Cosmopolitan speaker, demonstrates a typical way of organizing talk for Cosmopolitans who also rely on English interactional frameworks using the fall-rise to project that there is more talk to come.

Excerpt 4. Barbara, P6

- 1 P6 ze zrozumieniem to \tak- (1.0) nie miałam [?problemów] (0.5)
with understanding then so (1.0) I didn't have problems (0.5)
- 2 KK [mhm]
mhm
- 3 P6 y bardziej z- (.) właśnie z \wypowiadaniem (1.0)
uhm more with- (.) precisely expressing myself (1.0)
- 4 KK mhm
mhm
- 5 P6 naczy z \odpowiedzią
I mean with answering
- 6 KK mhm
mhm
- 7 P6 na te [\pytania]
these questions
- 8 KK [\ok]
ok
- 9 P6 na przykład- (1.0) żeby coś \opowiedzieć e ym (.) na przykład w \restauracji (.)
for example- (1.0) to say something uhm (.) in a restaurant (.)
- 10 ktoś się mnie o coś \zapyta:ł ale to (.)nie do końca było związane z
someone asked me about something but this (.) wasn't really connected with
- 11 \językiem tylko bardziej z tym że (.) nie byłam tutaj \wychowana więc na
language but more with the fact that (.) I wasn't brought up here so for
- 12 przykład nie wiedziałam jak się jakieś danie [\nazywa=
example I didn't know what a meal was called
- 13 KK [\aha]
aha
- 14 P6 =jakiś \kotlet () dla mnie to nie miało w ogóle \sensu

a cutlet () for me it didn't make any sense

In Excerpt 4, a female Polish Pole, Barbara, maintains the floor chiefly by the unfolding of the propositional content. At the beginning of her turn, she signals she is about to give an explanation by producing a truncated phrase, which is immediately followed by I didn't have problems. The propositional content of this phrase (line 1) implies that the answer to the interviewer's question is negative, a meaning anticipated by the interviewer and expressed in her mhm in line 2. However, mhm comes before the nucleus of Barbara's last prosodic word, which is pronounced with a rise. In line with Standard Polish norms, rising intonation can signal continuation of talk, a cue that has not been picked up by the interviewer. As a result, there is a misunderstanding between the interlocutors, which is reflected in the interviewer's behavior in lines 3–8, where she keeps uttering mhm as she is trying to establish what is happening in interaction. After evaluating the speaker's pace and way of speaking, the interviewer then stops using mhm in lines 9–12, where Barbara provides a longer turn consisting of a number of declarative phrases uttered with falling intonation to illustrate and clarify the point she made in her previous turns, explicitly stating that she was not raised in Britain and thus lacked cultural knowledge. The interviewer waits for her to provide an example so that she understands what is being said properly and expresses she understood the point by uttering aha in line 13, which overlaps with the end of Barbara's phrase in line 12. In the final phrase of the excerpt, Barbara repeats her point to emphasize that British traditions did not make any sense to her, which allows her to complete her turn. The excerpt shows that Barbara and the interviewer construct the interactional text mutually calibrating their stances and roles according to Standard Polish norms, where the informant signals a continuation of her narrative mostly by means of information flow (deictically anchored in the past), which is a way to maintain the floor that both interlocutors are familiar with from Standard Polish. Participants reflexively calibrate their actions by attending also to the prosodic structure of their propositions, also following Standard Polish norms.

In contrast, Excerpt 5, from an interview with a female Cosmopolitan, Kaja, demonstrates a different way, typical for Cosmopolitans, to manage talk when producing a narrative in Polish. In the excerpt, Kaja makes a turn completion by means of falling intonation and, similarly to all female Cosmopolitans, maintains the floor by using fall-rises. In the excerpt, she talks about reasons for her staying in Britain.

Excerpt 5. Kaja, C4

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

7	uhm coś tam łapie niekiedy <i>uhm sometimes he understands</i>	co raz <u>więcej</u> <i>more and more</i>
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In the first declarative intonational phrase, she asserts that she is in the U.K. because she is in a relationship. The phrase ends in a lengthened nuclear vowel, which is a Standard Polish way to signal continuation of talk. The predicate is clarified in her next phrase, where she explains that she is in a relationship with an Englishman. The phrase in line 2 terminates with a fallrise, which allows her to project that there is more talk to come. The interviewer agrees by uttering *mhm*, after which Kaja holds the floor and continues clarifying the point she made in her previous turn. In lines 4–5, she produces a series of truncated phrases, the unfolding propositional content of which serves as a cue for the interviewer not to take the floor. In lines 5 and 6, she states that her partner does not speak Polish, although he agrees that he should learn a bit. While doing so, she ends each declarative intonational phrase (lines 5 and 7) with a fall-rise indicating that she has not finished, which is reflected in the interviewer’s behavior as she does not take the floor. The excerpt ends with Kaja saying that her partner understands a bit of Polish. Crucially, the two phrases produced in line 7 are pronounced with a fall, indicating the completion of the turn. The propositional content alone in the final phrase could not be enough to signal completion here. Thus, the difference in her use of the two intonation patterns is visible. The excerpt demonstrates that female Cosmopolitans use fall-rises in order to project more talk to come, which allows them to maintain the floor when producing narratives. Such a use of the fall-rise is also reflected in the frequency of occurrence reported in the next section.

7. DISTRIBUTION OF INTONATION PATTERNS

7.1. General distribution

The distribution of intonation patterns for all female speakers is now presented to show how the patterns are distributed across the three identities. The corpus of declarative intonational phrases resembles other findings for Polish (Francuzik, Karpiński and Klesta 2002; Karpiński 2006) as falling intonation is the most frequent. Table 1 shows the number of tokens and percentages of each intonation pattern for all female speakers. The fall occurs in 85 percent of all nuclei (65–97%). The rises and fall-rises occur at the levels of 6 and 9 percent of all tokens, respectively. As expected, rising intonation for declaratives is observed (2–14%) and there are no clear differences between the three sociocultural identities. In contrast, there is a trend for one sociocultural identity, Cosmopolitans, to make much greater use of the fall-rise than the others (11–29%, compared to 1–7% for Polish Poles and In-betweens), with the majority of the speakers producing over 20 percent. The raw distribution of all declaratives shows that the fall is by far the most frequent for all speakers regardless of sociocultural identity. Rising intonation occurs at a frequency similar to that reported in other studies (Grabe and Karpiński 2002; Karpiński 2006). What is new is the occurrence of the fall-rise in declarative phrases. Here it has to be noted that the group that uses the pattern with an increased frequency is Cosmopolitans.

Table 1: Distribution of all intonation patterns (fall, rise, fall-rise) for all 15 female speakers

Interview	Fall		Rise		Fall-Rise		All
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P2	971	90%	76	7%	29	3%	1076
P6	822	93%	52	6%	13	1%	887
P9	1203	87%	113	8%	66	5%	1382
P14	1047	88%	132	11%	8	1%	1187
P16	881	91%	36	4%	55	6%	972
I1	631	83%	76	10%	54	7%	761
I2	628	82%	84	11%	51	7%	763
I3	1069	97%	24	2%	9	1%	1102
I4	621	89%	38	5%	37	5%	696
I5	1304	94%	38	3%	51	4%	1393
C1	533	65%	112	14%	180	22%	825
C3	756	75%	24	2%	223	22%	1003
C4	632	72%	66	7%	184	21%	882
C6	1185	84%	72	5%	151	11%	1408
C7	536	66%	39	5%	234	29%	809
All	12819	85%	982	6%	1345	9%	15146

7.2. Distribution by function

The percentages presented above do not tell us much about the functions of the new intonational device employed by the female Cosmopolitans. The raw distribution of all 1345 tokens of fall-rises is now presented according to their discursive function as defined during Conversation Analysis to see whether the groups differ in their usage. Four functions are analyzed in Table 2: emotional speech, implication, continuation of talk and ‘other’ (e.g. emphatic contexts).

The new function, continuation of talk, occurs most frequently for all female speakers, which shows that all have picked it up. For all but two informants, the percentage of fall-rises used to project more talk to come exceeds 50 percent (all female Cosmopolitans – over 87%). For female Cosmopolitans, the number of tokens is also much higher than for other groups. For Polish Poles, the range is 55–85 percent, while for In-betweens it is 37–76 percent. All other functions display much lower levels of occurrence: emotional – 0–10 percent, implication – 0–31 percent, other – 0–25 percent. Most notably, for all female Cosmopolitans, the percentages of occurrence of all other three functions do not exceed 7 percent. When the tokens are examined in terms of their discursive function, in comparison to the functions reported for Standard Polish, all speakers employ fall-rises in a new way, i.e. to project more talk to come. However, one group, female Cosmopolitans, make greater use of the new intonational device, which is manifested in both the numbers of tokens and percentages of declaratives with fall-rises used to express continuation of talk.

Table 2: Distribution of fall-rises across 15 female speakers according to discursive function

Interview	Emotional		Implication		Continuation		Other		All
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
P2	0	0%	8	28%	16	55%	5	17%	29

P6	0	0%	0	0%	11	85%	2	15%	13
P9	0	0%	6	9%	48	73%	12	18%	66
P14	0	0%	1	13%	6	75%	1	13%	8
P16	3	5%	2	4%	42	76%	8	15%	55
I1	2	4%	16	30%	32	59%	4	7%	54
I2	0	0%	6	12%	39	76%	6	12%	51
I3	1	11%	3	33%	4	44%	1	11%	9
I4	2	5%	6	16%	23	62%	6	16%	37
I5	3	6%	16	31%	19	37%	13	25%	51
C1	0	0%	2	1%	170	94%	8	4%	180
C3	0	0%	0	0%	222	100%	1	0%	223
C4	0	0%	1	1%	179	97%	4	2%	184
C6	0	0%	4	3%	142	94%	5	3%	151
C7	0	0%	14	6%	203	87%	17	7%	234
All	11	1%	85	6%	1156	86%	93	7%	1345

8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis presented in this article demonstrates that variation in the use of fall-rises in declarative intonational phrases in narratives produced by a group of Polish-speaking migrants in Britain is influenced by ideologically mediated network practices and the speakers' attitudinal stances. It is shown that the use of falling-rising intonation in Polish participates in the stylistic production of social differentiation among young Polish adults who moved to the U.K. after the 2004 EU enlargement.

Based on an examination of self-representations of language use of 30 young Polish adults, together with observations made during the fieldwork, the project described here aimed to analyze how contemporary Polish-speaking migrants with seemingly very similar sociocultural and linguistic profiles retain, reproduce and reshape cultural values and how this translates into the informants' language use. The fieldwork allowed for the emergence of a continuum of sociocultural identities characterized by different language ideologies and stances taken towards Poland, Britain and the world. It has been argued that speakers who reject the concept of nationality as a basis for identity and orient themselves towards the English-speaking world and global economy develop new ways of speaking in that selected English features cooccur in their speech at phonetic level. In this article, one feature of their speaking styles has been analyzed more thoroughly, showing that Cosmopolitans have appropriated an existing, but rare intonation pattern in Polish, the fall-rise, and use it with increased frequency and with a new discursive function based on English interactional frameworks. The analysis shows that the speakers expressing the other two identities, Polish Poles and In-betweens, differently conceptualize their understanding of Polishness and the role of language within it. As, for Polish Poles, nationality and Polish are essential components of their identities, and for In-betweens, Polishness and Polish are seen as cultural heritage to be included in their transnational identities, the two groups follow Standard Polish ways of speaking. As shown, they organize their talk and maintain the floor in interaction relying mostly on Standard Polish norms: signaling continuation of talk by the unfolding of the propositional content, use of fillers and discourse markers, lengthening of final sounds and other non-linguistic cues.

The article shows that the use of phonetic variation in a language contact situation can only be understood when linguistic detail is seen as located within a layered community. In this study, even though the participants share sociocultural background in that their level of education and social position are alike, their cultural and linguistic behavior differs, which points to the importance of human agency for linguistic and cultural reproduction. As Kozminska (2016) shows, the differences between speakers cannot be explained in terms of length of stay in Britain. Neither can they be understood as related only to frequency of language contact: In-betweens' and Cosmopolitans' networks are similarly international and, as shown above, the two groups use the intonational variation in different ways. All speakers also claim to remain in contact with Poles in Poland as they occasionally visit their families and friends and use new technologies. Therefore, like In-betweens and Polish Poles, Cosmopolitans use Polish with speakers based in Poland.

We see that different experiences with the world result in the participants' development of disparate interpretations of their social world and its constitutive elements. As a result, speakers who position themselves in new ways in the world are found to negotiate sociocultural norms at suprasegmental level. Female Cosmopolitans' linguistic behavior should thus be seen as a result of them drawing on two systems of sociocultural normativity where the forms drawn from English evoke different associations and, thus, are appropriate along different categorical dimensions.

The reason why not all participants follow Standard Polish norms for talk organization has to do with different schematizations relative to which the speakers model the appropriateness of the linguistic signs constitutive of their speaking styles. As the public representations of language (Cameron 2006) guiding them differ, their understandings of the appropriateness of their linguistic behavior also diverge. Since female Cosmopolitans orient themselves towards the English-speaking world, also in interaction they evaluate their use of fall-rises drawing on the English interactional frameworks. As a result, they reanalyze and transform the Standard Polish norms by using an existing, but rare Polish intonation pattern, the fall-rise, with increased frequency and a new function, which together with their other stylistic devices point to the emergence of a new bricolage linked to a new structure of feeling (Williams 1977), where linguistic and cultural boundaries become blurred and fluid. As argued in Kozminska (2016), the differences between the speakers depend on their prior socialization, network-linked practices and degree of ideological engagement regarding the indexical meaningfulness (Silverstein 2003: 194) of the patterns. A further analysis of the pattern in non-interview contexts, especially turn initiations between the speakers expressing the three identities, could complement our understanding of its indexically mutable character.

NOTES

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2. All names are pseudonyms. Numbers in brackets indicate sociocultural identity (P – Polish Pole, I – In-between, C – Cosmopolitan), ranked according to Polishness index scores.
3. The interviews lasted between 48 minutes and 1 hour and 32 minutes. A Marantz PMD 660 recorder and two lapel Audio-Technica AT8531 microphones were used to record the interviews. The sample rate was 48 kHz with 16 bits per sample. The recordings were made

with two audio channels and were digitized into Waveform audio files that were later analyzed in Elan (Wittenburg et al. 2006) and Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012).

4. Labels were used by some speakers themselves.

5. Network scores: P: 20–83 percent, I: 13–40 percent, C: 14–50 percent.

6. The data follow conventions presented in Jefferson (2004) and Gumperz and Berenz (1993). The nuclei are underlined on the Polish tier marking the end of each intonational phrase. The nuclear tones are in bold and marked before the word carrying the nucleus. If the question mark follows a word, the phrase is a question. For inventory of transcript symbols, see Appendix.

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APPENDIX: An inventory of transcript symbols

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